shepherd of Allah's Apostle and took away all the camels. This news reached Allah's Apostle, so he sent (men) to follow their traces and they were captured and brought (to the Prophet). He then ordered to cut their hands and feet, and their eyes were branded with heated pieces of iron, and then he threw them in the sun till they died." I said, "What can be worse than what those people did? They deserted Islam, committed murder and theft."

Then 'Anbasa bin Said said, "By Allah, I never heard a narration like this of today." I said, "O 'Anbasa! You deny my narration?" 'Anbasa said, "No, but you have related the narration in the way it should be related. By Allah, these people are in welfare as long as this Sheikh (Abu Qilaba) is among them." I added, "Indeed in this event there has been a tradition set by Allah's Apostle. The narrator added: Some Ansari people came to the Prophet and discussed some matters with him, a man from amongst them went out and was murdered. Those people went out after him, and behold, their companion was swimming in blood. They returned to Allah's Apostle and said to him, "O Allah's Apostle, we have found our companion who had talked with us and gone out before us, swimming in blood (killed)." Allah's Apostle went out and asked them, "Whom do you suspect or whom do you think has killed him?" They said, "We think that the Jews have killed him." The Prophet sent for the Jews and asked them, "Did you kill this (person)?" They replied, "No." He asked the Al-Ansars, "Do you agree that I let fifty Jews take an oath that they have not killed him?" They said, "It matters little for the Jews to kill us all and then take false oaths." He said, "Then would you like to receive the Diya after fifty of you have taken an oath (that the Jews have killed your man)?" They said, "We will not take the oath." Then the Prophet himself paid them the Diya (Blood-money)." The narrator added, "The tribe of Hudhail repudiated one of their men (for his evil conduct) in the Pre-Islamic period of Ignorance.

Then, at a place called Al-Batha' (near Mecca), the man

attacked a Yemenite family at night to steal from them, but a. man from the family noticed him and struck him with his sword and killed him. The tribe of Hudhail came and captured the Yemenite and brought him to Umar during the Hajj season and said, "He has killed our companion." Yemenite said, "But these people had repudiated him (i.e., their companion)." Umar said, "Let fifty persons of Hudhail swear that they had not repudiated him. So forty-nine of them took the oath and then a person belonging to them, came from Sham and they requested him to swear similarly, but he paid one-thousand Dirhams instead of taking the oath. They called another man instead of him and the new man shook hands with the brother of the deceased. Some people said, "We and those fifty men who had taken false oaths (Al-Qasama) set out, and when they reached a place called Nakhlah, it started raining so they entered a cave in the mountain, and the cave collapsed on those fifty men who took the false oath, and all of them died except the two persons who had shaken hands with each other. They escaped death but a stone fell on the leg of the brother of the deceased and broke it, whereupon he survived for one year and then died." I further said, "Abdul Malik bin Marwan sentenced a man to death in Qisas (equality in punishment) for murder, basing his judgment on Al-Qasama, but later on he regretted that judgment and ordered that the names of the fifty persons who had taken the oath (Al-Qasama), be erased from the register, and he exiled them in Sham.

Volume 9, Book 88, Number 207:

Narrated Abu Al-Aswad:

An army unit was being recruited from the people of Medina and my name was written among them. Then I met Tkrima, and when I informed him about it, he discouraged me very strongly and said, "Ibn Abbas told me that there were some Muslims who were with the pagans to increase their number against Allah's Apostle (and the Muslim army) so arrows (from the Muslim army) would hit one of them and kill him or a Muslim would strike him (with his sword) and kill him. So Allah revealed:--

'Verily! As for those whom the angels take (in death) while they are wronging themselves (by staying among the disbelievers).' (4.97)

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 157:

Narrated Abu Umama:

Some people conquered many countries and their swords were decorated neither with gold nor silver, but they were decorated with leather, lead and iron.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 89:

Narrated Al-Bara:

The Prophet went on carrying (i.e. the earth) and saying, "Without You (O Allah!) we would have got no guidance."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 199:

Narrated Ka'b bin Malik:

The Prophet set out on Thursday for the Ghazwa of Tabuk and he used to prefer to set out (i.e. travel) on Thursdays.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 221:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

Abu Sufyan said, "Heraclius sent for me when I was in 'llya' (i.e. Jerusalem). Then he asked for the letter of Allah's Apostle

and when he had finished its reading there was a great hue and cry around him and the voices grew louder and we were asked to quit the place. When we were turned out, I said to my companions, 'The cause of Ibn Abi Kabsha has become conspicuous as the King of Bani Al-Asfar is afraid of him.'"

Volume 4. Book 52. Number 278:

Narrated Salama:

I went out of Medina towards Al-Ghaba. When I reached the mountain path of Al-Ghaba, a slave of Abdur-Rahman bin Auf met me. I said to him, "Woe to you! What brought you here?" He replied, "The she-camels of the Prophet have been taken away." I said, "Who took them?" He said, "Ghatafan and Fazara." So, I sent three cries, "O Sabaha-h! O Sabahah !" so loudly that made the people in between its (i.e. Medina's) two mountains hear me. Then I rushed till I met them after they had taken the camels away. I started throwing arrows at them saying, "I am the son of Al-Akwa"; and today perish the mean people!" So, I saved the she-camels from them before they (i.e. the robbers) could drink water. When I returned driving the camels, the Prophet met me, I said, "O Allah's Apostle Those people are thirsty and I have prevented them from drinking water, so send some people to chase them." The Prophet said, "O son of Al-Akwa, you have gained power (over your enemy), so forgive (them). (Besides) those people are now being entertained by their folk.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 303:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

That he was riding a horse on the day, the Muslims fought (against the Byzantines), and the commander of the Muslim army was Khalid bin Al-Walid who had been appointed by Abu Bakr. The enemy took the horse away, and when the enemy was defeated, Khalid returned the horse to him.

Volume 4. Book 55. Number 630:

Narrated Abdullah bin Amr bin Al-As:

The Prophet said to me, "I have been informed that you pray all the nights and observe fast all the days; is this true?" I replied, "Yes." He said, "If you do so, your eyes will become weak and you will get bored. So fast three days a month, for this will be the fasting of a whole year, or equal to the fasting of a whole year." I said, "I find myself able to fast more." He said, "Then fast like the fasting of (the Prophet) David who used to fast on alternate days and would not flee on facing the enemy."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 287:

Narrated Kab bin Malik:

I never failed to join Allah's Apostle in any of his Ghazawat except in the Ghazwa of Tabuk. However, I did not take part in the Ghazwa of Badr, but none who failed to take part in it, was blamed, for Allah's Apostle had gone out to meet the caravans of (Quraish, but Allah caused them (i.e. Muslims) to meet their enemy unexpectedly (with no previous intention).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 320:

Narrated Usaid:

On the day of Badr, Allah's Apostle said to us, "When the enemy comes near to you, shoot at them but use your arrows sparingly (so that your arrows should not be wasted)."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 365:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

Allah's Apostle had the date-palm trees of Bani Al-Nadir burnt and cut down at a place called Al-Buwaira. Allah then revealed: "What you cut down of the date-palm trees (of the enemy) Or you left them standing on their stems. It was by Allah's Permission." (59.5)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 416:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

(The tribes of) Ril, Dhakwan, 'Usaiya and Bani Lihyan asked Allah's Apostle to provide them with some men to support them against their enemy. He therefore provided them with seventy men from the Ansar whom we used to call Al-Qurra' in their lifetime. They used to collect wood by daytime and pray at night. When they were at the well of Ma'una, the infidels killed them by betraying them. When this news reached the Prophet , he said Al-Qunut for one month In the morning prayer, invoking evil upon some of the Arab tribes, upon Ril, Dhakwan, 'Usaiya and Bani Libyan. We used to read a verse of the Koran revealed in their connection, but later the verse was cancelled. It was: "convey to our people on our behalf the information that we have met our Lord, and He is pleased with us, and has made us pleased." (Anas bin Malik added:) Allah's Prophet said Qunut for one month in the morning prayer, invoking evil upon some of the Arab tribes (namely), Ril, Dhakwan, Usaiya, and Bani Libvan. (Anas added:) Those seventy Ansari men were killed at the well of Mauna.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 452: Narrated Sahl bin Abi Hathma:

(describing the Fear prayer): The Imam stands up facing the Qibla and one batch of them (i.e. the army) (out of the two) prays along with him and the other batch faces the enemy. The Imam offers one Rak'a with the first batch they themselves stand up alone and offer one bowing and two prostrations while they are still in their place, and then go away to relieve the second batch, and the second batch comes (and takes the place of the first batch in the prayer behind the Imam) and he

offers the second Rak'a with them. So he completes his two-Rak'at and then the second batch bows and prostrates two prostrations (i.e. complete their second Rak'a and thus all complete their prayer)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 455:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

I took part in a Ghazwa towards Najd along with Allah's Apostle and we clashed with the enemy, and we lined up for them.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 456:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Allah's Apostle led the Fear-prayer with one of the two batches of the army while the other (batch) faced the enemy. Then the first batch went away and took places of their companions (i.e. second batch) and the second batch came and he led his second Rak'a with them. Then he (i.e. the Prophet: finished his prayer with Taslim and then each of the two batches got up and completed their remaining one Rak'a.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 59:

Narrated Nafi':

Whenever Abdullah bin Umar was asked about Salat-al-Khauf (i.e. prayer of fear) he said, "The Imam comes forward with a group of people and leads them in a one Rak'a prayer while another group from them who has not prayed yet, stay between the praying group and the enemy. When those who are with the Imam have finished their one Rak'a, they retreat and take the positions of those who have not prayed but they will not finish their prayers with Taslim. Those who have not prayed, come forward to offer a Rak'a with the Imam (while the first group covers them from the enemy). Then the Imam, having offered two Rakat, finishes his prayer. Then each member of the two groups offer the second Rak'a alone after the Imam has finished his prayer. Thus each one of the two groups will have offered two Rakat. But if the fear is too great, they can pray standing on their feet or riding on their mounts, facing the Qibla or not." Nafi added: I do not think that Abdullah bin Umar narrated this except from Allah's Apostle (See Hadith No. 451, Vol 5 to know exactly "The Fear

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 489:

Narrated Abu Musa:

Allah's Apostle said. "My example and the example of the message with which Allah has sent me is like that of a man who came to some people and said, "I have seen with my own eyes the enemy forces, and I am a naked warner (to you) so save yourself, save yourself? A group of them obeyed him and went out at night, slowly and stealthily and were safe, while another group did not believe him and thus the army took them in the morning and destroved them."

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 378:

Narrated Said bin Al-Musaiyab:

Abu Huraira said that Allah's Apostle said, "I have been sent with 'Jawami-al-Kalim' (the shortest expression with the widest meaning) and have been made victorious with awe (cast in my enemy's hearts), and while I was sleeping, I saw that the keys of the treasures of the world were placed in my hand." Abu Huraira added: Allah's Apostle has gone, and you people are utilizing those treasures, or digging those treasures out." or said a similar sentence.

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 387:

Narrated Abu Musa:

The Prophet said, "My example and the example of what I have been sent with is that of a man who came to some people and said, 'O people! I have seen the enemy's army with my own eyes, and I am the naked warner; so protect yourselves!' Then a group of his people obeyed him and fled at night proceeding stealthily till they were safe, while another group of them disbelieved him and stayed at their places till morning when the army came upon them, and killed and ruined them completely So this is the example of that person who obeys me and follows what I have brought (the Koran and the Sunna), and the example of the one who disobeys me and disbelieves the truth I have brought."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 47:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Qatada:

My father set out (for Mecca) in the year of Al-Hudaibiya. and his companions assumed Ihram, but he did not. At that time the Prophet was informed that an enemy wanted to attack him, so the Prophet proceeded onwards. While my father was among his companions, some of them laughed among themselves. (My father said), "I looked up and saw an onager, I attacked, stabbed and caught it. I then sought my companions' help but they refused to help me. (Later) we all ate its meat. We were afraid that we might be left behind (separated) from the Prophet so I went in search of the Prophet and made my horse to run at a galloping speed at times and let it go slow at an ordinary speed at other times till I met a man from the tribe of Bani Ghifar at midnight, I asked him, "Where did you leave the Prophet?" He replied, "I left him at Ta'hun and he had the intention of having the midday rest at As-Suqya. I followed the trace and joined the Prophet and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Your people (companions) send you their compliments, and (ask for) Allah's Blessings upon you. They are afraid lest they may be left behind; so please

wait for them.' I added, 'O Allah's Apostle! I hunted an onager and some of its meat is with me. The Prophet told the people to eat it though all of them were in the state of Ihram.

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 48:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Qatada:

That his father said "We proceeded with the Prophet in the year of Al-Hudaibiya and his companions assumed Ihram but I did not. We were informed that some enemies were at Ghaiga and so we went on towards them. My companions saw an onager and some of them started laughing among themselves. I looked and saw it. I chased it with my horse and stabbed and caught it. I wanted some help from my companions but they refused. (I slaughtered it all alone). We all ate from it (i.e. its meat). Then I followed Allah's Apostle lest we should be left behind. At times I urged my horse to run at a galloping speed and at other times at an ordinary slow speed. On the way I met a man from the tribe of Bani Ghifar at midnight. I asked him where he had left Allah's Apostle . The man replied that he had left the Prophet at a place called Ta'hun and he had the intention of having the midday rest at As-Suqya. So, I followed Allah's Apostle till I reached him and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have been sent by my companions who send you their greetings and compliments and ask for Allah's Mercy and Blessings upon you. They were afraid lest the enemy might intervene between you and them; so please wait for them." So he did. Then I said, "O Allah's Apostle! We have hunted an onager and have some of it (i.e. its meat) left over." Allah's Apostle told his companions to eat the meat although all of them were in a state of Ihram.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 86: Narrated Salim Abu-An-Nadr:

Abdullah bin Abi Aufa wrote and I read what he wrote that Allah's Apostle said, "When you face them (i.e. your enemy) then be patient.'

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 198:

Narrated Ka'b bin Malik:

Whenever Allah's Apostle intended to carry out a Ghazwa, he would use an equivocation to conceal his real destination till it was the Ghazwa of Tabuk which Allah's Apostle carried out in very hot weather. As he was going to face a very long journey through a wasteland and was to meet and attack a large number of enemies. So, he made the situation clear to the Muslims so that they might prepare themselves accordingly and get ready to conquer their enemy. The Prophet informed them of the destination he was heading for (Ka'b bin Malik used to say, "Scarcely did Allah's Apostle set out for a journey on a day other than Thursday.") Volume 4, Book 52, Number 220:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "I have been sent with the shortest expressions bearing the widest meanings, and I have been made victorious with terror (cast in the hearts of the enemy), and while I was sleeping, the keys of the treasures of the world were brought to me and put in my hand." Abu Huraira added: Allah's Apostle has left the world and now you, people, are bringing out those treasures (i.e. the Prophet did not benefit by them).

Volume 9, Book 90, Number 343:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abi Aufa:

Allah's Apostle said, "Do not long for meeting your enemy, and ask Allah for safety (from all sorts of evil)." (See Hadith No. 266, Vol. 4)

Volume 3, Book 27, Number 23:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Whenever Allah's Apostle returned from a Ghazwa, Hajj or Umra, he used to say Takbir thrice at every elevation of the ground and then would say, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah; He is One and has no partner. All the kingdoms is for Him, and all the praises are for Him, and He is Omnipotent. We are returning with repentance, worshipping, prostrating, and praising our Lord. He has kept up His promise and made His slave victorious, and He Alone defeated all the clans of (non-believers).'

Volume 3. Book 34. Number 310:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

I was with the Prophet in a Ghazwa (Military Expedition) and my camel was slow and exhausted. The Prophet came up to me and said, "O Jabir." I replied, "Yes?" He said, "What is the matter with you?" I replied, "My camel is slow and tired, so I am left behind." So, he got down and poked the camel with his stick and then ordered me to ride. I rode the camel and it became so fast that I had to hold it from going ahead of Allah's Apostle . He then asked me, have you got married?" I replied in the affirmative. He asked, "A virgin or a matron?" I replied, "I married a matron." The Prophet said, "Why have you not married a virgin, so that you may play with her and she may play with you?" Jabir replied, "I have sisters (young in age) so I liked to marry a matron who could collect them all and comb their hair and look after them " The Prophet said, "You will reach, so when you have arrived (at home), I advise you to associate with your wife (that you may have an intelligent son)." Then he asked me, "Would you like to sell your camel?" I replied in the affirmative and the Prophet purchased it for one Uqiya of gold. Allah's Apostle reached before me and I reached in the morning, and when I went to the mosque. I found him at the door of the mosque. He asked me, "Have you arrived just now?" I replied in the affirmative. He said, "Leave your camel and come into (the mosque) and pray two Rakat." I entered and offered the prayer. He told Bilal to weigh and give me one Uqiya of gold. So Bilal weighed for me fairly and I went away. The Prophet sent for me and I thought that he would return to me my camel which I hated more than anything else. But the Prophet said to me. Take your camel as well as its price.'

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 466:

Narrated Ya'la bin Umaya:

I fought in Jaish-al-Usra (Ghazwa of Tabuk) along with the Prophet and in my opinion that was the best of my deeds. Then I had an employee, who quarrel led with someone and one of the them bit and cut the other's finger and caused his own tooth to fall out. He then went to the Prophet (with a complaint) but the Prophet cancelled the suit and said to the complainant, "Did you expect him to let his finger in your mouth so that you might snap and cut it (as does a stallion

Narrated Ibn Juraij from Abdullah bin Abu Mulaika from his grandfather a similar story: A man bit the hand of another man and caused his own tooth to fall out, but Abu Bakr judged that he had no right for compensation (for the broken tooth).

Volume 3 Book 46 Number 718:

Narrated Ibn Muhairiz:

I saw Abu Said and asked him about coitus interruptus. Abu Said said, "We went with Allah's Apostle, in the Ghazwa of Barli Al-Mustaliq and we captured some of the Arabs as captives, and the long separation from our wives was pressing us hard and we wanted to practice coitus interruptus. We asked Allah's Apostle (whether it was permissible). He said, "It is better for you not to do so. No soul, (that which Allah has) destined to exist, up to the Day of Resurrection, but will definitely come, into existence.'

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 91:

Narrated Anas:

We returned from the Ghazwa of Tabuk along with the Prophet. (See Hadith No. 92 below)

Volume 4. Book 52. Number 92:

Narrated Anas:

While the Prophet was in a Ghazwa he said, "Some people have remained behind us in Medina and we never crossed a mountain path or a valley, but they were with us (i.e. sharing the reward with us), as they have been held back by a (legal) excuse

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 197:

Narrated Ka'b bin Malik:

Whenever Allah's Apostle intended to lead a Ghazwa, he would use an equivocation from which one would understand that he was going to a different destination .

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 238:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Whenever the Prophet returned from the Hajj or the Umra or a Ghazwa, he would say Takbir thrice. Whenever he came upon a mountain path or wasteland, and then he would say, None has the right to be worshipped but Allah, Alone Who has no partner. All the Kingdom belongs to Him and all the praises are for Him and He is Omnipotent. We are returning with repentance, worshipping, prostrating ourselves and praising our Lord. Allah fulfilled His Promise, granted victory to His slave and He Alone defeated all the clans.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 250:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

That he heard the Prophet saying, "It is not permissible for a man to be alone with a woman, and no lady should travel except with a Muhram (i.e. her husband or a person whom she cannot marry in any case for ever; e.g. her father, brother, etc.)." Then a man got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have enlisted in the army for such-and-such Ghazwa and my wife is proceeding for Hajj." Allah's Apostle said, "Go, and perform the Hajj with your wife.'

Volume 4. Book 52. Number 295:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

A man came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have enlisted in the army for such-and-such Ghazwa, and my wife is leaving for Hajj." Allah's Apostle said, "Go back and perform Hajj with your wife."

Volume 4. Book 53. Number 385:

Narrated Amr bin Auf Al-Ansari: (who was an ally of Bam Amr bin Lu'ai and one of those who had taken part in (the Ghazwa of) Badr): Allah's Apostle sent Abu Ubaida bin Al-Jarreh to Bahrain to collect the Jizya. Allah's Apostle had established peace with the people of Bahrain and appointed Al-'Ala' bin Al-Hadrami as their governor. When Abu Ubaida came from Bahrain with the money, the Ansar heard of Abu Ubaida's arrival which coincided with the time of the morning prayer with the Prophet. When Allah's Apostle led them in the morning prayer and finished, the Ansar approached him, and he looked at them and smiled on seeing them and said, "I feel that you have heard that Abu. Ubaida has brought something?" They

said, "Yes, O Allah's Apostle' He said, "Rejoice and hope for what will please you! By Allah, I am not afraid of your poverty but I am afraid that you will lead a life of luxury as past nations did, whereupon you will compete with each other for it, as they competed for it, and it will destroy you as it destroyed them.'

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 387:

Narrated Abu Humaid As-Saidi:

We accompanied the Prophet in the Ghazwa of Tabuk and the king of 'Aila presented a white mule and a cloak as a gift to the Prophet. And the Prophet wrote to him a peace treaty allowing him to keep authority over his country.

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 561:

Narrated Ibn I mar:

When Allah's Apostle landed at Al-Hijr during the Ghazwa of Tabuk, he ordered his companions not to drink water from its well or reserve water from it. They said, "We have already kneaded the dough with its water, and also filled our bags with its water." On that, the Prophet ordered them to throw away the dough and pour out the water.

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 720:

Narrated Jabir:

We were in the company of the Prophet in a Ghazwa. A large number of emigrants joined him and among the emigrants there was a person who used to play jokes (or play with spears); so he (jokingly) stroked an Ansari man on the hip. The Ans-ari got so angry that both of them called their people. The Ansari said, "Help, O Ansar!" And the emigrant said "Help, O emigrants!" The Prophet came out and said, "What is wrong with the people (as they are calling) this call of the period of Ignorance? "Then he said, "What is the matter with them?" So he was told about the stroke of the matter with them? So he was told about the stroke of the emigrant to the Ansari. The Prophet said, "Stop this (i.e. appeal for help) for it is an evil call. "Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul (a hypocrite) said, "The emigrants have called and (gathered against us); so when we return to Medina, surely," the more honourable people will expel therefrom the meaner, Upon that Umar said, "O Allah's Prophet! Shall we not kill this evil person (i.e. Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul) ?" The Prophet) said, "(No), lest the people should say that Mohammed used to kill his companions.

Volume 4. Book 56. Number 756:

Narrated Abdullah bin Ka'b:

I heard Ka'b bin Malik talking after his failure to join (the Ghazwa of) Tabuk. He said, "When I greeted Allah's Apostle whose face was glittering with happiness, for whenever Allah's Apostle was happy, his face used to glitter, as if it was a piece of the moon, and we used to recognize it (i.e. his happiness) from his face.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 285:

Narrated Abu Ishaq:

Once, while I was sitting beside Zaid bin Al-Arqam, he was asked, "How many Ghazwat did the Prophet undertake?" Zaid replied, "Nineteen." They said, "In how many Ghazwat did you join him?" He replied, "Seventeen." I asked, "Which of these was the first?" He replied, "Al-Ashira or Al-Ashiru."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 290:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

The believers who failed to join the Ghazwa of Badr and those who took part in it are not equal (in reward).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 433:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

The first day (i.e. Ghazwa) I participated in, was the day of Al-Khandaq (i.e. Trench).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 442:

Narrated Abdullah:

Whenever Allah's Apostle returned from a Ghazwa, Hajj or Umra, he used to start (saying), "Allahu-Akbar," thrice and then he would say, "None has the right to be worshipped except Allah alone Who has no partners. To Him belongs the Kingdom, all praises are for Him, and He is able to do all things (i.e. Omnipotent). We are returning with repentance (to Allah) worshipping, prostrating, and praising our Lord. Allah has fulfilled His Promise, made His Slave victorious, and He (Alone) defeated the clans (of infidels).

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 450:

Narrated Abu Burda:

Abu Musa said, "We went out in the company of the Prophet for a Ghazwa and we were six persons having one camel which we rode in rotation. So, (due to excessive walking) our feet became thin and my feet became thin and my nail dropped, and we used to wrap our feet with the pieces of cloth, and for this reason, the Ghazwa was named Dhat-ur-Riqa as we wrapped our feet with rags." When Abu- Musa narrated this (Hadith), he felt regretful to do so and said, as if he disliked to have disclosed a good deed of his.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 457:

Narrated Sinan and Abu Salama:

Jabir mentioned that he had participated in a Ghazwa towards Najd in the company of Allah's Apostle .

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 459:

Narrated Ibn Muhairiz:

I entered the Mosque and saw Abu Said Al-Khudri and sat beside him and asked him about Al-Azl (i.e. coitus

interruptus). Abu Said said, "We went out with Allah's Apostle for the Ghazwa of Banu Al-Mustalia and we received captives from among the Arab captives and we desired women and celibacy became hard on us and we loved to do coitus interruptus. So when we intended to do coitus interrupt us, we said, 'How can we do coitus interruptus before asking Allah's Apostle who is present among us?" We asked (him) about it and he said, 'It is better for you not to do so, for if any soul (till the Day of Resurrection) is predestined to exist, it will exist.'

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 460:

Narrated Jabir bin Ábdullah:

We took part in the Ghazwa of Najd along with Allah's Apostle and when the time for the afternoon rest approached while he was in a valley with plenty of thorny trees, he dismounted under a tree and rested in its shade and hung his sword (on it). The people dispersed amongst the trees in order to have shade. While we were in this state, Allah's Apostle called us and we came and found a bedouin sitting in front of him. The Prophet said, "This (Bedouin) came to me while I was asleep, and he took my sword stealthily. I woke up while he was standing by my head, holding my sword without its sheath. He said, 'Who will save you from me?' I replied, 'Allah.' So he sheathed it (i.e. the sword) and sat down, and here he is." But Allah's Apostle did not punish him.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 461:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah Al-Ansari:

I saw the Prophet offering his Nawafil prayer on his Mount facing the East during the Ghazwa of Anmar.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 534:

Narrated Al-Bara:

We took part in a Ghazwa with the Prophet (same as Hadith No. 533).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 172:

Narrated Jabir:

I was with Allah's Apostle in a Ghazwa, and when we returned, I wanted to hurry, while riding a slow camel. A rider came behind me. I looked back and saw that the rider was Allah's Apostle . He said (to me), "What makes you in such a hurry?" I replied, "I am newly married." He said, "Did you marry a virgin or a matron?" I replied, "(Not a virgin but) a matron." He said, "Why didn't you marry a young girl with whom you could play and who could play with you?" Then when we approached (Medina) and were going to enter (it), the Prophet said, "Wait till you enter (your homes) at night (in the first part of the night) so that the ladies with unkempt hair may comb their hair, and those whose husbands have been absent (for a long time) may shave their pubic hair. (The sub-narrator, Hashim said: A reliable narrator told me that the Prophet added in this Hadith: "(Seek to beget) children! Children, O Jabir!")

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 174:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

We were with the Prophet in Ghazwa, and when we returned and approached Medina, I wanted to hurry while riding a slow camel. A rider overtook me and pricked my camel with a spear which he had, whereupon my camel started running as fast as any other fast camel you may see. I looked back, and behold, the rider was Allah's Apostle . I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I am newly married " He asked, "Have you got married?" I replied, "Yes." He said, "A virgin or a matron?" I replied, "(Not a virgin) but a matron" He said, 'Why didn't you marry a young girl so that you could play with her and she with you?" When we reached (near Medina) and were going to enter it, the Prophet said, "Wait till you enter your home early in the night so that the lady whose hair is unkempt may comb her hair and that the lady whose husband has been away may shave her pubic hair.

Volume 8. Book 75. Number 394:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

Whenever Allah's Apostle returned from a Ghazwa or Hajj or Umra, he used to say, "Allahu Akbar," three times; whenever he went up a high place, he used to say, "La ilaha illal-lahu wahdahu la sharika lahu, lahu-l-mulk wa lahu-lhamd, wa huwa'ala kulli Shai 'in qadir. Ayibuna ta'ibuna 'abiduna lirabbina hamidun. Sadaqa-l-lahu wa'dahu, wa nasara Abdahu wa hazama-l-ahzaba wahdahu.'

Volume 9, Book 83, Number 31:

Narrated Ya'la:

I went out in one of the Ghazwa and a man bit another man and as a result, an incisor tooth of the former was pulled out. The Prophet cancelled the case.

Volume 3, Book 30, Number 96:

Narrated Abu Humaid:

We came with the Prophet from Tabuk, and when we reached near Medina, the Prophet said, "This is Tabah."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 135:

Narrated Abu Musa:

Abu Amir was hit with an arrow in his knee, so I went to him and he asked me to remove the arrow. When I removed it, the water started dribbling from it. Then I went to the Prophet and told him about it. He said, "O Allah! Forgive Ubaid Abu Amir.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 151:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Abu Talha and the Prophet used to shield themselves with one shield. Abu Talha was a good archer, and when he threw (his arrows) the Prophet would look at the target of his

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 154:

Narrated Ali:

I never saw the Prophet saying, "Let my parents sacrifice their lives for you," to any man after Sad. I heard him saying (to him), "Throw (the arrows)! Let my parents sacrifice their lives for you.'

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 70:

Narrated Qais bin Abi Hazim

I saw Talha's paralyzed hand with which he had protected the Prophet (from an arrow)

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 385:

Narrated Sad bin Abi Waqqas:

The Prophet took out a quiver (of arrows) for me on the day of Uhud and said, "Throw (arrows); let my father and mother be sacrificed for you."

Volume 5 Book 59 Number 389

Narrated Ali: I have never heard the Prophet mentioning his father and mother for anybody other than Sad bin Malik. I heard him saying on the day of Uhud, "O Sad throw (arrows)! Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you!"

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 507:

Narrated Salama bin Al-Akwa:

Once I went (from Medina) towards (Al-Ghaba) before the first Adhan of the Fajr Prayer. The she-camels of Allah's Apostle used to graze at a place called Dhi-Qarad. A slave of Abdur-Rahman bin Auf met me (on the way) and said, "The she-camels of Allah's Apostle had been taken away by force." I asked, "Who had taken them?" He replied "(The people of) Ghatafan." I made three loud cries (to the people of Medina) saying, "O Sabahah!" I made the people between the two mountains of Medina hear me. Then I rushed onward and caught up with the robbers while they were watering the camels. I started throwing arrows at them as I was a good archer and I was saying, "I am the son of Al-Akwa, and today will perish the wicked people." I kept on saying like that till I restored the she-camels (of the Prophet), I also snatched thirty Burda (i.e. garments) from them. Then the Prophet and the other people came there, and I said, "O Allah's Prophet! I have stopped the people (of Ghatafan) from taking water and they are thirsty now. So send (some people) after them now." On that the Prophet said, "O the son of Al-Akwa! You have over-powered them, so forgive them." Then we all came back and Allah's Apostle seated me behind him on his she-camel till we entered Medina.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 258:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

During some of the Ghazawat of Allah's Apostle a woman was found killed, so Allah's Apostle forbade the killing of women and children

Volume 4 Book 52 Number 270:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

The Prophet said, "Who is ready to kill Ka'b bin Al-Ashraf who has really hurt Allah and His Apostle?" Mohammed bin Maslama said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do you like me to kill him?" He replied in the affirmative. So, Mohammed bin Maslama went to him (i.e. Ka'b) and said, "This person (i.e. the Prophet) has put us to task and asked us for charity. Ka'b replied, "By Allah, you will get tired of him. Mohammed said to him, "We have followed him, so we dislike to leave him till we see the end of his affair." Mohammed bin Maslama went on talking to him in this way till he got the chance to kill him

Volume 4. Book 52. Number 271:

Narrated Jabir:

The Prophet said, "Who is ready to kill Ka'b bin Ashraf (i.e. a Jew)." Mohammed bin Maslama replied, "Do you like me to kill him?" The Prophet replied in the affirmative. Mohammed bin Maslama said, "Then allow me to say what I like." The Prophet replied, "I do (i.e. allow you)."

Volume 4. Book 52. Number 280:

Narrated Abu SaId Al-Khudri:

When the tribe of Bani Quraiza was ready to accept Sad's judgment, Allah's Apostle sent for Sad who was near to him. Sad came, riding a donkey and when he came near, Allah's Apostle said (to the Ansar), "Stand up for your leader." Then Sad came and sat beside Allah's Apostle who said to him. These people are ready to accept your judgment." Sad said, "I give the judgment that their warriors should be killed and their children and women should be taken as prisoners." The Prophet then remarked, "O Sad! You have judged amongst them with (or similar to) the judgment of the King Allah."

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 725:

Narrated Abu Jamra:

Ibn Abbas said to us, "Shall I tell you the story of Abu Dhar's conversion to Islam?" We said, "Yes." He said, "Abu Dhar said: I was a man from the tribe of Ghifar. We heard that a man had appeared in Mecca, claiming to be a Prophet.! said to my brother, 'Go to that man and talk to him and bring me his news.' He set out, met him and returned. I asked him,

'What is the news with you?' He said, 'By Allah, I saw a man enjoining what is good and forbidding what is evil.' I said to him, 'You have not satisfied me with this little information. So, I took a waterskin and a stick and proceeded towards Mecca. Neither did I know him (i.e. the Prophet), nor did I like to ask anyone about him. I Kept on drinking Zam zam water and staying in the Mosque. Then Ali passed by me and said, 'It seems you are a stranger?' I said, 'Yes.' He proceeded to his house and I accompanied him. Neither did he ask me anything, nor did I tell him anything. Next morning I went to the Mosque to ask about the Prophet but no-one told me anything about him. Ali passed by me again and asked, 'Hasn't the man recognized his dwelling place yet' I said, 'No. He said, 'Come along with me.' He asked me, 'What is your business? What has brought you to this town?' I said to him, 'If you keep my secret, I will tell you.' He said, 'I will do,' I said to him, 'We have heard that a person has appeared here, claiming to be a Prophet. I sent my brother to speak to him and when he returned, he did not bring a satisfactory report; so I thought of meeting him personally.' Ali said (to Abu Dhar), 'You have reached your goal; I am going to him just now, so follow me, and wherever I enter, enter after me. If I should see someone who may cause you trouble, I will stand near a wall pretending to mend my shoes (as a warning), and you should go away then.' Ali proceeded and I accompanied him till he entered a place, and I entered with him to the Prophet to whom I said, 'Present (the principles of) Islam to me.' When he did, I embraced Islam 'immediately. He said to me, 'O Abu Dhar! Keep your conversion as a secret and return to your town; and when you hear of our victory, return to us. ' I said, 'By H him Who has sent you with the Truth, I will announce my conversion to Islam publicly amongst them (i.e. the infidels),' Abu Dhar went to the Mosque, where some people from Quraish were present, and said, 'O folk of Quraish! I testify that None has the right to be worshipped except Allah, and I (also) testify that Mohammed is Allah's Slave and His Apostle.' (Hearing that) the Quraishi men said, 'Get at this Sabi (i.e. Muslim)!' They got up and beat me nearly to death. Al Abbas saw me and threw himself over me to protect me. He then faced them and said, 'Woe to you! You want to kill a man from the tribe of Ghifar, although your trade and your communications are through the territory of Ghifar?' They therefore left me. The next morning I returned (to the Mosque) and said the same as I have said on the previous day. They again said, 'Get at this Sabi!' I was treated in the same way as on the previous day, and again Al-Abbas found me and threw himself over me to protect me and told them the same as he had said the day before 'So, that was the conversion of Abu Dhar (may Allah be Merciful to him) to

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 160:

Narrated Jarir bin Abdullah: Allah's Apostle has never refused to admit me since I embraced Islam, and whenever he saw me, he would smile, (In another narration) Jarir bin Abdullah narrated: There was a house called Dhul-Khalasa in the Pre-Islamic Period and it was also called Al-Ka'ba Al-Yamaniya or Al-Ka'ba Ash-Shamiya. Allah's Apostle said to me, "Will you relieve me from Dhul-Khalasa?" So I left for it with 150 cavalrymen from the tribe of Ahmas and then we destroyed it and killed whoever we found there. Then we came to the Prophet and informed him about it. He invoked good upon us and upon the tribe of Ahmas.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 310:

Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Auf:

"I had an agreement with Umaiya bin Khalaf (that he would look after my relatives and property in Mecca, and I would look after his relatives and property in Medina).' Abdur-Rahman then mentioned the killing of Umaiya and his son on the day of Badr, and Bilal said, "Woe to me if Umaiya remains safe (i.e. alive) .

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 316:

Narrated Hisham's father:

It was mentioned before Aisha that Ibn Umar attributed the following statement to the Prophet "The dead person is punished in the grave because of the crying and lamentation Of his family." On that, Aisha said, "But Allah's Apostle said, 'The dead person is punished for his crimes and sins while his family cry over him then." She added, "And this is similar to the statement of Allah's Apostle when he stood by the (edge of the) well which contained the corpses of the pagans killed at Badr, 'They hear what I say.' She added, "But he said now they know very well what I used to tell them was the truth." Aisha then recited: 'You cannot make the dead hear.' (30.52) and 'You cannot make those who are in their Graves, hear you.' (35.22) that is, when they had taken their places in the (Hell) Fire.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 369:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

Allah's Apostle said, "Who is willing to kill Ka'b bin Al-Ashraf who has hurt Allah and His Apostle?" Thereupon Mohammed bin Maslama got up saying, "O Allah's Apostle! Would you like that I kill him?" The Prophet said, "Yes," Mohammed bin Maslama said, "Then allow me to say a (false)

thing (i.e. to deceive Kab). "The Prophet said, "You may say Then Mohammed bin Maslama went to Kab and said. 'That man (i.e. Mohammed demands Sadaqa (i.e. Zakat) from us, and he has troubled us, and I have come to borrow something from you." On that, Kab said, "By Allah, you will get tired of him!" Mohammed bin Maslama said, "Now as we have followed him, we do not want to leave him unless and until we see how his end is going to be. Now we want you to lend us a camel load or two of food." (Some difference between narrators about a camel load or two.) Kab said, "Yes, (I will lend you), but you should mortgage something to me. Mohammed bin Mas-lama and his companion said, "What do you want?" Ka'b replied, "Mortgage your women to me. They said, "How can we mortgage our women to you and you are the most handsome of the Arabs?" Ka'b said, "Then mortgage your sons to me." They said, "How can we mortgage our sons to you? Later they would be abused by the people's saying that so-and-so has been mortgaged for a camel load of food. That would cause us great disgrace, but we will mortgage our arms to you." Mohammed bin Maslama and his companion promised Kab that Mohammed would return to him. He came to Kab at night along with Kab's foster brother, Abu Na'ila. Kab invited them to come into his fort, and then he went down to them. His wife asked him, "Where are you going at this time?" Kab replied, "None but Mohammed bin Maslama and my (foster) brother Abu Na'ila have come." His wife said, "I hear a voice as if dropping blood is from him, Ka'b said. "They are none but my brother Mohammed bin Maslama and my foster brother Abu Naila. A generous man should respond to a call at night even if invited to be killed." Mohammed bin Maslama went with two men. (Some narrators mention the men as 'Abu bin Jabr. Al Harith bin Aus and Abbad bin Bishr). So Mohammed bin Maslama went in together with two men, and sail to them, "When Ka'b comes. I will touch his hair and smell it, and when you see that I have got hold of his head, strip him. I will let you smell his head." Kab bin Al-Ashraf came down to them wrapped in his clothes, and diffusing perfume. Mohammed bin Maslama said. have never smelt a better scent than this. Ka'b replied. "I have got the best Arab women who know how to use the high class of perfume." Mohammed bin Maslama requested Ka'b "Will you allow me to smell your head?" Ka'b said, "Yes, Mohammed smelt it and made his companions smell it as well. Then he requested Ka'b again, "Will you let me (smell your head)?" Ka'b said, "Yes." When Mohammed got a strong hold of him, he said (to his companions), "Get at him!" So they killed him and went to the Prophet and informed him. (Abu Rafi) was killed after Ka'b bin Al-Ashraf.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 370:

Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:

Allah's Apostle sent a group of persons to Abu Rafi. Abdullah bin Atik entered his house at night, while he was sleeping, and killed him.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 414:

Narrated Abdul Aziz:

Anas said, "The Prophet sent seventy men, called Al-Ourra 'for some purpose. The two groups of Bani Sulaim called Ri'l and Dhakwan, appeared to them near a well called Bir Ma'una. The people (i.e. Al-Qurra) said, 'By Allah, we have not come to harm you, but we are passing by you on our way to do something for the Prophet.' But (the infidels) killed them. The Prophet therefore invoked evil upon them for a month during the morning prayer. That was the beginning of Al Qunut and we used not to say Qunut before that." A man asked Anas about Al-Qunut, "Is it to be said after the Bowing (in the prayer) or after finishing the Recitation (i.e. before Bowing)?" Anas replied, "No, but (it is to be said) after finishing the Recitation.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 417:

Narrated Anas:

That the Prophet sent his uncle, the brother of Um Sulaim at the head of seventy riders. The chief of the pagans, Amir bin At-Tufail proposed three suggestions (to the Prophet) saying, "Choose one of three alternatives: (1) that the bedouins will be under your command and the townspeople will be under my command; (2) or that I will be your successor, (3) or otherwise I will attack you with two thousand from Bani Ghatafan." But Amir was infected with plague in the House of Um so-and-so. He said, "Shall I stay in the house of a lady from the family of so-and-so after having a (swelled) gland like that she-camel? Get me my horse." So he died on the back of his horse. Then Haram, the brother of Um Sulaim and a lame man along with another man from so-andso (tribe) went towards the pagans (i.e. the tribe of Amir). Haram said (to his companions), "Stay near to me, for I will go to them. If they (i.e. infidels) should give me protection, you will be near to me, and if they should kill me, then you should go back to your companions. Then Haram went to them and said, "Will you give me protection so as to convey the message of Allah's Apostle?" So, he started talking to them' but they signalled to a man (to kill him) and he went behind him and stabbed him (with a spear). He (i.e. Haram) said, "Allahu Akbar! I have succeeded, by the Lord of the Ka'ba!" The companion of Haram was pursued by the infidels,

and then they (i.e. Haram's companions) were all killed except the lame man who was at the top of a mountain. Then Allah revealed to us a verse that was among the cancelled ones later on. It was: 'We have met our Lord and He is pleased with us and has made us pleased.' (After this event) the Prophet invoked evil on the infidels every morning for 30 days. He invoked evil upon the (tribes of) Ril, Dhakwan, Bani Lihyan and Usaiya who disobeyed Allah and His Apostle

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 421:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet invoked evil upon those (people) who killed his companions at Bir Mauna for 30 days (in the morning prayer). He invoked evil upon (tribes of) Ril, Lihyan and Usaiya who disobeyed Allah and His Apostle. Allah revealed a Koranic Verse to His Prophet regarding those who had been killed, i.e. the Muslims killed at Bir Ma'una, and we recited the Verse till later it was cancelled. (The Verse was:) 'Inform our people that we have met our Lord, and He is pleased with us, and we are pleased with Him."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 447:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

The people of (Banu) Ouraiza agreed to accept the verdict of Sad bin Mu'adh. So the Prophet sent for Sad, and the latter came (riding) a donkey and when he approached the Mosque, the Prophet said to the Ansar, "Get up for your chief or for the best among you." Then the Prophet said (to Sad)." These (i.e. Banu Quraiza) have agreed to accept your verdict." Sad said, "Kill their (men) warriors and take their offspring as captives, "On that the Prophet said, "You have judged according to Allah's Judgment," or said, "according to the King's judgment."

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 278:

Narrated Abu Said:

The people of (the tribe of) Quraiza agreed upon to accept the verdict of Sa'd. The Prophet sent for him (Sa'd) and he came. The Prophet said (to those people), "Get up for your chief or the best among you!" Sa'd sat beside the Prophet and the Prophet said (to him), "These people have agreed to accept your verdict." Sa'd said, "So I give my judgment that their warriors should be killed and their women and children should be taken as captives." The Prophet said, "You have judged according to the King's (Allah's) judgment." (See Hadith No. 447, Vol. 5)

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 714:

Narrated Hafsa:

(On Id) We used to forbid our virgins to go out (for Id prayer). A lady came and stayed at the Palace of Bani Khalaf. She mentioned that her sister was married to one of the companions of Allah's Apostle who participated in twelve Ghazawats along with Allah's Apostle and her sister was with him in six of them. She said, "We used to dress the wounded and look after the patients." She (her sister) asked Allah's Apostle, "Is there any harm for a woman to stay at home if she doesn't have a veil?" He said, "She should cover herself with the veil of her companion and she should take part in the good deeds and in the religious gatherings of the believers." When Um 'Atiyya came, I asked her. "Did you hear anything about that?" Um 'Atiyya said, "Bi Abi" and she never mentioned the name of Allah's Apostle without saying "Bi Abi" (i.e. 'Let my father be sacrificed for you'). We asked her, "Have you heard Allah's Apostle saying so and so (about women)?" She replied in the affirmative and said. "Let my father be sacrificed for him. He told us that unmarried mature virgins who stay often screened or unmarried young virgins and mature girls who stay often screened should come out and take part in the good deeds and in the religious gatherings of the believers. But the menstruating women should keep away from the Musalla (praying place)." I asked her, "The menstruating women?" She replied, "Don't they present themselves at Arafat and at such and such places?

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 87:

Narrated Qaza'a, the slave of Ziyad: Abu Said who participated in twelve Ghazawat with the Prophet said, "I heard four things from Allah's Apostle (or I narrate them from the Prophet) which won my admiration and appreciation. They are:

- 1. "No lady should travel without her husband or without a Dhu-Mahram for a two-days' journey.
- 2. No fasting is permissible on two days of Id-al-Fitr, and Id-al-Adha.
- 3. No prayer (may be offered) after two prayers: after the As prayer till the sun set and after the morning prayer till the sun rises.
- 4. Not to travel (for visiting) except for three mosques: Masjid-al-Haram (in Mecca), my Mosque (in Medina), and Masjid-al-Aqsa (in Jerusalem)."

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 215:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri

(who fought in twelve Ghazawat in the company of the Prophet). I heard four things from the Prophet and they won my admiration. He said;

1. "No lady should travel on a journey of two days except with her husband or a Dhi-Mahram;

- 2. "No fasting is permissible on the two days of Id-ul-Fitr and Id-ul-Adha:
- 3. "No prayer (may be offered) after the morning compulsory prayer until the sun rises; and no prayer after the Asr prayer till the sun sets;
- "One should travel only for visiting three Masajid (Mosques): Masjid-ul-Haram (Mecca), Masjid-ul-Aqsa (Jerusalem), and this (my) Mosque (at Medina).

Volume 3. Book 41. Number 570:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

While I was in the company of the Prophet in one of his Ghazawat, he asked, "What is wrong with your camel? Will you sell it?" I replied in the affirmative and sold it to him. When he reached Medina, I took the camel to him in the morning and he paid me its price.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 257:

Narrated Abdullah:

During some of the Ghazawat of the Prophet a woman was found killed. Allah's Apostle disapproved the killing of women and children.

Volume 7 Book 67 Number 403:

Narrated Ibn Abi Aufa:

We participated with the Prophet in six or seven Ghazawat, and we used to eat locusts with him.

SUPPLEMENT 5: ALL VERSES ON: LOW STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE KORAN

Koran: 152,419 This: 8592 words 102 verses

4:34 Allah has made men superior to women because men spend their wealth to support them. Therefore, virtuous women are obedient, and they are to guard their unseen parts as Allah has guarded them. As for women whom you fear will rebel, admonish them first, and then send them to a separate bed, and then beat them. But if they are obedient after that, then do nothing further; surely Allah is exalted and great!

78:31 But the Allah-fearing will be fulfilled with enclosed Gardens and vineyards and voluptuous women of equal age [houris] and a full cup [of wine that produces no hangover]. No vain or false talk will be heard there. A reward from your Lord and a fitting gift!

3:13 Tempting is the lure of women and children, of stored up treasures of gold and silver, of well-bred horses, cattle and farmland. These are the pleasures of this world, but a more excellent home is found with Allah, Say: Should I tell you about things better than these, prepared for those who fear Allah? They will live forever in Gardens underneath which rivers flow with spouses of perfect purity, for Allah shows grace to his servants.

33:32 Wives of the Messenger! You are not like any other women. If you fear Allah, then do not be too lax in your speech for fear that lecherous-hearted men will lust after you. Stay in your homes and do not go out in public dressed in your fine clothes as they did in the time of ignorance [all non-Islamic history, civilisation and customs are of the time of ignorance], but pray regularly, pay the poor tax and obey Allah and His Messenger. It is Allah's desire to remove all that is unclean from you, People of His House, and to make you pure. And remember what is said to you in your homes of Allah's revelations and wisdom, for surely Allah knows all mysteries and is aware of all.

33:55 There is no blame on the Messenger's wives if they speak unveiled with their fathers, sons, brothers, nephews on either their brother's or sister's side, their women, or their slave-girls. Women! Fear Allah, for Allah witnesses all things.

60:10 Oh, believers, when believing women come to you as refugees, test them. Allah best knows their faith, but if you know them for believers, do not send them back to the unbeliever. They are not lawful wives for them, nor are the unbelievers lawful husbands for these women. Give the unbelievers back what they have spent for their dowers. It will not be a crime for you to marry them, provided you give them their dowers. Do not retain any right in the unbelieving women. Demand back what you have spent for their dowers, and let the unbelievers demand back what they have spent for their wives. This is the law of Allah, which He ordains among you. Allah is knowing and wise.

65:4 If you have doubt about your wives who have ceased to menstruate, the prescribed waiting period is three months. This length of time is also prescribed for young girls [wives] who have not vet menstruated. As for women who are pregnant, they must wait until they have given birth. Allah will make His command easy for those who fear Him. This is Allah's command which He has sent down to you. Whoever fears Allah will be forgiven of his sins and He will increase his reward.

4:22 And do not marry the women your fathers have married, though in the past it was allowed, for this is an evil act, shameful and abominable. Forbidden to you for marriage are your mothers, daughters, sisters, your parents' sisters,

nieces on both your brother's and sister's side, foster-mothers, foster-sisters, mothers-in-law, step-daughters in your care who were born to women you have slept with, (but if you have not slept with their mothers, it is not wrong to marry them), and your biological sons' wives. You are also forbidden to marry two sisters at the same time, with the exception of those whom you have already married [married before the Koran]. Truly Allah is forgiving and merciful! Also forbidden to you are married women unless they are your slaves. This is the command of Allah. Other than those mentioned, all other women are lawful to you to court with your wealth and with honourable intentions, not with lust. And give those you have slept with a dowry, as it is your duty. But after you have fulfilled your duty, it is not an offense to make additional agreements among you. Truly Allah is knowing and wise!

33:50 Messenger! We allow you your wives whose dowries you have paid, and the slave-girls Allah has granted you as spoils of war, and the daughters of your paternal and maternal uncles and aunts who fled with you to Medina, and any believing woman who gives herself to the Messenger, if the Messenger wishes to marry her. This is a privilege for you only, not for any other believer. We know what We have commanded the believers concerning wives and slave-girls. We give you this privilege so you will be free from blame. Allah is forgiving and merciful!

33:36 And it is not the place of a believer, either man or woman, to have a choice in his or her affairs when Allah and His Messenger have decided on a matter. Those who disobey Allah and His Messenger are clearly on the wrong path. And remember when you said to your adopted son [Zaid], the one who had received Allah's favor [converted to Islam], "Keep your wife to yourself and fear Allah," and you hid in your heart what Allah was to reveal, and you feared men [what people would say if he married his daughter-in-law], when it would have been right that you should fear Allah. And when Zaid divorced his wife, We gave her to you as your wife, so it would not be a sin for believers to marry the wives of their adopted sons, after they have divorced them. And Allah's will must be carried out.

4:12 Half of what your wife leaves will be yours if she has no children, but if she has children, then a fourth of what she leaves will be yours, after paying inheritances and debts. And your wives will inherit a fourth of what you leave if you have no children, but if you have children, then they will receive an eighth of what you leave, after paying inheritances and debts. And if a man or a woman does not have either parents or children, and he or she has a sibling, each of them will inherit a sixth. If there are more than two siblings, then they will have a share in a third after payment of inheritances and debts, without incurring losses to anyone. This is a commandment from Allah; Allah is knowing and gracious!

70:22 Not the devout, who pray constantly and whose wealth has a fixed portion set aside for beggars and the destitute, and those who believe in the Judgment Day, and those who fear their Lord's punishment—because no one is safe from their Lord's punishment—and who control their sexual desires (except with their wives or slave-girls, with them there is no blame; but whoever indulges their lust beyond this are transgressors), and who keep their trusts and promises, and who tell the truth, and who are attentive to their prayers. These will live with honours in Gardens.

33:52 It will be unlawful for you to marry more wives after this or to exchange them for other wives, even though you are attracted by their beauty, except slave-girls you own. [Mohammed had nine wives and several slave-girls.] And Allah watches over all things.

66:3 When the Messenger confided a fact to one of his wives, and when she divulged it, [Hafsa had told Aisha (Mohammed's favorite wife) about Mary and the harem became embroiled in jealousy.] Allah informed Mohammed of this, and he told her [Hafsa] part of it and withheld part. When Mohammed told her of it, she said, "Who told you this?" He said, "He who is knowing and wise told me."

2:229 You may divorce your wives twice; afterwards, you must retain them with honour or release them in kindness. It is not lawful for you to take back any of the gifts you have given her unless both fear they may be unable to keep the limits set by Allah. In such a case it is not a sin for either if the wife ransoms herself. These are the limits set up by Allah, so do not exceed them, and whoever exceeds them are evil-doers.

4:128 And if a wife fears cruelty or desertion from her husband, then they are not to blame for coming to a mutual agreement between themselves, for peace is best, although people are often prone to greed. But if you do good and fear Allah, Allah knows all that you do. As hard as you try to treat all your wives equally, you cannot. Do not abandon one of them altogether, so as to leave her hanging in suspense. If you come to a mutual agreement and fear Allah, then truly Allah is forgiving and merciful. But if they separate, Allah will provide for the both of them from His abundance; Allah is vast and wise

25:70 Allah is forgiving and merciful, and whoever repents and does good has truly turned to Allah with an acceptable and true conversion. The believers do not bear false witness

and pass by frivolity with dignity. They, when reminded of their Lord's revelations, do not act like they are deaf and blind. They say, "Lord, make our wives and children the apples of our eyes, and make us examples for those who fear you." The believers will be rewarded with the highest places in Paradise because of their steadfast patience. They will be greeted there with greetings and salutations, and they will live there forever. What a happy abode and resting place!

36:52 They will say, "Oh, woe to us! Who has raised us from our sleep? This is what the gracious Allah promised. The messengers told us the truth." It will only be a single blast, and they will be immediately brought before Us. On that day, no soul will be wronged in the least, and everyone will get what they deserve. Surely on that day, the dwellers of Paradise will be busy with their joys. They and their wives will recline on thrones in pleasant shade. Every fruit will be there for their enjoyment, and they will have everything they ask for. "Peace!" A word of salutation from the most merciful Lord.

43:68 My servants, there is no fear for you that day, nor will you grieve, because you have believed in Our signs and surrendered your will to Allah. You and your wives shall enter the Garden rejoicing. Trays and goblets of gold will be passed around to them, and they will have everything they desire. They will dwell there forever. This is the Garden that will be given you because of your good deeds in life. There is an abundance of fruit there for you to enjoy.

26:160 The people of Lot rejected the messengers. Their brother Lot said to them, "Will you not fear Allah? I am a faithful messenger worthy of all trust. Fear Allah and obey me. I ask for no reward. My reward comes only from the Lord of the worlds. What? Of all the creatures of the world, will you have sexual relations with men? Will you ignore your wives whom Allah has created for you? You people exceed all limits!"

23:1 The successful ones will be the believers who are humble in their prayers who avoid vain conversation, who contribute to the needy, and who abstain from sex (except with their wives or slaves [slaves are bought or taken in battle], in which case they are free from blame, but those who exceed these limits are sinners). Those who honour their promises and contracts and who pay strict attention to their prayers will inherit Paradise. They will dwell there forever.

40:7 Those who bear the throne and those who encircle it sing the praise of their Lord, believe in Him, and implore forgiveness for the believers. Oh, our Lord, your reach is over all things in mercy and knowledge. Forgive those who turn to you and follow your path. Save them from the pains of Hell. Oh, our Lord, bring them into the Gardens that you have promised them and their fathers, wives, and children who do right, for you are the all-mighty and the all-wise.

6:136 They set apart a portion of the fruits and cattle for Allah, Who created all things, and say, "This for Allah," so they assert," and this for our other gods, whom we revere along with Him." [The Arabs set aside part of their crops for their chief god, the moon god, Allah. They set aside another part of their crops for the lesser gods.] The lesser god's shares do not reach Allah, but Allah's share reaches the lesser gods. This is evil. They have made it seem fair to kill their children in order to lead them to their own destruction and cause confusion in their religion. But if Allah had willed against it. they would not have done this. Therefore, leave them alone with their devices. They also say there are cattle and crops that are forbidden asserting that We have said that none may taste them but whom We choose. And they say there are cattle that should be exempt from labor and cattle over which they should not pronounce the name of Allah. All is a lie against Him, and He will reward them for their inventions. They say that which is in the wombs of these cattle is allowed to our males and forbidden to our wives, but if it is still-born, then both partake of it. Allah will reward them for their false attribution of this law to Him. He is wise and aware. They are lost who, in their ignorance, have slain their children and have forbidden food, which Allah has given them, devising a lie against Allah. Now have they erred, and they were not following the right course.

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males and forbidden to our wives, but if it is still-born, then both partake of it. Allah will reward them for their false attribution of this law to Him. He is wise and aware. They are lost who, in their ignorance, have slain their children and have forbidden food, which Allah has given them, devising a lie against Allah. Now have they erred, and they were not following the right course.

12:7 Surely in Joseph and his brothers are signs for the seekers of truth. [Jacob had twelve sons out of two wives and two slaves. Rachel was the mother of Joseph and Benjamin.] They [the other ten brothers] said, "Joseph and his brother [Benjamin] are better loved by our Father than we, but we are more in number. Our father is wrong. Let us kill Joseph or drive him to some other land so that your father's favor will be for you alone. After that you can live as upright persons."

13:38 Messengers were sent before you and were given wives and children, but none of them was able to perform a miracle without the permission of Allah. For every time period there is a Book revealed. Allah will destroy and build up what He pleases for He is the source of revelation.

16:72 Allah has given you wives from among your own people and sons and grandsons from your wives. He has given you many good things. Do they believe in lies and deny the grace of Allah? The others they worship besides Allah do not have the ability to provide anything in the heavens and the earth and have no power at all. Do not make likenesses of what you think Allah looks like. Allah knows and you do not.

3:59 This is the truth from your Lord, so do not doubt it. If anyone one argues with you about him after they have received the knowledge say, "Come, let us call together our sons and your sons, our wives and your wives, and ourselves and yourselves. Then we will humbly pray and ask for Allah's curse to come down upon all the liars." [A method of resolving religious disputes was for each party to call down the curses of their god upon the other party.] This is an entirely true account. There is no god except Allah, and truly Allah is mighty and wise. But if they reject you, surely Allah knows those who cause corruption.

33:6 The Messenger is more closely related to the believers than they are to themselves, and his wives are like their mothers. Allah decrees that those who are related by blood are closer to each other than other believers, and are closer than those who have fled their country [left Mecca to come to Medina] for Islam, but showing kindness to fellow believers is decreed by Allah.

2:102 They followed what the evil ones read against the kingdom of Solomon. It was not Solomon who was an unbeliever, but the evil ones teaching people sorcery and that which was revealed in Babylon to the angels Harut and Marut [The angels Harut and Marut were sent down from heaven to be tempted. They sinned and will be punished on Judgment Day. Until then they teach magic]. But neither of them instructed the people without first saying, "Truly we are only sent to tempt you; therefore, do not become disbelievers. And from the two angels they learned how to create animosity between husbands and wives, although they cannot cause harm unless it is Allah's will, and they learned what would harm them and what did not benefit them. And surely they know that those who bought into the sorcery would have no part in the life to come! And the price for which they sold their souls was vile; if they had only known! If they had kept their faith and guarded against evil, their reward from Allah would certainly have been better, if they had only realised!

64:14 Believers! You certainly have enemies among your wives and children, so beware of them! If you forgive and bear with them, then Allah too will be forgiving and merciful. Your riches and your children are only a source of temptation! But with Allah is the great reward! Therefore, keep your duty to Allah and fear Him with all your might. Listen, obey, and give to charity for the benefit of your soul. Those who keep themselves from greediness will truly prosper. If you give to Allah a generous loan, He will pay you back twice and forgive you for Allah is gracious and long- suffering.

33:28 Messenger! Say to your wives, "If you desire a life of this world and all its glittering adornment, then come. [All of the money from the spoils of war was spent on support of the Muslims and jihad. Mohammed's wives complained about the lack of household money.] I will provide for you and release you with honour. If, however, you seek Allah and His Messenger and the world to come, then know that Allah has prepared a great reward for those of you who do good works.

33:30 Wives of the Messenger! If any of you are proven guilty of public indecency, then you will be doubly punished; that is easy for Allah. But those of you who obey Allah and His Messenger and do good works will be doubly rewarded. We have prepared honourable provisions for you.

66:1 Why, Oh, Messenger, do you forbid yourself that which Allah has made lawful to you? Do you seek to please your wives? [Mohammed was fond of a Coptic (Egyptian Christian) slave named Mary. Hafsa found Mohammed in her room with Mary, a violation of Hafsa's domain. He told a jealous Hafsa that he would stop relations with Mary and then did not. But Hafsa was supposed to be quiet about this matter.] Allah is lenient and merciful. Allah has allowed you

release from your oaths, and Allah is your master. He is knowing and wise.

66:4 "If you both [Hafsa and Aisha] turn in repentance to Allah, your hearts are already inclined to this, but if you conspire against the Messenger, then know that Allah is his protector, and Gabriel, and every just man among the faithful, and the angels are his helpers besides. Perhaps, if he [Mohammed] divorced you all, Allah would give him better wives than you—Muslims, believers, submissive, devout, penitent, obedient, observant of fasting, widows, and virgins."

33:4 Allah has not given any man two hearts for one body, nor has He made your wives whom you divorce to be like your mothers, nor has He made your adopted sons like your real sons. [Previous to this verse, an Arab's adopted children were treated as blood children. This verse relates to verse 37 of this sura.] These are only words you speak with your mouths, but Allah speaks the truth and guides to the right path. Name your adopted sons after their real fathers; this is more just in Allah's sight. But if you do not know their fathers' names, call them your brothers in the faith and your friends. There will be no blame on you if you sin unintentionally, but that which you intend in your heart will be held against you. Allah is forgiving and merciful.

60:11 If any of your wives desert from you to the unbelievers and, likewise, if their wives desert them for you, take any dowry, then give to those whose wives have fled away what they have spent for their dowers. Fear Allah in whom you believe.

33:53 Believers! Do not enter the Messenger's house early for a meal unless you are given permission. When you are invited, enter, and when you have finished your meal, leave. Do not remain there hoping to start a conversation, for this would annoy the Messenger, and he would be ashamed to send you home, but Allah is not ashamed to tell you the truth. And if you should speak to his wives, do so behind a curtain. This will be purer for both their hearts and yours. And you should not cause Allah's Messenger any trouble nor ever marry any of his widows, for this would be a grievous sin in Allah's sight. Whether you do a thing in the open or in secret, truly Allah knows all things.

58:2 Those who divorce their wives by saying, "Be to me as my mother's back," should know that they are not. The only ones who are their mothers are those who gave birth to them. Their words are certainly hateful and untrue, but surely Allah is forgiving and merciful. Those who divorce their wives in this manner, and afterwards recant their words, must free one of their slaves as a penalty before they can touch one another again. You are commanded to do this. Allah is aware of all you do. And as for those who do not have a slave to free, they must fast for two consecutive months before they can touch each other. Those who are unable to fast must feed sixty poor people. This is commanded so that you may show your faith in Allah and His Messenger. These are the limits set by Allah, and dreadful punishment awaits the unbelievers.

65:6 Keep your divorced wives in your home according to your means, and do not injure them so as to make life unbearable for them. If they are pregnant, keep them until they give birth. After that, if they breast-feed their children, pay them and seek mutual guidance together. But if you cannot agree, hire a wet-nurse for the child.

2:226 Those who abandon their wives on oath must wait four months. If they decide to return, Allah is forgiving and merciful. If, however, they decide to divorce them, remember that Allah hears and knows all.

4:19 Believers! It is not allowed for you to inherit the wives of your deceased family members against their will, or to prevent the wives from re-marrying in order to take away part of the dowry you have given them unless they are guilty of flagrant indecency. Treat them kindly for if you hate them, it may be that you hate that in which Allah has placed abundant goodness.

33:59 Messenger! Command your wives and daughters and the wives of the believers to not let their veils fall down. Therefore, they will be recognized and not be assaulted. Allah is forgiving and merciful!

12:28 So when his lord saw his shirt torn behind, he said, "This is a device of you women. Your devices are great, "Joseph, leave this affair. Wife, ask pardon for your crime, for you have sinned."

12:30 The women in the city said, "The wife of the Prince is trying to seduce her servant. He has inspired her with his love, but we clearly see she is going astray." And when she heard of their spiteful talk, she sent for them and prepared a banque for them and gave each one of them a knife. She said, "Joseph, show yourself." When they saw him, they were amazed and cut their hands and said, "Allah keep us. This is no man. This is a noble angel." She said, "This is the man about whom you blamed me. I tried to seduce him from his true self, but he stood firm. Now, if he does not obey my command, he will surely be cast into prison and become one of the despised."

12:50 The King said, "Bring him to me." And when the messenger returned, Joseph said, "Go back to your lord, and

ask him what is the case of the women who cut their hands, for my lord well knows the snare they laid."

12:51 The King sent for the women and asked, "What happened when you tried to seduce Joseph?" They said, "Allah keep us. We do not know any evil against him." The wife said, "Now the truth appears. It was I who tried to seduce him. He is most surely one of the truthful ones."

28:23 When he arrived at the water of Midian, he found a company of men watering their flocks, and he found beside them two women keeping back their flocks. He said, "What is the matter?" They said "We cannot water our flocks until the shepherds have driven off their flocks. Our father is very old."

24:30 Tell the men who are believers that they should look away from that which tempts them and control their lustful desires. Therefore, they will be more pure. Allah is well aware of all they do. And tell the women who are believers that they should lower their eyes and guard their purity, and they should not display their beauty and adornments except that which is normally shown. They should cover their breasts with their veils and only show their adornments to their husband, father-in-law, sons, step-sons, brothers, nephews, or their female servants, eunuch slaves, and children who are innocent and do not notice a woman's nakedness. And do not let them stamp their feet so as to reveal their hidden adornments [ankle bracelets]. Believers, all of you turn to Allah and repent so that it will go well for you.

2:221 You will not marry pagan women unless they accept the faith. A slave girl who believes is better than an idolatress, although the idolatress may please you more. Do not give your daughters away in marriage to unbelievers until they believe for a slave who is a believer is better than an idolater, though the idolater may please you more. These lure you to the Fire, but Allah calls you to Paradise and forgiveness by His will. He makes His signs clear to mankind so that they may remember.

2:222 They ask you about women's menstrual cycle. Say: It is a discomfort. Therefore, keep away from them during this time and do not come near them until they are clean again. But when they are clean, you may lie with them as Allah has commanded. Allah loves those who turn to Him and seek cleanlines.

2:223 Your women* are your plowed fields: go into your fields when you like, but do some good deed beforehand and fear Allah. Keep in mind that you will meet Him. Give good news to the believers. [*Many translations use the word, wives, instead of women, but the actual Arabic is women.]

2:228 Divorced women must keep themselves from men for three menstrual periods. It is not lawful for them to hide what Allah has created in their wombs if they believe in Allah and the Last Day. If they are in that state, it is better for their husbands to take them back if they want reconciliation. Women have rights similar to those of men in regard to justice, but men are a degree above them. Allah is mighty and wise.

2:240 If you should die and leave behind a wife, you should leave her at least enough to live a year in the home; but if she leaves on her own, you are not to blame for her lawful actions. Allah is mighty and wise. Reasonable provisions must also be made for women you divorce; this is the duty of righteous men. It is in this manner that Allah makes His signs clear to you so that you will understand.

4:2 Give orphans their property, and do not exchange your worthless things for their good ones or absorb their property to add it to your own for this is surely a great sin. If you fear that you will not be able to deal with orphan girls fairly, marry other women of your choice, two, or three, or four; but if you fear that you cannot treat them equally, then marry only one, or any of the slave-girls you have acquired. This will prevent you from being unjust.

4:4 And give the women you marry their dowries as free gifts, but if they freely give it up to you, then you are free to absorb it into your wealth. And do not entrust the feebleminded with the land Allah has given to support them; instead, feed and clothe them with the proceeds you make from it, and speak kindly to them.

4:15 If any of your women are guilty of adultery or fornication, then bring in four of you as witnesses against them. If they admit their guilt, then shut them up in their houses until they die or until Allah makes some other way for them. If two of your men are guilty of an indecent act [homosexuality], punish both of them. If they ask for forgiveness and change their ways, then leave them alone, for Allah is forgiving and merciful!

2:282 Believers! When you contract a loan for a certain period, write it down, or to be fair, let a scribe write it down. The scribe should not refuse to write as Allah has taught him; therefore, let the scribe record what the debtor dictates being mindful of his duty to Allah and not reducing the amount he owes. If the debtor is ignorant and unable to dictate, let his guardian do so with fairness. Call two men in to witness this, but if two men cannot be found, then call one man and two women whom you see fit to be witnesses. Therefore, if either woman makes an error, the other can correct her. Witnesses must not refuse to give testimony if they are called upon to do so; therefore, do not forget to record your debts in writing,

whether they are little or much, along with the date on which they were paid. This is more fair in Allah's sight, as it ensures accuracy in proof and is the best way to avoid doubt. If, however, the transaction is one that occurs on the spot, you are not to blame if it is not recorded in writing. And have witnesses when you sell, and do not let harm come to the scribe or witnesses for it will be a sin for you if this occurs. And fear Allah and Allah will give you knowledge for He has knowledge of all things*. [*The longest verse in the Koran is about contract law.]

5:5 This day, all healthful things are made lawful to you. The meats of those who have received the Scriptures Jews] are allowed to you, as your meats are to them. It is also lawful for you to marry virtuous women who are believers and virtuous women who received the Scriptures before you did when you have given them their marriage portions and when you live with them in honour, not in fornication, and without taking them as secret lovers. Whoever denies his faith will find his work is fruitless. In the next world, he will be one of the losers.

5:6 Oh, believers, when you prepare for prayer, wash your faces, your hands up to the elbow, lightly rub your heads, and wash your feet to the ankles. If you are unclean, bathe your whole body, but if you are sick, on a journey, or if one of you comes from urinating or defecating or if you have touched women and you find no water, then take clean sand and rub your faces and your hands with it. Allah does not want to place a burden on you, but He desires to purify you, and He would complete His favor upon you that you may be grateful.

24:60 As for the unmarried women past the age of childbearing, they will not be blamed it they take off their outer garments, as long as they do not show their adornments [jewelry]. It will be better for them if they do not take them off, for Allah hears and knows all.

53:19 Do you see Al-Lat and Al-Ozza, and Manat [Arabic deities] the third idol? What? Do you have male children and Allah female children [Arabs called angels the daughters of Allah]? That is an unfair division!

53:27 Surely, the ones who give female names to the angels are the ones who do not believe in the hereafter, but of this they have no knowledge. They are following a guess, and a guess can not replace the truth.

38:21 Have you heard the story of the two disputing men who climbed the wall of David's private chamber? David was frightened when they entered his room. They said, "Do not be afraid. We have a dispute, and one of us has certainly wronged the other. Jugde where the truth lies between us, and do not be unjust, but guide us to the right way. My brother has ninety-nine ewes [female sheep], and I have only one. He pressured me and said. 'Let me have her.'"

37:149 Ask them [the Meccans] whether their Lord has daughters [the Meccans said that angels were the daughters of Allah], while they have sons. Did they watch as We created the angels female? Is it not a lie of their own making when they say, "Allah has begotten children?" They are certainly liars. Would he have preferred daughters to sons? What reasons do you have for thinking that?

43:18 What? Can they say that a being, brought up among trinkets [the idols were bedecked with jewelry] and unreasonably contentious, is the child of Allah? And they say that the angels that personally serve Allah are females. Did they witness their creation? Their testimony will be recorded, and they will be questioned. And they say, "We would not have worshipped such idols if it was Allah's will." They have no knowledge of this. They only lie.

4:116 Allah will not forgive those who worship idols, but He will forgive those He pleases for all other sins. Those who worship gods other than Allah have strayed into grievous error. Rather than calling on Him, they call upon female gods, and they pray to nothing but Satan, the rebel. Allah has cursed Satan because he said, "I will tempt a number of your servants and lead them astray and will arouse vain desires in them and command them to slit the ears of the cattle [a religious ritual for sacrificial animals]. I will command them to spoil Allah's creation [tattoos, scarification, piercing, etc.]." Whoever chooses Satan as a protector rather than Allah is ruined and beyond forgiveness.

24:32 And marry those among you who are single, or an honourable male or female servant. And if they are poor, then Allah will give them riches from His own bounty. Allah is bountiful and all-knowing. And for those who cannot afford to marry, let them stay pure until Allah fulfills their needs from His bounty. In regard to your slaves who wish to buy their freedom, grant it if you see there is good in them, and give them a part of the wealth that Allah has given you. Do not force your female slaves into prostitution just to gain the wealth of this world if they wish to remain pure. Yet if they are forced to do so, then truly Allah will be merciful.

4:11 It is in this manner that Allah commands you concerning your children: A male should receive a share equal to that of two females, and if there are more than two females, they should receive two-thirds of what the deceased has left. If there is only one female, she will inherit half. The father and mother of the deceased will each receive a sixth of what is left if he has a child, but if he has no children, his parents are his

heirs, and his mother should receive a third. If he has brothers, his mother will only receive a sixth, after paying his inheritances and debts. You may not know whether your parents or your children are more useful, but this is Allah's law. Allah is knowing and wise!

37:133 And truly Lot was one of those sent to warn. We saved him and his family, all except an old woman who lagged behind. Then We destroyed the others. If you ever pass their ruined city in the morning or at night, will you not understand?

26:170 So We delivered him and his entire family except one old woman who lingered behind. Then We destroyed the rest. We rained down on them a shower of brimstone. And the rain was fatal to those We had warned. Surely, there is a sign here, but most of them do not believe. Truly, your Lord, He is the mighty, the merciful!

16:92 Do not be like a woman who unravels her yarn after it is spun and strong. Do not use your oaths to deceive anyone lest one group becomes more numerous than another. Allah will test you, and on the Judgment Day, He will resolve your arguments.

33:49 Believers! If you marry a believing woman and divorce her before consummating the marriage, you do not have to wait out the prescribed term. Provide for her and dismiss her with honour.

58:1 Allah has heard the words of the woman who pleaded with you against her husband and made her complaint to Allah. [Khawlah was divorced by the old Arab custom of her husband saying, "Be to me as my mother's back."] Allah has heard both sides of the conversation, for Allah hears and sees everything.

65:1 Prophet! When you or the believers divorce a woman, divorce them at the end of the prescribed legal period. Calculate carefully the number of days and fear Allah your Lord. Do not put them out of their homes or let them leave on their own unless it is proven they have committed adultery. These are the boundaries Allah has imposed, and those who overstep these boundaries wrong their own souls. You do not know if Allah will cause something to occur that will reunite the two of you.

2:230 If a husband divorces his wife for a third time, it is not lawful for him to take her back until she has married and divorced another husband. Then if they return to each other, it will not be a sin for either if they can keep within the limits set by Allah. Such are the limits set by Allah. He makes them clear for those who understand. But if you have divorced a woman and she has fulfilled the period of waiting, then either keep her honourably or let her leave with kindness. You must not keep her to do her evil or take advantage for if anyone does that, he harms his soul. Do not mock Allah's revelations, but remember the grace He has shown you and the Scriptures and the wisdom He has sent down as a warning. Fear Allah and know that Allah is all-knowing.

2:232 When you have divorced a woman and she has

2:232 When you have divorced a woman and she has fulfilled the period of waiting, do not interfere with her marrying a new husband if it has been agreed between them honourably. This is commanded for everyone who has faith in Allah and the Last Day; this course of action is more virtuous and pure. Allah knows and you do not.

4:25 If any of you is not wealthy enough to marry a free, believing woman, then allow him to marry a believing slavegirl. Allah knows your faith well, and you come from one another. Marry them with their master's permission, and give them a fair dowry, given that they are chaste, honourable, and have not had lovers. If the slave you marry commits adultery after you are married, then their punishment should be half of that commanded for a free woman. This is a law for those among you who fear sinning, but it will be better for you if you abstain. Allah is forgiving and merciful!

4:176 When they ask you for guidance say: Allah directs you about your distant relatives who die with neither parents nor children. If a man dies without children, but he has a sister, she will inherit half of his estate, and if she dies without children, then he will inherit half of her estate. If a woman dies without children, then her brother will be her sole heir. If a man without children has two sisters, then they will inherit two-thirds of his estate, but if he has both brothers and sisters, the brothers will receive the same amount as two sisters. Allah directs you clearly so that you will not sin; Allah knows all things.

111:1 Let the hands of Abu Lahab [Mohammed's uncle and an opponent] die and let him die! His wealth and attainments will not help him. He will be burned in Hell, and his wife will carry the firewood, with a palm fiber rope around her neck.

15:58 They said, "We have been sent to a guilty people except Lot's family whom We will save but for his wife. We have decreed that she will be among those who lag behind."

72:1 Say: It has been revealed to me that a group of jinn listened [to Mohammed recite the Koran] and said, "Truly, we have heard a wonderful recital. It guides us to the truth. We believe in it, and we will never again worship another god. Exalted is the majesty of Our Lord! He has neither a wife nor a child. The foolish among us speak of a god that is unjust.

We believed that no man or jinn would utter a lie against Allah."

11:81 The angels said, "Oh, Lot, we are the messengers of your Lord; they will not touch you. Leave with your family and friends tonight, and do not let any one of you look back, but your wife will remain behind. Whatever happens to them will happen to her. Morning is the appointed time; is the morning not near?"

7:82 But his people could only answer, "Turn them out of your city, surely they want to purify themselves." So We saved him and his family except his wife; she was of those who stayed behind. We rained rain brimstone upon them. See the end of the evildoers.

29:32 He said, "Lot is there." They said, "We know full well who is there. We will deliver him and his family, except his wife. She is one of those who will stay behind."

29:33 When our messengers came to Lot, he was troubled on account of them for he could not protect them. They said, "Do not fear nor grieve for you and your family will be saved except your wife. She will remain behind. We are going to bring down on the people of this city a vengeance from heaven for the excesses they have committed." And that will be a clear sign to men of understanding.

12:25 They both raced to the door, and she tore his shirt from behind, and they met her husband at the door. She said, "What is the punishment to him who would do evil to your wife? Prison or a painful doom?"

66:10 Allah sets forth as an example to unbelievers the wife of Noah and the wife of Lot. They were under two of Our righteous servants yet they both deceived them, so their husbands did not help them at all against Allah. It was said to them, "Enter into the Fire with those who enter."

2:236 You will not be blamed if you divorce your wife before you consummate the marriage or receive the dowry. Provide for her according to your means, whether rich or poor; this is a duty of the righteous. If you decide to divorce her before you consummate the marriage but after you have received the dowry, then she is entitled to half the dowry unless she or the husband agrees to relinquish it. Do not forget to show kindness to one another. Allah sees all you do.

4:20 If you want to exchange one wife for another, do not take anything away from the dowry you have given her. Would you take it by slandering her and doing her obvious wrong? How could you take it back when you have slept with one another and entered into a firm covenant?

38:41 Do you remember Our servant Job when he cried to his Lord, "Satan has afflicted me with distress and torment." We said to him, "Stamp the ground with your foot. Here is a spring, a cool washing place, and water to drink." And We gave him back his family and doubled their number as an example of Our mercy and as a reminder for men of understanding. We said to him, "Take up in your hand a branch and strike her with it, and do not break your oath." Truly, We found him to be full of patience and constant. He was an excellent servant, because he constantly turned toward Us in repentance.

27:44 It was said to her, "Enter the palace." When she saw it, she thought it was a pool of water, and she pulled up her garment and bared her legs. Solomon said, "It is a palace paved with glass." She said, "Lord, I have sinned against my soul. I submit with Solomon to the Lord of the worlds."

12:23 The mistress of his home developed a passion for Joseph, and she shut the doors and said, "Come here." He said, "Allah keep me! Your husband has given me a good home and treated me honourably no good comes to wrongdoers." Still, she desired him, and he would have longed for her if he had not seen the signs from his Lord. So We ordered that We might turn him away from all evil and indecency for he was one of Our sincere servants.

12:26 Joseph said, "It was she who asked me to commit an evil act." One from her own family bore witness: "If his shirt is torn in front, then she speaks truth, and he is a liar. But if his shirt be torn behind, she lies and he is true."

2:233 Divorced mothers should breast-feed their children for two full years if the father wishes for the child to nurse that long. They should be cared for and clothed by the father during this time. No one should pay more than they can afford. A mother should not have to suffer for her child's sake nor should the father, and these duties are the same for the father's heir. But if it is agreed upon that the child should be weaned, they should not be blamed. If you decide to have a wet-nurse for your children, there is no blame if you pay her fairly. Fear Allah and know that Allah sees everything you do.

2:234 As for widows, they should keep apart from men for four months and ten days after their husband's death. When they have fulfilled the waiting period, there will be no blame if they choose another and act in a decent way. Allah knows all that you do. You will not be blamed for openly proposing to widows or for holding them close to your hearts; Allah knows that you will not forget them. Do not arrange a secret meeting with them, and if you do meet, treat them honourably. You should not consummate the marriage until her waiting period is over. Know that Allah knows

everything you think; therefore, beware of Him and know that Allah is forgiving and merciful.

4:127 When they ask your advice regarding women say: Allah has instructed you concerning them, and His will is laid out for you in the Scriptures concerning female orphans to whom you have not given their legal due but whom you refuse to marry. In regard to helpless children, He has commanded you to deal fairly with orphans. Allah knows all the good that you do.

SUPPLEMENT 6: ALL HADITHS ON: LOW STATUS OF WOMEN, SAHIH AL-BUKHARI 296 hadiths

45 580 words

Volume 1, Book 2, Number 28:

The Prophet said: "I was shown the Hell-fire and that the majority of its dwellers were women who were ungrateful." It was asked, "Do they disbelieve in Allah?" (or are they ungrateful to Allah?) He replied, "They are ungrateful to their husbands and are ungrateful for the favors and the good (charitable deeds) done to them. If you have always been good (benevolent) to one of them and then she sees something in you (not of her liking), she will say, 'I have never received any good from you."

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 101:

Some women requested the Prophet to fix a day for them as the men were taking all his time. On that he promised them one day for religious lessons and commandments. Once during such a lesson the Prophet said, "A woman whose three children die will be shielded by them from the Hell fire." On that a woman asked, "If only two die?" He replied, "Even two (will shield her from the Hell-fire)."

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 148:

The wives of the Prophet used to go to Al-Manasi, a vast open place (near Baqia at Medina) to answer the call of nature at night. Umar used to say to the Prophet "Let your wives be veiled," but Allah's Apostle did not do so. One night Sauda bint Zam'a the wife of the Prophet went out at 'Isha' time and she was a tall lady. Umar addressed her and said, "I have recognized you, O Sauda." He said so, as he desired eagerly that the verses of Al-Hijab (the observing of veils by the Muslim women) may be revealed. So Allah revealed the verses of "Al-Hijab" (A complete body cover excluding the eyes).

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 301:

Once Allah's Apostle went out to the Musalla (to offer the prayer) o Id-al-Adha or Al-Fitr prayer. Then he passed by the women and said, "O women! Give alms, as I have seen that the majority of the dwellers of Hell-fire were you (women)." They asked, "Why is it so, O Allah's Apostle?" He replied, "You curse frequently and are ungrateful to your husbands. I have not seen anyone more deficient in intelligence and religion than you. A cautious sensible man could be led astray by some of you." The women asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What is deficient in our intelligence and religion?" He said, "Is not the evidence of two women equal to the witness of one man?" They replied in the affirmative. He said, "This is the deficiency in her intelligence. Isn't it true that a woman can neither pray nor fast during her menses?" The women replied in the affirmative. He said, "This is the deficiency in her religion."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 321:

Hafsa said, 'We used to forbid our young women to go out for the two Id prayers. A woman came and stayed at the palace of Bani Khalaf and she narrated about her sister whose husband took part in twelve holy battles along with the Prophet and her sister was with her husband in six (out of these twelve). She (the woman's sister) said, "We used to treat the wounded, look after the patients and once I asked the Prophet. 'Is there any harm for any of us to stay at home if she doesn't have a veil?' He said, 'She should cover herself with the veil of her companion and should participate in the good deeds and in the religious gathering of the Muslims.' When Um Atiya came I asked her whether she had heard it from the Prophet. She replied, "Yes. May my father be sacrificed for him (the Prophet)! (Whenever she mentioned the Prophet she used to say, 'May my father be sacrificed for him) I have heard the Prophet saying, 'The unmarried young virgins and the mature girl who stay often screened or the young unmarried virgins who often stay screened and the menstruating women should come out and participate in the good deeds as well as the religious gathering of the faithful believers but the menstruating women should keep away from the Musalla (praying place).' " Hafsa asked Um Atiya surprisingly, "Do you say the menstruating women?" She replied, "Doesn't a menstruating woman attend Arafat (Hajj) and such and such (other deeds)?"

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 368:

Narrated Aisha: Allah's Apostle used to offer the Fajr prayer and some believing women covered with their veiling sheets used to attend the Fajr prayer with him and then they would return to their homes unrecognized.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 395:

Narrated Umar (bin Al-Khattab): My Lord agreed with me in three things:

1. I said,"O Allah's Apostle, I wish we took the station of Abraham as our praying place (for some of our prayers). So came the Divine Inspiration: And take you (people) the station of Abraham as a place of prayer (for some of your prayers e.g. two Rakat of Tawaf of Ka'ba)". (2.125)

. And as regards the (verse of) the veiling of the women, I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! I wish you ordered your wives to cover themselves from the men because good and bad ones talk to them.' So the verse of the veiling of the women was revealed.

3. Once the wives of the Prophet made a united front against the Prophet and I said to them, 'It may be if he (the Prophet) divorced you, (all) that his Lord (Allah) will give him instead of you wives better than you.' So this verse (the same as I had said) was revealed." (66.5).

Volume 1. Book 9. Number 474:

Narrated 'Aun bin Abi Juhaifa: I heard my father saying, "The Prophet led us, and prayed a two-Rak'at Zuhr prayer and then a two-Rak'at Asr prayer at Al-Batha' with an 'Anza (planted) in front of him (as a Sutra) while women and donkeys were passing in front of him (beyond that 'Anza).'

Volume 1, Book 9, Number 478:

Narrated 'Aun bin Abi Juhaifa: that he had heard his father saying, "Allah's Apostle came to us at mid-day and water was brought for his ablution. He performed ablution and led us in Zuhr and Asr prayers with an 'Anza planted in front of him (as a Sutra), while women and donkeys were passing beyond

Volume 1. Book 9. Number 486:

Narrated Aisha: Do you make us (women) equal to dogs and donkeys? While I used to lie in my bed, the Prophet would come and pray facing the middle of the bed. I used to consider it not good to stand in front of him in his prayers. So I used to slip away slowly and quietly from the foot of the bed till I got out of my guilt.

Volume 1. Book 9. Number 490:

Narrated Aisha: The things which annul the prayers were mentioned before me. They said, "Prayer is annulled by a dog, a donkey and a woman (if they pass in front of the praying people)." I said, "You have made us (i.e. women) dogs. I saw the Prophet praying while I used to lie in my bed between him and the Oibla. Whenever I was in need of something, I would slip away, for I disliked to face him.

Volume 1, Book 10, Number 552:

Narrated Aisha: The believing women covered with their veiling sheets used to attend the Fajr prayer with Allah's Apostle, and after finishing the prayer they would return to their home and nobody could recognize them because of darkness

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 778:

Narrated Sahl bin Sa'd:

The people used to pray with the Prophet tying their Izars around their necks because of their small sizes and the women were directed that they should not raise their heads from the prostrations till the men had sat straight.

Volume 1 Book 12 Number 824:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

The Prophet said, "If your women ask permission to go to the mosque at night, allow them."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 826:

Narrated Aisha:

When Allah's Apostle finished the Fajr prayer, the women would leave covered in their sheets and were not recognized owing to the darkness.

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 828:

Narrated Aisha:

Had Allah's Apostle known what the women were doing, he would have forbidden them from going to the mosque as the women of Bani Israel had been forbidden. Yahya bin Said (a sub-narrator) asked Amra (another sub-narrator). "Were the women of Bani Israel forbidden?" She replied "Yes."

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 829:

Narrated Um Salama:

Whenever Allah's Apostle completed the prayer with Taslim, the women used to get up immediately and Allah's Apostle would remain at his place for someone before getting up. (The sub-narrator (Az-Zuhri) said, "We think, and Allah knows better, that he did so, so that the women might leave before men could get in touch with them)." Volume 1, Book 12, Number 831

Narrated Aisha:

Allah's Apostle used to offer the Fajr prayer when it was still dark and the believing women used to return (after finishing their prayer) and nobody could recognize them owing to darkness, or they could not recognize one another.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 22:

Narrated Ibn Umar: The Prophet said, "Allow women to go to the Mosques at night.'

Volume 2 Book 13 Number 23:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

One of the wives of Umar (bin Al-Khattab) used to offer the Fajr and the 'Isha' prayer in congregation in the Mosque. She was asked why she had come out for the prayer as she knew that Umar disliked it, and he has great ghaira (self-respect). She replied, "What prevents him from stopping me from this act?" The other replied, "The statement of Allah's Apostle : 'Do not stop Allah's women-slave from going to Allah s Mosques' prevents him.

Volume 2, Book 14, Number 68:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Allah's Apostle offered the Fajr prayer when it was still dark, then he rode and said, 'Allah Akbar! Khaibar is ruined. When we approach near to a nation, the most unfortunate is the morning of those who have been warned." The people came out into the streets saying, "Mohammed and his army." Allah's Apostle vanquished them by force and their warriors were killed; the children and women were taken as captives. Safiya was taken by Dihya Al-Kalbi and later she belonged to Allah's Apostle go who married her and her Mahr was her manumission.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 88:

Narrated Um Atiya:

We used to be ordered to come out on the Day of Id and even bring out the virgin girls from their houses and menstruating women so that they might stand behind the men and say Takbir along with them and invoke Allah along with them and hope for the blessings of that day and for purification from sins.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 91:

Narrated Mohammed:

Um 'Atiyya said: "Our Prophet ordered us to come out (on Id day) with the mature girls and the virgins staying in seclusion." Hafsa narrated the above mentioned Hadith and added, "The mature girls or virgins staying in seclusion but the menstruating women had to keep away from the Musalla."

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 96:

Narrated Aivub:

Hafsa bint Sirin said. "On Id we used to forbid our girls to go out for Id prayer. A lady came and stayed at the palace of Bani Khalaf and I went to her. She said, 'The husband of my sister took part in twelve holy battles along with the Prophet and my sister was with her husband in six of them. My sister said that they used to nurse the sick and treat the wounded. Once she asked, 'O Allah's Apostle! If a woman has no veil, is there any harm if she does not come out (on Id day)?' The Prophet said, 'Her companion should let her share her veil with her, and the women should participate in the good deeds and in the religious gatherings of the believers." Hafsa added, "When Um-Atiya came, I went to her and asked her, 'Did you hear anything about so-and-so?' Um-Arlya said, 'Yes, let my father be sacrificed for the Prophet (p.b.u.h). (And whenever she mentioned the name of the Prophet she always used to say. 'Let my father be' sacrificed for him). He said, 'Virgin mature girls staying often screened (or said, 'Mature girls and virgins staying often screened--Aiyub is not sure as which was right) and menstruating women should come out (on the Id day). But the menstruating women should keep away from the Musalla. And all the women should participate in the good deeds and in the religious gatherings of the believers'." Hafsa said, "On that I said to Um-Atiya, 'Also those who are menstruating?' " Um-Atiya replied, "Yes. Do they not present themselves at Arafat and elsewhere?".

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 97:

Narrated Um-Ativa:

We were ordered to go out (for Id) and also to take along with us the menstruating women, mature girls and virgins staying in seclusion. (Ibn 'Aun said, "Or mature virgins staying in seclusion)." The menstruating women could present themselves at the religious gathering and invocation of Muslims but should keep away from their Musalla.

Volume 2 Book 18 Number 161:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:

The sun eclipsed in the life-time of the Prophet . Allah's Apostle offered the eclipse prayer and stood for a long period equal to the period in which one could recite Surat-al-Bagara. Then he bowed for a long time and then stood up for a long period which was shorter than that of the first standing, then bowed again for a long time but for a shorter period than the first; then he prostrated twice and then stood up for a long period which was shorter than that of the first standing: then he bowed for a long time which was shorter than the previous one, and then he raised his head and stood up for a long period which was shorter than the first standing, then he bowed for a long time which was shorter than the first bowing, and then prostrated (twice) and finished the prayer. By then, the sun (eclipse) had cleared. The Prophet then said. The sun and the moon are two of the signs of Allah. They eclipse neither because of the death of somebody nor because of his life (i.e. birth). So when you see them, remember Allah." The people say, "O Allah's Apostle! We saw you taking something from your place and then we saw you retreating." The Prophet replied, "I saw Paradise and stretched my hands towards a bunch (of its fruits) and had I taken it, you would have eaten from it as long as the world remains. I also saw the Hell-fire and I had never seen such a horrible sight. I saw that most of the inhabitants were women." The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle! Why is it so?" The Prophet replied, "Because of their ungratefulness." It was

asked whether they are ungrateful to Allah. The Prophet said, "They are ungrateful to their companions of life (husbands) and ungrateful to good deeds. If you are benevolent to one of them throughout the life and if she sees anything (undesirable) in you, she will say, 'I have never had any good from you.' '

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 306:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

The people used to offer the prayer with the Prophet with their waist-sheets tied round their necks because of the shortness of the sheets and the women were ordered not to lift their heads till the men had sat straight.

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 326:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-SaIdi:

The news about the differences amongst the people of BaniAmr bin Auf reached Allah's Apostle and so he went to them along with some of his companions to affect a reconciliation between them. Allah's Apostle was delayed there, and the time of the prayer was due. Bilal went to Abu Bakr and said to him, "Allah's Apostle has been delayed (there) and the time of prayer is due. So will you lead the people in prayer?" Abu Bakr said, "Yes, if you wish." Bilal pronounced the Iqama and Abu Bakr, went forward and said Takbir for the people. In the mean-time Allah's Apostle came crossing the rows (of the praying people) and stood in the (first) row and the people started clapping. Abu Bakr, would never glance side-ways in his prayer but when the people clapped much he looked back and (saw) Allah's Apostle . Allah's Apostle beckoned him to carry on the prayer. Abu Bakr raised his hands and thanked Allah, and retreated till he reached the (first) row. Allah's Apostle went forward and led the people in the prayer. When he completed the prayer he faced the people and said, "O people! Why did you start clapping when something unusual happened to you in the prayer? Clapping is only for women. So whoever amongst you comes across something in the prayer should say, 'Subhan-Allah' for there is none who will not turn round on hearing him saying Subhan-Allah. O Ab-u Bakr! What prevented you from leading the people in the prayer when I beckoned you to do so?" Abu Bakr replied, "How dare the son of Abu Quhafa lead the prayer in the presence of Allah's Apostle?'

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 341:

Narrated Abu SaId:

The women requested the Prophet, "Please fix a day for us." So the Prophet preached to them and said, "A woman whose three children died would be screened from the Hell Fire by them," Hearing that, a woman asked, "If two died?" The Prophet replied, "Even two (would screen her from the (Hell) Fire. " And Abu Huraira added, "Those children should be below the age of puberty.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 386:

Narrated Aisha:

When the Prophet got the news of the death of Ibn Haritha, Ja'far and Ibn Rawaha he sat down and looked sad and I was looking at him through the chink of the door. A man came and told him about the crying of the women of Ja'far. The Prophet ordered him to forbid them. The man went and came back saying that he had told them but they did not listen to him. The Prophet said, "Forbid them." So again he went and came back for the third time and said, "O Allah's Apostle! By Allah, they did not listen to us at all." (Aisha added): Allah's Apostle ordered him to go and put dust in their mouths. I said, (to that man) "May Allah stick your nose in the dust (i.e. humiliate you)! You could neither (persuade the women to) fulfill the order of Allah's Apostle nor did you relieve Allah's Apostle from fatigue.

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 392:

Narrated Aisha:

When the news of the martyrdom of Zaid bin Haritha, Ja'far and Abdullah bin Rawaha came, the Prophet sat down looking sad, and I was looking through the chink of the door. A man came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! The women of Ja'far," and then he mentioned their crying . The Prophet ordered h im to stop them from crying. The man went and came back and said, "I tried to stop them but they disobeyed." The Prophet ordered him for the second time to forbid them. He went again and came back and said, "They did not listen to me, (or "us": the sub-narrator Mohammed bin Haushab is in doubt as to which is right). " (Aisha added: The Prophet said, "Put dust in their mouths." I said (to that man), "May Allah stick your nose in the dust (i.e. humiliate you)." By Allah, you could not (stop the women from crying) to fulfill the order, besides you did not relieve Allah's Apostle from fatigue.'

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 393:

Narrated Um 'Atiyya:

At the time of giving the pledge of allegiance to the Prophet one of the conditions was that we would not wail, but it was not fulfilled except by five women and they are Um Sulaim, Um Al-'Ala', the daughter of Abi Sabra (the wife of Muadh), and two other women; or the daughter of Abi Sabra and the wife of Muadh and another woman.

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 541:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri

On Id ul Fitr or Id ul Adha Allah's Apostle went out to the Musalla. After finishing the prayer, he delivered the sermon and ordered the people to give alms. He said, "O people! Give alms." Then he went towards the women and said. "O women! Give alms, for I have seen that the majority of the dwellers of Hell-Fire were you (women)." The women asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What is the reason for it?" He replied, "O women! You curse frequently, and are ungrateful to your husbands. I have not seen anyone more deficient in intelligence and religion than you. O women, some of you can lead a cautious wise man astray." Then he left. And when he reached his house, Zainab, the wife of Ibn Masud, came and asked permission to enter It was said, "O Allah's Apostle! It is Zainab." He asked, 'Which Zainab?" The reply was that she was the wife of Ibn Mas'ub. He said. "Yes. allow her to enter." And she was admitted. Then she said, "O Prophet of Allah! Today you ordered people to give alms and I had an ornament and intended to give it as alms, but Ibn Masud said that he and his children deserved it more than anybody else." The Prophet replied, "Ibn Masud had spoken the truth. Your husband and your children had more right to it than anybody else."

Volume 2. Book 26. Number 595:

Narrated Aisha:

(the mother of the faithful believers) I said, "O Allah's Apostle! We consider Jihad as the best deed." The Prophet said, "The best Jihad (for women) is Hajj Mabrur."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 714:

Narrated Hafsa:

(On Id) We used to forbid our virgins to go out (for Id prayer). A lady came and stayed at the Palace of Bani Khalaf. She mentioned that her sister was married to one of the companions of Allah's Apostle who participated in twelve Ghazawats along with Allah's Apostle and her sister was with him in six of them. She said, "We used to dress the wounded and look after the patients." She (her sister) asked Allah's Apostle, "Is there any harm for a woman to stay at home if she doesn't have a veil?" He said, "She should cover herself with the veil of her companion and she should take part in the good deeds and in the religious gatherings of the believers." When Um 'Atiyya came, I asked her. "Did you hear anything about that?" Um 'Atiyya said, "Bi Abi" and she never mentioned the name of Allah's Apostle without saying "Bi Abi" (i.e. 'Let my father be sacrificed for you'). We asked her, "Have you heard Allah's Apostle saying so and so (about women)?" She replied in the affirmative and said, "Let my father be sacrificed for him. He told us that unmarried mature virgins who stay often screened or unmarried young virgins and mature girls who stay often screened should come out and take part in the good deeds and in the religious gatherings of the believers. But the menstruating women should keep away from the Musalla (praying place)." I asked her, menstruating women?" She replied, "Don't they present themselves at Arafat and at such and such places?'

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 739:

Narrated Abdullah:

(the slave of Asma') During the night of Jam', Asma' got down at Al-Muzdalifa and stood up for (offering) the prayer and offered the prayer for some time and then asked, "O my son! Has the moon set?" I replied in the negative and she again prayed for another period and then asked, "Has the moon set?" I replied, "Yes." So she said that we should set out (for Mina), and we departed and went on till she threw pebbles at the Jamra (Jamrat-al-Aqaba) and then she returned to her dwelling place and offered the morning prayer. I asked her, "O you! I think we have come (to Mina) early in the night." She replied, "O my son! Allah's Apostle gave permission to the women to do so."

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 810:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

The people were ordered to perform the Tawaf of the Ka'ba (Tawaf-al-Wada') as the lastly thing, before leaving (Mecca), except the menstruating women who were excused.

Volume 2, Book 26, Number 814:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

A menstruating woman was allowed to leave Mecca if she had done Tawaf-al-Ifada. Tawus (a sub-narrator) said from his father, "I heard Ibn Umar saying that she would not depart. Then later I heard him saying that the Prophet had allowed them (menstruating women) to depart."

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 84:

Narrated Aisha (mother of the faithful believers):

I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Shouldn't we participate in Holy battles and Jihad along with you?" He replied, "The best and the most superior Jihad (for women) is Hajjj which is accepted by Allah." Aisha added: Ever since I heard that from Allah's Apostle I have determined not to miss Hajj.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 420:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "The Prophet Abraham emigrated with Sarah and entered a village where there was a king or a tyrant. (The king) was told that Abraham had entered (the village) accompanied by a woman who was one of the most charming women. So, the king sent for Abraham and asked, 'O Abraham! Who is this lady accompanying you?" Abraham

replied, 'She is my sister (i.e. in religion).' Then Abraham returned to her and said. 'Do not contradict my statement, for I have informed them that you are my sister. By Allah, there are no true believers on this land except you and 1.' Then Abraham sent her to the king. When the king got to her, she got up and performed ablution, prayed and said, 'O Allah! If I have believed in You and Your Apostle, and have saved my private parts from everybody except my husband, then please do not let this pagan overpower me.' On that the king fell in a mood of agitation and started moving his legs. Seeing the condition of the king, Sarah said, 'O Allah! If he should die, the people will say that I have killed him.' The king regained his power, and proceeded towards her but she got up again and performed ablution, prayed and said, 'O Allah! If I have believed in You and Your Apostle and have kept my private parts safe from all except my husband, then please do not let this pagan overpower me.' The king again fell in a mood of agitation and started moving his legs. On seeing that state of the king, Sarah said, 'O Allah! If he should die, the people will say that I have killed him.' The king got either two or three attacks, and after recovering from the last attack he said, 'By Allah! You have sent a satan to me. Take her to Abraham and give her Ajar.' So she came back to Abraham and said, 'Allah humiliated the pagan and gave us a slavegirl for service.'

Volume 3, Book 43, Number 648:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:

I had been eager to ask Umar about the two ladies from among the wives of the Prophet regarding whom Allah said (in the Koran saying): If you two (wives of the Prophet namely Aisha and Hafsa) turn in repentance to Allah your hearts are indeed so inclined (to oppose what the Prophet likes) (66.4), till performed the Hajj along with Umar (and on our way back from Hajj) he went aside (to answer the call of nature) and I also went aside along with him carrying a tumbler of water. When he had answered the call of nature and returned. I poured water on his hands from the tumbler and he performed ablution. I said, "O Chief of the believers!" Who were the two ladies from among the wives of the Prophet to whom Allah said:

'If you two return in repentance (66.4)? He said, "I am astonished at your question, O Ibn Abbas. They were Aisha and Hafsa."

Then Umar went on relating the narration and said. "I and an Ansari neighbor of mine from Bani Umaiya bin Zaid who used to live in 'Awali Al-Medina, used to visit the Prophet in turns. He used to go one day, and I another day. When I went I would bring him the news of what had happened that day regarding the instructions and orders and when he went he used to do the same for me. We, the people of Ouraish, used to have authority over women, but when we came to live with the Ansar, we noticed that the Ansari women had the upper hand over their men, so our women started acquiring the habits of the Ansari women. Once I shouted at my wife and she paid me back in my coin and I disliked that she should answer me back. She said, 'Why do you take it ill that I retort upon you? By Allah, the wives of the Prophet retort upon him, and some of them may not speak with him for the whole day till night.' What she said scared me and I said to her, 'Whoever amongst them does so, will be a great loser.' Then I dressed myself and went to Hafsa and asked her, 'Does any of you keep Allah's Apostle angry all the day long till night?' She replied in the affirmative. I said, 'She is a ruined losing person (and will never have success)! Doesn't she fear that Allah may get angry for the anger of Allah's Apostle and thus she will be ruined? Don't ask Allah's Apostle too many things, and don't retort upon him in any case, and don't desert him. Demand from me whatever you like, and don't be tempted to imitate your neighbor (i.e. Aisha) in her behavior towards the Prophet), for she (i.e. Aisha) is more beautiful than you, and more beloved to Allah's Apostle.

In those days it was rumoured that Ghassan, (a tribe living in Sham) was getting prepared their horses to invade us. My companion went (to the Prophet on the day of his turn, went and returned to us at night and knocked at my door violently. asking whether I was sleeping. I was scared (by the hard knocking) and came out to him. He said that a great thing had happened. I asked him: What is it? Have Ghassan comes He replied that it was worse and more serious than that, and added that Allah's Apostle had divorced all his wives. I said, Hafsa is a ruined loser! I expected that would happen some day.' So I dressed myself and offered the Fajr prayer with the Prophet. Then the Prophet entered an upper room and stayed there alone. I went to Hafsa and found her weeping. I asked her, 'Why are you weeping? Didn't I warn you? Have Allah's Apostle divorced you all?' She replied, 'I don't know. He is there in the upper room.' I then went out and came to the pulpit and found a group of people around it and some of them were weeping. Then I sat with them for some time, but could not endure the situation. So I went to the upper room where the Prophet was and requested to a black slave of his: 'Will you get the permission of (Allah's Apostle) for Umar (to enter)? The slave went in, talked to the Prophet about it and came out saying, 'I mentioned you to him but he did not reply.' So, I went and sat with the people who were sitting by

the pulpit, but I could not bear the situation, so I went to the slave again and said: "Will you get he permission for Umar? He went in and brought the same reply as before. When I was leaving, behold, the slave called me saying, "Allah's Apostle has granted you permission." So, I entered upon the Prophet and saw him lying on a mat without wedding on it, and the mat had left its mark on the body of the Prophet, and he was leaning on a leather pillow stuffed with palm fires. I greeted him and while still standing, I said: "Have you divorced your wives?" He raised his eyes to me and replied in the negative. And then while still standing, I said chatting: "Will you heed what I say, 'O Allah's Apostle! We, the people of Quraish used to have the upper hand over our women (wives), and when we came to the people whose women had the upper hand over them..."

Umar told the whole story (about his wife). "On that the Prophet smiled." Umar further said, "I then said, 'I went to Hafsa and said to her: Do not be tempted to imitate your companion (Aisha) for she is more beautiful than you and more beloved to the Prophet.' The Prophet smiled again. When I saw him smiling, I sat down and cast a glance at the room, and by Allah, I couldn't see anything of importance but three hides. I said (to Allah's Apostle) "Invoke Allah to make your followers prosperous for the Persians and the Byzantines have been made prosperous and given worldly luxuries, though they do not worship Allah?' The Prophet was leaning then (and on hearing my speech he sat straight) and said, 'O Ibn Al-Khatttab! Do you have any doubt (that the Hereafter is better than this world)? These people have been given rewards of their good deeds in this world only.' I asked the Prophet . 'Please ask Allah's forgiveness for me. The Prophet did not go to his wives because of the secret which Hafsa had disclosed to Aisha, and he said that he would not go to his wives for one month as he was angry with them when Allah admonished him (for his oath that he would not approach Maria). When twenty-nine days had passed, the Prophet went to Aisha first of all. She said to him, 'You took an oath that you would not come to us for one month, and today only twenty-nine days have passed, as I have been counting them day by day.' The Prophet said, 'The month is also of twenty-nine days.' That month consisted of twenty-nine days. Aisha said, 'When the Divine revelation of Choice was revealed, the Prophet started with me, saying to me, 'I am telling you something, but you needn't hurry to give the reply till you can consult your parents." Aisha knew that her parents would not advise her to part with the Prophet . The Prophet said that Allah had said:--

'O Prophet! Say To your wives; If you desire The life of this world And its glitter, ... then come! I will make a provision for you and set you free In a handsome manner. But if you seek Allah And His Apostle, and The Home of the Hereafter, then Verily, Allah has prepared For the good-doers amongst you A great reward.' (33.28) Aisha said, 'Am I to consult my parents about this? I indeed prefer Allah, His Apostle, and the Home of the Hereafter.' After that the Prophet gave the choice to his other wives and they also gave the same reply as Aisha did."

Volume 3, Book 44, Number 674:

Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:

That he had asked Aisha about the meaning of the Statement of Allah: "If you fear that you shall not Be able to deal justly With the orphan girls, then Marry (Other) women of your choice Two or three or four." (4.3)

She said, "O my nephew! This is about the orphan girl who lives with her guardian and shares his property. Her wealth and beauty may tempt him to marry her without giving her an adequate Mahr (bridal-money) which might have been given by another suitor. So, such guardians were forbidden to marry such orphan girls unless they treated them justly and gave them the most suitable Mahr; otherwise they were ordered to marry any other woman." Aisha further said, "After that verse the people again asked the Prophet (about the marriage with orphan 'girls), so Allah revealed the following verses:-- 'They ask your instruction Concerning the women. Say: Allah Instructs you about them And about what is Recited unto you In the Book, concerning The orphan girls to whom You give not the prescribed portions and yet whom you Desire to marry..." (4.127)

What is meant by Allah's Saying:-- 'And about what is Recited unto you is the former verse which goes:-- 'If you fear that you shall not Be able to deal justly With the orphan girls, then Marry (other) women of your choice.' (4.3) Aisha said, "Allah's saying in the other verse:-- 'Yet whom you desire to marry' (4.127) means the desire of the guardian to marry an orphan girl under his supervision when she has not much property or beauty (in which case he should treat her justly). The guardians were forbidden to marry their orphan girls possessing property and beauty without being just to them, as they generally refrain from marrying them (when they are neither beautiful nor wealthy)."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 717:

Narrated Ibn Aun:

I wrote a letter to Nafi and Nafi wrote in reply to my letter that the Prophet had suddenly attacked Bani Mustaliq

without warning while they were heedless and their cattle were being watered at the places of water. Their fighting men were killed and their women and children were taken as captives; the Prophet got Juwairiya on that day. Nafi said that Ibn Umar had told him the above narration and that Ibn Umar was in that army. Volume 3, Book 48, Number 826:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

The Prophet said, "Isn't the witness of a woman equal to half of that of a man?" The women said, "Yes." He said, "This is because of the deficiency of a woman's mind."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 829:

Narrated Aisha:

(the wife of the Prophet) "Whenever Allah's Apostle intended to go on a journey, he would draw lots amongst his wives and would take with him the one upon whom the lot fell. During a Ghazwa of his, he drew lots amongst us and the lot fell upon me, and I proceeded with him after Allah had decreed the use of the veil by women. I was carried in a Howdah (on the camel) and dismounted while still in it. When Allah's Apostle was through with his Ghazwa and returned home, and we approached the city of Medina, Allah's Apostle ordered us to proceed at night. When the order of setting off was given, I walked till I was past the army to answer the call of nature. After finishing I returned (to the camp) to depart (with the others) and suddenly realised that my necklace over my chest was missing. So, I returned to look for it and was delayed because of that. The people who used to carry me on the camel, came to my Howdah and put it on the back of the camel, thinking that I was in it, as, at that time, women were light in weight, and thin and lean, and did not use to eat much. So, those people did not feel the difference in the heaviness of the Howdah while lifting it, and they put it over the camel. At that time I was a young lady. They set the camel moving and proceeded on. I found my necklace after the army had gone, and came to their camp to find nobody. So, I went to the place where I used to stay, thinking that they would discover my absence and come back in my search. While in that state, I felt sleepy and slept.

Safwan bin Mu'attal As-Sulami Adh-Dhakwani was behind the army and reached my abode in the morning. When he saw a sleeping person, he came to me, and he used to see me before veiling. So, I got up when I heard him saying, "Inna lil-lahwa inn a ilaihi rajiun (We are for Allah, and we will return to Him)." He made his camel knell down. He got down from his camel, and put his leg on the front legs of the camel and then I rode and sat over it. Safwan set out walking, leading the camel by the rope till we reached the army who had halted to take rest at midday. Then whoever was meant for destruction. fell into destruction, (some people accused me falsely) and the leader of the false accusers was Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul. After that we returned to Medina, and I became ill for one month while the people were spreading the forged statements of the false accusers. I was feeling during my ailment as if I were not receiving the usual kindness from the Prophet which I used to receive from him when I got sick. But he would come, greet and say, 'How is that (girl)?' I did not know anything of what was going on till I recovered from my ailment and went out with Um Mistah to the Manasi where we used to answer the call of nature, and we used not to go to answer the call of nature except from night to night and that was before we had layatories near to our houses. And this habit of ours was similar to the habit of the old Arabs in the open country (or away from houses). So. I and Um Mistah bint Ruhm went out walking. Um Mistah stumbled because of her long dress and on that she said, 'Let Mistah be ruined.' I said, 'You are saying a bad word. Why are you abusing a man who took part in (the battle of) Badr?' She said, 'O Hanata (you there) didn't you hear what they said?' Then she told me the rumours of the false accusers.

My sickness was aggravated, and when I returned home, Allah's Apostle came to me, and after greeting he said, 'How is that (girl)?' I requested him to allow me to go to my parents. I wanted then to be sure of the news through them I Allah's Apostle allowed me, and I went to my parents and asked my mother, 'What are the people talking about?' She said, 'O my daughter! Don't worry much about this matter. By Allah, never is there a charming woman loved by her husband who has other wives, but the women would forge false news about her.' I said, 'Glorified be Allah! Are the people really taking of this matter?' That night I kept on weeping and could not sleep till morning. In the morning Allah's Apostle called Ali bin Abu Talib and Usama bin Zaid when he saw the Divine Inspiration delayed, to consul them about divorcing his wife (i.e. Aisha). Usama bin Zaid said what he knew of the good reputation of his wives and added, 'O Allah's Apostle! Keep you wife, for, by Allah, we know nothing about her but good,' Ali bin Abu Talib said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Allah has no imposed restrictions on you, and there are many women other than she, yet you may ask the woman-servant who will tell you the truth.' On that Allah's Apostle called Buraira and said, 'O Burair. Did you ever see anything which roused your suspicions about her?' Buraira said, 'No, by Allah Who has sent you with the Truth, I have never seen in her anything

faulty except that she is a girl of immature age, who sometimes sleeps and leaves the dough for the goats to eat.' On that day Allah's Apostle ascended the pulpit and requested that somebody support him in punishing Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul. Allah's Apostle said, 'Who will support me to punish that person (Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul) who has hurt me by slandering the reputation of my family? By Allah, I know nothing about my family but good, and they have accused a person about whom I know nothing except good. and he never entered my house except in my company.

Sad bin Mu'adh got up and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! by Allah, I will relieve you from him. If that man is from the tribe of the Aus, then we will chop his head off, and if he is from our brothers, the Khazraj, then order us, and we will fulfill your order.' On that Sad bin Ubada, the chief of the Khazraj and before this incident, he had been a pious man, got up, motivated by his zeal for his tribe and said, 'By Allah, you have told a lie; you cannot kill him, and you will never be able to kill him.' On that Usaid bin Al-Hadir got up and said (to Sad bin Ubada), 'By Allah! you are a liar. By Allah, we will kill him; and you are a hypocrite, defending the hypocrites.' On this the two tribes of Aus and Khazraj got excited and were about to fight each other, while Allah's Apostle was standing on the pulpit. He got down and quietened them till they became silent and he kept quiet. On that day I kept on weeping so much so that neither did my tears stop, nor could I sleep.

In the morning my parents were with me and I had wept for two nights and a day, till I thought my liver would burst from weeping. While they were sitting with me and I was weeping, an Ansari woman asked my permission to enter, and I allowed her to come in. She sat down and started weeping with me. While we were in this state, Allah's Apostle came and sat down and he had never sat with me since the day they forged the accusation. No revelation regarding my case came to him for a month. He recited Tashah-hud (i.e. None has the right to be worshipped but Allah and Mohammed is His Apostle) and then said, 'O Aisha! I have been informed such-and-such about you; if you are innocent, then Allah will soon reveal your innocence, and if you have committed a sin, then repent to Allah and ask Him to forgive you, for when a person confesses his sin and asks Allah for forgiveness. Allah accepts his repentance.' When Allah's Apostle finished his speech my tears ceased completely and there remained not even a single drop of it. I requested my father to reply to Allah's Apostle on my behalf. My father said, By Allah, I do not know what to say to Allah's Apostle.' I said to my mother, 'Talk to Allah's Apostle on my behalf.' She said, 'By Allah, I do not know what to say to Allah's Apostle. I was a young girl and did not have much knowledge of the Koran. I said. 'I know, by Allah, that you have listened to what people are saying and that has been planted in your minds and you have taken it as a truth. Now, if I told you that I am innocent and Allah knows that I am innocent, you would not believe me and if I confessed to you falsely that I am guilty, and Allah knows that I am innocent you would believe me. By Allah, I don't compare my situation with you except to the situation of Joseph's father (i.e. Jacob) who said, 'So (for me) patience is most fitting against that which you assert and it is Allah (Alone) whose help can be sought.' Then I turned to the other side of my bed hoping that Allah would prove my innocence. By Allah I never thought that Allah would reveal Divine Inspiration in my case, as I considered myself too inferior to be talked of in the Holy Koran. I had hoped that Allah's Apostle might have a dream in which Allah would prove my innocence. By Allah, Allah's Apostle had not got up and nobody had left the house before the Divine Inspiration came to Allah's Apostle. So, there overtook him the same state which used to overtake him. (when he used to have, on being inspired divinely). He was sweating so much so that the drops of the sweat were dropping like pearls though it was a (cold) wintry day. When that state of Allah's Apostle was over, he was smiling and the first word he said, Aisha! Thank Allah, for Allah has declared your innocence.' My mother told me to go to Allah's Apostle . I replied, 'By Allah I will not go to him and will not thank but Allah.' So Allah revealed: "Verily! They who spread the slander are a gang among you . . . " (24.11)

When Allah gave the declaration of my Innocence, Abu Bakr, who used to provide for Mistah bin Uthatha for he was his relative, said, 'By Allah, I will never provide Mistah with anything because of what he said about Aisha.' But Allah later revealed: --

"And let not those who are good and wealthy among you swear not to help their kinsmen, those in need and those who left their homes in Allah's Cause. Let them forgive and overlook. Do you not wish that Allah should forgive you? Verily! Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful." (24.22) After that Abu Bakr said, 'Yes! By Allah! I like that Allah should forgive me,' and resumed helping Mistah whom he used to help before.

Allah's Apostle also asked Zainab bint Jahsh (i.e. the Prophet's wife about me saying, 'What do you know and what did you see?' She replied, 'O Allah's Apostle! I refrain to claim hearing or seeing what I have not heard or seen. By Allah, I

know nothing except goodness about Aisha." Aisha further added "Zainab was competing with me (in her beauty and the Prophet's love), yet Allah protected her (from being malicious), for she had piety.'

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 855:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

There was a dispute amongst the people of the tribe of Bani Amr bin Auf. The Prophet went to them along with some of his companions in order to make peace between them. The time for the prayer became due but the Prophet did not turn up; Bilal pronounced the Adhan (i.e. call) for the prayer but the Prophet did not turn up, so Bilal went to Abu Bakr and said, "The time for the prayer is due and the Prophet i detained, would you lead the people in the prayer?" Abu Bakr replied, "Yes, you wish." So, Bilal pronounced the Igama of the prayer and Abu Bakr went ahead (to lead the prayer), but the Prophet came walking among the rows till he joined the first row. The people started clapping and they clapped too much, and Abu Bakr used not to look hither and thither in the prayer, but he turned round and saw the Prophet standing behind him. The Prophet beckoned him with his hand to keep on praying where he was. Abu Bakr raised his hand and praised Allah and then retreated till he came in the (first) row, and the Prophet went ahead and lead the people in the prayer. When the Prophet finished the prayer, he turned towards the people and said, "O people! When something happens to you during the prayer, you start clapping. Really clapping is (permissible) for women only. If something happens to one of you in his prayer, he should say: 'Subhan Allah', (Glorified be Allah), for whoever hears him (saying so) will direct his attention towards him. O Abu Bakr! What prevented you from leading the people in the prayer when I beckoned to you (to continue)?" Abu Bakr replied, "It did not befit the son of Abu Quhafa to lead the prayer in front of the Prophet.

Volume 3. Book 50. Number 874:

Narrated Marwan and al-Miswar bin Makhrama:

(from the companions of Allah's Apostle) When Suhail bin Amr agreed to the Treaty (of Hudaibiya), one of the things he stipulated then, was that the Prophet should return to them (i.e. the pagans) anyone coming to him from their side, even if he was a Muslim: and would not interfere between them and that person. The Muslims did not like this condition and got disgusted with it. Suhail did not agree except with that condition. So, the Prophet agreed to that condition and returned Abu Jandal to his father Suhail bin Amr. Thenceforward the Prophet returned everyone in that period (of truce) even if he was a Muslim. During that period some believing women emigrants including Um Kalthum bint Uqba bin Abu Muait who came to Allah's Apostle and she was a young lady then. Her relative came to the Prophet and asked him to return her, but the Prophet did not return her to them for Allah had revealed the following Verse regarding women:

"O you who believe! When the believing women come to you as emigrants. Examine them, Allah knows best as to their belief, then if you know them for true believers. Send them not back to the unbelievers, (for) they are not lawful (wives) for the disbelievers, Nor are the unbelievers lawful (husbands) for them (60.10)

Narrated Urwa: Aisha told me, "Allah's Apostle used to examine them according to this Verse: "O you who believe! When the believing women come to you, as emigrants test them . . . for Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful." (60.10-12) Aisha said, "When any of them agreed to that condition Allah's Apostle would say to her, 'I have accepted your pledge of allegiance.' He would only say that, but, by Allah he never touched the hand of any women (i.e. never shook hands with them) while taking the pledge of allegiance and he never took their pledge of allegiance except by his words (only).'

Volume 4. Book 51. Number 25:

Narrated Az-Zuhri:

Urwa bin Az-Zubair said that he asked Aisha about the meaning of the Koranic Verse:--

"And if you fear that you will not deal fairly with the orphan girls then marry (other) women of your choice." (4.2-

Aisha said, "It is about a female orphan under the guardianship of her guardian who is inclined towards her because of her beauty and wealth, and likes to marry her with a Mahr less than what is given to women of her standard. So they (i.e. guardians) were forbidden to marry the orphans unless they paid them a full appropriate Mahr (otherwise) they were ordered to marry other women instead of them. Later on the people asked Allah's Apostle about it. So Allah revealed the following Verse:--

"They ask your instruction (O Mohammed!) regarding women. Say: Allah instructs you regarding them..." (4.127)

and in this Verse Allah indicated that if the orphan girl was beautiful and wealthy, her guardian would have the desire to marry her without giving her an appropriate Mahr equal to what her peers could get, but if she was undesirable for lack of beauty or wealth, then he would not marry her, but seek to marry some other woman instead of her. So, since he did not marry her when he had no inclination towards her, he had not the right to marry her when he had an interest in her, unless

he treated her justly by giving her a full Mahr and securing all her rights.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 43:

Narrated Aisha:

(That she said), "O Allah's Apostle! We consider Jihad as the best deed. Should we not fight in Allah's Cause?" He said, "The best Jihad (for women) is Hajj-Mabrur (i.e. Hajj which is done according to the Prophet's tradition and is accepted by Allah).'

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 74i:

Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah's Apostle said, "Once Solomon, son of David said, '(By Allah) Tonight I will have sexual intercourse with one hundred (or ninety-nine) women each of whom will give birth to a knight who will fight in Allah's Cause.' On that a (i.e. if Allah wills) but he did not say, 'Allah willing.' Therefore only one of those women conceived and gave birth to a half-man. By Him in Whose Hands Mohammed's life is, if he had said, "Allah willing', (he would have begotten sons) all of whom would have been knights striving in Allah's Cause.'

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 256:

Narrated As-Sab bin Jaththama:

The Prophet passed by me at a place called Al-Abwa or Waddan, and was asked whether it was permissible to attack the pagan warriors at night with the probability of exposing their women and children to danger. The Prophet replied, "They (i.e. women and children) are from them (i.e. pagans)." I also heard the Prophet saying, "The institution of Hima is invalid except for Allah and His Apostle."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 280:

Narrated Abu Sald Al-Khudri:

When the tribe of Bani Quraiza was ready to accept Sad's judgment, Allah's Apostle sent for Sad who was near to him. Sad came, riding a donkey and when he came near, Allah's Apostle said (to the Ansar), "Stand up for your leader." Then Sad came and sat beside Allah's Apostle who said to him. "These people are ready to accept your judgment." Sad said, "I give the judgment that their warriors should be killed and their children and women should be taken as prisoners." The Prophet then remarked, "O Sad! You have judged amongst them with (or similar to) the judgment of the King Allah.'

Volume 4. Book 54. Number 464:

Narrated 'Imran bin Husain:

The Prophet said, "I looked at Paradise and found poor people forming the majority of its inhabitants; and I looked at Hell and saw that the majority of its inhabitants were women."

Volume 4 Book 54 Number 465:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

While we were in the company of the Prophet, he said, "While I was asleep, I saw myself in Paradise and there I beheld a woman making ablution beside a palace, I asked, To whom does this palace belong? 'They said, To Umar bin Al-Khattab.' Then I remembered Umar's Ghaira (concerning women), and so I quickly went away from that palace. (When Umar heard this from the Prophet), he wept and said, "Do you think it is likely that I feel Ghaira because of you, O Allah's Apostle?'

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 548:

Narrated Abu Huraira: Allah 's Apostle said, "Treat women nicely, for a women is created from a rib, and the most curved portion of the rib is its upper portion, so, if you should try to straighten it, it will break, but if you leave it as it is, it will remain crooked. So treat women nicely."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 623:

Narrated Abu Musa:

Allah's Apostle said, "Many amongst men reached (the level of) perfection but none amongst the women reached this level except Asia, Pharaoh's wife, and Mary, the daughter of 'Imran. And no doubt, the superiority of Aisha to other women is like the superiority of Tharid (i.e. a meat and bread dish) to other

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 635:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "Solomon (the son of) David said, 'Tonight I will sleep with seventy ladies each of whom will conceive a child who will be a knight fighting for "Allah's Cause.' His companion said, 'If Allah will.' But Solomon did not say so; therefore none of those women got pregnant except one who gave birth to a half child." The Prophet further said, "If the Prophet Solomon had said it (i.e. 'If Allah will') he would have begotten children who would have fought in Allah's Cause." Shuaib and Ibn Abi Az-Zinad said, 'Ninety (women) is more correct (than seventy).

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 767:

Narrated Abu Juhaifa:

By chance I went to the Prophet at noon while he was at Al-Abtah (resting) in a tent Bilal came out (of the tent) and pronounced the Adhan for the prayer, and entering again, he brought out the water which was left after Allah's Apostle had performed the ablution. The people rushed to take some of the water. Bilal again went in and brought out a spear-headed stick, and then Allah's Apostle came out. As if I were now

looking at the whiteness of his leg. Bilal fixed the stick and the Prophet offered a two-Rakat Zuhr prayer and a two-Rak'at Asr prayer, while women and donkeys were passing in front of the Prophet (beyond the stick).

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 113:

Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:

Allah's Apostle said, "Many amongst men attained perfection but amongst women none attained the perfection except Mary, the daughter of Imran and Asiva, the wife of Pharaoh. And the superiority of Aisha to other women is like the superiority of Tharid (i.e. an Arabic dish) to other meals.'

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 114:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Allah's Apostle said, "The superiority of Aisha over other women is like the superiority of Tharid to other meals.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 148:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

Some people (i.e. the Jews of Bani bin Quraiza) agreed to accept the verdict of Sad bin Muadh so the Prophet sent for him (i.e. Sad bin Muadh). He came riding a donkey, and when he approached the Mosque, the Prophet said, "Get up for the best amongst you." or said, "Get up for your chief." Then the Prophet said, "O Sad! These people have agreed to accept your verdict." Sad said, "I judge that their warriors should be killed and their children and women should be taken as captives." The Prophet said, "You have given a judgment similar to Allah's Judgment (or the King's judgment).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 164:

Narrated

Aisha: I did not feel jealous of any of the wives of the Prophet as much as I did of Khadija (although) she died before he married me, for I often heard him mentioning her, and Allah had told him to give her the good tidings that she would have a palace of Qasab (i.e. pipes of precious stones and pearls in Paradise), and whenever he slaughtered a sheep, he would send her women-friends a good share of it.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 166:

Narrated Aisha:

I did not feel jealous of any of the wives of the Prophet as much as I did of Khadija though I did not see her, but the Prophet used to mention her very often, and when ever he slaughtered a sheep, he would cut its parts and send them to the women friends of Khadija. When I sometimes said to him, "(You treat Khadija in such a way) as if there is no woman on earth except Khadija," he would say, "Khadija was such-andsuch, and from her I had children.

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 234:

Narrated Aisha:

The Prophet engaged me when I was a girl of six (years). We went to Medina and stayed at the home of Bani-al-Harith bin Khazraj. Then I got ill and my hair fell down. Later on my hair grew (again) and my mother, Um Ruman, came to me while I was playing in a swing with some of my girl friends. She called me, and I went to her, not knowing what she wanted to do to me. She caught me by the hand and made me stand at the door of the house. I was breathless then, and when my breathing became Allright, she took some water and rubbed my face and head with it. Then she took me into the house. There in the house I saw some Ansari women who said, "Best wishes and Allah's Blessing and a good luck." Then she entrusted me to them and they prepared me (for the marriage). Unexpectedly Allah's Apostle came to me in the forenoon and my mother handed me over to him, and at that time I was a girl of nine years of age.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 362:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

Bani An-Nadir and Bani Quraiza fought (against the Prophet violating their peace treaty), so the Prophet exiled Bani An-Nadir and allowed Bani Ouraiza to remain at their places (in Medina) taking nothing from them till they fought against the Prophet again) . He then killed their men and distributed their women, children and property among the Muslims, but some of them came to the Prophet and he granted them safety, and they embraced Islam. He exiled all the Jews from Medina. They were the Jews of Bani Qainuqa', the tribe of Abdullah bin Salam and the Jews of Bani Haritha and all the other Jews of Medina.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 459:

Narrated İbn Muhairiz:

I entered the Mosque and saw Abu Said Al-Khudri and sat beside him and asked him about Al-Azl (i.e. coitus interruptus). Abu Said said, "We went out with Allah's Apostle for the Ghazwa of Banu Al-Mustaliq and we received captives from among the Arab captives and we desired women and celibacy became hard on us and we loved to do coitus interruptus. So when we intended to do coitus interrupt us, we said, 'How can we do coitus interruptus before asking Allah's Apostle who is present among us?" We asked (him) about it and he said, 'It is better for you not to do so, for if any soul (till the Day of Resurrection) is predestined to exist, it will exist.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 462: Narrated Aisha:

Whenever Allah's Apostle intended to go on a journey, he used to draw lots amongst his wives, and Allah's Apostle used to take with him the one on whom lot fell. He drew lots amongst us during one of the Ghazwat which he fought. The lot fell on me and so I proceeded with Allah's Apostle after Allah's order of veiling (the women) had been revealed. I was carried (on the back of a camel) in my howdah and carried down while still in it (when we came to a halt). So we went on till Allah's Apostle had finished from that Ghazwa of his and returned.

When we approached the city of Medina he announced at night that it was time for departure. So when they announced the news of departure, I got up and went away from the army camps, and after finishing from the call of nature, I came back to my riding animal. I touched my chest to find that my necklace which was made of Zifar beads (i.e. Yemenite beads partly black and partly white) was missing. So I returned to look for my necklace and my search for it detained me. (In the meanwhile) the people who used to carry me on my camel, came and took my howdah and put it on the back of my camel on which I used to ride, as they considered that I was in it. In those days women were light in weight for they did not get fat. and flesh did not cover their bodies in abundance as they used to eat only a little food. Those people therefore, disregarded the lightness of the howdah while lifting and carrying it; and at that time I was still a young girl. They made the camel rise and all of them left (along with it). I found my necklace after the army had gone.

Then I came to their camping place to find no call maker of them, nor one who would respond to the call. So I intended to go to the place where I used to stay, thinking that they would miss me and come back to me (in my search). While I was sitting in my resting place, I was overwhelmed by sleep and slept. Safwan bin Al-Muattal As-Sulami Adh-Dhakwani was behind the army. When he reached my place in the morning, he saw the figure of a sleeping person and he recognized me on seeing me as he had seen me before the order of compulsory veiling (was prescribed). So I woke up when he recited Istirja' (i.e. "Inna lillahi wa inna llaihi raji'un") as soon as he recognized me. I veiled my face with my head cover at once, and by Allah, we did not speak a single word, and I did not hear him saving any word besides his Istiria'. He dismounted from his camel and made it kneel down, putting his leg on its front legs and then I got up and rode on it. Then he set out leading the camel that was carrying me till we overtook the army in the extreme heat of midday while they were at a halt (taking a rest). (Because of the event) some people brought destruction upon themselves and the one who spread the Ifk (i.e. slander) more, was Abdullah bin Ubai Ibn Salul.

(Urwa said, "The people propagated the slander and talked about it in his (i.e. Abdullah's) presence and he confirmed it and listened to it and asked about it to let it prevail." Urwa also added, "None was mentioned as members of the slanderous group besides (Abdullah) except Hassan bin Thabit and Mistah bin Uthatha and Hamna bint Jahsh along with others about whom I have no knowledge, but they were a group as Allah said. It is said that the one who carried most of the slander was Abdullah bin Ubai bin Salul." Urwa added, "Aisha disliked to have Hassan abused in her presence and she used to say, 'It was he who said: My father and his (i.e. my father's) father and my honour are all for the protection of Mohammed's honour from you.").

Aisha added, "After we returned to Medina, I became ill for a month. The people were propagating the forged statements of the slanderers while I was unaware of anything of all that, but I felt that in my present ailment, I was not receiving the same kindness from Allah's Apostle as I used to receive when I got sick. (But now) Allah's Apostle would only come, greet me and say,' How is that (lady)?' and leave. That roused my doubts, but I did not discover the evil (i.e. slander) till I went out after my convalescence, I went out with Um Mistah to Al-Manasi' where we used to answer the call of nature and we used not to go out (to answer the call of nature) except at night, and that was before we had latrines near our houses. And this habit of our concerning evacuating the bowels, was similar to the habits of the old Arabs living in the deserts, for it would be troublesome for us to take latrines near our houses. So I and Um Mistah who was the daughter of Abu Ruhm bin Al-Muttalib bin Abd Manaf, whose mother was the daughter of Sakhr bin Amir and the aunt of Abu Bakr As-Siddiq and whose son was Mistah bin Uthatha bin Abbas bin Al-Muttalib, went out, I and Um Mistah returned to my house after we finished answering the call of nature. Um Mistah stumbled by getting her foot entangled in her covering sheet and on that she said, 'Let Mistah be ruined!' I said, 'What a hard word you have said. Do you abuse a man who took part in the battle of Badr?' On that she said, 'O you Hantah! Didn't you hear what he (i.e. Mistah) said? 'I said, 'What did he say?'

Then she told me the slander of the people of Ifk. So my ailment was aggravated, and when I reached my home, Allah's Apostle came to me, and after greeting me, said, 'How is that (lady)?' I said, 'Will you allow me to go to my parents?' as I wanted to be sure about the news through them. Allah's

Apostle allowed me (and I went to my parents) and asked my mother, 'O mother! What are the people talking about?' She said, 'O my daughter! Don't worry, for scarcely is there a charming woman who is loved by her husband and whose husband has other wives besides herself that they (i.e. women) would find faults with her.' I said, 'Subhan-Allah! (I testify the uniqueness of Allah). Are the people really talking in this way?' I kept on weeping that night till dawn I could neither stop weeping nor sleep then in the morning again, I kept on weeping. When the Divine Inspiration was delayed.

Allah's Apostle called Ali bin Abi Talib and Usama bin Zaid to ask and consult them about divorcing me. Usama bin Zaid said what he knew of my innocence, and the respect he preserved in himself for me. Usama said, '(O Allah's Apostle!) She is your wife and we do not know anything except good about her.' Ali bin Abi Talib said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Allah does not put you in difficulty and there are plenty of women other than she, yet, ask the maid-servant who will tell you the truth.' On that Allah's Apostle called Barira (i.e. the maidservant) and said, 'O Barira! Did you ever see anything which aroused your suspicion?' Barira said to him, 'By Him Who has sent you with the Truth. I have never seen anything in her (i.e. Aisha) which I would conceal, except that she is a young girl who sleeps leaving the dough of her family exposed so that the domestic goats come and eat it.'

So, on that day, Allah's Apostle got up on the pulpit and complained about Abdullah bin Ubai (bin Salul) before his companions, saying, 'O you Muslims! Who will relieve me from that man who has hurt me with his evil statement about my family? By Allah, I know nothing except good about my family and they have blamed a man about whom I know nothing except good and he used never to enter my home except with me.' Sad bin Mu'adh the brother of Banu Abd Al-Ashhal got up and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! I will relieve you from him: if he is from the tribe of Al-Aus, then I will chop his head off, and if he is from our brothers, i.e. Al-Khazraj, then order us, and we will fulfill your order.' On that, a man from Al-Khazraj got up. Um Hassan, his cousin, was from his branch tribe, and he was Sad bin Ubada, chief of Al-Khazraj. Before this incident, he was a pious man, but his love for his tribe goaded him into saying to Sad (bin Mu'adh). 'By Allah, you have told a lie; you shall not and cannot kill him. If he belonged to your people, you would not wish him to be

On that, Usaid bin Hudair who was the cousin of Sad (bin Mu'adh) got up and said to Sad bin Ubada, 'By Allah! You are a liar! We will surely kill him, and you are a hypocrite arguing on the behalf of hypocrites.' On this, the two tribes of Al-Aus and Al Khazraj got so much excited that they were about to fight while Allah's Apostle was standing on the pulpit. Allah's Apostle kept on quietening them till they became silent and so did he. All that day I kept on weeping with my tears never ceasing, and I could never sleep.

In the morning my parents were with me and I wept for two nights and a day with my tears never ceasing and I could never sleep till I thought that my liver would burst from weeping. So, while my parents were sitting with me and I was weeping, an Ansari woman asked me to grant her admittance. I allowed her to come in, and when she came in, she sat down and started weeping with me. While we were in this state, Allah's Apostle came, greeted us and sat down. He had never sat with me since that day of the slander. A month had elapsed and no Divine Inspiration came to him about my case. Allah's Apostle then recited Tashah-hud and then said, 'Amma Badu, O Aisha! I have been informed so-and-so about you; if you are innocent, then soon Allah will reveal your innocence, and if you have committed a sin, then repent to Allah and ask Him for forgiveness for when a slave confesses his sins and asks Allah for forgiveness, Allah accepts his repentance.'

When Allah's Apostle finished his speech, my tears ceased flowing completely that I no longer felt a single drop of tear flowing. I said to my father, 'Reply to Allah's Apostle on my behalf concerning what he has said.' My father said, 'By Allah, I do not know what to say to Allah's Apostle.' Then I said to my mother, 'Reply to Allah's Apostle on my behalf concerning what he has said.' She said, 'By Allah, I do not know what to say to Allah's Apostle.' In spite of the fact that I was a young girl and had a little knowledge of Koran, I said, 'By Allah, no doubt I know that you heard this (slanderous) speech so that it has been planted in your hearts (i.e. minds) and you have taken it as a truth. Now if I tell you that I am innocent, you will not believe me, and if confess to you about it, and Allah knows that I am innocent, you will surely believe me. By Allah, I find no similitude for me and you except that of Joseph's father when he said, '(For me) patience in the most fitting against that which you assert; it is Allah (Alone) Whose Help can be sought.' Then I turned to the other side and lay on my bed; and Allah knew then that I was innocent and hoped that Allah would reveal my innocence. But, by Allah, I never thought that Allah would reveal about my case, Divine Inspiration, that would be recited (forever) as I considered myself too unworthy to be talked of by Allah with something of my concern, but I hoped that Allah's Apostle might have a dream in which Allah would prove my innocence. But, by

Allah, before Allah's Apostle left his seat and before any of the household left, the Divine inspiration came to Allah's Apostle.

So there overtook him the same hard condition which used to overtake him, (when he used to be inspired Divinely). The sweat was dropping from his body like pearls though it was a wintry day and that was because of the weighty statement which was being revealed to him. When that state of Allah's Apostle was over, he got up smiling, and the first word he said was, 'O Aisha! Allah has declared your innocence!' Then my Mother said to me, 'Get up and go to him (i.e. Allah's Apostle). I replied, 'By Allah, I will not go to him, and I praise none but Allah. So Allah revealed the ten Verses:--'Verily! They who spread the slander Are a gang, among" (24.11-20)

Allah revealed those Koranic Verses to declare my innocence. Abu Bakr As-Siddiq who used to disburse money for Mistah bin Uthatha because of his relationship to him and his poverty, said, 'By Allah, I will never give to Mistah bin Uthatha anything after what he has said about Aisha.' Then Allah revealed:--

"And let not those among you who are good and wealthy swear not to give (any sort of help) to their kinsmen, those in need, and those who have left their homes for Allah's cause, let them pardon and forgive. Do you not love that Allah should forgive you? And Allah is oft-Forgiving Most Merciful." (24.22)

Abu Bakr As-Siddig said, 'Yes, by Allah, I would like that Allah forgive me.' and went on giving Mistah the money he used to give him before. He also added, 'By Allah, I will never deprive him of it at all.

Aisha further said:." Allah's Apostle also asked Zainab bint Jahsh (i.e. his wife) about my case. He said to Zainab, 'What do you know and what did you see?" She replied, "O Allah's Apostle! I refrain from claiming falsely that I have heard or seen anything. By Allah, I know nothing except good (about Aisha).' From amongst the wives of the Prophet Zainab was my peer (in beauty and in the love she received from the Prophet) but Allah saved her from that evil because of her piety. Her sister Hamna, started struggling on her behalf and she was destroyed along with those who were destroyed. The man who was blamed said, 'Subhan-Allah! By Him in Whose Hand my soul is. I have never uncovered the cover (i.e. veil) of any female.' Later on the man was martyred in Allah's Cause.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 10:

Narrated Anas:

Umar said, "I agreed with Allah in three things," or said, 'My Lord agreed with me in three things. I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Would that you took the station of Abraham as a place of prayer.' I also said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Good and bad persons visit you! Would that you ordered the Mothers of the believers to cover themselves with veils.' So the Divine Verses of Al-Hijab (i.e. veiling of the women) were revealed. I came to know that the Prophet had blamed some of his wives so I entered upon them and said, 'You should either stop (troubling the Prophet) or else Allah will give His Apostle better wives than you.' When I came to one of his wives, she said to me, 'O Umar! Does Allah's Apostle haven't what he could advise his wives with, that you try to advise them?' Thereupon Allah revealed:--

"It may be, if he divorced you (all) his Lord will give him instead of you, wives better than you Muslims (who submit to Allah).." (66.5)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 55:

Narrated Mohammed bin Sirin:

I sat in a gathering in which the chiefs of the Ansar were present, and Abdur-Rahman bin Abu Laila was amongst them. mentioned the narration of Abdullah bin Utba regarding the question of Subai'a bint Al-Harith. Abdur-Rahman said. 'But Abdullah's uncle used not to say so." I said, "I am too brave if I tell a lie concerning a person who is now in Al-Kufa," and I raised my voice. Then I went out and met Malik bin Amir or Malik bin Auf, and said, "What was the verdict of Ibn Musud about the pregnant widow whose husband had died?" He replied, "Ibn Musud said, 'Why do you impose on her the hard order and don't let her make use of the leave? The shorter Sura of women (i.e. Surat-at-Talaq) was revealed after the longer Sura (i.e. Surat-al-Baqara)." (i.e. Her Idda is up till she delivers.)

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 98:

Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair:

That he asked Aisha regarding the Statement of Allah:

"If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphan girls..." (4.3) She said, "O son of my sister! An Orphan girl used to be under the care of a guardian with whom she shared property. Her guardian, being attracted by her wealth and beauty, would intend to marry her without giving her a just Mahr, i.e. the same Mahr as any other person might give her (in case he married her). So such guardians were forbidden to do that unless they did justice to their female wards and gave them the highest Mahr their peers might get. They were ordered (by Allah, to marry women of their choice other than those orphan girls." Aisha added," The people asked Allah's Apostle his instructions after the revelation of this Divine Verse whereupon Allah revealed:

"They ask your instruction regarding women " (4.127) Aisha further said, "And the Statement of Allah: "And vet whom you desire to marry." (4.127) as anyone of you refrains from marrying an orphan girl (under his guardianship) when she is lacking in property and beauty." Aisha added, "So they were forbidden to marry those orphan girls for whose wealth and beauty they had a desire unless with justice, and that was because they would refrain from marrying them if they were lacking in property and beauty.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 139:

Narrated Abdullah:

We used to participate in the holy wars carried on by the Prophet and we had no women (wives) with us. So we said (to the Prophet). "Shall we castrate ourselves?" But the Prophet forbade us to do that and thenceforth he allowed us to marry a woman (temporarily) by giving her even a garment, and then he recited: "O you who believe! Do not make unlawful the good things which Allah has made lawful for you.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 547:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad: A lady came to the Prophet and declared that she had decided to offer herself to Allah and His Apostle. The Prophet said, "I am not in need of women." A man said (to the Prophet) "Please marry her to me." The Prophet said (to him), "Give her a garment." The man said, "I cannot afford it." The Prophet said, "Give her anything, even if it were an iron ring." The man apologized again. The Prophet then asked him, "What do you know by heart of the Koran?" He replied, "I know such-and-such portion of the Koran (by heart)." The Prophet said, "Then I marry her to you for that much of the Koran which you know by heart."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 13o:

Narrated Abdullah:

We used to participate in the holy battles led by Allah's Apostle and we had nothing (no wives) with us. So we said, 'Shall we get ourselves castrated?" He forbade us that and then allowed us to marry women with a temporary contract (2) and recited to us: -- 'O you who believe ! Make not unlawful the good things which Allah has made lawful for you, but commit no transgression.' (5.87)

Volume 7. Book 62. Number 30:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Allah's Apostle said, "Evil omen is in the women, the house and the horse.'

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 33:

Narrated Usama bin Zaid:

The Prophet said, "After me I have not left any affliction more harmful to men than women

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 35:

Narrated Aisha"

(regarding) the Verse: 'And if you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans...' (4.3) It is about the orphan girl who is in the custody of a man who is her guardian, and he intends to marry her because of her wealth, but he treats her badly and does not manage her property fairly and honestly. Such a man should marry women of his liking other than her, two or three or four. 'Prohibited to you (for marriage) are: ...your foster-mothers (who suckled you).' (4.23) Marriage is prohibited between persons having a foster suckling relationship corresponding to a blood relationship which renders marriage unlawful.

Volume 7. Book 62. Number 29:

Narrated Ursa

that he asked Aisha regarding the Verse: 'If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphans (4.3) She said, "O my nephew! This Verse refers to the orphan girl who is under the guardianship of her guardian who likes her beauty and wealth and wishes to (marry her and) curtails her Mahr. Such guardians have been forbidden to marry them unless they do justice by giving them their full Mahr, and they have been ordered to marry other than them. The people asked for the verdict of Allah's Apostle after that, so Allah revealed: 'They ask your instruction concerning the women . . . whom you desire to marry.' (4.127) So Allah revealed to them that if the orphan girl had beauty and wealth, they desired to marry her and for her family status. They can only marry them if they give them their full Mahr. And if they had no desire to marry them because of their lack of wealth and beauty, they would leave them and marry other women. So, as they used to leave them, when they had no interest, in them, they were forbidden to marry them when they had such interest, unless they treated them justly and gave them their full Mahr Apostle said, 'If at all there is evil omen, it is in the horse, the woman and the house." a lady is to be warded off. And the Statement of Allah: 'Truly, among your wives and your children, there are enemies for you (i.e may stop you from the obedience of Allah)' (64.14)

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 40:

Narrated Aisha:

that Aflah the brother of Abu Al-Qu'ais, her foster uncle, came, asking permission to enter upon her after the Verse of Al-Hijab (the use of veils by women) was revealed. Aisha added: I did not allow him to enter, but when Allah's Apostle

came, I told him what I had done, and he ordered me to give him permission.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 51:

Narrated Abu Jamra:

I heard Ibn Abbas (giving a verdict) when he was asked about the Mut'a with the women, and he permitted it (Nikahal-Mut'a). On that a freed slave of his said to him, "That is only when it is very badly needed and women are scarce." On that, Ibn Abbas said, "Yes." Volume 7, Book 62, Number 70:

Narrated Abdur-Rahman bin Yazid and Majammi bin

the same ,Hadith above: A man called Khidam married a daughter of his (to somebody) against her consent. 'If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphan girls then marry (other) women of your choice.' (4.3) And if somebody says to the guardian (of a woman), "Marry me to so-and-so," and the guardian remained silent or said to him, "What have you got?" And the other said, "I have so much and so much (Mahr)," or kept quiet, and then the guardian said, "I have married her to you," then the marriage is valid (legal). This narration was told by Sahl on the authority of the Prophet

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 71:

Narrated Ursa bin Az-Zubair:

that he asked Aisha, saying to her, "O Mother! (In what connection was this Verse revealed):

'If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with orphan girls (to the end of the verse) that your right hands (4.3) Aisha said, "O my nephew! It was about the possess?' female orphan under the protection of her guardian who was interested in her beauty and wealth and wanted to marry her with a little or reduced Mahr. So such guardians were forbidden to marry female orphans unless they deal with them justly and give their full Mahr; and they were ordered to marry women other than them."Aisha added, "(Later) the people asked Allah's Apostle, for instructions, and then Allah revealed: 'They ask your instruction concerning the women . . And yet whom you desire to marry.' (4.127) So Allah revealed to them in this Verse that-if a female orphan had wealth and beauty, they desired to marry her and were interested in her noble descent and the reduction of her Mahr; but if she was not desired by them because of her lack in fortune and beauty they left her and married some other woman. So, as they used to leave her when they had no interest in her, they had no right to marry her if they had the desire to do so, unless they deal justly with her and gave her a full amount of Mahr.'

Volume 7 Book 62 Number 72:

Narrated Sahl:

A woman came to the Prophet,, and presented herself to him (for marriage). He said, "I am not in need of women these days." Then a man said, "O Allah's Apostle! Marry her to me." The Prophet asked him, "What have you got?" He said, "I have got nothing." The Prophet said, "Give her something, even an iron ring." He said, "I have got nothing." The Prophet asked (him), "How much of the Koran do you know (by heart)?" He said, "So much and so much." The Prophet said, "I have married her to you for what you know of the

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 81:

Narrated Uaba:

The Prophet said: "The stipulations most entitled to be abided by are those with which you are given the right to enjoy the (women's) private parts (i.e. the stipulations of the marriage contract).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 86:

Narrated Aisha:

When the Prophet married me, my mother came to me and Ansar who said, "May you prosper and have blessings and have good omen."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 114:

Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day should not hurt (trouble) his neighbor. And I advise you to take care of the women, for they are created from a rib and the most crooked portion of the rib is its upper part; if you try to straighten it, it will break, and if you leave it, it will remain crooked, so I urge you to take care of the women.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 119:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

I had been eager to ask Umar bin Al-Khattab about the two ladies from among the wives of the Prophet regarding whom Allah said 'If you two (wives of the Prophet namely Aisha and Hafsa) turn in repentance to Allah, your hearts are indeed so inclined (to oppose what the Prophet likes). (66.4) till Umar performed the Hajj and I too, performed the Hajj along with him. (On the way) Umar went aside to answer the call of nature, and I also went aside along with him carrying a tumbler full of water, and when Umar had finished answering the call of nature, I poured water over his hands and he performed the ablution. Then I said to him, "O chief of the Believers! Who were the two ladies from among the wives of the Prophet regarding whom Allah said: 'If you two (wives of

the Prophet) turn in repentance to Allah your hearts are indeed so inclined (to oppose what the Prophet likes)?" (66.4) He said, "I am astonished at your question, O Ibn Abbas. They were Aisha and Hafsa." Then Umar went on narrating the Hadith and said, "I and an Ansari neighbor of mine from Bani Umaiyya bin Zaid who used to live in Awali-al-Medina, used to visit the Prophet in turn. He used to go one day and I another day. When I went, I would bring him the news of what had happened that day regarding the Divine Inspiration and other things, and when he went, he used to do the same for me. We, the people of Quraish used to have the upper hand over our wives, but when we came to the Ansar, we found that their women had the upper hand over their men, so our women also started learning the ways of the Ansari women. I shouted at my wife and she retorted against me and I disliked that she should answer me back. She said to me, 'Why are you so surprised at my answering you back? By Allah, the wives of the Prophet answer him back and some of them may leave (does not speak to) him throughout the day till the night.' The (talk) scared me and I said to her, 'Whoever has done so will be ruined!' Then I proceeded after dressing myself, and entered upon Hafsa and said to her, 'Does anyone of you keep the Prophet angry till night?' She said, 'Yes.' I said, 'You are a ruined losing person! Don't you fear that Allah may get angry for the anger of Allah's Apostle and thus you will be ruined? So do not ask more from the Prophet and do not answer him back and do not give up talking to him. Ask me whatever you need and do not be tempted to imitate your neighbor (i.e., Aisha) in her manners for she is more charming than you and more beloved to the Prophet ." Umar added,"At that time a talk was circulating among us that (the tribe of) Ghassan were preparing their horses to invade us. My Ansari companion, on the day of his turn, went (to the town) and returned to us at night and knocked at my door violently and asked if I was there. I became horrified and came out to him. He said. 'Today a great thing has happened.' I asked, 'What is it? Have (the people of) Ghassan come?' He said, 'No, but (What has happened) is greater and more horrifying than that: Allah's Apostle; has divorced his wives. Umar added, "The Prophet kept away from his wives and I said "Hafsa is a ruined loser.' I had already thought that most probably this (divorce) would happen in the near future. So I dressed myself and offered the morning prayer with the Prophet and then the Prophet; entered an upper room and stayed there in seclusion. I entered upon Hafsa and saw her weeping. I asked, 'What makes you weep? Did I not warn you about that? Did the Prophet divorce you all?' She said, 'I do not know. There he is retired alone in the upper room.' I came out and sat near the pulpit and saw a group of people sitting around it and some of them were weeping. I sat with them for a while but could not endure the situation, so I went to the upper room where the Prophet; was and said to a black slave of his, 'Will you get the permission (of the Prophet) for Umar (to enter)?' The slave went in, talked to the Prophet about it and then returned saying, 'I have spoken to the Prophet and mentioned you but he kept quiet.' Then I returned and sat with the group of people sitting near the pulpit. but I could not bear the situation and once again I said to the slave, 'Will you get the permission for Umar?' He went in and returned saying, 'I mentioned you to him but he kept quiet.' So I returned again and sat with the group of people sitting near the pulpit, but I could not bear the situation, and so I went to the slave and said, 'Will you get the permission for Umar?' He went in and returned to me saying, 'I mentioned you to him but he kept quiet.' When I was leaving, behold! The slave called me, saying, 'The Prophet has given you permission.' Then I entered upon Allah's Apostle and saw him Lying on a bed made of stalks of date palm leaves and there was no bedding between it and him. The stalks left marks on his side and he was leaning on a leather pillow stuffed with date-palm fires. I greeted him and while still standing I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Have you divorced your wives?' He looked at me and said, 'No.' I said, 'Allah Akbar!' And then, while still standing, I said chatting, 'Will you heed what I say, O Allah's Apostle? We, the people of Quraish used to have power over our women, but when we arrived at Medina we found that the men (here) were overpowered by their women.' The Prophet smiled and then I said to him, 'Will you heed what I say, O Allah's Apostle? I entered upon Hafsa and said to her, not be tempted to imitate your companion (Aisha), for she is more charming than you and more beloved to the Prophet.' The Prophet smiled for a second time. When I saw him smiling, I sat down. Then I looked around his house, and by Allah, I could not see anything of importance in his house except three hides, so I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Invoke Allah to make your followers rich, for the Persians and the Romans have been made prosperous and they have been given (the pleasures of the world), although they do not worship Allah. Thereupon the Prophet sat up as he was reclining and said 'Are you of such an opinion, O the son of Al-Khattab? These are the people who have received the rewards for their good deeds in this world.' I said, 'O Allah's Apostle! Ask Allah to forgive me.' Then the Prophet kept away from his wives for twenty-nine days because of the story which Hafsa had

disclosed to Aisha. The Prophet had said, 'I will not enter upon them (my wives) for one month,' because of his anger towards them, when Allah had admonished him. So, when twenty nine days had passed, the Prophet first entered upon Aisha. Aisha said to him, 'O Allah's Apostle! You had sworn that you would not enter upon us for one month, but now only twenty-nine days have passed, for I have been counting them one by one.' The Prophet said, 'The (present) month is of twenty nine days.' Aisha added, 'Then Allah revealed the Verses of the option. (2) And out of all his-wives he asked me first, and I chose him.' Then he gave option to his other wives and they said what Aisha had said . "(1) The Prophet, ' had decided to abstain from eating a certain kind of food because of a certain event, so Allah blamed him for doing so. Some of his wives were the cause of him taking that decision, therefore he deserted them for one month. See Koran: (66.4)

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 124:

Narrated Usama:

The Prophet said, "I stood at the gate of Paradise and saw that the majority of the people who entered it were the poor, while the wealthy were stopped at the gate (for the accounts). But the companions of the Fire were ordered to be taken to the Fire. Then I stood at the gate of the Fire and saw that the majority of those who entered it were women.'

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 125:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abbas:

During the lifetime of Allah's Apostle, the sun eclipsed. Allah's Apostle offered the prayer of (the) eclipse) and so did the people along with him. He performed a long Oiyam (standing posture) during which Surat-al-Bagara could have been recited; then he performed a pro-longed bowing, then raised his head and stood for a long time which was slightly less than that of the first Qiyam (and recited Koran). Then he performed a prolonged bowing again but the period was shorter than the period of the first bowing, then he stood up and then prostrated. Again he stood up, but this time the period of standing was less than the first standing. Then he performed a prolonged bowing but of a lesser duration than the first, then he stood up again for a long time but for a lesser duration than the first. Then he performed a prolonged bowing but of lesser duration than the first, and then he again stood up, and then prostrated and then finished his prayer. By then the sun eclipse had cleared. The Prophet then said, sun and the moon are two signs among the signs of Allah, and they do not eclipse because of the death or birth of someone, so when you observe the eclipse, remember Allah (offer the eclipse prayer)." They (the people) said, "O Allah's Apostle! We saw you stretching your hand to take something at this place of yours, then we saw you stepping backward." He said. 'I saw Paradise (or Paradise was shown to me), and I stretched my hand to pluck a bunch (of grapes), and had I plucked it, you would have eaten of it as long as this world exists. Then I saw the (Hell) Fire, and I have never before, seen such a horrible sight as that, and I saw that the majority of its dwellers were women." The people asked, "O Allah's Apostle! What is the reason for that?" He replied, "Because of their ungratefulness." It was said. "Do they disbelieve in Allah (are they ungrateful to Allah)?" He replied, "They are not thankful to their husbands and are ungrateful for the favors done to them. Even if you do good to one of them all your life, when she seems some harshness from you, she will say, "I have never seen any good from you.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 126:

Narrated Imran:

The Prophet said, "I looked at Paradise and saw that the majority of its residents were the poor; and I looked at the (Hell) Fire and saw that the majority of its residents were women.'

Volume 7. Book 62. Number 133:

Narrated Aisha:

An Ansari woman gave her daughter in marriage and the hair of the latter started falling out. The Ansari women came to the Prophet and mentioned that to him and said, "Her (my daughter's) husband suggested that I should let her wear false hair." The Prophet said, "No, (don't do that) for Allah sends His curses upon such ladies who lengthen their hair artificially.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 164:

Narrated Aisha:

Once Sada bint Zam'a went out at night for some need, and Umar saw her, and recognizing her, he said (to her), "By Allah, O Sada! You cannot hide yourself from us." So she returned to the Prophet and mentioned that to him while he was sitting in my dwelling taking his supper and holding a bone covered with meat in his hand. Then the Divine Inspiration was revealed to him and when that state was over, he (the Prophet was saying: "O women! You have been allowed by Allah to go out for your needs.'

Volume 7 Book 62 Number 169

Narrated Abu Huraira:

(The Prophet) Solomon son of (the Prophet) David said, "Tonight I will go round (i.e. have sexual relations with) one hundred women (my wives) everyone of whom will deliver a male child who will fight in Allah's Cause." On that an Angel

said to him, "Say: 'If Allah will.' " But Solomon did not say it and forgot to say it. Then he had sexual relations with them but none of them delivered any child except one who delivered a half person. The Prophet said, "If Solomon had said: 'If Allah will,' Allah would have fulfilled his (above) desire and that saying would have made him more hopeful.'

Volume 7. Book 63. Number 178:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

that he had divorced his wife while she was menstruating during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle . Umar bin Al-Khattab asked Allah's Apostle about that. Allah's Apostle said, "Order him (your son) to take her back and keep her till she is clean and then to wait till she gets her next period and becomes clean again, whereupon, if he wishes to keep her, he can do so, and if he wishes to divorce her he can divorce her before having sexual intercourse with her; and that is the prescribed period which Allah has fixed for the women meant to be divorced.'

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 248:

Narrated Al-Hasan:

The sister of Ma'qil bin Yasar was married to a man and then that man divorced her and remained away from her till her period of the Iddah expired. Then he demanded for her hand in marriage, but Ma'qil got angry out of pride and haughtiness and said, "He kept away from her when he could still retain her, and now he demands her hand again?" So Ma'qil disagreed to remarry her to him. Then Allah revealed: 'When you have divorced women and they have fulfilled the term of their prescribed period, do not prevent them from marrying their (former) husbands.' (2.232) So the Prophet sent for Ma'qil and recited to him (Allah's order) and consequently Ma'qil gave up his pride and haughtiness and yielded to Allah's order.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 249:

Narrated Nafi:

Ibn Umar bin Al-Khattab divorced his wife during her menses. Allah's Apostle ordered him to take her back till she became clean, and when she got another period while she was with him, she should wait till she became clean again and only then, if he wanted to divorce her, he could do so before having sexual relations with her. And that is the period Allah has fixed for divorcing women. Whenever Abdullah (bin Umar) was asked about that, he would say to the questioner, "If you divorced her thrice, she is no longer lawful for you unless she marries another man (and the other man divorces her in his turn).' Ibn Umar further said, 'Would that you (people) only give one or two divorces, because the Prophet has ordered me

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 329:

Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:

The Prophet said, "Many men reached perfection but none among the women reached perfection except Mary, the daughter of 'Imran, and Asia, Pharoah's wife. And the superiority of Aisha to other women is like the superiority of Tharid to other kinds of food

Volume 7, Book 65, Number 375:

Narrated Anas:

I know (about) the Hijab (the order of veiling of women) more than anybody else. Ubai bin Ka'b used to ask me about it. Allah's Apostle became the bridegroom of Zainab bint Jahsh whom he married at Medina. After the sun had risen high in the sky, the Prophet invited the people to a meal. Allah's Apostle remained sitting and some people remained sitting with him after the other guests had left. Then Allah's Apostle got up and went away, and I too, followed him till he reached the door of Aisha's room. Then he thought that the people must have left the place by then, so he returned and I also returned with him. Behold, the people were still sitting at their places. So he went back again for the second time, and I went along with him too. When we reached the door of Aisha's room, he returned and I also returned with him to see that the people had left. Thereupon the Prophet hung a curtain between me and him and the Verse regarding the order for (veiling of women) Hijab was revealed.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 715:

Narrated 'Ikrima:

Rifa'a divorced his wife whereupon AbdurRahman bin Az-Zubair Al-Qurazi married her. Aisha said that the lady (came), wearing a green veil (and complained to her (Aisha) of her husband and showed her a green spot on her skin caused by beating). It was the habit of ladies to support each other, so when Allah's Apostle came, Aisha said, "I have not seen any woman suffering as much as the believing women. Look! Her skin is greener than her clothes!" When AbdurRahman heard that his wife had gone to the Prophet, he came with his two sons from another wife. She said, "By Allah! I have done no wrong to him but he is impotent and is as useless to me as this," holding and showing the fringe of her garment, Abdur-Rahman said, "By Allah, O Allah's Apostle! She has told a lie! I am very strong and can satisfy her but she is disobedient and wants to go back to Rifa'a." Allah's Apostle said, to her, "If that is your intention, then know that it is unlawful for you to remarry Rifa'a unless Abdur-Rahman has had sexual intercourse with you." Then the Prophet saw two boys with

Abdur-Rahman and asked (him), "Are these your sons?" On that Abdur-Rahman said, "Yes." The Prophet said, "You claim what you claim (i.e.. that he is impotent)? But by Allah, these boys resemble him as a crow resembles a crow," 7, Book 72, Number 734:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

For one year I wanted to ask Umar about the two women who helped each other against the Prophet but I was afraid of him. One day he dismounted his riding animal and went among the trees of Arak to answer the call of nature, and when he returned, I asked him and he said, "(They were) Aisha and Hafsa." Then he added, "We never used to give significance to ladies in the days of the Pre-Islamic period of ignorance, but when Islam came and Allah mentioned their rights, we used to give them their rights but did not allow them to interfere in our affairs. Once there was some dispute between me and my wife and she answered me back in a loud voice. I said to her, 'Strange! You can retort in this way?' She said, 'Yes. Do you say this to me while your daughter troubles Allah's Apostle?' So I went to Hafsa and said to her, 'I warn you not to disobey Allah and His Apostle.' I first went to Hafsa and then to Um Salama and told her the same. She said to me, 'O Umar! It surprises me that you interfere in our affairs so much that you would poke your nose even into the affairs of Allah's Apostle and his wives.' So she rejected my advice. There was an Ansari man; whenever he was absent from Allah's Apostle and I was present there, I used to convey to him what had happened (on that day), and when I was absent and he was present there, he used to convey to me what had happened as regards news from Allah's Apostle. During that time all the rulers of the nearby lands had surrendered to Allah's Apostle except the king of Ghassan in Sham, and we were afraid that he might attack us. All of a sudden the Ansari came and said, 'A great event has happened!' I asked him, 'What is it? Has the Ghassani (king) come?' He said, 'Greater than that! Allah's Apostle has divorced his wives! I went to them and found all of them weeping in their dwellings, and the Prophet had ascended to an upper room of his. At the door of the room there was a slave to whom I went and said, "Ask the permission for me to enter." He admitted me and I entered to see the Prophet lying on a mat that had left its imprint on his side. Under his head there was a leather pillow stuffed with palm fires. Behold! There were some hides hanging there and some grass for tanning. Then I mentioned what I had said to Hafsa and Um Salama and what reply Um Salama had given me. Allah's Apostle smiled and stayed there for twenty nine days and then came down." (See Hadith No. 648 Vol. 3 for details)

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 815:

Narrated Abdullah:

Allah has cursed those women who practise tattooing and those who get themselves tattooed, and those who remove their face hairs, and those who create a space between their teeth artificially to look beautiful, and such women as change the features created by Allah. Why then should I not curse those whom the Prophet has cursed? And that is in Allah's Book. i.e. His Saying: 'And what the Apostle gives you take it and what he forbids you abstain (from it).' (59.7)

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 816:

Narrated Humaid bin Abdur-Rahman bin Auf

that in the year he performed Hajj. he heard Mu'awiya bin Abi Sufyan, who was on the pulpit and was taking a tuft of hair from one of his guards, saying, "Where are your religious learned men? I heard Allah's Apostle forbidding this (false hair) and saying, 'The children of Israel were destroyed when their women started using this." Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet said, "Allah has cursed the lady who artificially lengthens (her or someone else's) hair and the one who gets her hair lengthened and the One who tattoos (herself or someone else) and the one who gets herself tattooed

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 822:

Narrated 'Algama:

Abdullah cursed those women who practiced tattooing and those who removed hair from their faces and those who created spaces between their teeth artificially to look beautiful, such ladies as changed what Allah has created. Um Ya'qub said, "What is that?" Abdullah said, "Why should I not curse those who were cursed by Allah's Apostle and are referred to in Allah's Book?" She said to him "By Allah, I have read the whole Koran but I have not found such a thing. Abdullah said, "By Allah, if you had read it (carefully) you would have found it. (Allah says:) 'And what the Apostle gives you take it and what he forbids you abstain (from it).' (59.7)

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 826:

Narrated Ibn Musud:

Allah has cursed those women who practise tattooing or get it done for themselves, and those who remove hair from their faces, and those who create spaces between their teeth artificially to look beautiful, such ladies as change the features created by Allah. Why then shall I not curse those whom Allah's Apostle has cursed and who are cursed in Allah's Book

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 832:

Narrated Abdullah:

Allah has cursed those women who practise tattooing and those who get it done for themselves, and those who remove hair from their faces, and those who artificially create spaces between their teeth to look beautiful, such women as alter the features created by Allah. Why should I not then curse those whom Allah's Apostle has cursed and that is in Allah's Book?

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 108:

Narrated Sa'd:

Umar bin Al-Khattab asked permission of Allah's Apostle to see him while some Quraishi women were sitting with him and they were asking him to give them more financial support while raising their voices over the voice of the Prophet. When Umar asked permission to enter, all of them hurried to screen themselves the Prophet admitted Umar and he entered, while the Prophet was smiling. Umar said, "May Allah always keep you smiling, O Allah's Apostle! Let my father and mother be sacrificed for you!" The Prophet said, "I am astonished at these women who were with me. As soon as they heard your voice, they hastened to screen themselves." Umar said, "You have more right, that they should be afraid of you, O Allah's Apostle!" And then he (Umar) turned towards them and said. 'O enemies of your souls! You are afraid of me and not of Allah's Apostle?" The women replied, "Yes, for you are sterner and harsher than Allah's Apostle." Allah's Apostle said, "O Ibn Al-Khattab! By Him in Whose Hands my life is, whenever Satan sees you taking a way, he follows a way other than yours!"

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 182:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

Allah's Apostle was on a journey and he had a black slave called Anjasha, and he was driving the camels (very fast, and there were women riding on those camels). Allah's Apostle said, "Waihaka (May Allah be merciful to you), O Anjasha! Drive slowly (the camels) with the glass vessels (women)!

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 221:

Narrated Anas:

Once Um Sulaim was (with the women who were) in charge of the luggage on a journey, and Anjashah, the slave of the Prophet, was driving their camels (very fast). The Prophet said, "O Anjash! Drive slowly (the camels) with the glass vessels (i.e., ladies).'

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 229:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet was on a journey and a slave named Anjasha was chanting (singing) for the camels to let them go fast (while driving). The Prophet said, "O Anjasha, drive slowly (the camels) with the glass vessels!" Abu Qilaba said, "By the glass vessels' he meant the women (riding the camels)."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 230:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet had a Had (a camel driver) called Anjasha, and he had a nice voice. The Prophet said to him, "(Drive) slowly, O Anjasha! Do not break the glass vessels!" And Qatada said, '(By vessels') he meant the weak women.'

Volume 8 Book 74 Number 257:

Narrated Aisha:

(the wife of the Prophet) Umar bin Al-Khattab used to say to Allah's Apostle "Let your wives be veiled" But he did not do so. The wives of the Prophet used to go out to answer the call of nature at night only at Al-Manasi.' Once Sauda, the daughter of Zam'a went out and she was a tall woman. Umar bin Al-Khattab saw her while he was in a gathering, and said, "I have recognized you, O Sauda!" He (Umar) said so as he was anxious for some Divine orders regarding the veil (the veiling of women.) So Allah revealed the Verse of veiling. (Al-Hijab; a complete body cover excluding the eyes). (See Hadith No. 148, Vol. 1)

Volume 8, Book 74, Number 278:

Narrated Abu Said:

The people of (the tribe of) Quraiza agreed upon to accept the verdict of Sa'd. The Prophet sent for him (Sa'd) and he came. The Prophet said (to those people), "Get up for your chief or the best among you!" Sa'd sat beside the Prophet and the Prophet said (to him), "These people have agreed to accept your verdict." Sa'd said, "So I give my judgment that their warriors should be killed and their women and children should be taken as captives." The Prophet said, "You have judged according to the King's (Allah's) judgment." (See Hadith No. 447, Vol. 5)

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 456:

Narrated 'Imran bin Husain:

The Prophet said, "I looked into Paradise and found that the majority of its dwellers were the poor people, and I looked into the (Hell) Fire and found that the majority of its dwellers were women.

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 554:

Narrated 'Imran:

The Prophet said, "I looked into paradise and saw that the majority of its people were the poor, and I looked into the Fire and found that the majority of its people were women."

Volume 8, Book 76, Number 555:

Narrated Usama:

The Prophet said, "I stood at the gate of Paradise and saw that the majority of the people who had entered it were poor

people, while the rich were forbidden (to enter along with the poor, because they were waiting the reckoning of their accounts), but the people of the Fire had been ordered to be driven to the Fire. And I stood at the gate of the Fire and found that the majority of the people entering it were

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 634:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "(The Prophet) Solomon once said, 'Tonight I will sleep with ninety women, each of whom will bring forth a (would-be) cavalier who will fight in Allah's Cause." On this, his companion said to him, "Say: Allah willing!" But he did not say Allah willing. Solomon then slept with all the women, but none of them became pregnant but one woman who later delivered a half-man. By Him in Whose Hand Mohammed's soul is, if he (Solomon) had said, 'Allah willing' (all his wives would have brought forth boys) and they would have fought in Allah's Cause as cavaliers.

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 711:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

(The Prophet) Solomon said, "Tonight I will sleep with (my) ninety wives, each of whom will get a male child who will fight for Allah's Cause." On that, his companion (Sufyan said that his companion was an angel) said to him, "Say, "If Allah will (Allah willing)." But Solomon forgot (to say it). He slept with all his wives, but none of the women gave birth to a child, except one who gave birth to a halfboy. Abu Huraira added: The Prophet said, "If Solomon had said, "If Allah will" (Allah willing), he would not have been unsuccessful in his action, and would have attained what he had desired." Once Abu Huraira added: Allah apostle said, "If he had accepted."

Volume 9, Book 85, Number 79:

Narrated Aisha:

I asked the Prophet, "O Allah's Apostle! Should the women be asked for their consent to their marriage?" He said, "Yes. I said, "A virgin, if asked, feels shy and keeps quiet." He said, "Her silence means her consent."

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 321:

Narrated Aisha:

The Prophet used to take the Pledge of allegiance from the women by words only after reciting this Holy Verse:--(60.12) ..that they will not associate anything in worship with Allah." (60.12) And the hand of Allah's Apostle did not touch any woman's hand except the hand of that woman his right hand possessed. (i.e. his captives or his lady slaves).

Volume 9, Book 92, Number 462:

Narrated Aisha:

After the slanderers had given a forged statement against her, Allah's Apostle called Ali bin Abi Talib and Usama bin Zaid when the Divine Inspiration was delayed. He wanted to ask them and consult them about the question of divorcing me. Usama gave his evidence that was based on what he knew about my innocence, but Ali said, "Allah has not put restrictions on you and there are many women other than her. Furthermore you may ask the slave girl who will tell you the truth." So the Prophet asked Barira (my salve girl), "Have you seen anything that may arouse your suspicion?" She replied, "I have not seen anything more than that she is a little girl who sleeps, leaving the dough of her family (unguarded) that the domestic goats come and eat it." Then the Prophet stood on the pulpit and said, "O Muslims! Who will help me against the man who has harmed me by slandering my wife? By Allah, I know nothing about my family except good." The narrator added: Then the Prophet mentioned the innocence of Aisha. (See Hadith No. 274, Vol. 6)

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 517:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Verse of Al-Hijab (veiling of women) was revealed in connection with Zainab bint Jahsh. (On the day of her marriage with him) the Prophet gave a wedding banquet with bread and meat; and she used to boast before other wives of the Prophet and used to say, "Allah married me (to the Prophet in the Heavens.'

Volume 9. Book 93. Number 561:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Prophet Solomon who had sixty wives, once said, "Tonight I will have sexual relation (sleep) with all my wives so that each of them will become pregnant and bring forth (a boy who will grow into) a cavalier and will fight in Allah's Cause." So he slept with his wives and none of them (conceived and) delivered (a child) except one who brought a half (body) boy (deformed). Allah's Prophet said, "If Solomon had said; 'If Allah Will,' then each of those women would have delivered a (would-be) cavalier to fight in Allah's Cause." (See Hadith No. 74 A, Vol. 4).

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 88:

Uqba bin Al-Harith said that he had married the daughter of Abi Ihab bin Aziz. Later on a woman came to him and said. "I have suckled (nursed) Uqba and the woman whom he married (his wife) at my breast." Uqba said to her, "Neither I knew that you have suckled (nursed) me nor did you tell me. Then he rode over to see Allah's Apostle at Medina, and asked him about it. Allah's Apostle said, "How can you keep her as a

wife when it has been said (that she is your foster-sister)?" Then Ugba divorced her, and she married another man.

Volume 1, Book 3, Number 97:

Allah's Apostle said "Three persons will have a double

- 1. A Person from the people of the scriptures who believed in his prophet (Jesus or Moses) and then believed in the Prophet Mohammed (i.e. has embraced Islam).
- 2. A slave who discharges his duties to Allah and his master. 3. A master of a woman-slave who teaches her good manners and educates her in the best possible way (the religion) and manumits her and then marries her.'

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 227:

A woman came to the Prophet and said, "If anyone of us gets menses in her clothes then what should she do?" He replied, "She should (take hold of the soiled place), rub it and put it in the water and rub it in order to remove the traces of blood and then pour water over it. Then she can pray in it.

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 295:

A person asked me, "Can a woman in menses serve me? And can a Junub woman come close to me?" I replied, "All this is easy for me. All of them can serve me, and there is no harm for any other person to do the same. Aisha told me that she used to comb the hair of Allah's Apostle while she was in her menses, and he was in Itikaf (in the mosque). He would bring his head near her in her room and she would comb his hair, while she used to be in her menses.'

Volume 1. Book 6. Number 304:

A woman asked Allah's Apostle, "O Allah's Apostle! What should we do, if the blood of menses falls on our clothes? Allah's Apostle replied, "If the blood of menses falls on the garment of anyone of you, she must take hold of the blood spot, rub it, and wash it with water and then pray in (with

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 311:

A woman asked the Prophet about the bath which is take after finishing from the menses. The Prophet told her what to do and said, "Purify yourself with a piece of cloth scented with musk." The woman asked, "How shall I purify myself with it" He said, "Subhan Allah! Purify yourself (with it)." I pulled her to myself and said, "Rub the place soiled with blood with it.

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 312:

An Ansari woman asked the Prophet how to take a bath after finishing from the menses. He replied, "Take a piece a cloth perfumed with musk and clean the private parts with it thrice." The Prophet felt shy and turned his face. So pulled her to me and told her what the Prophet meant.

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 318:

A woman asked Aisha, "Should I offer the prayers that which I did not offer because of menses" Aisha said, "Are you from the Huraura' (a town in Iraq?) We were with the Prophet and used to get our periods but he never ordered us to offer them (the Prayers missed during menses)." Aisha perhaps said, "We did not offer them."

Volume 1, Book 6, Number 326:

A woman is al lowed to leave (go back home) if she gets menses (after Tawaf-Allfada). Ibn Umar formerly used to say that she should not leave but later on I heard him saying, "She may leave, since Allah's Apostle gave them the permission to leave (after Tawaf-Allfada.

Volume 2, Book 13, Number 18:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

I heard Allah's Apostle saying, "All of you are Guardians." Yunis said: Ruzaiq bin Hukaim wrote to Ibn Shihab while I was with him at Wadi-al-Qura saying, "Shall I lead the Jumua prayer?" Ruzaiq was working on the land (i.e farming) and there was a group of Sudanese people and some others with him; Ruzaiq was then the Governor of Aila. Ibn Shihab wrote (to Ruzaiq) ordering him to lead the Jumua prayer and telling him that Salim told him that Abdullah bin Umar had said, " heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'All of you are guardians and responsible for your wards and the things under your care. The Imam (i.e. ruler) is the guardian of his subjects and is responsible for them and a man is the guardian of his family and is responsible for them. A woman is the guardian of her husband's house and is responsible for it. A servant is the guardian of his master's belongings and is responsible for them.' I thought that he also said, 'A man is the guardian of his father's property and is responsible for it. All of you are guardians and responsible for your wards and the things under vour care.'

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 192:

Narrated Ibn Umar: The Prophet said, "A woman should not travel for more than three days except with a Dhi-Mahram (i.e. a male with whom she cannot marry at all, e.g. her brother, father, grandfather, etc.) or her own husband.)"

Volume 2 Book 20 Number 193:

Narrated IbnUmar:

The Prophet said, "A woman should not travel for more than three days except with a Dhi-Mahram."

Volume 2, Book 20, Number 194:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "It is not permissible for a woman who believes in Allah and the Last Day to travel for one day and night except with a Mahram.'

Volume 2, Book 21, Number 288:

Narrated Qaza'a Maula:

(freed slave of) Ziyad: I heard Abu Said Al-khudri narrating four things from the Prophet and I appreciated them very much. He said, conveying the words of the Prophet.

- (1) "A woman should not go on a two day journey except with her husband or a Dhi-Mahram.
- (2) No fasting is permissible on two days: Id-ul-Fitr and Idul-Adha.
- (3) No prayer after two prayers, i.e. after the Fajr prayer
- till the sunrises and after the Asr prayer till the sun sets.

 (4) Do not prepare yourself for a journey except to three Mosques, i.e. Al-Masjid-AI-Haram, the Mosque of Aqsa (Jerusalem) and my Mosque."

Volume 2, Book 23, Number 370:

Narrated Zainab bint Abi Salama:

When the news of the death of Abu Sufyan reached from Sham, Um Habiba on the third day, asked for a yellow perfume and scented her cheeks and forearms and said, "No doubt, I would not have been in need of this, had I not heard the Prophet saying: "It is not legal for a woman who believes in Allah and the Last Day to mourn for more than three days for any dead person except her husband, for whom she should mourn for four months and ten days.

Volume 2. Book 23. Number 371:

Narrated Zainab bint Abi Salama:

I went to Um Habiba, the wife of Prophet, who said, "I heard the Prophets saying, 'It is not legal for a woman who believes in Allah and the Last Day to mourn for any dead person for more than three days except for her husband, (for whom she should mourn) for four months and ten days'. Later I went to Zainab bint Jahsh when her brother died: she asked for some scent, and after using it she said, "I am not in need of scent but I heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'It is not legal for a woman who believes in Allah and the Last Day to mourn for more than three days for any dead person except her husband, (for whom she should mourn) for four months and ten days.

Volume 3, Book 31, Number 172:

Narrated Abu Said:

The Prophet said, "Isn't it true that a woman does not pray and does not fast on menstruating? And that is the defect (a loss) in her religion.

Volume 3. Book 34. Number 264:

Narrated Ibrahim hin Sad from his father from his grand-

Abdur Rahman bin Auf said, "When we came to Medina as emigrants, Allah's Apostle established a bond of brotherhood between me and Sad bin Ar-Rabi. Sad bin Ar-Rabi said (to me), 'I am the richest among the Ansar, so I will give you half of my wealth and you may look at my two wives and whichever of the two you may choose I will divorce her, and when she has completed the prescribed period (before marriage) you may marry her.' Abdur-Rahman replied, "I am not in need of all that. Is there any market-place where trade is practiced?' He replied, "The market of Qainuqa." Abdur-Rahman went to that market the following day and brought some dried butter-milk (yogurt) and butter, and then he continued going there regularly. Few days later, AbdurRahman came having traces of yellow (scent) on his body. Allah's Apostle asked him whether he had got married. He replied in the affirmative. The Prophet said, 'Whom have you married?' He replied, 'A woman from the Ansar.' Then the Prophet asked, 'How much did you pay her?' He replied, '(I gave her) a gold piece equal in weigh to a date stone (or a date stone of gold)! The Prophet said, 'Give a Walima (wedding banquet) even if with one sheep .'

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 280:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "If a woman gives something (i.e. in charity) from her husband's earnings without his permission, she will get half his reward.'

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 505r:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

A woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I want to give up myself to you." A man said, "Marry her to me." The Prophet said, "We agree to marry her to you with what you know of the Koran by heart."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 730:

Narrated Abdullah:

Allah's Apostle said, "Everyone of you is a guardian and is responsible for his charges. The ruler who has authority over people, is a guardian and is responsible for them, a man is a guardian of his family and is responsible for them; a woman is a guardian of her husband's house and children and is responsible for them; a slave ('Abu) is a guardian of his master's property and is responsible for it; so all of you are guardians and are responsible for your charges."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 733:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

That he heard Allah's Apostle saying, "Everyone of you is a guardian and is responsible for his charge; the ruler is a guardian and is responsible for his subjects; the man is a guardian in his family and responsible for his charges; a woman is a guardian of her husband's house and responsible for her charges; and the servant is a guardian of his master's property and is responsible for his charge." I definitely heard the above from the Prophet and think that the Prophet also said, "A man is a guardian of his father's property and responsible for his charges; so everyone of you is a guardian and responsible for his charges."

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 807:

Narrated Aisha:

The wife of Rifa'a Al-Qurazi came to the Prophet and said, "I was Rifa'a's wife, but he divorced me and it was a final irrevocable divorce. Then I married AbdurRahman bin Az-Zubair but he is impotent." The Prophet asked her 'Do you want to remarry Rifa'a? You cannot unless you had a complete sexual relation with your present husband." Abu Bakr was sitting with Allah's Apostle and Khalid bin Said bin Al-As was at the door waiting to be admitted. He said, "O Abu Bakr! Do you hear what this (woman) is revealing frankly before the Prophet?"

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 808:

Narrated Abdullah bin Abu Mulaika from Uqba bin Al-

Uqba married the daughter of Abu lhab bin Aziz, and then a woman came and said, "I suckled Uqba and his wife." Uqba said to her, "I do not know that you have suckled me, and you hid not inform me." He then sent someone to the house of Abu lhab to enquire about that but they did not know that she had suckled their daughter. Then Uqba went to the Prophet in Medina and asked him about it. The Prophet said to him, "How (can you keep your wife) after it has been said (that both of you were suckled by the same woman)?" So, he divorced her and she was married to another (husband).

Volume 3, Book 48, Number 828:

Narrated Uqba bin Al-Harith:

I married a woman and later on a woman came and said, "I suckled you both." So, I went to the Prophet (to ask him about it). He said, "How can you (keep her as a wife) when it has been said (that you were foster brother and sister)? Leave (divorce) her.

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 859:

Narrated Aisha:

The following Verse: If a woman fears cruelty or desertion on her husband's part (i.e. the husband notices something unpleasant about his wife, such as old age or the like, and wants to divorce her, but she asks him to keep her and provide for her as he wishes). (4.128) "There is no blame on them if they reconcile on such basis."

Volume 3, Book 50, Number 885:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani:

A bedouin came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's apostle! I ask you by Allah to judge My case according to Allah's Laws." His opponent, who was more learned than he, said, "Yes, judge between us according to Allah's Laws, and allow me to speak." Allah's Apostle said, "Speak." He (i .e. the bedouin or the other man) said, "My son was working as a laborer for this (man) and he committed illegal sexual intercourse with his wife. The people told me that it was obligatory that my son should be stoned to death, so in lieu of that I ransomed my son by paying one hundred sheep and a slave girl. Then I asked the religious scholars about it, and they informed me that my son must be lashed one hundred lashes, and be exiled for one year, and the wife of this (man) must be stoned to death." Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hands my soul is, I will judge between you according to Allah's Laws. The slave-girl and the sheep are to be returned to you, your son is to receive a hundred lashes and be exiled for one year. You, Unais, go to the wife of this (man) and if she confesses her guilt, stone her to death." Unais went to that woman next morning and she confessed. Allah's Apostle ordered that she be stoned to death

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 110:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

I heard the Prophet saying. "Evil omen is in three things: The horse, the woman and the house."

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 111:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad Saidi:

Allah's Apostle said "If there is any evil omen in anything, then it is in the woman, the horse and the house."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 611:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "Were it not for Bani Israel, meat would not decay; and were it not for Eve, no woman would ever betray her husband."

Volume 5, Book 57, Number 119:

Narrated Hisham's father:

The people used to send presents to the Prophet on the day of Aisha's turn. Aisha said, "My companions (i.e. the other wives of the Prophet) gathered in the house of Um Salama and said, "0 Um Salama! By Allah, the people choose to send presents on the day of Aisha's turn and we too, love the good

(i.e. presents etc.) as Aisha does. You should tell Allah's Apostle to tell the people to send their presents to him wherever he may be, or wherever his turn may be." Um Salama said that to the Prophet and he turned away from her, and when the Prophet returned to her (i.e. Um Salama), she repeated the same, and the Prophet again turned away, and when she told him the same for the third time, the Prophet said, "O Um Salama! Don't trouble me by harming Aisha, for by Allah, the Divine Inspiration never came to me while I was under the blanket of any woman amongst you except her."

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 512:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet offered the Fajr Prayer near Khaibar when it was still dark and then said, "Allahu-Akbar! Khaibar is destroyed, for whenever we approach a (hostile) nation (to fight), then evil will be the morning for those who have been warned." Then the inhabitants of Khaibar came out running on the roads. The Prophet had their warriors killed, their offspring and woman taken as captives. Safiya was amongst the captives, She first came in the share of Dahya Alkali but later on she belonged to the Prophet. The Prophet made her manumission as her 'Mahr'.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 27:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "A woman is married for four things, i.e., her wealth, her family status, her beauty and her religion. So you should marry the religious woman (otherwise) you will be a losers.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 31:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

Evil omen was mentioned before the Prophet: The Prophet said, "If there is evil omen in anything, it is in the house, the woman and the horse."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 32:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

Allah's Apostle said, "If at all there is bad omen, it is in the horse, the woman, and the house."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 41:

Narrated Uqba bin Al-Harith:

I married a woman and then a black lady came to us and said, "I have suckled you both (you and your wife)." So I came to the Prophet and said, "I married so-and-so and then a black lady came to us and said to me, 'I have suckled both of you.' But I think she is a liar." The Prophet turned his face away from me and I moved to face his face, and said, "She is a liar." The Prophet said, "How (can you keep her as your wife) when that lady has said that she has suckled both of you? So abandon (i.e., divorce) her (your wife)."

Volume 7. Book 62. Number 44:

Narrated Jabir:

Allah's Apostle forbade that a woman should be married to man along with her paternal or maternal aunt.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 45:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "A woman and her paternal aunt should not be married to the same man; and similarly, a woman and her maternal aunt should not be married to the same man."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 46:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet forbade that a woman should be married to a man along with her paternal aunt or with her maternal aunt (at the same time). Az-Zuhri (the sub-narrator) said: There is a similar order for the paternal aunt of the father of one's wife, for Ursa told me that Aisha said, "What is unlawful because of blood relations, is also unlawful because of the corresponding foster suckling relations."

Volume 7. Book 62. Number 52:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah and Salama bin Al-Akwa:

While we were in an army, Allah's Apostle came to us and said, "You have been allowed to do the Mut'a (marriage), so do it." Salama bin Al-Akwa said: Allah's Apostle's said, "If a man and a woman agree (to marry temporarily), their marriage should last for three nights, and if they like to continue, they can do so; and if they want to separate, they can do so." I do not know whether that was only for us or for all the people in general. Abu Abdullah (Al-Bukhari) said: Ali made it clear that the Prophet said, "The Mut'a marriage has been cancelled (made unlawful)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 54:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

A woman presented herself to the Prophet (for marriage). A man said to him, "O Allah's Apostle! (If you are not in need of her) marry her to me." The Prophet said, "What have you got?" The man said, "I have nothing." The Prophet said (to him), "Go and search for something) even if it were an iron ring." The man went and returned saying, "No, I have not found anything, not even an iron ring; but this is my (Izar) waist sheet, and half of it is for her." He had no Rida' (upper garment). The Prophet said, "What will she do with your waist sheet? If you wear it, she will have nothing over her; and if she wears it, you will have nothing over you." So the man sat down and when he had sat a long time, he got up (to leave). When the Prophet saw him (leaving), he called him back, or

the man was called (for him), and he said to the man, "How much of the Koran do you know (by heart)?" The man replied I know such Sura and such Sura (by heart)," naming the Suras The Prophet said, "I have married her to you for what you know of the Koran"

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 58:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

A woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have come to you to present myself to you (for marriage)." Allah's Apostle glanced at her. He looked at her carefully and fixed his glance on her and then lowered his head. When the lady saw that he did not say anything, she sat down. A man from his companions got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! If you are not in need of her, then marry her to me." The Prophet said, "Have you got anything to offer." The man said, 'No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said (to him), "Go to your family and try to find something." So the man went and returned, saying, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle! I have not found anything." The Prophet said, "Go again and look for something, even if it were an iron ring." He went and returned, saying, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle! I could not find even an iron ring, but this is my Izar (waist sheet).' He had no Rida (upper garment). He added, "I give half of it to her." Allah's Apostle said "What will she do with your Izar? If you wear it, she will have nothing over herself thereof (will be naked); and if she wears it, then you will have nothing over yourself thereof' So the man sat for a long period and then got up (to leave). When Allah's Apostle saw him leaving, he ordered that he e called back. When he came, the Prophet asked (him), "How much of the Koran do you know (by heart)?" The man replied, I know such Sura and such Sura and such Sura," naming the suras. The Prophet said, 'Can you recite it by heart?" He said, 'Yes." The Prophet said, "Go I let you marry her for what you know of the Koran (as her Mahr).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 63:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad:

While we were sitting in the company of the Prophet a woman came to him and presented herself (for marriage) to him. The Prophet looked at her, lowering his eyes and raising them, but did not give a reply. One of his companions said, "Marry her to me O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet asked (him), "Have you got anything?" He said, "I have got nothing." The Prophet said, "Not even an iron ring?" He Sad, "Not even an iron ring, but I will tear my garment into two halves and give her one half and keep the other half." The Prophet; said, "No. Do you know some of the Koran (by heart)?" He said, "Yes." The Prophet said, "Go, I have agreed to marry her to you with what you know of the Koran (as her Mahr)." 'And for those who have no courses (i.e. they are still immature). (65.4) And the Iddat for the girl before puberty is three months (in the above Verse).

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 66:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad

A woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "I present myself (to you) (for marriage). She stayed for a long while, then a man said, "If you are not in need of her then marry her to me." The Prophet said, "Have you got anything m order to pay her Mahr?" He said, "I have nothing with me except my Izar (waist sheet)." The Prophet said, "If you give her your Izar, you will have no Izar to wear, (so go) and search for something. He said, "I could not find anything." The Prophet said, "Try (to find something), even if it were an iron ring But he was not able to find (even that) The Prophet said (to him). "Do you memorize something of the Koran?" "Yes. ' he said, "such Sura and such Sura," naming those Suras The Prophet said, "We have married her to you for what you know of the Koran (by heart)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 79:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-Saldi:

While I was (sitting) among the people in the company of Allah's Apostle a woman stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! She has given herself in marriage to you; please give your opinion of her." The Prophet did not give her any reply. She again stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! She has given herself (in marriage) to you; so please give your opinion of her. The Prophet did not give her any reply. She again stood up for the third time and said, "She has given herself in marriage to you: so give your opinion of her." So a man stood up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Marry her to me." The Prophet said, "Go and search for something, even if it were an iron ring." The man went and searched and then returned saying, "I could not find anything, not even an iron ring." Then the Prophet said, "Do you know something of the Koran (by heart)?" He replied, "I know (by heart) such Sura and such Sura." The Prophet said, "Go! I have married her to you for what you know of the Koran (by heart)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 82:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "It is not lawful for a woman (at the time of wedding) to ask for the divorce of her sister (i.e. the other wife of her would-be husband) in order to have everything for herself, for she will take only what has been written for her."

Volume 7. Book 62. Number 113:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "The woman is like a rib; if you try to straighten her, she will break. So if you want to get benefit from her, do so while she still has some crookedness.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 120:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "A woman should not fast (optional fasts) except with her husband's permission if he is at home (staying with her).'

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 122:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "If a woman spends the night deserting her husband's bed (does not sleep with him), then the angels send their curses on her till she comes back (to her husband)."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 134:

Narrated Aisha:

regarding the Verse: 'If a wife fears cruelty or desertion on her husband's part ...') (4.128) It concerns the woman whose husband does not want to keep her with him any longer, but wants to divorce her and marry some other lady, so she says to him: 'Keep me and do not divorce me, and then marry another woman, and you may neither spend on me, nor sleep with me. This is indicated by the Statement of Allah: 'There is no blame on them if they arrange an amicable settlement between them both, and (such) settlement is better." (4.128)

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 166:

Narrated Aisha:

My foster uncle came and asked permission (to enter) but I refused to admit him till I asked Allah's Apostle about that. He said, "He is your uncle, so allow him to come in." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have been suckled by a woman and not by a man." Allah's Apostle said, "He is your uncle, so let him enter upon you." And that happened after the order of Al-Hijab (compulsory veiling) was revealed. All things which become unlawful because of blood relations are unlawful because of the corresponding foster suckling relations.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 167:

Narrated Abdullah bin Musud:

The Prophet said, "A woman should not look at or touch another woman to describe her to her husband in such a way as if he was actually looking at her.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 168:

Narrated Abdullah: The Prophet said, "A woman should not look at or touch another woman to describe her to her husband in such a way as if he was actually looking at her.

Volume 7 Book 62 Number 173:

Narrated Jabir bin Abdullah:

The Prophet said, "If you enter (your town) at night (after coming from a journey), do not enter upon your family till the woman whose husband was absent (from the house) shaves her pubic hair and the woman with unkempt hair, combs her hair" Allah's Apostle further said, "(O Jabir!) Seek to have offspring, seek to have offspring!" Volume 7, Book 63, Number 251:

Narrated Humaid bin Nafi':

Zainab bint Abu Salama told me these three narrations: Zainab said: I went to Um Habiba, the wife of the Prophet when her father, Abu-Sufyan bin Herb had died. Um , Habiba asked for a perfume which contained yellow scent (Khaluq) or some other scent, and she first perfumed one of the girls with it and then rubbed her cheeks with it and said, "By Allah, I am not in need of perfume, but I have heard Allah's Apostle saying, 'It is not lawful for a lady who believes in Allah and the Last Day to mourn for a dead person for more than three days unless he is her husband for whom she should mourn for four months and ten days.' " Zainab further said: I want to Zainab bint Jahsh when her brother died. She asked for perfume and used some of it and said, "By Allah, I am not in need of perfume, but I have heard Allah's Apostle saying on the pulpit, 'It is not lawful for a lady who believes in Allah and the last day to mourn for more than three days except for her husband for whom she should mourn for four months and ten days.' " Zainab further said, "I heard my mother, Um Salama saying that a woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! The husband of my daughter has died and she is suffering from an eye disease, can she apply kohl to her eye?" Allah's Apostle replied, "No," twice or thrice. (Every time she repeated her question) he said, "No." Then Allah's Apostle added, "It is just a matter of four months and ten days. In the Pre-Islamic Period of ignorance a widow among you should throw a globe of dung when one year has elapsed." I said to Zainab, "What does 'throwing a globe of dung when one year had elapsed' mean?" Zainab said, "When a lady was bereaved of her husband, she would live in a wretched small room and put on the worst clothes she had and would not touch any scent till one year had elapsed. Then she would bring an animal, e.g. a donkey, a sheep or a bird and rub her body against it. The animal against which she would rub her body would scarcely survive. Only then she would come out of her room, whereupon she would be given a globe of dung which she would throw away and then she would use the scent she liked or the like."

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 252:

Narrated Um Salama:

A woman was bereaved of her husband and her relatives worried about her eyes (which were diseased). They came to Allah's Apostle, and asked him to allow them to treat her eyes with kohl, but he said, "She should not apply kohl to her eyes. (In the Pre-Islamic period of Ignorance) a widowed woman among you would stay in the worst of her clothes (or the worst part of her house) and when a year had elapsed, if a dog passed by her, she would throw a globe of dung, Nay, (she cannot use kohl) till four months and ten days have elapsed."

Narrated Um Habiba: The Prophet said, "It is not lawful for a Muslim woman who believes in Allah and the Last Day to mourn for more than three days, except for her husband, for whom she should mourn for four months and ten days.

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 649:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Allah's Apostle said, "There is neither 'Adha (no contagious disease is conveyed to others without Allah's permission) nor Tiyara, but an evil omen may be in three a woman, a house or an animal

Volume 7, Book 71, Number 666:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Allah's Apostle said, "there is neither 'Adha nor Tiyara, and an evil omen is only in three: a horse, a woman and a house." (See the foot-note of Hadith No. 649)

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 818:

Narrated Asma:

(the daughter of Abu' Bakr) A woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "I married my daughter to someone, but she became sick and all her hair fell out, and (because of that) her husband does not like her. May I let her use false hair?" On that the Prophet cursed such a lady as artificially lengthening (her or someone else's) hair or got her hair lengthened artificially.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 824:

Narrated Asma':

A woman asked the Prophet saying, "O Allah's Apostle! My daughter got measles and her hair fell out. Now that I got her married, may I let her use false hair?" He said (to her), "Allah has cursed the lady who lengthens hair artificially and the one who gets her hair lengthened artificially.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 829:

Narrated Abu Juhaifa:

The Prophet forbade the use of the price of blood and the price of a dog, the one who takes (eats) usury the one who gives usury, the woman who practises tattooing and the woman who gets herself tattooed

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 830:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

A woman who used to practise tattooing was brought to Umar. Umar got up and said, "I beseech you by Allah, which of you heard the Prophet saying something about tattooing?" 1 got up and said, "O chief of the Believers! 1 heard something." He said, "What did you hear?" I said, "I heard the Prophet (addressing the ladies), saying, 'Do not practise tattooing and do not get yourselves tattooed."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 204:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

That he and Abu Talha were coming in the company of the Prophet towards Medina), while Safiya (the Prophet's wife) was riding behind him on his she-camel. After they had covered a portion of the way suddenly the foot of the shecamel slipped and both the Prophet and the woman (i.e., his wife, Safiya) fell down. Abu Talha jumped quickly off his camel and came to the Prophet (saying.) "O Allah's Apostle! Let Allah sacrifice me for you! Have you received any injury?" The Prophet said, "No, but take care of the woman (my wife)." Abu Talha covered his face with his garment and went towards her and threw his garment over her. Then the woman got up and Abu Talha prepared their she camel (by tightening its saddle, etc.) and both of them (the Prophet and Safiya) mounted it. Then all of them proceeded and when they approached near Medina, or saw Medina, the Prophet said, "Ayibun,' abidun, taibun, liRabbina hamidun (We are coming back (to Medina) with repentance, worshipping (our Lord) and celebrating His (our Lord's) praises". The Prophet continued repeating these words till he entered the city of Medina Volume 9, Book 86, Number 99:

Narrated Al-Qasim:

A woman from the offspring of Ja'far was afraid lest her guardian marry her (to somebody) against her will. So she sent for two elderly men from the Ansar, AbdurRahman and Mujammi', the two sons of Jariya, and they said to her, 'Don't be afraid, for Khansa' bint Khidam was given by her father in marriage against her will, then the Prophet cancelled that marriage." (See Hadith No. 78) Volume 9, Book 86, Number 102:

Narrated Aisha:

Allah's Apostle used to like sweets and also used to like honey, and whenever he finished the Asr prayer, he used to visit his wives and stay with them. Once he visited Hafsa and remained with her longer than the period he used to stay, so I enquired about it. It was said to me, "A woman from her tribe

gave her a leather skin containing honey as a present, and she gave some of it to Allah's Apostle to drink." I said, "By Allah, we will play a trick on him." So I mentioned the story to Sauda (the wife of the Prophet) and said to her, "When he enters upon you, he will come near to you whereupon you should say to him, 'O Allah's Apostle! Have you eaten Maghafir?' He will say, 'No.' Then you say to him, 'What is this bad smell?' And it would be very hard on Allah's Apostle that a bad smell should be found on his body. He will say, 'Hafsa has given me a drink of honey.' Then you should say to him, 'Its bees must have sucked from the Al-'Urfut (a foul smelling flower).' I too, will tell him the same. And you, O Saifya, say the same.

So when the Prophet entered upon Sauda (the following happened). Sauda said, "By Him except Whom none has the right to be worshipped, I was about to say to him what you had told me to say while he was still at the gate because of fear from you. But when Allah 's Apostle came near to me, I said to him, 'O Allah's Apostle! Have you eaten Maghafir?' He replied, 'No.' I said, 'What about this smell?' He said, 'Hafsa has given me a drink of honey.' I said, 'Its bees must have sucked Al-'Urfut.' " When he entered upon me, I told him the same as that, and when he entered upon Safiya, she too told him the same. So when he visited Hafsa again, she said to him, "O Allah's Apostle! Shall I give you a drink of it (honey)?" He said, "I have no desire for it." Sauda said, Subhan Allah! We have deprived him of it (honey)." I said to her, "Be quiet!"

Volume 9. Book 89. Number 252:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Allah's Apostle said, "Surely! Everyone of you is a guardian and is responsible for his charges: The Imam (ruler) of the people is a guardian and is responsible for his subjects; a man is the guardian of his family (household) and is responsible for his subjects; a woman is the guardian of her husband's home and of his children and is responsible for them; and the slave of a man is a guardian of his master's property and is responsible for it. Surely, everyone of you is a guardian and responsible for his charges." Volume 9, Book 92, Number 413.

Narrated Abu Said:

A woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Men (only) benefit by your teachings, so please devote to us from (some of) your time, a day on which we may come to you so that you may teach us of what Allah has taught you." Allah's Apostle said, "Gather on such-and-such a day at such-and-such a place." They gathered and Allah's Apostle came to them and taught them of what Allah had taught him. He then said, "No woman among you who has lost her three children (died) but that they will screen her from the Fire." A woman among them said, "O Allah's Apostle! If she lost two children?" She repeated her question twice, whereupon the Prophet said, "Even two, even two, even two!" (See Hadith No. 341, Vol. 2)

Volume 9 Book 92 Number 456:

Narrated Aisha:

A woman asked the Prophet about the periods: How to take a bath after the periods. He said, "Take a perfumed piece of cloth and clean yourself with it." She said,' "How shall I clean myself with it, O Allah's Apostle?" The Prophet said, "Clean yourself" She said again, "How shall I clean myself, O Allah's Apostle?" The Prophet said, "Clean yourself with it." Then I knew what Allah's Apostle meant. So I pulled her aside and explained it to her.

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 367:

Narrated Abdul Aziz: Anas said, 'When Allah's Apostle invaded Khaibar, we offered the Fajr prayer there yearly in the morning) when it was still dark. The Prophet rode and Abu Talha rode too and I was riding behind Abu Talha. The Prophet passed through the lane of Khaibar quickly and my knee was touching the thigh of the Prophet . He uncovered his thigh and I saw the whiteness of the thigh of the Prophet. When he entered the town, he said, 'Allahu Akbar! Khaibar is ruined. Whenever we approach near a (hostile) nation (to fight) then evil will be the morning of those who have been warned.' He repeated this thrice. The people came out for their jobs and some of them said, 'Mohammed (has come).' (Some of our companions added, "With his army.") We conquered Khaibar, took the captives, and the booty was collected. Dihya came and said, 'O Allah's Prophet! Give me a slave girl from the captives.' The Prophet said, 'Go and take any slave girl.' He took Safiya bint Huyai. A man came to the Prophet and said, 'O Allah's Apostles! You gave Safiya bint Huyai to Dihya and she is the chief mistress of the tribes of Quraiza and An-Nadir and she befits none but you.' So the Prophet said, 'Bring him along with her.' So Dihya came with her and when the Prophet saw her, he said to Dihya, 'Take any slave girl other than her from the captives.' Anas added: The Prophet then manumitted her and married her.

Thabit asked Anas, "O Abu Hamza! What did the Prophet pay her (as Mahr)?" He said, "Her self was her Mahr for he manumitted her and then married her." Anas added, "While on the way, Um Sulaim dressed her for marriage (ceremony) and at night she sent her as a bride to the Prophet . So the Prophet was a bridegroom and he said, 'Whoever has

anything (food) should bring it.' He spread out a leather sheet (for the food) and some brought dates and others cooking butter. (I think he (Anas) mentioned As-SawTq). So they prepared a dish of Hais (a kind of meal). And that was Walrma (the marriage banquet) of Allah's Apostle ."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 362:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "If a slave-girl commits illegal sexual intercourse and it is proved beyond doubt, then her owner should lash her and should not blame her after the legal punishment. And then if she repeats the illegal sexual intercourse he should lash her again and should not blame her after the legal punishment, and if she commits it a third time, then he should sell her even for a hair rope.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 363:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:

Allah's Apostle was asked about the slave-girl, if she was a virgin and committed illegal sexual intercourse. The Prophet said, "If she committed illegal sexual intercourse, lash her, and if she did it a second time, then lash her again, and if she repeated the third time, then sell her even for a hair rope." Ibn Shihab said, "I don't know whether to sell her after the third or fourth offense.'

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 570:

Narrated Al-Aswad:

Aisha intended to buy Barira (a slave-girl) in order to manumit her and her masters intended to put the condition that her Al-wala would be for them. Aisha mentioned that to the Prophet who said to her, "Buy her, as the "Wala" is for the manumitted." Once some meat was presented to the Prophet and Aisha said to him, "This (meat) was given in charity to Barira." He said, "It is an object of charity for Barira but a gift for us.'

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 572:

Narrated Anas:

Some meat was presented to the Prophet and it had been given to Barira (the freed slave-girl of Aisha) in charity. He said, "This meat is a thing of charity for Barira but it is a gift

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 364:

Narrated Aisha:

Allah's Apostle came to me and I told him about the slavegirl (Buraira) Allah's Apostle said, "Buy and manumit her, for the Wala is for the one who manumits." In the evening the Prophet got up and glorified Allah as He deserved and then said, "Why do some people impose conditions which are not present in Allah's Book (Laws)? Whoever imposes such a condition as is not in Allah's Laws, then that condition is invalid even if he imposes one hundred conditions, for Allah's conditions are more binding and reliable.'

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 378:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Aisha, (mother of the faithful believers) wanted to buy a slave girl and manumit her, but her masters said that they would sell her only on the condition that her Wala' would be for them. Aisha told Allah's Apostle of that. He said, "What they stipulate should not hinder you from buying her, as the Wala' is for the manumitted."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 435:

Narrated Zaid bin Khalid and Abu Huraira:

that Allah's Apostle was asked about an unmarried slavegirl who committed illegal sexual intercourse. They heard him saying, "Flog her, and if she commits illegal sexual intercourse after that, flog her again, and on the third (or the fourth) offense, sell her.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 436:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

I heard the Prophet saying, "If a slave-girl of yours commits illegal sexual intercourse and her illegal sexual intercourse is proved, she should be lashed, and after that nobody should blame her, and if she commits illegal sexual intercourse the second time, she should be lashed and nobody should blame her after that, and if she does the offense for the third time and her illegal sexual intercourse is proved, she should be sold even for a hair rope." Volume 3, Book 34, Number 440:

Narrated Aun bin Abu Juhaifa:

I saw my father buying a slave whose profession was cupping, and ordered that his instruments (of cupping) be broken. I asked him the reason for doing so. He replied, "Allah's Apostle prohibited taking money for blood, the price of a dog, and the earnings of a slave-girl by prostitution; he cursed her who tattoos and her who gets tattooed, the eater of Riba (usury), and the maker of pictures.

Volume 3, Book 36, Number 483:

Narrated Abu Huraira: The Prophet prohibited the earnings of slave girls (through prostitution).

Volume 3, Book 41, Number 603:

Narrated Aisha:

Abu bin Zam'a and Sad bin Abi Waqqas carried the case of their claim of the (ownership) of the son of a slave-qirl of Zam'a before the Prophet. Sad said, "O Allah's Apostle! My brother, before his death, told me that when I would return (to Mecca), I should search for the son of the slave-girl of

Zam'a and take him into my custody as he was his son." 'Abu bin Zam'a said, 'the is my brother and the son of the slave-girl of my father, and was born or my father's bed." The Prophet noticed a resemblance between Utba and the boy but he said, "O 'Abu bin Zam'a! You will get this boy, as the son goes to the owner of the bed. You, Sauda, screen yourself from the

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 710:

Narrated Aisha:

Utba bin Abi Waqqas authorized his brother Sad bin Abi Waqqas to take the son of the slave-girl of Zam'a into his custody, telling him that the boy was his own (illegal) son. When Allah's Apostle went (to Mecca) at the time of the Conquest, Sad took the son of the slavegirl of Zam'a to Allah's Apostle and also brought 'Abu bin Zam'a with him and said, 'O Allah's Apostle! This is the son of my brother Utba who authorized me to take him into my custody." 'Abu bin Zam'a said, "O Allah's Apostle! He is my brother, the son of Zam'a slave-girl and he was born on his bed." Allah's Apostle looked at the son of the slave-girl of Zam'a and noticed much resemblance (to Utba). Allah's Apostle said, "It is for you, O 'Abu bin Zam'a as he was born on the bed of your father. Allah's Apostle then told Sauda bint Zam'a to observe veil in the presence of the boy as he noticed the boy's resemblance to Utba and Sauda was the wife of the Prophet .

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 720:

Narrated Abu Musa:

Allah's Apostle said, "He who has a slave-girl and educates and treats her nicely and then manumits and marries her, will get a double reward.

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 723:

Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ashari:

The Prophet said, "He who has a slave-girl and teaches her good manners and improves her education and then manumits and marries her, will get a double reward; and any slave who observes Allah's right and his master's right will get a double reward.'

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 728:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "You should not say, 'Feed your lord (Rabbaka), help your lord in performing ablution, or give water to your lord, but should say, 'my master (e.g. Feed your master instead of lord etc.) (Saiyidi), or my guardian (Maulai), and one should not say, my slave (Abdi), or my girl-slave (Amati), but should say, my lad (Fatai), my lass (Fatati), and 'my boy (Ghulami).'

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 731:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:

The Prophet said, "If a slave-girl (Ama) commits illegal sexual intercourse, scourge her; if she does it again, scourge her again; if she repeats it, scourge her again." added that on the third or the fourth offence, the Prophet said, "Sell her even for a hair rope."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 765:

Narrated Kurib

the freed slave of Ibn Abbas, that Maimuna bint Al-Harith told him that she manumitted a slave-girl without taking the permission of the Prophet. On the day when it was her turn to be with the Prophet, she said, "Do you know, O Allah's Apostle, that I have manumitted my slave-girl?" He said, "Have you really?" She replied in the affirmative. He said, You would have got more reward if you had given her (i.e. the slave-girl) to one of your maternal uncles.

Volume 3, Book 49, Number 860:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani:

A bedouin came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Judge between us according to Allah's Laws." His opponent got up and said, "He is right. Judge between us according to Allah's Laws." The bedouin said, "My son was a laborer working for this man, and he committed illegal sexual intercourse with his wife. The people told me that my son should be stoned to death; so, in lieu of that, I paid a ransom of one hundred sheep and a slave girl to save my son. Then I asked the learned scholars who said, "Your son has to be lashed one-hundred lashes and has to be exiled for one year." The Prophet said, 'No doubt I will judge between you according to Allah's Laws. The slave-girl and the sheep are to go back to you, and your son will get a hundred lashes and one year exile." He then addressed somebody, "O Unais! go to the wife of this (man) and stone her to death" So, Unais went and stoned her to death

Volume 4, Book 51, Number 8:

Narrated Aisha:

(the wife of the Prophet) Utba bin Abi Waqqas entrusted (his son) to his brother Sad bin Abi Waqqas saying, "The son of the slave-girl of Zam'a is my (illegal) son, take him into your custody." So during the year of the Conquest (of Mecca) Sad took the boy and said, "This is my brother's son whom my brother entrusted to me." 'Abu bin Zam's got up and said, "He is my brother and the son of the slave girl of my father and was born on my father's bed." Then both of them came to Allah's Apostle and Sad said, "O Allah's Apostle! This is my brother's son whom my brother entrusted to me.

Then 'Abu bin Zam'a got up and said, "This is my brother and the son of the slave-girl of my father." Allah's Apostle said, "O Abu bin Zam'a! This boy is for you as the boy belongs to the bed (where he was born), and for the adulterer is the stone (i.e. deprivation)." Then the Prophet said to his wife Sauda bint Zam'a, "Screen yourself from this boy," when he saw the boy's resemblance to Utba. Since then the boy did not see Sauda till he died.

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 255:

Narrated Abu Burda's father:

The Prophet said, "Three persons will get their reward twice. (One is) a person who has a slave girl and he educates her properly and teaches her good manners properly (without violence) and then manumits and marries her. Such a person will get a double reward. (Another is) a believer from the people of the scriptures who has been a true believer and then he believes in the Prophet (Mohammed). Such a person will get a double reward. (The third is) a slave who observes Allah's Rights and Obligations and is sincere to his master.'

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 372:

Narrated Nafi:

Umar bin Al-Khattab said, "O Allah's Apostle! I vowed to observe Itikaf for one day during the Pre-Islamic period." The Prophet ordered him to fulfill his vow. Umar gained two lady captives from the war prisoners of Hunain and he left them in some of the houses at Mecca. When Allah's Apostle freed the captives of Hunain without ransom, they came out walking in the streets. Umar said (to his son), "O Abdullah! See what is the matter." Abdullah replied, "Allah's Apostle has freed the captives without ransom." He said (to him), "Go and set free those two slave girls." (Nafi added:) Allah's Apostle did not perform the Umra from Al-Jarana, and if he had performed the Umra, it would not have been hidden from Abdullah.

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 578:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Abraham did not tell a lie except on three occasion. Twice for the Sake of Allah when he said, "I am sick," and he said, "(I have not done this but) the big idol has done it." The (third was) that while Abraham and Sarah (his wife) were going (on a journey) they passed by (the territory of) a tyrant. Someone said to the tyrant, "This man (i.e. Abraham) is accompanied by a very charming lady." So, he sent for Abraham and asked him about Sarah saying, "Who is this lady?" Abraham said, "She is my sister." Abraham went to Sarah and said, "O Sarah! There are no believers on the surface of the earth except you and I. This man asked me about you and I have told him that you are my sister, so don't contradict my statement." The tyrant then called Sarah and when she went to him, he tried to take hold of her with his hand, but (his hand got stiff and) he was confounded. He asked Sarah. "Pray to Allah for me, and I shall not harm you." So Sarah asked Allah to cure him and he got cured. He tried to take hold of her for the second time, but (his hand got as stiff as or stiffer than before and) was more confounded. He again requested Sarah, "Pray to Allah for me, and I will not harm you." Sarah asked Allah again and he became alright. He then called one of his guards (who had brought her) and said, "You have not brought me a human being but have brought me a devil." The tyrant then gave Hajar as a girlservant to Sarah. Sarah came back (to Abraham) while he was praying. Abraham, gesturing with his hand, asked, "What has happened?" She replied, "Allah has spoiled the evil plot of the infidel (or immoral person) and gave me Hajar for service. (Abu Huraira then addressed his listeners saying, "That (Hajar) was your mother, O Bani Ma-is-Sama (i.e. the Arabs, the descendants of Ishmael, Hajar's son)."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 655:

Narrated Abu Musa Al-Ash'ari:

Allah's Apostle said, "If a person teaches his slave girl good manners properly, educates her properly, and then manumits and marries her, he will get a double reward. And if a man believes in Jesus and then believes in me, he will get a double reward. And if a slave fears his Lord (i.e. Allah) and obeys his masters, he too will get a double reward.'

Volume 4. Book 56. Number 678:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "A man bought a piece of and from another man, and the buyer found an earthenware jar filled with gold in the land. The buyer said to the seller. 'Take your gold, as I have bought only the land from you, but I have not bought the gold from you.' The (former) owner of the land said, "I have sold you the land with everything in it.' So both of them took their case before a man who asked, 'Do you have children?' One of them said, "I have a boy.' The other said, "I have a girl.' The man said, 'Marry the girl to the boy and spend the money on both of them and give the rest of it in charity.' '

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 236:

Narrated Hisham's father:

Khadija died three years before the Prophet departed to Medina. He stayed there for two years or so and then he married Aisha when she was a girl of six years of age, and he consumed that marriage when she was nine years old

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 262:

Narrated Al-Bara bin Azib:

The first people who came to us (in Medina) were Mus'ab bin Umar and Ibn Um Maktum who were teaching Koran to the people. Then their came Bilal. Sad and 'Ammar bin Yasir. After that Umar bin Al-Khattab came along with twenty other companions of the Prophet. Later on the Prophet himself (to Medina) and I had never seen the people of Medina so joyful as they were on the arrival of Allah's Apostle, for even the slave girls were saying, "Allah's Apostle has arrived!"
And before his arrival I had read the Sura starting with:--"Glorify the Name of your Lord, the Most High" (87.1) together with other Suras of Al-Mufassal.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 97:

Narrated Aisha:

There was an orphan (girl) under the care of a man. He married her and she owned a date palm (garden). He married her just because of that and not because he loved her. So the Divine Verse came regarding his case: "If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphan girls..." (4.3) The sub-narrator added: I think he (i.e. another sub-narrator) said, "That orphan girl was his partner in that datepalm (garden) and in his property."

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 529:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

While we were on one of our journeys, we dismounted at a place where a slave girl came and said, "The chief of this tribe has been stung by a scorpion and our men are not present; is there anybody among you who can treat him (by reciting something)?" Then one of our men went along with her though we did not think that he knew any such treatment. But he treated the chief by reciting something, and the sick man recovered whereupon he gave him thirty sheep and gave us milk to drink (as a reward). When he returned, we asked our friend, "Did you know how to treat with the recitation of something?" He said, "No, but I treated him only with the recitation of the Mother of the Book (i.e., Al-Fatiha)." We said, "Do not say anything (about it) till we reach or ask the Prophet so when we reached Medina, we mentioned that to the Prophet (in order to know whether the sheep which we had taken were lawful to take or not). The Prophet said, "How did he come to know that it (Al-Fatiha) could be used for treatment? Distribute your reward and assign for me one share thereof as well."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 20:

Narrated Abu Burda's father:

Allah's Apostle said, any man who has a slave girl whom he educates properly, teaches good manners, manumits and marries her, will get a double reward And if any man of the people of the Scriptures believes in his own prophet and then believes in me too, he will (also) get a double reward And any slave who fulfills his duty to his master and to his Lord, will (also) get a double reward."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 22:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet staved for three days between Khaibar and Medina, and there he consummated his marriage to Safiyya bint Huyai. I invited the Muslims to the wedding banquet in which neither meat nor bread was offered. He ordered for leather dining-sheets to be spread, and dates, dried yoghurt and butter were laid on it, and that was the Prophet's wedding banquet. The Muslims wondered, "Is she (Saffiyya) considered as his wife or his slave girl?" Then they said, "If he orders her to veil herself, she will be one of the mothers of the Believers; but if he does not order her to veil herself, she will be a slave girl. So when the Prophet proceeded from there, he spared her a space behind him (on his she-camel) and put a screening veil between her and the people.

Volume 7. Book 62. Number 59:

Narrated Aisha:

(as regards the Verse): 'And about what is recited unto you in the Book, concerning orphan girls to whom you give not the prescribed portions and yet, whom you desire to marry. (4.127) This Verse is about the female orphan who is under the guardianship of a man with whom she shares her property and he has more right over her (than anybody else) but does not like to marry her, so he prevents her, from marrying somebody else, lest he should share the property with him.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 163:

Narrated Aisha:

The Prophet was screening me with his Rida' (garment covering the upper part of the body) while I was looking at the Ethiopians who were playing in the courtyard of the mosque. (I continued watching) till I was satisfied. So you may deduce from this event how a little girl (who has not reached the age of puberty) who is eager to enjoy amusement should be treated in this respect.

Volume 7, Book 63, Number 260:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet forbade taking the earnings of a slave girl by prostitution.

Volume 7, Book 72, Number 817:

Narrated Aisha:

An Ansari girl was married and she became sick and all her hair fell out intending to provide her with false hair. They asked the Prophet who said, "Allah has cursed the lady who artificially lengthens (her or someone else's) hair and also the one who gets her hair lengthened."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 151:

Narrated Aisha:

I used to play with the dolls in the presence of the Prophet, and my girl friends also used to play with me. When Allah's Apostle used to enter (my dwelling place) they used to hide themselves, but the Prophet would call them to join and play with me. (The playing with the dolls and similar images is forbidden, but it was allowed for Aisha at that time, as she was a little girl, not yet reached the age of puberty.) (Fatehal-Bari page 143, Vol.13)

Volume 8, Book 77, Number 600:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

That while he was sitting with the Prophet a man from the Ansar came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! We get slave girls from the war captives and we love property; what do you think about coitus interruptus?" Allah's Apostle said, "Do you do that? It is better for you not to do it, for there is no soul which Allah has ordained to come into existence but will be created."

Volume 8, Book 78, Number 629:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:

Two men had a dispute in the presence of Allah's Apostle. One of them said, "O Allah's Apostle! Judge between us according to Allah's Laws." The other who was wiser, said, 'Yes, O Allah's Apostle! Judge between us according to Allah's Laws and allow me to speak. The Prophet said, 'Speak." He said, "My son was a laborer serving this (person) and he committed illegal sexual intercourse with his wife, The people said that my son is to be stoned to death, but I ransomed him with one-hundred sheep and a slave girl. Then I asked the learned people, who informed me that my son should receive one hundred lashes and will be exiled for one year, and stoning will be the lot for the man's wife." Allah's Apostle said, "Indeed, by Him in Whose Hand my soul is, I will judge between you according to Allah's Laws: As for your sheep and slave girl, they are to be returned to you." Then he scourged his son one hundred lashes and exiled him for one year. Then Unais Al-Aslami was ordered to go to the wife of the second man, and if she confessed (the crime), then stone her to death. She did confess, so he stoned her to death.

Volume 8, Book 79, Number 708:

Narrated Aisha:

that she intended to buy Barira (a slave girl) and her masters stipulated that they would have her Wala'. When Aisha mentioned that to the Prophet; he said, "Buy her, for the Wala' is for the one who manumits.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 741:

Narrated Aisha:

Utba (bin Abi Waqqas) said to his brother Sa'd, "The son of the slave girl of Zam'a is my son, so be his custodian." So when it was the year of the Conquest of Mecca, Sa'd took that child and said, "He is my nephew, and my brother told me to be his custodian." On that, 'Abu bin Zam'a got up and said, but the child is my brother, and the son of my father's slave girl as he was born on his bed." So they both went to the Prophet. Sa'd said, "O Allah's Apostle! (This is) the son of my brother and he told me to be his custodian." Then 'Abu bin Zam'a said, "(But he is) my brother and the son of the slave girl of my father, born on his bed." The Prophet said, "This child is for you. O 'Abu bin Zam'a, as the child is for the owner of the bed, and the adulterer receives the stones." He then ordered (his wife) Sauda bint Zam'a to cover herself before that boy as he noticed the boy's resemblance to Utba. Since then the boy had never seen Sauda till he died.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 749:

Narrated Ibn Umar:

That Aisha, the mother of the Believers, intended to buy a slave girl in order to manumit her. The slave girl's master said, "We are ready to sell her to you on the condition that her Wala should be for us." Aisha mentioned that to Allah's Apostle who said, "This (condition) should not prevent you from buying her, for the Wala is for the one who manumits (the slave).

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 821:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:

A bedouin came to the Prophet while he (the Prophet) was sitting, and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Give your verdict according to Allah's Laws (in our case)." Then his opponent got up and said, "He has told the truth, O Allah's Apostle! Decide his case according to Allah's Laws. My son was a laborer working for this person, and he committed illegal sexual intercourse with his wife, and the people told me that my son should be stoned to death, but I offered one-hundred sheep and a slave girl as a ransom for him. Then I asked the religious learned people, and they told me that my son should be flogged with one-hundred stripes and be exiled for one The Prophet said, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, I will judge you according to Allah's Laws. The sheep and the slave girl will be returned to you and your son will be flogged one-hundred stripes and be exiled for one year. And you, O Unais! Go to the wife of this man (and if she confesses), stone

her to death." So Unais went in the morning and stoned her to death (after she had confessed).

Volume 8, Book 82, Number 822:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Said bin Khalid:

The verdict of Allah's Apostle was sought about an unmarried slave girl guilty of illegal intercourse. He replied, "If she commits illegal sexual intercourse, then flog her (fifty stripes), and if she commits illegal sexual intercourse (after that for the second time), then flog her (fifty stripes), and if she commits illegal sexual intercourse (for the third time), then flog her (fifty stripes) and sell her for even a hair rope. Ibn Shihab said, "I am not sure whether the Prophet ordered that she be sold after the third or fourth time of committing illegal intercourse.

Volume 8. Book 82. Number 826:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid:

Two men had a dispute in the presence of Allah's Apostle. One of them said, "Judge us according to Allah's Laws. other who was more wise said, "Yes, Allah's Apostle, judge us according to Allah's Laws and allow me to speak (first)" The Prophet said to him, 'Speak " He said, "My son was a laborer for this man, and he committed illegal sexual intercourse with his wife, and the people told me that my son should be stoned to death, but I have given one-hundred sheep and a slave girl as a ransom (expiation) for my son's sin. Then I asked the religious learned people (about It), and they told me that my son should he flogged one-hundred stripes and should be exiled for one year, and only the wife of this man should be stoned to death " Allah's Apostle said, "By Him in Whose Hand my soul is, I will judge you according to Allah's Laws: O man, as for your sheep and slave girl, they are to be returned to you." Then the Prophet had the man's son flogged one hundred stripes and exiled for one year, and ordered Unais Al-Aslami to go to the wife of the other man, and if she confessed, stone her to death. She confessed and was stoned to

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 101:

Narrated Aisha:

Allah's Apostle said, "It is essential to have the consent of a virgin (for the marriage). I said, "A virgin feels shy." The Prophet; said, "Her silence means her consent." Some people said. "If a man falls in love with an orphan slave girl or a virgin and she refuses (him) and then he makes a trick by bringing two false witnesses to testify that he has married her, and then she attains the age of puberty and agrees to marry him and the judge accepts the false witness and the husband knows that the witnesses were false ones, he may consummate his marriage '

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 303:

Narrated Abu Huraira and Zaid bin Khalid Al-Juhani:

A bedouin came and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Judge between us according to Allah's Book (Laws)." His opponent stood up and said, "He has said the truth, so judge between us according to Allah's Laws." The bedouin said, "My son was a laborer for this man and committed illegal sexual intercourse with his wife. The people said to me, 'Your son is to be stoned to death,' so I ransomed my son for one hundred sheep and a slave girl. Then I asked the religious learned men and they said to me, 'Your son has to receive one hundred lashes plus one year of exile.' "The Prophet said, "I shall judge between you according to Allah's Book (Laws)! As for the slave girl and the sheep, it shall be returned to you, and your son shall receive one-hundred lashes and be exiled for one year. O you, Unais!" The Prophet addressed some man, "Go in the morning to the wife of this man and stone her to death." So Unais went to her the next morning and stoned her to death.

Volume 9, Book 91, Number 365:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

While we were with Allah's Apostle a bedouin got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! Settle my case according to Allah's Book (Laws)." Then his opponent got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! He has said the truth! Settle his case according to Allah's Book (Laws.) and allow me to speak," He said, "My son was a laborer for this man and he committed illegal sexual intercourse with his wife. The people told me that my son should be stoned to death but I ransomed him with onehundred sheep and a slave girl. Then I asked the religious learned people and they told me that his wife should be stoned to death and my son should receive one-hundred lashes and be sentenced to one year of exile.' The Prophet said, "By Him in Whose Hands my life is, I will judge between you according to Allah's Book (Laws): As for the slave girl and the sheep, they are to be returned; and as for your son, he shall receive onehundred lashes and will be exiled for one year. You, O Unais!" addressing a man from Bani Aslam, "Go tomorrow morning to the wife of this (man) and if she confesses, then stone her to death." The next morning Unais went to the wife and she confessed, and he stoned her to death.

Volume 3 Book 34 Number 432:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

that while he was sitting with Allah's Apostle he said, "O Allah's Apostle! We get female captives as our share of booty, and we are interested in their prices, what is your opinion about coitus interrupt us?" The Prophet said, "Do you really

do that? It is better for you not to do it. No soul that which Allah has destined to exist, but will surely come into existence. Volume 4, Book 51, Number 10:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

The custom (in old days) was that the property of the deceased would be inherited by his offspring; as for the parents (of the deceased), they would inherit by the will of the deceased. Then Allah cancelled from that custom whatever He wished and fixed for the male double the amount inherited by the female, and for each parent a sixth (of the whole legacy) and for the wife an eighth or a fourth and for the husband a half or a fourth.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 137:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

We got female captives in the war booty and we used to do coitus interruptus with them. So we asked Allah's Apostle about it and he said, "Do you really do that?" repeating the question thrice, "There is no soul that is destined to exist but will come into existence, till the Day of Resurrection."

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 97:

Narrated Haritha bin Wahb:

Al-Khuzai: The Prophet said, "Shall I inform you about the people of Paradise? They comprise every obscure unimportant humble person, and if he takes Allah's Oath that he will do that thing, Allah will fulfill his oath (by doing that). Shall I inform you about the people of the Fire? They comprise every cruel, violent, proud and conceited person." Anas bin Malik said, "Any of the female slaves of Medina could take hold of the hand of Allah's Apostle and take him wherever she wished."

Volume 2, Book 22, Number 325:

Narrated Kuraib:

I was sent to Aisha by Ibn Abbas, Al-Miswar bin Makhrama and Abdur-Rahman bin Azhar . They told me to greet her on their behalf and to ask her about the offering of the two Rakat after the Asr prayer and to say to her, "We were informed that you offer those two Rakat and we were told that the Prophet had forbidden offering them." Ibn Abbas "I along with Umar bin Al-Khattab used to beat the people whenever they offered them." I went to Aisha and told her that message. Aisha said, "Go and ask Um Salama about them." So I returned and informed them about her statement. They then told me to go to Um Salama with the same question with which it sent me to Aisha. Um Salama replied, "I heard the Prophet forbidding them. Later I saw him offering them immediately after he prayed the Asr prayer. He then entered my house at a time when some of the Ansari women from the tribe of Bani Haram were sitting with me, so I sent my slave girl to him having said to her, 'Stand beside him and tell him that Um Salama says to you, "O Allah's Apostle! I have heard you forbidding the offering of these (two Rakat after the Asr prayer) but I have seen you offering them." If he waves his hand then wait for him.' The slave girl did that. The Prophet beckoned her with his hand and she waited for him. When he had finished the prayer he said, "O daughter of Bani Umaiya! You have asked me about the two Rakat after the Asr prayer. The people of the tribe of Abdul-Qais came to me and made me busy and I could not offer the two Rakat after the Zuhr prayer. These (two Rakat that I have just prayed) are for those (missed) ones

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 117:

Narrated Aisha:

Eleven women sat (at a place) and promised and contracted that they would not conceal anything of the news of their husbands. The first one said, "My husband is like the meat of a lean weak camel which is kept on the top of a mountain which is neither easy to climb, nor is the meat fat, so that one might put up with the trouble of fetching it." The second one said, 'I shall not relate my husband's news, for I fear that I may not be able to finish his story, for if I describe him, I will mention all his defects and bad traits." The third one said, "My husband is a tall man; if I describe him (and he hears of that) he will divorce me, and if I keep quiet, he will neither divorce me nor treat me as a wife." The fourth one said, "My husband is a moderate person like the night of Tihama which is neither hot nor cold. I am neither afraid of him, nor am I discontented with him." The fifth one said, "My husband, when entering (the house) is a leopard, and when going out, is a lion. He does not ask about whatever is in the house." The sixth one said, "If my husband eats. he eats too much (leaving the dishes empty), and if he drinks he leaves nothing, and if he sleeps he sleeps alone (away from me) covered in garments and does not stretch his hands here and there so as to know how l fare (get along)." The seventh one said, "My husband is a wrong-doer or weak and foolish. All the defects are present in him. He may injure your head or your body or may do both." The eighth one said, "My husband is soft to touch like a rabbit and smells like a Zarnab (a kind of good smelling grass)." The ninth one said, "My husband is a tall generous man wearing a long strap for carrying his sword. His ashes are abundant and his house is near to the people who would easily consult him." The tenth one said, "My husband is Malik and what is Malik? Malik is greater than whatever I say about him. (He is beyond and above all praises which can come to

my mind). Most of his camels are kept at home (ready to be slaughtered for the guests) and only a few are taken to the pastures. When the camels hear the sound of the lute (or the tambourine) they realise that they are going to be slaughtered for the guests." The eleventh one said, "My husband is Abu Zar and what is Abu Zar (i.e., what should I say about him)? He has given me many ornaments and my ears are heavily loaded with them and my arms have become fat (i.e., I have become fat). And he has pleased me, and I have become so happy that I feel proud of myself. He found me with my family who were mere owners of sheep and living in poverty, and brought me to a respected family having horses and camels and threshing and purifying grain . Whatever I say, he does not rebuke or insult me. When I sleep, I sleep till late in the morning, and when I drink water (or milk), I drink my fill, The mother of Abu Zar and what may one say in praise of the mother of Abu Zar? Her saddle bags were always full of provision and her house was spacious. As for the son of Abu Zar, what may one say of the son of Abu Zar? His bed is as narrow as an unsheathed sword and an arm of a kid (of four months) satisfies his hunger. As for the daughter of Abu Zar, she is obedient to her father and to her mother. She has a fat well-built body and that arouses the jealousy of her husband's other wife. As for the (maid) slave girl of Abu Zar, what may one say of the (maid) slavegirl of Abu Zar? She does not uncover our secrets but keeps them, and does not waste our provisions and does not leave the rubbish scattered everywhere in our house." The eleventh lady added, "One day it so happened that Abu Zar went out at the time when the milk was being milked from the animals, and he saw a woman who had two sons like two leopards playing with her two breasts. (On seeing her) he divorced me and married her. Thereafter I married a noble man who used to ride a fast tireless horse and keep a spear in his hand. He gave me many things, and also a pair of every kind of livestock and said. 'Eat (of this), O Um Zar, and give provision to your relatives." She "Yet, all those things which my second husband gave me could not fill the smallest utensil of Abu Zar's." Aisha then said: Allah's Apostle said to me, "I am to you as Abu Zar was to his wife Um Zar.

Volume 5, Book 59, Number 399:

Narrated Jafar bin Amr bin Umaiya:

I went out with Ubaidullah bin Adi Al-Khaiyar. When we reached Hims (i.e. a town in Syria), Ubaidullah bin Adi said (to me), "Would you like to see Wahshi so that we may ask him about the killing of Hamza?" I replied, "Yes." Wahshi used to live in Hims. We enquired about him and somebody said to us, "He is that in the shade of his palace, as if he were a full water skin." So we went up to him, and when we were at a short distance from him, we greeted him and he greeted us in return. Ubaidullah was wearing his turban and Wahshi could not see except his eyes and feet. Ubaidullah said, "O Wahshi! Do you know me?" Wahshi looked at him and then said, "No, by Allah! But I know that Adi bin Al-Khiyar married a woman called Um Qital, the daughter of Abu Al-Is, and she delivered a boy for him at Mecca, and I looked for a wet nurse for that child. (Once) I carried that child along with his mother and then I handed him over to her, and your feet resemble that child's feet." Then Ubaidullah uncovered his face and said (to Wahshi), "Will you tell us (the story of) the killing of Hamza?" Wahshi replied "Yes, Hamza killed Tuaima bin Adi bin Al-Khaiyar at Badr (battle) so my master, Jubair bin Mut'im said to me, 'If you kill Hamza in revenge for my uncle, then you will be set free." When the people set out (for the battle of Uhud) in the year of 'Ainain .. 'Ainain is a mountain near the mountain of Uhud, and between it and Uhud there is a valley.. I went out with the people for the battle. When the army aligned for the fight, Siba' came out and said. 'Is there any (Muslim) to accept my challenge to a duel?' Hamza bin Abdul Muttalib came out and said, 'O Siba'. O Ibn Um Anmar, the one who circumcises other ladies! Do you challenge Allah and His Apostle?' Then Hamza attacked and killed him, causing him to be non-extant like the bygone vesterday. I hid myself under a rock, and when he (i.e. Hamza) came near me, I threw my spear at him, driving it into his umbilicus so that it came out through his buttocks, causing him to die. When all the people returned to Mecca, I too returned with them. I stayed in (Mecca) till Islam spread in it (i.e. Mecca). Then I left for Taif, and when the people (of Taif) sent their messengers to Allah's Apostle, I was told that the Prophet did not harm the messengers; So I too went out with them till I reached Allah's Apostle. When he saw me, he said, 'Are you Wahshi?' I said, 'Yes.' He said, 'Was it you who killed Hamza?' I replied, 'What happened is what you have been told of.' He said, 'Can you hide your face from me?' So I went out when Allah's Apostle died, and Musailamah Al-Kadhdhab appeared (claiming to be a prophet). I said, 'I will go out to Musailamah so that I may kill him, and make amends for killing Hamza. So I went out with the people (to fight Musailamah and his followers) and then famous events took place concerning that battle. Suddenly I saw a man (i.e. Musailamah) standing near a gap in a wall. He looked like an ash-colored camel and his hair was dishevelled. So I threw my spear at him, driving it into his chest in between his breasts till it passed out through his shoulders, and then an Ansari man attacked him and struck him on the head with a sword. Abdullah bin Umar said, 'A slave girl on the roof of a house said: Alas! The chief of the believers (i.e. Musailamah) has been killed by a black slave."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 430:

Narrated Aisha: There was a black slave girl belonging to an Arab tribe and they manumitted her but she remained with them. The slave girl said, "Once one of their girls (of that tribe) came out wearing a red leather scarf decorated with precious stones. It fell from her or she placed it somewhere. A kite passed by that place, saw it Lying there and mistaking it for a piece of meat, flew away with it. Those people searched for it but they did not find it. So they accused me of stealing it and started searching me and even searched my private parts. The slave girl further said, "By Allah! while I was standing (in that state) with those people, the same kite passed by them and dropped the red scarf and it fell amongst them. I told them, 'This is what you accused me of and I was innocent and now this is it.' " Aisha added: That slave girl came to Allah's Apostle and embraced Islam. She had a tent or a small room with a low roof in the mosque. Whenever she called on me, she had a talk with me and whenever she sat with me, she would recite the following: "The day of the scarf (band) was one of the wonders of our Lord, verily He rescued me from the disbelievers' town. Aisha added: "Once I asked her, 'What is the matter with you? Whenever you sit with me, you always recite these poetic verses.' On that she told me the whole story.

Volume 4, Book 53, Number 344:

Narrated Ali:

Fatima complained of what she suffered from the hand mill and from grinding, when she got the news that some slave girls of the booty had been brought to Allah's Apostle. She went to him to ask for a maid-servant, but she could not find him, and told Aisha of her need. When the Prophet came, Aisha informed him of that. The Prophet came to our house when we had gone to our beds. (On seeing the Prophet) we were going to get up, but he said, 'Keep at your places,' I felt the coolness of the Prophet's feet on my chest. Then he said, "Shall I tell you a thing which is better than what you asked me for? When you go to your beds, say: 'Allahu Akbar (i.e. Allah is Greater)' for 34 times, and Alhamdu Lillah (i.e. all the praises are for Allah)' for 33 times, and Subhan Allah (i.e. Glorified be Allah) for 33 times. This is better for you than what you have requested."

Volume 4, Book 55, Number 645:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

The Prophet said, "None spoke in cradle but three: (The first was) Jesus, (the second was), there a man from Bani Israel called Juraij. While he was offering his prayers, his mother came and called him. He said (to himself), 'Shall I answer her or keep on praying?" (He went on praying) and did not answer her, his mother said, "O Allah! Do not let him die till he sees the faces of prostitutes." So while he was in his hermitage, a lady came and sought to seduce him, but he refused. So she went to a shepherd and presented herself to him to commit illegal sexual intercourse with her and then later she gave birth to a child and claimed that it belonged to Juraij. The people, therefore, came to him and dismantled his hermitage and expelled him out of it and abused him. Juraij performed the ablution and offered prayer, and then came to the child and said, 'O child! Who is your father?' The child replied, 'The shepherd.' (After hearing this) the people said, 'We shall rebuild your hermitage of gold,' but he said, 'No, of nothing but mud.'(The third was the hero of the following story) A lady from Bani Israel was nursing her child at her breast when a handsome rider passed by her. She said, 'O Allah! Make my child like him.' On that the child left her breast, and facing the rider said, 'O Allah! Do not make me like him.' The child then started to suck her breast again. (Abu Huraira further said, "As if I were now looking at the Prophet sucking his finger (in way of demonstration.") After a while the people passed by, with a lady slave and she (i.e. the child's mother) said, 'O Allah! Do not make my child like this (slave girl)!, On that the child left her breast and said, 'O Allah! Make me like her.' When she asked why, the child replied, 'The rider is one of the tyrants while this slave girl is falsely accused of theft and illegal sexual intercourse."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 38:

Narrated Um Habiba:

(daughter of Abu Sufyan) I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Marry my sister. the daughter of Abu Sufyan." The Prophet said, "Do you like that?" I replied, "Yes, for even now I am not your only wife and I like that my sister should share the good with me." The Prophet said, "But that is not lawful for me." I said, We have heard that you want to marry the daughter of Abu Salama." He said, "(You mean) the daughter of Um Salama?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Even if she were not my step-daughter, she would be unlawful for me to marry as she is my foster niece. I and Abu Salama were suckled by Thuwaiba. So you should not present to me your daughters or your sisters (in marriage)." Narrated Ursa; Thuwaiba was the freed slave girl of Abu Lahb whom he had manumitted, and then

she suckled the Prophet. When Abu Lahb died, one of his relatives saw him in a dream in a very bad state and asked him, What have you encountered?" Abu Lahb said, "I have not found any rest since I left you, except that I have been given water to drink in this (the space between his thumb and other fingers) and that is because of my manumitting Thuwaiba.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 89:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet staved for three days at a place between Khaibar and Medina, and there he consummated his marriage with Safiyya bint Huyay. I invited the Muslims to a banquet which included neither meat nor bread. The Prophet ordered for the leather dining sheets to be spread, and then dates, dried yogurt and butter were provided over it, and that was the Walima (banquet) of the Prophet. The Muslims asked whether Safiyya would be considered as his wife or as a slave girl of what his right hands possessed. Then they said, "If the Prophet screens her from the people, then she Is the Prophet's wife but if he does not screen her, then she is a slave girl." So when the Prophet proceeded, he made a place for her (on the camel) behind him and screened her from people.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 148:

Narrated Aisha:

Allah's Apostle said, "O followers of Mohammed! There is none, who has a greater sense of Ghira (self-respect) than Allah, so He has forbidden that His slave commits illegal sexual intercourse or His slave girl commits illegal sexual intercourse. O followers of Mohammed! If you but knew what I know, you would laugh less and weep more!

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 274:

Narrated Ali:

Fatima went to the Prophet complaining about the bad effect of the stone hand-mill on her hand. She heard that the Prophet had received a few slave girls. But (when she came there) she did not find him, so she mentioned her problem to Aisha. When the Prophet came, Aisha informed him about that. Ali added, "So the Prophet came to us when we had gone to bed. We wanted to get up (on his arrival) but he said, Stay where you are." Then he came and sat between me and her and I felt the coldness of his feet on my abdomen. He said, "Shall I direct you to something better than what you have requested? When you go to bed say 'Subhan Allah' thirtythree times, Alhamdulillah' thirty three times, and Allahu Akbar' thirty four times, for that is better for you than a servant."

Volume 7, Book 64, Number 285:

Narrated Um Habiba:

(the wife of the Prophet) I said, "O Allah's Apostle! Will you marry my sister, the daughter of Abu Sufyan." The Prophet said, "Do you like that?" I said, "Yes, for I am not your only wife, and the person I like most to share the good with me, is my sister." He said, "That is not lawful for me." I said, "O Allah's Apostle! We have heard that you want to marry Durra, the daughter of Abu Salama." He said, "You mean the daughter of Um Salama?" I said, "Yes." He said, 'Even if she were not my step-daughter, she is unlawful for me, for she is my foster niece. Thuwaiba suckled me and Abu Salama. So you should not present to me your daughters and

Narrated Ursa: Thuwaiba had been a slave girl whom Abu Lahab had emancipated.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 409:

Narrated Ka'b:

that a slave girl of theirs used to shepherd some sheep at Si'a (a mountain near Medina). On seeing one of her sheep dying, she broke a stone and slaughtered it. Ka'b said to his family, "Do not eat (of it) till I go to the Prophet and ask him, or, till I send someone to ask him." So he went to the Prophet or sent someone to him The Prophet permitted (them) to eat it.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 410:

Narrated Abdullah that Ka'b had a slave girl who used to graze his sheep on a small mountain, called "Sl'a", situated near the market. Once a sheep was dying, so she broke a stone and slaughtered it with it. When they mentioned that to the Prophet, he, permitted them to eat it.

Volume 7, Book 67, Number 413:

Narrated Mu'adh bin Sad or Sad bin Mu'adh:

A slave girl belonging to Ka'b used to graze some sheep at Sl'a (mountain). Once one of her sheep was dying. She reached it (before it died) and slaughtered it with a stone. The Prophet was asked, and he said, "Eat it."

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 757:

Narrated Aisha:

Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas and 'Abu bin Zam'a had a dispute over a boy. Sa'd said, "O Allah's Apostle! This (boy) is the son of my brother, Utba bin Abi Waqqas who told me to be his custodian as he was his son. Please notice to whom he bears affinity." And 'Abu bin Zam'a said, "This is my brother, O Allah's Apostle! He was born on my father's bed by his slave girl." Then the Prophet looked at the boy and noticed evident resemblance between him and Utba, so he said, "He (the toy) is for you, O 'Abu bin Zam'a, for the boy is for the owner of the bed, and the stone is for the adulterer. Screen yourself

before the boy, O Sauda bint Zam'a." Aisha added: Since then he had never seen Sauda.

Volume 9, Book 89, Number 293:

Narrated Aisha:

(the wife of the Prophet) Utba bin Abi Waqqas said to his brother Sa'd bin Abi Waqqas, "The son of the slave girl of Zam'a is from me, so take him into your custody." So in the year of Conquest of Mecca, Sa'd took him and said. (This is) my brother's son whom my brother has asked me to take into my custody." Abd bin Zam'a got up before him and said, (He is) my brother and the son of the slave girl of my father, and was born on my father's bed." So they both submitted their case before Allah's Apostle. Sa'd said, "O Allah's Apostle! This boy is the son of my brother and he entrusted him to me." Abd bin Zam'a said. "This boy is my brother and the son of the slave girl of my father, and was born on the bed of my father. Allah's Apostle said, "The boy is for you, O Abd bin Zam'a!" Then Allah's Apostle further said, "The child is for the owner of the bed, and the stone is for the adulterer," He then said to Sauda bint Zam'a, "Veil (screen) yourself before him," when he saw the child's resemblance to Utba. The boy did not see her again till he met Allah.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 743:

Narrated Aisha:

I bought Barira (a female slave). The Prophet said (to me), "Buy her as the Wala' is for the manumitted." Once she was given a sheep (in charity). The Prophet said, "It (the sheep) is a charitable gift for her (Barira) and a gift for us." Al-Hakam said, "Barira's husband was a free man." Ibn Abbas said, When I saw him, he was a slave.

Volume 8, Book 80, Number 731:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

(During the early days of Islam), the inheritance used to be given to one's offspring and legacy used to be bequeathed to the parents, then Allah cancelled what He wished from that order and decreed that the male should be given the equivalent of the portion of two females, and for the parents one-sixth for each of them, and for one's wife one-eighth (if the deceased has children) and one-fourth (if he has no children), for one's husband one-half (if the deceased has no children) and one-fourth (if she has children).

Volume 9, Book 93, Number 506:

Narrated Abu Said Al-Khudri:

That during the battle with Bani Al-Mustaliq they (Muslims) captured some females and intended to have sexual relation with them without impregnating them. So they asked the Prophet about coitus interrupt us. The Prophet said, "It is better that you should not do it for Allah has written whom He is going to create till the Day of Resurrection."
Qaza'a said, "I heard Abu Sald saying that the Prophet said, No soul is ordained to be created but Allah will create it.

Volume 1, Book 11, Number 694:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

One night an orphan and I offered the prayers behind the Prophet in my house and my mother (Um Sulaim) was standing behind us (by herself forming a row).

Volume 1, Book 12, Number 830:

Narrated Anas:

The Prophet prayed in the house of Um Sulaim; and I, along with an orphan stood behind him while Um Sulaim (stood) behind us.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 755:

Narrated Urwa from Aisha:

The wives of Allah's Apostle were in two groups. One group consisted of Aisha, Hafsa, Safiyya and Sauda; and the other group consisted of Um Salama and the other wives of Allah's Apostle. The Muslims knew that Allah's Apostle loved Aisha, so if any of them had a gift and wished to give to Allah's Apostle, he would delay it, till Allah's Apostle had come to Aisha's home and then he would send his gift to Allah's Apostle in her home. The group of Um Salama discussed the matter together and decided that Um Salama should request Allah's Apostle to tell the people to send their gifts to him in whatever wife's house he was. Um Salama told Allah's Apostle of what they had said, but he did not reply. Then they (those wives) asked Um Salama about it. She said, "He did not say anything to me." They asked her to talk to him again. She talked to him again when she met him on her day, but he gave no reply. When they asked her, she replied that he had given no reply. They said to her, "Talk to him till he gives you a When it was her turn, she talked to him again. He then said to her. "Do not hurt me regarding Aisha, as the Divine Inspirations do not come to me on any of the beds except that of Aisha." On that Um Salama said, "I repent to Allah for hurting you." Then the group of Um Salama called Fatima, the daughter of Allah's Apostle and sent her to Allah's Apostle to say to him, "Your wives request to treat them and the daughter of Abu Bakr on equal terms." Then Fatima conveyed the message to him. The Prophet said, "O my daughter! Don't you love whom I love?" She replied in the affirmative and returned and told them of the situation. They requested her to go to him again but she refused. They then sent Zainab bint Jahsh who went to him and used harsh words saying, "Your wives request you to treat them and the daughter of Ibn Abu Quhafa on equal terms." On that she raised her voice and abused Aisha to her face so much so that Allah's Apostle looked at Aisha to see whether she would retort. Aisha started replying to Zainab till she silenced her. The Prophet then looked at Aisha and said, "She is really the daughter of Abu Bakr." Volume 3, Book 48, Number 827:

Narrated Ugba bin Al-Harith:

That he had married Um Yahya bint Abu Ihab. He said. "A black slave-lady came and said, 'I suckled you both.' I then mentioned that to the Prophet who turned his face aside.' Uqba further said, "I went to the other side and told the Prophet about it. He said, 'How can you (keep her as your wife) when the lady has said that she suckled both of you (i.e. you and your wife?)" So, the Prophet ordered him to divorce

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 170:

Narrated Anas bin Malik:

The Prophet came to some of his wives among whom there was Um Sulaim, and said, "May Allah be merciful to you, O Anjasha! Drive the camels slowly, as they are carrying glass vessels!" Abu Qalaba said, "The Prophet said a sentence (i.e. the above metaphor) which, had anyone of you said it, you would have admonished him for it'

Volume 8, Book 73, Number 237:

Narrated Um Salama:

(One night) the Prophet woke up and said, "Subhan Allah! How many treasures have been (disclosed) sent down! And how many afflictions have been descended! Who will go and wake the sleeping lady-occupants up of these dwellings (for praying)?" (He meant by this his wives.) The Prophet added, A well-dressed soul (person) in this world may be naked in the "Hereafter." Umar said, "I asked the Prophet, 'Have you divorced your wives?' He said, 'No.' I said, 'Allahu Akbar*. [* Allah is great]

Volume 1, Book 4, Number 228:

Fatima bint Abi Hubaish came to the Prophet and said, "O Allah's Apostle I get persistent bleeding from the uterus and do not become clean. Shall I give up my prayers?" Allah's Apostle replied, "No, because it is from a blood vessel and not the menses. So when your real menses begins give up your prayers and when it has finished wash off the blood (take a bath) and offer your prayers." Hisham (the sub narrator) narrated that his father had also said, (the Prophet told her): "Perform ablution for every prayer till the time of the next period comes.

Volume 1. Book 6. Number 303:

Fatima bint Abi Hubaish said to Allah's Apostle, "O Allah's Apostle! I do not become clean (from bleeding). Shall I give up my prayers?" Allah's Apostle replied: "No, because it is from a blood vessel and not the menses. So when the real menses begins give up your prayers and when it (the period) has finished wash the blood off your body (take a bath) and offer your prayers.'

Volume 1 Book 6 Number 322:

Fatima bint Abi Hubaish asked the Prophet, "I got persistent bleeding (in between the periods) and do not become clean. Shall I give up prayers?" He replied, "No, this is from a blood vessel. Give up the prayers only for the days on which you usually get the menses and then take a bath and offer your prayers."

Volume 1, Book 8, Number 358:

Narrated Sahl: The men used to pray with the Prophet with their Izars tied around their necks as boys used to do; therefore the Prophet told the women not to raise their heads till the men sat down straight (while praying).

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 245:

Narrated Aisha:

(the wife of the Prophet) I never remembered my parents believing in any religion other than the true religion (i.e. Islam), and (I don't remember) a single day passing without our being visited by Allah's Apostle in the morning and in the evening. When the Muslims were put to test (i.e. troubled by the pagans), Abu Bakr set out migrating to the land of Ethiopia, and when he reached Bark-al-Ghimad, Ibn Ad-Daghina, the chief of the tribe of Qara, met him and said, "O Abu Bakr! Where are you going?" Abu Bakr replied, "My people have turned me out (of my country), so I want to wander on the earth and worship my Lord." Ibn Ad-Daghina said, "O Abu Bakr! A man like you should not leave his homeland, nor should he be driven out, because you help the destitute, earn their livings, and you keep good relations with your Kith and kin, help the weak and poor, entertain guests generously, and help the calamity-stricken persons. Therefore I am your protector. Go back and worship your Lord in your

So Abu Bakr returned and Ibn Ad-Daghina accompanied him. In the evening Ibn Ad-Daghina visited the nobles of Ouraish and said to them. "A man like Abu Bakr should not leave his homeland, nor should he be driven out. Do you (i.e. Quraish) drive out a man who helps the destitute, earns their living, keeps good relations with his Kith and kin, helps the weak and poor, entertains guests generously and helps the calamity-stricken persons?" So the people of Quraish could

not refuse Ibn Ad-Daghina's protection, and they said to Ibn Ad-Daghina, "Let Abu Bakr worship his Lord in his house. He can pray and recite there whatever he likes, but he should not hurt us with it, and should not do it publicly, because we are afraid that he may affect our women and children." Ibn Ad-Daghina told Abu Bakr of all that. Abu Bakr stayed in that state, worshipping his Lord in his house. He did not pray publicly, nor did he recite Koran outside his house.

Then a thought occurred to Abu Bakr to build a mosque in front of his house, and there he used to pray and recite the Koran. The women and children of the pagans began to gather around him in great number. They used to wonder at him and look at him. Abu Bakr was a man who used to weep too much, and he could not help weeping on reciting the Koran. That situation scared the nobles of the pagans of Quraish, so they sent for Ibn Ad-Daghina. When he came to them, they said, "We accepted your protection of Abu Bakr on condition that he should worship his Lord in his house, but he has violated the conditions and he has built a mosque in front of his house where he prays and recites the Koran publicly. We are now afraid that he may affect our women and children unfavorably. So, prevent him from that. If he likes to confine the worship of his Lord to his house, he may do so, but if he insists on doing that openly, ask him to release you from your obligation to protect him, for we dislike to break our pact with you, but we deny Abu Bakr the right to announce his act publicly." Ibn Ad-Daghina went to Abu-Bakr and said, ("O Abu Bakr!) You know well what contract I have made on your behalf: now, you are either to abide by it. or else release me from my obligation of protecting you, because I do not want the Arabs hear that my people have dishonoured a contract I have made on behalf of another man." Abu Bakr replied, "I release you from your pact to protect me, and am pleased with the protection from Allah.'

At that time the Prophet was in Mecca, and he said to the Muslims, "In a dream I have been shown your migration place, a land of date palm trees, between two mountains, the two stony tracts." So, some people migrated to Medina, and most of those people who had previously migrated to the land of Ethiopia, returned to Medina. Abu Bakr also prepared to leave for Medina, but Allah's Apostle said to him, "Wait for a while, because I hope that I will be allowed to migrate also." Abu Bakr said, "Do you indeed expect this? Let my father be sacrificed for you!" The Prophet said, "Yes." So Abu Bakr did not migrate for the sake of Allah's Apostle in order to accompany him. He fed two she-camels he possessed with the leaves of As-Samur tree that fell on being struck by a stick for four months

One day, while we were sitting in Abu Bakr's house at noon, someone said to Abu Bakr, "This is Allah's Apostle with his head covered coming at a time at which he never used to visit us before." Abu Bakr said, "May my parents be sacrificed for him. By Allah, he has not come at this hour except for a great necessity." So Allah's Apostle came and asked permission to enter, and he was allowed to enter. When he entered, he said to Abu Bakr. "Tell everyone who is present with you to go away." Abu Bakr replied, "There are none but your family. May my father be sacrificed for you, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said, "i have been given permission to migrate." Abu Bakr said, "Shall I accompany you? May my father be sacrificed for you, O Allah's Apostle!" Allah's Apostle said, "Yes." Abu Bakr said, "O Allah's Apostle! May my father be sacrificed for you, take one of these two she-camels of mine. Allah's Apostle replied, "(I will accept it) with payment." So we prepared the baggage quickly and put some journey food in a leather bag for them. Asma, Abu Bakr's daughter, cut a piece from her waist belt and tied the mouth of the leather bag with it, and for that reason she was named Dhat-un-Nitagain (i.e. the owner of two belts).

Then Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr reached a cave on the mountain of Thaur and stayed there for three nights. Abdullah bin Abi Bakr who was intelligent and a sagacious youth, used to stay (with them) aver night. He used to leave them before day break so that in the morning he would be with Quraish as if he had spent the night in Mecca. He would keep in mind any plot made against them, and when it became dark he would (go and) inform them of it. Amir bin Fuhaira, the freed slave of Abu Bakr, used to bring the milch sheep (of his master, Abu Bakr) to them a little while after nightfall in order to rest the sheep there. So they always had fresh milk at night, the milk of their sheep, and the milk which they warmed by throwing heated stones in it. Amir bin Fuhaira would then call the herd away when it was still dark (before daybreak). He did the same in each of those three nights. Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr had hired a man from the tribe of Bani Ad-Dail from the family of Bani Abd bin Adi as an expert guide, and he was in alliance with the family of Al-As bin Wail As-Sahmi and he was on the religion of the infidels of Ouraish. The Prophet and Abu Bakr trusted him and gave him their two she-camels and took his promise to bring their two she camels to the cave of the mountain of Thaur in the morning after three nights later. And (when they set out), Amir bin Fuhaira and the guide went along with them and the guide led them along the sea-shore.

The nephew of Suraqa bin Ju'sham said that his father informed him that he heard Suraqa bin Ju'sham saying, "The messengers of the heathens of Quraish came to us declaring that they had assigned for the persons why would kill or arrest Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr, a reward equal to their bloodmoney. While I was sitting in one of the gatherings of my tribe. Bani Mudlij, a man from them came to us and stood up while we were sitting, and said, "O Suraqa! No doubt, I have just seen some people far away on the seashore, and I think they are Mohammed and his companions." Suraqa added, "I too realised that it must have been they. But I said 'No, it is not they, but you have seen so-and-so, and so-and-so whom we saw set out." I stayed in the gathering for a while and then got up and left for my home. and ordered my slavegirl to get my horse which was behind a hillock, and keep it ready for me.

Then I took my spear and left by the back door of my house dragging the lower end of the spear on the ground and keeping it low. Then I reached my horse, mounted it and made it gallop. When I approached them (i.e. Mohammed and Abu Bakr), my horse stumbled and I fell down from it. Then I stood up, got hold of my quiver and took out the divining arrows and drew lots as to whether I should harm them (i.e. the Prophet and Abu Bakr) or not, and the lot which I disliked came out. But I remounted my horse and let it gallop, giving no importance to the divining arrows. When I heard the recitation of the Koran by Allah's Apostle who did not look hither and thither while Abu Bakr was doing it often, suddenly the forelegs of my horse sank into the ground up to the knees, and I fell down from it. Then I rebuked it and it got up but could hardly take out its forelegs from the ground, and when it stood up straight again, its fore-legs caused dust to rise up in the sky like smoke. Then again I drew lots with the divining arrows, and the lot which I disliked, came out. So I called upon them to feel secure. They stopped, and I remounted my horse and went to them. When I saw how I had been hampered from harming them, it came to my mind that the cause of Allah's Apostle (i.e. Islam) will become victorious. So I said to him, "Your people have assigned a reward equal to the bloodmoney for your head." Then I told them all the plans the people of Mecca had made concerning them. Then I offered them some journey food and goods but they refused to take anything and did not ask for anything, but the Prophet "Do not tell others about us." Then I requested him to write for me a statement of security and peace. He ordered Amr bin Fuhaira who wrote it for me on a parchment, and

then Allah's Apostle proceeded on his way.

Narrated Urwa bin Az-Zubair: Allah's Apostle met Az-Zubair in a caravan of Muslim merchants who were returning from Sham. Az-Zubair provided Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr with white clothes to wear. When the Muslims of Medina heard the news of the departure of Allah's Apostle from Mecca (towards Medina), they started going to the Harra every morning. They would wait for him till the heat of the noon forced them to return. One day, after waiting for a long while, they returned home, and when they went into their houses, a Jew climbed up the roof of one of the forts of his people to look for some thing, and he saw Allah's Apostle and his companions dressed in white clothes, emerging out of the desert mirage.

The Jew could not help shouting at the top of his voice, "O you Arabs! Here is your great man whom you have been waiting for!" So all the Muslims rushed to their arms and received Allah's Apostle on the summit of Harra. The Prophet turned with them to the right and alighted at the quarters of Bani Amr bin Auf, and this was on Monday in the month of Rabi-ul-Awal. Abu Bakr stood up, receiving the people while Allah's Apostle sat down and kept silent. Some of the Ansar who came and had not seen Allah's Apostle before, began greeting Abu Bakr, but when the sunshine fell on Allah's Apostle and Abu Bakr came forward and shaded him with his sheet only then the people came to know Allah's Apostle. Allah's Apostle stayed with Bani Amr bin Auf for ten nights and established the mosque (mosque of Quba) which was founded on piety. Allah's Apostle prayed in it and then mounted his she-camel and proceeded on, accompanied by the people till his she-camel knelt down at (the place of) the Mosque of Allah's Apostle at Medina. Some Muslims used to pray there in those days, and that place was a yard for drying dates belonging to Suhail and Sahl, the orphan boys who were under the guardianship of Asad bin Zurara. When his she-camel knelt down, Allah's Apostle said, "This place, Allah willing, will be our abiding place." Allah's Apostle then called the two boys and told them to suggest a price for that yard so that he might take it as a mosque. The two boys said, 'No, but we will give it as a gift, O Allah's Apostle!" Allah's Apostle then built a mosque there. The Prophet himself started carrying unburnt bricks for its building and while doing so, he was saying "This load is better than the load of Khaibar, for it is more pious in the Sight of Allah and purer and better rewardable." He was also saying, "O Allah! The actual reward is the reward in the Hereafter, so bestow Your Mercy on the Ansar and the Emigrants." Thus the Prophet

recited (by way of proverb) the poem of some Muslim poet whose name is unknown to me.

(Ibn Shibab said, "In the Hadiths it does not occur that Allah's Apostle

recited a complete poetic verse other than this one.")

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 796:

Narrated Aiman

I went to Aisha and she was wearing a coarse dress costing five Dirhams. Aisha said, "Look up and see my slave-girl who refuses to wear it in the house though during the lifetime of Allah's Apostle I had a similar dress which no woman desiring to appear elegant (before her husband) failed to borrow from me."

Volume 2, Book 24, Number 569:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

The Prophet saw a dead sheep which had been given in charity to a freed slavegirl of Maimuna, the wife of the Prophet . The Prophet said, "Why don't you get the benefit of its hide?" They said, "It is dead." He replied, "Only to eat (its meat) is illegal."

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 269:

Narrated Aisha:

Utba bin Abu Waqqas took a firm promise from his brother Sad bin Abu Waqqas to take the son of the slave-girl of Zam'a into his custody as he was his (i.e. Utba's) son. In the year of the Conquest (of Mecca) Sad bin Abu Waqqas took him, and said that he was his brother's son, and his brother took a promise from him to that effect. 'Abu bin Zam'a got up and said. "He is my brother and the son of the slave-girl of my father and was born on my father's bed." Then they both went to the Prophet Sad said, "O Allah's Apostle! He is the son of my brother and he has taken a promise from me that I will take him." 'Abu bin Zam'a said, "(He is) my brother and the son of my father's slave-girl and was born on my father's bed. Allah's Apostle said, "The boy is for you. O 'Abu bin Zam'a." Then the Prophet said, "The son is for the bed (i.e the man on whose bed he was born) and stones (disappointment and deprivation) for the one who has done illegal sexual intercourse." The Prophet told his wife Sauda bint Zam'a to screen herself from that boy as he noticed a similarity between the boy and Utha. So, the boy did not see her till he died.

Volume 3, Book 34, Number 421:

Narrated Aisha:

Sad bin Abi Waqqas and 'Abu bin Zam'a quarreled over a boy. Sad said, "O Allah's Apostle! This boy is the son of my brother (Utba bin Abi Waqqas) who took a promise from me that I would take him as he was his (illegal) son. Look at him and see whom he resembles." 'Abu bin Zam'a said, "O Allah's Apostle! This is my brother and was born on my father's bed from his slave-girl." Allah's Apostle cast a look at the boy and found definite resemblance to Utba and then said, "The boy is for you, O 'Abu bin Zam'a. The child goes to the owner of the bed and the adulterer gets nothing but the stones (despair, i.e. to be stoned to death). Then the Prophet said, "O Sauda bint Zama! Screen yourself from this boy." So, Sauda never saw him again.

Volume 3, Book 38, Number 500:

Narrated Ibn Ka'b bin Malik from his father:

We had some sheep which used to graze at Sala'. One of our slavegirls saw a sheep dying and she broke a stone and slaughtered the sheep with it. My father said to the people, "Don't eat it till I ask the Prophet about it (or till I send somebody to ask the Prophet)." So, he asked or sent somebody to ask the Prophet, and the Prophet permitted him to eat it. Ubaidullah (a sub-narrator) said, "I admire that girl, for though she was a slave-girl, she dared to slaughter the sheep."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 719:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

I have loved the people of the tribe of Bani Tamim ever since I heard, three things, Allah's Apostle said about them. I heard him saying, These people (of the tribe of Bani Tamim) would stand firm against Ad-Dajjal." When the Sadaqat (gifts of charity) from that tribe came, Allah's Apostle said, "These are the Sadaqat (i.e. charitable gifts) of our folk." Aisha had a slave-girl from that tribe, and the Prophet said to Aisha, "Manumit her as she is a descendant of Ishmael (the Prophet)."

Volume 3, Book 46, Number 736:

Narrated Abdullah bin Umar:

Aisha wanted to buy a slave-girl in order to manumit her. The girl's masters stipulated that her Wala' would be for them. Allah's Apostle said (to Aisha), "What they stipulate should not stop you, for the Wala' is for the liberator." Volume 3, Book 47, Number 799:

Narrated Ibn Shihab Az-Zuhri: Anas bin Malik said, "When the emigrants came Medina, they had nothing whereas the Ansar had land and property. The Ansar gave them their land on condition that the emigrants would give them half the yearly yield and work on the land and provide the necessaries for cultivation." His (i.e. Anas's mother who was also the mother of Abdullah bin Abu Talha, gave some date-palms to Allah' Apostle who gave them to his freed slave-girl (Um Aiman) who was also the mother of Usama bin Zaid. When

the Prophet finished from the fighting against the people of Khaibar and returned to Medina, the emigrants returned to the Ansar the fruit gifts which the Ansar had given them. The Prophet also returned to Anas's mother the date-pallms. Allah's Apostle gave Um Aiman other trees from his garden in lieu of the old gift.

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 803:

Narrated Abu Huraira:

Allah's Apostle said, "The Prophet Abraham migrated with Sarah. The people (of the town where they migrated) gave her Ajar (i.e. Hajar). Sarah returned and said to Abraham, "Do you know that Allah has humiliated that pagan and he has given a slave-girl for my service?" Volume 4, Book 54, Number 515:

Narrated Sad bin Abi Waqqas:

Once Umar asked the leave to see Allah's Apostle in whose company there were some Quraishi women who were talking to him and asking him for more financial support raising their voices. When Umar asked permission to enter the women got up (quickly) hurrying to screen themselves. When Allah's Apostle admitted Umar, Allah's Apostle was smiling, Umar asked, "O Allah's Apostle! May Allah keep you gay always." Allah's Apostle said, "I am astonished at these women who were with me. As soon as they heard your voice, they hastened to screen themselves." Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! You have more right to be feared by them." Then he addressed (those women) saying, "O enemies of your own souls! Do you fear me and not Allah's Apostle?" They replied. "Yes, for you are a fearful and fierce man as compared with Allah's Apostle." On that Allah's Apostle said (to Umar), "By Him in Whose Hands my life is, whenever Satan sees you taking a path, he follows a path other than yours." Volume 5, Book 57, Number 32:

Narrated Sad bin Abi Waqqas:

Umar bin Al-Khattab asked the permission of Allah's Apostle to see him while some Quraishi women were sitting with him, talking to him and asking him for more expenses, raising their voices above the voice of Allah's Apostle.

When Umar asked for the permission to enter, the women quickly put on their veils. Allah's Apostle allowed him to enter and Umar came in while Allah's Apostle was smiling. Umar said "O Allah's Apostle! May Allah always keep you smiling." The Prophet said, "These women who have been here, roused my wonder, for as soon as they heard your voice, they quickly put on their veils. "Umar said, "O Allah's Apostle! You have more right to be feared by them than I.' Then Umar addressed the women saying, "O enemies of yourselves! You fear me more than you do Allah's Apostle?" They said, "Yes, for you are harsher and sterner than Allah's Apostle." Then Allah's Apostle said, "O Ibn Al-Khattab! By Him in Whose Hands my life is! Never does Satan find you going on a way, but he takes another way other than yours.

Volume 6, Book 60, Number 124:

Narrated Aisha:

Regarding the Verse:--"They ask your instruction concerning the women. Say: Allah instructs you about them and yet whom you desire to marry." (4.127) (has been revealed regarding the case of) a man who has an orphan girl, and he is her guardian and her heir. The girl shares with him all his property, even a date-palm (garden), but he dislikes to marry her and dislikes to give her in marriage to somebody else who would share with him the property she is sharing with him, and for this reason that guardian prevents that orphan girl from marrying. So, this Verse was revealed: (And Allah's statement:) "If a woman fears cruelty or desertion on her husband's part." (4.128)

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 2:

Narrated Ursa:

that he asked Aisha about the Statement of Allah: 'If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphan girls, then marry (other) women of your choice, two or three or four; but if you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly (with them), then only one, or (the captives) that your right hands possess. That will be nearer to prevent you from doing injustice.' (4.3) Aisha said, "O my nephew! (This Verse has been revealed in connection with) an orphan girl under the guardianship of her guardian who is attracted by her wealth and beauty and intends to marry her with a Mahr less than what other women of her standard deserve. So they (such guardians) have been forbidden to marry them unless they do justice to them and give them their full Mahr, and they are ordered to marry other women instead of them.

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 62:

Narrated Aisha:

(regarding His Statement): 'They ask your instruction concerning the women. Say: Allah instructs you about them ...' (4.127) It is about the female orphan who is under the guardianship of a man with whom she shares her property and he does not want to marry her and dislikes that someone else should marry her, lest he should share the property with him, so he prevents her from marrying. So Allah forbade such a guardian to do so (i.e. to prevent her from marrying).

Volume 9, Book 86, Number 95:

Narrated Urwa

That he asked Aisha regarding the Verse: 'If you fear that you shall not be able to deal justly with the orphan girls, marry (other) women of your choice.' (4.3) Aisha said, "It is about an orphan girl under the custody of her guardian who being attracted by her wealth and beauty wants to marry her with Mahr less than other women of her status. So such guardians were forbidden to marry them unless they treat them justly by giving them their full Mahr. Then the people sought the verdict of Allah's Apostle for such cases, whereupon Allah revealed: 'They ask your instruction concerning women..' (4.127) (The sub-narrator then mentioned the Hadith.)

Volume 3, Book 29, Number 85:

Narrated Ibn Abbas: The Prophet said, "A woman should not travel except with a Dhu-Mahram (her husband or a man with whom that woman cannot marry at all according to the Islamic Jurisprudence), and no man may visit her except in the presence of a Dhu-Mahram." A man got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I intend to go to such and such an army and my wife wants to perform Hajj." The Prophet said (to him), 'Go along with her (to Hajj).

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 250:

Narrated Ibn Abbas:

That he heard the Prophet saying, "It is not permissible for man to be alone with a woman, and no lady should travel except with a Muhram (i.e. her husband or a person whom she cannot marry in any case for ever; e.g. her father, brother, etc.)." Then a man got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have enlisted in the army for such-and-such Ghazwa and my wife is proceeding for Hajj." Allah's Apostle said, "Go, and perform the Hajj with your wife."

Volume 5, Book 58, Number 125:

Narrated Anas:

When Abdur-Rahman bin Auf came to us. Allah's Apostle made a bond of fraternity between him and Sad bin Ar-Rabi who was a rich man, Sad said, "The Ansar know that I am the richest of all of them, so I will divide my property into two parts between me and you, and I have two wives; see which of the two you like so that I may divorce her and you can marry her after she becomes lawful to you by her passing the prescribed period (i.e. Idda) of divorce. Abdur Rahman said, 'May Allah bless you your family (i.e. wives) for you." (But Abdur-Rahman went to the market) and did not return on that day except with some gain of dried yogurt and butter. He went on trading just a few days till he came to Allah's Apostle bearing the traces of yellow scent over his clothes. Allah's Apostle asked him, "What is this scent?" He replied, "I have married a woman from the Ansar." Allah's Apostle asked, "How much Mahr have you given?" He said, "A date-stone weight of gold or a golden date-stone." The Prophet said, "Arrange a marriage banquet even with a sheep.

Volume 6, Book 61, Number 548:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad-

A lady came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! have come to you to offer myself to you." He raised his eyes and looked at her and then lowered his head. When the lady saw that he did not make any decision, she sat down. On that, a man from his companions got up and said. "O Allah's Apostle! If you are not in need of this woman, then marry her to me." Allah's Apostle said, "Do you have anything to offer her?" He replied. "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said to him, "Go to your family and see if you can find something.' The man went and returned, saying, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle! I have not found anything." The Prophet said, "Try to find something, even if it is an iron ring." He went again and returned, saying, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle, not even an iron ring, but I have this waist sheet of mine." The man had no upper garment, so he intended to give her, half his waist sheet. So Allah's Apostle said, "What would she do with your waist sheet? If you wear it, she will have nothing of it over her body, and if she wears it, you will have nothing over your body." So that man sat for a long period and then got up, and Allah's Apostle saw him going away, so he ordered somebody to call him. When he came, the Prophet asked him, " How much of the Koran do you know?" He replied, "I know such Surat and such Surat and such Surat," and went on counting it, The Prophet asked him, "Can you recite it by heart?" he replied, "Yes." The Prophet said, "Go, I have married this lady to you for the amount of the Koran you know by heart."

Volume 7, Book 62, Number 24:

Narrated Sahl bin Sad As-Saldi:

A woman came to Allah's Apostle and said, "O Allah's Apostle! I have come to give you myself in marriage (without Mahr)." Allah's Apostle looked at her. He looked at her carefully and fixed his glance on her and then lowered his head. When the lady saw that he did not say anything, she sat down. A man from his companions got up and said, "O Allah's Apostle! If you are not in need of her, then marry her to me." The Prophet said, "Have you got anything to offer?" The man said, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle!" The Prophet said (to him), "Go to your family and see if you have something." The man went and returned, saying, "No, by Allah, I have not

found anything." Allah's Apostle said, "(Go again) and look for something, even if it is an iron ring." He went again and returned, saying, "No, by Allah, O Allah's Apostle! I could not find even an iron ring, but this is my Izar (waist sheet)." He had no rida. He added, "I give half of it to her." Allah's Apostle said, "What will she do with your Izar? If you wear it, she will be naked, and if she wears it, you will be naked." So that man sat down for a long while and then got up (to depart). When Allah's Apostle saw him going, he ordered that he be called back. When he came, the Prophet said, "How much of the Koran do you know?" He said, "I know such Sura and such Sura," counting them. The Prophet said, "Do you know them by heart?" He replied, "Yes." The Prophet said, "Go, I marry her to you for that much of the Koran which vou have.'

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 70:

Narrated Aisha:

Allah's Apostle came to my house while two girls were singing beside me the songs of Buath (a story about the war between the two tribes of the Ansar, the Khazraj and the Aus, before Islam). The Prophet lay down and turned his face to the other side. Then Abu Bakr came and spoke to me harshly saying, "Musical instruments of Satan near the Prophet? Allah's Apostle turned his face towards him and said, "Leave them." When Abu Bakr became inattentive, I signalled to those girls to go out and they left. It was the day of Id, and the Black people were playing with shields and spears; so either I requested the Prophet or he asked me whether I would like to see the display. I replied in the affirmative. Then the Prophet made me stand behind him and my cheek was touching his cheek and he was saying, "Carry on! O Bani Arfida," till I got tired. The Prophet asked me, "Are you satisfied (Is that sufficient for you)?" I replied in the affirmative and he told me to leave.

Volume 2, Book 15, Number 103:

Narrated Urwa on the authority of Aisha:

On the days of Mina, (11th, 12th, and 13th of Dhul-Hijjah) Abu Bakr came to her while two young girls were beating the tambourine and the Prophet was lying covered with his clothes. Abu Bakr scolded them and the Prophet uncovered his face and said to Abu Bakr, "Leave them, for these days are the days of Id and the days of Mina." Aisha further said, 'Once the Prophet was screening me and I was watching the display of black slaves in the Mosque and (Umar) scolded them. The Prophet said, 'Leave them. O Bani Arfida! (carry on), you are safe (protected)'.'

Volume 4, Book 52, Number 155:

Narrated Aisha:

Allah's Apostle came to my house while two girls were singing beside me the songs of Bu'ath (a story about the war between the two tribes of the Ansar, i.e. Khazraj and Aus, before Islam.) The Prophet reclined on the bed and turned his face to the other side. Abu Bakr came and scolded me and said protestingly, "Instrument of Satan in the presence of Allah's Apostle?" Allah's Apostle turned his face towards him and said, "Leave them." When Abu Bakr became inattentive, I waved the two girls to go away and they left. It was the day of Id when negroes used to play with leather shields and spears. Either I requested Allah's Apostle or he himself asked me whether I would like to see the display. I replied in the affirmative. Then he let me stand behind him and my cheek was touching his cheek and he was saying, "Carry on, O Bani Arfida (i.e. negroes)!" When I got tired, he asked me if that was enough. I replied in the affirmative and he told me to

Volume 4, Book 56, Number 730:

Narrated Aisha

That during the Mina days, Abu Bakr came to her, while there where two girls with her, beating drums, and the Prophet was (lying) covering himself with his garment. Abu Bakr rebuked the two girls, but the Prophet uncovered his face and said, "O Abu Bakr! Leave them, for these are the days of Id (festival)." Those days were the days of Mina-. Aisha added, "I was being screened by the Prophet while I was watching the Ethiopians playing in the Mosque. Umar rebuked them, but the Prophet said, "Leave them, O Bani Arfida! Play. (for) you are safe."

Volume 3, Book 47, Number 754:

Narrated Aisha:

The people used to send gifts to the Prophet on the day of my turn. Um Salama said: "My companions (the wives of the Prophet Other than Aisha) gathered and they complained about it. So I informed the Prophet about it on their behalf, but he remained silent. Volume 1, Book 6, Number 325:

(the wife of the Prophet) I told Allah's Apostle that Safiya bint Huyai had got her menses. He said, "She will probably delay us. Did she perform Tawaf (Al-Ifada) with you?" We replied, "Yes." On that the Prophet told her to depart.

IMMIGRATION IN ISLAMIC DOCTRINE AND HISTORY

Author: Bill Warner Estimated Range of Dating: 2010

Hijra is the Islamic doctrine of Jihad by migration. Hijra is a political tactic Mohammed used to conquest a Kafir (non-Muslim) country.

In recent months, immigration from Islamic countries to Europe has become one of the continent's most serious issues in decades. A variety of different people are currently coming to Europe through the Balkans and the Mediterranean, including those whose lives were destroyed by the Jihad of the Islamic State. Nevertheless, various security agencies report warriors, who would like to bring Jihad to Europe, are traveling among them as well. By far, the largest share of the new immigrants are the economic migrants driven by the prospect of a better life ensured by social systems of the European countries. It is also no secret that Muslims are the largest part of the immigrants. While most of the discussions on immigration deal chiefly with the economic and security consequences of Muslim immigration to Europe, this article aims to analyze what position immigration has in the doctrine of Political Islam. Furthermore, we will also reflect on the current situation and what lessons could be drawn from history.

Dualism

The Islamic political doctrine has two contradictory approaches to immigration - as it actually does to many other issues. Such dualism is an inherent part of Islam and is best understood when the following two verses from Koran are compared.

Koran 2:256 There shall be no compulsion in [acceptance of] the religion.

Koran 9:29 Make war on those who do not believe in Allah or in the Last Day and who do not consider unlawful what Allah and His Messenger have made unlawful... Even though the message of the verses above may seem to be contradictory, both of them are part of the book that is regarded by Muslims as the exact words of Allah. Both of them are valid and Muslims can choose one or another, depending on outer circumstances.

Hijra

The doctrine of immigration is handled in a similar way. It can be found particularly in the Sira — The Life of Mohammed. In 622 CE, Mohammed left Mecca for Medina because Meccans considered him to be the source of conflicts and did not want him to be their fellow-citizen anymore. This event is called Hijra and is crucial in Islamic history. Hijra is not only the beginning of Islamic calendar, but it also marks the divide between the Meccan Koran and the Medinan Koran and the transition from religious Islam to political Islam.

During his thirteen-year career as a preacher, Mohammed converted approximately 150 people to Islam in Mecca. Within the course of ten years of Jihad (following his migration to Medina), Mohammed spread Islam throughout Arabia. The fact that the Islamic calendar starts with Mohammed's immigration to Medina and not with his birth, death, or the first Koranic revelation indicates the significance of this event for the success of Islam.

Immigration to Islamic Countries

The first concept of Hijra originated in Mohammed's migration from Mecca to Medina. In Islam Mohammed is the perfect pattern of moral conduct for each Muslim. Therefore, if a Muslim is in a place where he cannot practice his ideology, he is supposed to do as Mohammed did and leave such a place. He should move to where Sharia law constitutes legal order and where he can follow the imperatives of the Islamic doctrine.

The Islamic State refers to this order in its propaganda videos. It reminds European Muslims of their religious obligation to leave for a country where Sharia is the governing law and to participate in Jihad in Allah's cause.

Jihad

Muslim migration to the countries governed by Kafirs (unbelievers) did not have great significance in the past. Instead, Islamic scholars dating back to the 9th century, considered staying in non-Islamic countries to be dangerous, since it can weaken Muslims' belief. Until the late modern period, Islam was spread primarily through armed Jihad.

Successful spreading of Islam was ensured by constant repetition of the following time-proven pattern: inhabitants of a certain country or region were given a choice - either convert to Islam or go to war. If the offer for conversion was declined, Islamic armies invaded the country. If the Muslims won on the battlefield, many of the conquered men were killed and the women and children were captured as spoils of war or sold on the slave markets.

A subjugated status, called "dhimmi," was imposed upon those not killed or taken away. Life as a dhimmi was so difficult and degrading for unbelievers they gradually converted to Islam to become regular citizens. In some regions, this process took a couple of centuries due to the fact that dhimmis were persistent in declining conversion to Islam. Eventually, this approach was successful and transformed Christian Near East, Northern Africa and Asia Minor into Muslim lands. Buddhist areas in Afghanistan, Hindu areas in India and Pakistan, or Zoroastrian Persia encountered similar destinies as well. Muslim conquest of such areas was even crueler because, in accordance with the doctrine of Political Islam, dhimmi status can be granted only to Jews and Christians.

Immigration to non-Islamic Countries

Muslims did not come to the western lands of the Kafir in high numbers until the second half of the 20th century. The main motivating factors were economic. Many Western European countries went through a period of unusual surges in industrial production and the European workforce was insufficient to satisfy labor demand. At that time, numerous Western politicians thought a workforce from Muslim countries would stay in Europe for several years and, once Muslim workers earned some money, they would return to their families in their home countries. However, that was not the case. Instead, these workers' families joined them and settled in the hosting countries permanently.

A large number of Muslims who migrated to the West convinced the Islamic scholars to rethink their attitude to this issue. They agreed if they had forbidden mass immigration, they would only alienate the migrants. Instead, they focused on drawing up of a legal-religious framework to enable the migrants to keep their Muslim identity as well as to make use of their immigration for the benefit of Islam. The agreement on this framework contained five main points:

- Muslims are part of the Islamic nation, called the Ummah, wherever they live.
- Life in non-Islamic countries is undesirable, but possible, if the migrant behaves as an exemplary Muslim.
- Each migrant is obliged to constantly strengthen his religious identity and keep their distance from everything contradictory to Islam. In order to strengthen his religious identity, he should build mosques and be their benefactor, as well as set up Muslim schools [the propagation centre for the Islamic ideology], cultural centers and shops.
- Each migrant is supposed to promote the objectives of the Muslim community, both in the religious and the political field and he shall not make difference between those two.
- Muslims in the West are supposed to spread Islam in the declining and spiritually void Western societies.

The purpose of all these points has been to force Muslims to perceive their religious identity as more important than their national identity, to segregate them from the majority society and to make them agents for spreading Islam in the world. The substantial requirement was that they would live separate from Kafirs and would not make friends within the Kafir societies. Making friends with Muslims and segregating from non-Muslims is called Al Walaa wa al Baraa. This Arabian term could be translated as "loyalty and disownment" and stems from the Koran.

Koran 58:22 You will not find a people who believe in Allah and the Last Day having affection for those who oppose Allah and His Messenger, even if they were their fathers or their sons or their brothers or their kindred.

These ideas didn't remain just a plain theory of the Islamic scholars, they really took root in the lives of numerous Western Muslims. A lot of factors played roles in this process. The essential one is the fact that immigrants brought their traditional values of the Islamic doctrine with them. In their host countries, they gathered in closed communities with their fellow believers, which further reinforced such values. The religious commitment of the children and grandchildren of the original immigrants was reinforced by the fact that it was getting increasingly more difficult to succeed in the labor market.

Another key factor was that Western politicians declared multiculturalism to be the official ideology, which meant giving up on promoting common values in their countries. One of the key postulates of multiculturalism is that no culture may be regarded as more valuable than another one. This opened the way for spreading very radical ideas incompatible with the constitutions, legal orders, and essential values of the Europeans. Their propagators consider themselves to be untouchable to a large extent, since attacking their opinions could be interpreted as an expression of xenophobia or hatred.

Nevertheless, CSPI has focused on studying mainly the primary Islamic political doctrine, that is the doctrine of Allah and Mohammed, which can be found in the Koran, Sira and Hadith. Those are the real sources of Islam. Islamic scholars, whose conclusions were discussed in the previous sections, also referred to the prophet Mohammed, since he was

the one who actually used immigration as a tool for spreading

Mohammed as the Perfect Example

When Mohammed went to Medina, half the population were Arabian polytheists and the other half consisted of three Jewish tribes. Mohammed came to a place where Islam had very little backing. He claimed he was the last in the line of Jewish prophets. Nevertheless, he gained very little backing from the Jews of Medina. It was the other way round. He claimed that Jews had intentionally corrupted and concealed God's revelations sent through the previous prophets. Therefore, it is not surprising the Jews of Medina kept a distance from him and that he was not very popular among them. Mohammed's Jew-hatred, in many places in the Koran, has its origins in this period of time.

Nevertheless, Mohammed was very skillful in getting the most out of the situation. He made use of the disputes among the three Jewish tribes. Each time Mohammed and his companions attacked one tribe, Jews from the other tribes did not help that tribe. Employing this tactic, Mohammed was able to conquer two Jewish tribes whose members were exiled and whose property was confiscated. When Mohammad attacked the third tribe, the Banu Qurayza, there was no one left in Medina who could help the besieged Jews. They finally surrendered, throwing themselves at Mohammed's mercy. Their sentence was not exile, as was the case with the two previous tribes, but death. Mohammed and his wife Aisha then looked on as his companions beheaded approximately 800 male members of the tribe.

In this way, Mohammed conquered Medina and it became a base for his power. After eight years, he also seized Mecca. At the end of his life, Islam dominated Arabia. Immigration to the town of unbelievers marked, in Mohammed's case, the beginning of the path to political power. Mohammed is not only inspiration for Muslim scholars, but he is also the binding moral example for all the Muslims. This theme is repeated more than 90 times in the Koran.

Koran 33:21 You have an excellent example in Allah's Messenger for those of you who put your hope in Allah and the Last Day and who praise Allah continually.

Koran 4:59 You who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you. The Koran emphasized several times that those who emigrated with Mohammed to the non-Muslim societies, and dominated them in favour of Islam, are perfect examples for Muslims, and Allah shall love them.

Koran 2:218 Indeed, those who have believed and those who have emigrated and fought in the cause of Allah - those expect the mercy of Allah. And Allah is Forgiving and Merciful.

The House of Islam and the House of War

The Islamic political doctrine divides world into dar al-Islam (the House of Islam) and dar al-Harb (the House of War). The former category involves countries governed by Islam and Sharia law. The latter category - the House of War - refers to Kafir countries. The ultimate goal of Political Islam is to incorporate the House of War into the House of Islam. This goal was proclaimed by Mohammed.

Sahih Muslim's Hadith Book 1, Number 31 Mohammed: "I have been ordered to wage war against mankind until they accept that there is no god but Allah and that they believe I am His prophet..."

This concept solves the problem of reconciling two different, or even contradictory, approaches to the Islamic migration. If Islamic practitioners feel they cannot apply Islamic ideology where they live, they can use the first approach and emigrate to dar al-Islam (land of Islam). If they already are in dar al-Harb (land of war) or would like to travel to the Kafir countries, they are supposed to use the second approach and use their migration to the benefit of Ummah and Islam.

Tactics

Those who choose the latter option are supposed to follow the example of Mohammed in Medina and gradually weaken the position of Kafir society. They should practice Jihad by means of speech, writing, or sword (depending on the conditions) and aspire to enshrine Sharia law.

The first migrants are not in an easy position. Until Islam has significant impact on the host society, it is sometimes necessary that Muslim immigrants participate in the activities forbidden by Sharia. That is enabled by the Islamic concept of 'darura." Darura means that a Muslim can do what is generally forbidden and avoid doing what is ordered, if circumstances dictate. The concepts of kitman, tawriya, muruna and taqiyya (sometimes also referred to as "sacred deception") are similar tactics. They enable Muslims to lie, say a half-truth, not to say the full truth, or hide their real intentions if they do so for the benefit of Islam. Such tactics are, however, temporary. The ultimate goal is to establish an Islamic government, and impose Sharia law, so such practices are no longer needed. Until that time, Muslims can follow Mohammed's advice

Sahih Bukhari's Hadith Volume 4, Book 52, Number 268 Allah's apostle said: "War is deceit."

Conclusion

The industrial revolution in the 19th century, and western civilisation's technical innovations in the 20th century prevented Islam from spreading by the traditional means of armed Jihad, enslaving elements of the Kafir population, and imposing dhimmitude on the rest of the population. Political Islam is, however, a practical tool of power. Facing this challenge, modern Islamic scholars found a way to utilize the economic emigration of their coreligionists heading toward Europe. They were inspired by Mohammed's life, his exile to Medina, and methods that enabled him to gradually dominate that city despite the majority of its citizens.

It would be wrong to assume that all economic immigrants to Europe in the past, or are currently coming, are active Jihadists. Unfortunately, there are no reliable statistics available, perhaps because of the nature of this topic. Nevertheless, there are other statistics available. 74% of the Muslims in Northern Africa and Middle East would like Sharia law to be the law of the land, and only half of them think this legal system should apply only to Muslims. It is possible that there are only few well-trained Jihad warriors among thousands of immigrants. Nevertheless, we can assume the demographic composition of immigrants coming to Europe at least approximately corresponds with the composition of population in their home countries. If it is the case, then almost three quarters of Muslim immigrants coming to Europe perceive religious Sharia law is a suitable framework for the official legislation. However, the Sharia law that is discussed more in detail here is contradictory to the law and constitutions of the European countries.

Studying history and the doctrine of Political Islam provides us with very valuable insight. Islam is not spread only by the professional terrorists who pressure Western governments by means of their violent acts to make many concessions, especially with regard to freedom of speech. A vital role in propagating Islam is played by Muslims who consider the Islamic political doctrine to have the same importance as the religious one. We can presume that European governments will keep submitting to the political requirements of Islam in the name of multiculturalism. If this is really the case, the migration of hundreds of thousands of Muslim immigrants only accelerates the process that is already happening. The process in question includes the decline of Western secular values, such as free speech and women's rights. They are suppressed by the violent political ideology of Islam.

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MISCONCEPTIONS ABOUT ISLAM

Collection of daily beliefs of Western people versus daily beliefs and actions of Muslims

ISLAM IS A RELIGION OF PEACE. YES! - BUT DUE TO THE MEDINA KORAN, ISLAM IS PRIMARILY A DOCTRING OF WAR!

Islam fought 548 battles and wars in the West; there are 12 decades in 1400 years that are Jihad free. In other words: Islam is 91% violence, 9% peace [So, when George W. Bush and Tony Blair stated that Islam be a religion of peace, they were 9% right, but 91% wrong!]. On top of those numbers come another 500 battles and wars in the East [India, China, Central and South Asia; that is: Indonesia, Malaysia, Burma, Thailand, Philippines, etc.], of which over 60 battles fought by the Sikhs against Muslim invaders are best documented.

The Islamic doctrine of Jihad [found in the Koran, the Sira, the Hadith], that is the Fight "in the Cause of Allah," has cost the lives of 80 million Hindus, 10 million Buddhists, 60 million Christians, 120 million Africans, 10 million Jews, 20 million Zoroastrians, 10 million Central Asians, and 10-20 million Chinese, Circa 1.5 million Christian Greeks and Armenians died in "Ethnic Cleansings" during the rule of the Muslim Ottoman Turks in World War I [just like in Hitler's Nazi-Europe, war was used as a cover-up]. approximately 300 million people during the last 1400 years The ruthless conquests of Timur alone account for a death toll of roughly 20 million Zoroastrians, Hindus, Buddhists. Jews. Christians, Secularists [Atheists, Agnostics, etc.], Since the attack of the World Trade Center in New York on 9/11 in 2001, in which Muslims murdered 3000 people, approximately 40,000 Muslim Jihad attacks killed circa 260,000 people, up to March 2021. Very peaceful indeed! And here are the Islamic texts that animate Muslims to act as Jihadists:

Koran 5:33 "The punishment for those who wage war against Allah and His Messenger and who do mischief [non-Islamic behaviour] in the land is only that they shall be killed or crucified, or their hands and their feet shall be cut off on opposite sides, or they shall be exiled. That is their disgrace in this world, and a dreadful torment is theirs in Hell."

Koran 9:29 "Fight those who do not believe until they all surrender, paying the protective tax in submission."

Koran 9:5 "Fight and kill the disbelievers wherever you find them, take them captive, torture them, lie in wait and ambush them using every stratagem of war."

Sira Ishaq: 618 "Kill the disbelievers wherever you find them. Lie in wait for them, ambush them, overwhelm them. I have ordered you to kill them."

Tafsir Tabari 8: 141 "The battle cry of Muhammad's Companions was, 'Kill! Kill! Kill!""

Bukhari: V4B52N196 "Allah's Apostle said, 'I have been ordered to fight people until they say, "None has the right to be worshipped but Allah.""

Koran 4.90 "If they turn back from Islam, becoming renegades, seize them and kill them wherever you find them."

Bukhari: V4B52N260 "The Prophet said, 'If a Muslim discards his religion, kill him."

Bukhari: V9B87N127 "The Prophet said, 'I have been given eloquent speech and have been awarded victory by terror so the treasures of the earth are mine."

Koran 108.003 "For he who insults you (Muhammad) will be cut off." $\,$

Bukhari: V7B67N427 "The Prophet said, 'If I take an oath and later find something else better than that, then I do what is better and expiate my oath.'"

8th surah — "wipe the Infidels out to the last. I shall fill the hearts of the Infidels with terror! So smite them on their necks and every joint, and incapacitate them, for they are opposed to Allah and His Apostle. Whoever opposes Us [Me, Allah] should know that Allah is severe in retribution. The Infidels will taste the torment of Hell."

Taſsir Tabari 7: 97 / Sira Ishaq: 368 "We [Allah] carried Ka'b's head and brought it to Muhammad during the night. We saluted him as he stood praying and told him that we had slain Allah's enemy. When he came out to us we cast Ashraſs head beſore his ſeet.

Bukhari: V9B88N174 "I heard the Prophet saying, 'Islam cannot change!"

Koran 89:23 "For His [Allah's] chastisement will be such as no other can inflict. None punishes as He will punish! None can bind as He will bind."

Sira Ishaq: 327 "Allah said, 'A prophet must slaughter before collecting captives.

Bukhari: V5B59N512 "The Prophet had their men killed, their children and woman taken captive."

Koran 33:26 "Allah made the Jews leave their homes by terrorizing them so that you killed some and made many captive. And He made you inherit their lands, their homes, and their wealth. He gave you a country you had not traversed before."

Muslim: C9B1N30 "The Messenger said: 'I have been commanded to fight against people so long as they do not declare that there is no god but Allah.""

Muslim: C29B20N4634 "The Messenger of Allah said: 'Nobody who dies and has something good for him with Allah will (like to) return even though he were offered the whole world and all that is in it, except the martyr who desires to return and be killed for the merit of martyrdom.'"

Taßir Tabari 9: 69 "We fight people until they believe in Allah. He who believes in Allah and His Messenger has protected his life and possessions from us. As for those who disbelieve, we will fight them forever in the Cause of Allah and killing them is a small matter to us.

Tafsir Tabari 9:115 "The military expeditions (Ghazawat) in which the Messenger personally participated were twenty-six. Some say there were twenty-seven."

Koran 9.3 "And a declaration from Allah and His Messenger to all mankind: 'Allah is free from all treaty obligations with non-Muslims and so is His Messenger."

Bukhari: V4B52N288 "Expel disbelievers from the Arabian Peninsula."

Koran 2.191 "Slay them wherever you find and catch them, and drive them out from where they have turned you out; for persecution and oppression are worse than slaughter."

Koran 33.25 "Allah drove the disbelievers back...and helped the believers in battle.... He terrorised the People of the Book so that you killed some and made many captive. He made you inherit their lands, their homes, and their wealth. He gave you a country you had not traversed before."

Koran 8:12 "I shall terrorize the infidels. So wound their bodies and incapacitate them because they oppose Allah and His Apostle."

Koran 8:57 "If you gain mastery over them in battle, inflict such a defeat as would terrorize them, so that they would learn a lesson and be warned."

SLAVERY IS NOT ALLOWED IN ISLAM - WRONG! MOHAMMED WAS A SLAVE HOLDER, HE HAD SEXSLAVES

Slavery has two distinct sources: (1st) Captured slaves in a war, and (2nd) slavery as punishment for a crime in which the convict has to repent by penal service. The war slaves were used as rowers of the galleys or in mines, the convicts were used in private households. Then the men were castrated. The women of either those groups were used as sex-slaves either privately or in whore houses. Slaves had to be young and healthy. In other words: old, frail, or otherwise inable humans were invariably executed, often right on the spot of capture.

Slavery in Islam began in the 7th century with Mohammed already. We know that he had slaves, particular sex-slaves. His successors got their slaves from the conquered territories of the Roman Empire, Spain and the Balkans, the Persian Empire, from India, Central Asia, and from China. Islamic slave traders ventured to the European coasts and even into the North Sea raiding towns in the British Isles, in France, and the German Lowlands.

From the 9th to the 12th centuries, the Vikings were hunting for slaves in France, Germany, Russia. The Mongol invasions and conquests from the 12th to the 14th centuries also resulted in taking numerous captives into slavery from Persia, India, Russia, and China. Slave commerce during the Late Middle Ages was mainly in the hands of Venetian and Genoese merchants and cartels, who were involved in the slave trade with the Golden Horde from 1100 to 1500. Nobody kept their hands clean. That is why nobody wants to talk about it. The Muslim slave business came to a sudden end in 1815 when the United States Navy smashed the fleets of the

Islamic Barbary states [present-day Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria] in North Africa between the years 1801 and 1815. Thomas Jefferson created the US-Navy precisely for this purpose in the previous years. He had read the Koran due to the Muslim Barbary attacks on American trading ships and selling the captured crew into slavery. He now knew why they did it, and also why the young American nation had to pay Jizya tribute.

Islam ran the wholesale slave trade in Africa. Slavery after the conquest of the Americas in the 16th century has been a two-end business: Muslim and Western customers on one end, Muslim slave hunters and traders on the other end; those were the only ones familiar with the African environment. Thomas Sowell [in his book Race and Culture, Basic Books, 1994, p. 1881 estimates that 11 million slaves were shipped across the Atlantic and 14 million were sent to the Islamic nations of North Africa and the Middle East. For every slave captured many others died. Estimates of this collateral damage vary. The renowned missionary David Livingstone estimated that for every slave who reached a plantation, five others were killed in the initial raid or died of illness and privation on the forced march. [Woman's Presbyterian Board of Missions, David Livingstone, p. 62, 1888] Those who were left behind were the very young, the weak, the sick and the old. These soon died since the main providers had been killed or enslaved. Even when we estimate only one family member killed for one single slave, it would double the number of victims. So, for 25 million slaves delivered to the markets on the West African coast, we have an estimated death toll of about 50 million to 120 million Africans.

With the genocidal murders and enslavements committed by the Muslims of ISIS [known as ISIL or Islamic State], slavery takes its modern twist. Slavery has been documented in recent years, despite its illegality, in Muslim-majority countries in Africa including Chad, Mauritania, Niger, Mali, and Sudan. In 2014, Islamic Jihadist groups in the Middle East (ISIS) and Northern Nigeria (Boko Haram) have not only justified the taking of slaves in war but actually enslaved women and girls.

According to media reports from late 2014, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) was selling Yazidi and Christian women as slaves. According to Haleh Esfandiari of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, after ISIL militants have captured an area they "usually take the older women to a makeshift slave market and try to sell them." In mid-October 2014, the UN estimated that 5,000 to 7,000 Yazidi women and children were abducted by ISIL and sold into slavery. In the digital magazine Dabiq, ISIL claimed religious justification for enslaving Yazidi women whom they consider to be from a heretical sect. ISIL claimed that the Yazidi are idol worshipers and their enslavement is part of the old shariah practice of spoils of war. According to The Wall Street Journal, ISIL appeals to apocalyptic beliefs and claims "justification by a Hadith that they interpret as portraying the revival of slavery as a precursor to the end of the world"

ISIL announced the revival of slavery as an institution. In 2015 the official slave prices set by ISIL were following:

- Children aged 1 to 9 were sold for 200,000 dinars (\$169)
- Women and children 10 to 20 years sold for 150,000 dinars (\$127).
 - Women 20 to 30 years old for 100,000 dinar (\$85).
 - Women 30 to 40 years old are 75,000 dinar (\$63).
- Women 40 to 50 years old for 50,000 dinar (\$42).

However some slaves have been sold for as little as a pack of cigarettes. Sex slaves were sold to Saudi Arabia, other Persian Gulf states and Turkey. See also Wikipedia articles: Ma malakat aymanukum [The most common term in the Koran to refer to slaves, in particular to sex-slaves, is the expression ma malakat aymanukum, meaning "those whom your right hands possess"]; History of slavery in the Muslim world; Sexual slavery in Islam; Slavery in 21st-century jihadism; Human rights in ISIL-controlled territory; ISIL slave trade; Islamic views on slavery; Slave trade, Genocide of Yazidis by ISIL; Sexual slavery, Sexual jihad, Sexual slavery, Middle East, Sexual violence in the Iraqi insurgency, and Slavery in 21st-century Islamism.

The largest community in the World that could resist, is the Roman Catholic Church. But again, after the disgraceful silence of the Church in World War I, the shameful absense in World War II, the Church members, and also the non-Christians on the Right and on the Left, in the Western World are wallowing in the ideological filth of Political Correctness and Woke instead of standing up for the righteousness taught by Jesus Christ. Christ and his righteousness is dead, and the Muslims sense it. How can these complacent Western people look into the mirror seeing their own ugly face of cowardess, while their brothers and sisters are raped, murdered, and enslaved by Islam?

Surah 9:61 "Gabriel came to Muhammad and said, 'If a black man comes to you, his heart is more gross than a donkey's."

Tafsir Tabari 2: 21 "Ham [Africans] begat all those who are black and curly-haired, while Japheth [Turks] begat all those who are full-faced with small eyes, and Shem [Arabs] begat everyone who is handsome of face with beautiful hair. Noah prayed that the hair of Ham's descendants would not grow beyond their ears, and that whenever his descendants met Shem's, the latter would enslave them."

Captivity and rape is condoned in the Koran and hadiths.

Sira Ishaq: 327 "Allah said, 'A prophet must slaughter before collecting captives.

Bukhari:V5B59N512 "The Prophet had their men killed, their children and woman taken captive."

Koran 9:5 "Fight and kill the disbelievers wherever you find them, take them captive, torture them, lie in wait and ambush them using every stratagem of war."

Tafsir Tabari 2: 21 "Ham [Africans] begat all those who are black and curly-haired, while Japheth [Turks] begat all those who are full-faced with small eyes, and Shem [Arabs] begat everyone who is handsome of face with beautiful hair. Noah prayed that the hair of Ham's descendants would not grow beyond their ears, and that whenever his descendants met Shem's. the latter would enslave them."

Koran 009:061 "Gabriel came to Muhammad and said, 'If a black man comes to you, his heart is more gross than a donkey's ""

Sira Ishaq: 243 "I heard the Apostle say: 'Whoever wants to see Satan should look at Nabtal!' He was a black man with long flowing hair, inflamed eyes, and dark ruddy cheeks.... Allah sent down concerning him: 'To those who annoy the Prophet there is a painful doom.'

Bukhari: V9B89N256 "Allah's Apostle said, 'You should listen to and obey your ruler even if he is a black African slave whose head looks like a raisin."

Let's not forget female slaves "whom your right hand possess" who suffer even more with legal and sanctioned rapes. Koran 004.024 "And all married women except those whome your right hands possess [slaves] (this is) Allah's ordinance to you, and lawful for you."

This surah (among many) permits the rape of slaves.

Koran 004.025 "And whoever among you cannot [find] the means to marry free, believing women, then [he may marry] from those whom your right hands possess of believing slave girls."

Koran 004.003 "marry women of your choice who seem good to you, two or three or four; but if you fear that you shall not be able to do justice (to so many wives), then only one, or (a slave) that you possess"

Koran 24:34 "Force not your slave-girls to whoredom if they desire chastity, that you may seek enjoyment of this life. But if anyone forces them, then after such compulsion, Allah is oft-forgiving."

Racism towards non-believers and blacks is inbred in Islam

due to the Arabs being Allah's chosen people.

Taßir Tabari IX:69 "Arabs are the most noble people in lineage, the most prominent, and the best in deeds. We were the first to respond to the call of the Prophet. We are Allah's helpers and the viziers of His Messenger. We fight people until they believe in Allah. He who believes in Allah and His Messenger has protected his life and possessions from us. As for one who disbelieves, we will fight him forever in the Cause of Allah. Killing him is a small matter to us."

Tafsir Tabari 2: 11 "Shem, the son of Noah was the father of the Arabs, the Persians, and the Greeks; Ham was the father of the Black Africans; and Japheth was the father of the Turks and of Gog and Magog who were cousins of the Turks." "Noah prayed that the prophets and apostles would be descended from Shem and kings would be from Japheth. He prayed that the African's color would change so that their descendants would be slaves to the Arabs and Turks."

ISLAM RESPECTS WOMEN. TRUE! - BUT ONLY AS SUBJUGATED BIRTH MACHINE OR [POTENTIAL] MOTHER!

From their testimony, a woman is worth half that of a man, to the inheritance of a woman is half that of a man, to the mandatory covering of women, to Mohammad's statement that he has seen hell and the majority of dwellers were women, the female gender is nothing more than the property of her

father and then her husband. "Honour" killing is commonplace in most Muslim countries and rarely punished (if so, very lightly). Honour killing is justified in Sharia law. Watch "Honour Diaries". A man can sleep with and beat as many women as he can, he can be as corrupt and as murderous as he can be, but he can still be viewed as an honorable man since the honour of their men is between their women's legs. Fathers, brothers, and uncles can clean their tarnished names with a slit of their knives. Even if their women have been raped, in their societies, the shame of being raped is greater than the rape itself and sometimes the family forces the victim to marry her rapist. Then there is the extreme fascination with virginity since in heaven, they only speak of virgins in the plural and that they "grow a new growth" where the virginity is restored every time. Koran 056.034 "On couches or thrones raised high. Verily, We have created them (maidens) incomparable: We have formed their maidens as a special creation, and made them to grow a new growth. We made them virgins—pure and undefiled, lovers, matched in age.

Virginity tests for school and work is common. When a bride marries, she is taken to the bedroom while the whole family awaits a blood stained sheet, and thus the ululations begin. Humiliating virginity restoration surgeries are common to ensure bleeding so that the woman and her family are not "dishonoured."

The brain washing of women is systematic and starts very young, where they defend the right of the men to have 4 wives. the right to cover themselves in black chains of fabric, and the right to hold their daughters tight while they have their clitorises cut off. They also are taught to make excuses why a man is worth twice that of a woman and their whole worth is derived from having a husband. Their culture makes being a single woman extraordinary difficult in Muslim countries where you need your husband's/father's/brother's permission to leave the house, to find a job, to enroll in school, or to get a visa or passport. They are seen as whores and prostitutes and are left begging in the streets and are victims of the men's lust. The highest levels of domestic violence occur are in these countries and getting a divorce is extremely difficult but a man can say the words "I divorce you" 3 times and can leave a woman destitute. Her children are automatically taken away and given to the father. If the father dies, the children are taken away and given to his brother. So when they brag about low divorce rates are, now you know why.

Temporary marriages are the men's justification for legal rape and prostitution. These "nikah mut'ah" shams performed mainly by Shias could last from an hour to months.

Young boys are also victims. This passage and others that speak of beautiful boys in heaven could explain the public pedophilia where men fight and kill for the right to rape the dancing boys of the Bacha Bazi in Afghanistan and Pakistan and the dancing boys of the Köçek in Turkey. Koran 76:19 "And round them shall serve immortal boys of perpetual freshness, never altering in age. If you saw them, you would think they were scattered pearls."

Koran 2.223 "Your wives are a tilth for you, so go into your tilth when you like"

Bukhari:V1B22N28 "The Prophet said: 'I was shown the Hell Fire and the majority of its dwellers were women who are disbelievers or ungrateful.' When asked what they were ungrateful for, the Prophet answered, 'All the favors done for them by their husbands.'"

Tassir Tabari 9: 113 "Allah permits you to shut them in separate rooms and to beat them, but not severely. If they abstain, they have the right to food and clothing. Treat women well for they are like domestic animals and they possess nothing themselves. Allah has made the enjoyment of their bodies lawful in his Koran."

Tafsir Tabari 1: 280 "Because Allah afflicted Eve, all the women of the world menstruate, and they are stupid."

Tassir Tabari 1: 298 "The Black Stone (Ka'aba) which was originally whiter than snow... " Tassir Tabari 1:303 "Turned black because it was fingered by menstruating

Koran 004.015 "If any of your women are guilty of lewdness, take the evidence of four witnesses from amongst you against them; if they testify, confine them to houses until death [by starvation] claims them."

A woman on her period is considered dirty, but even outside that time of month, women are considered dirtier than dirt. Koran 004.043 "Believers, approach not prayers with a mind befogged or intoxicated until you understand what you utter. Nor when you are polluted, until after you

have bathed. If you are ill, or on a journey, or come from answering the call of nature, or you have touched a woman, and you find no water, then take for yourselves clean dirt, and rub your faces and hands. Lo! Allah is Benign, Forgiving.

Koran 33:59 "Prophet! Tell your wives and daughters and all Muslim women to draw cloaks and veils all over their bodies (screening themselves completely except for one or two eves to see the way). That will be better.

Koran 24:34 "Force not your slave-girls to whoredom if they desire chastity, that you may seek enjoyment of this life. But if anyone forces them, then after such compulsion, Allah is oft-forgiving.

Koran 056.034 "On couches or thrones raised high. Verily, We have created them (maidens) incomparable: We have formed their maidens as a special creation, and made them to grow a new growth. We made them virgins-pure and undefiled, lovers, matched in age.'

Bukhari: V7B69N494 "I heard the Prophet saying, 'From among my followers there will be some who will consider illegal sexual intercourse, the wearing of silk, the drinking of alcoholic drinks and the use of musical instruments, to be lawful. Allah will destroy them during the night and will let mountains fall on them. He will transform the rest into monkeys and pigs and they will remain so till the Day of Doom.

Bukhari: V4B54N476-544 "The Prophet said, 'In Paradise they will not urinate, relieve nature, spit, or have any nasal secretions. Everyone will have two virgins who will be so beautiful and transparent the bones of their legs will be seen through their flesh.

Tafsir Tabari 9: 126 "The Messenger of Allah married fifteen women. He combined eleven at a time and left behind nine." (This list doesn't include the sex slaves, rape and incest victims, and concubines.)

Muslim:C35B1N142 "O womenfolk, you should ask for forgiveness for I saw you in bulk amongst the dwellers of Hell.'A wise lady said: Why is it, Allah's Apostle, that women comprise the bulk of the inhabitants of Hell? The Prophet observed: 'You curse too much and are ungrateful to your spouses. You lack common sense, fail in religion and rob the wisdom of the wise.' Upon this the woman remarked: What is wrong with our common sense? The Prophet replied, 'Your lack of common sense can be determined from the fact that the evidence of two women is equal to one man. That is a proof.

Bukhari: V3B48N826 "The Prophet said, 'Isn't the witness of a woman equal to half of that of a man?' The women said, 'Yes.' He said, 'This is because of the deficiency of a woman's

Sira Ishaq: 584 "Tell the men with you who have wives:

Koran 033.059 "Prophet! Tell your wives and daughters and all Muslim women to draw cloaks and veils all over their bodies. That will be better. They will not be annoyed and

Koran 024.006 "And for those who launch a charge against their wives, accusing them, but have no witnesses or evidence, except themselves; let the testimony of one of them be four testimonies, (swearing four times) by Allah that he is the one speaking the truth. And the fifth (oath) that they solemnly invoke the curse of Allah on themselves if they tell a

Koran 004.011 "Allah directs you in regard of your Children's (inheritance): to the male, a portion equal to that of two females.... These are settled portions ordained by

Bukhari: V4B52N211 "I participated in a Ghazwa [raid] with the Prophet. I said, 'Apostle, I am a bridegroom.' He asked me whether I had married a virgin or matron. I answered, 'A matron,' He said, 'Why not a virgin who would have played with you? Then you could have played with her.' 'Apostle! My father was martyred and I have some young sisters, so I felt it not proper that I should marry a young girl as young as them."

Koran 004.003 "marry women of your choice who seem good to you, two or three or four; but if you fear that you shall not be able to do justice (to so many wives), then only one, or (a slave) that you possess

Koran 002.282 "and call to witness, from among your men, two witnesses. And if two men be not found, then a man and two women

Koran 056.033 "Unending and unforbidden, exalted beds, and maidens incomparable. We have formed them in a distinctive fashion and made them virgins, loving companions matched in age, for the sake of those of the right hand.

Koran 004.015 "If any of your women are guilty of lewdness, take the evidence of four witnesses from amongst you against them; if they testify, confine them to houses until death [by starvation] claims them

Tafsir Tabari 9: 113 "Allah permits you to shut them in separate rooms and to beat them, but not severely. If they abstain, they have the right to food and clothing. Treat women well for they are like domestic animals and they possess nothing themselves. Allah has made the enjoyment of their bodies lawful in his Koran.'

Koran 004.024 And all married women except those whome your right hands possess [slaves] (this is) Allah's ordinance to you, and lawful for you.

This surah (among many) permits the rape of slaves. Koran 004.025 "And whoever among you cannot [find] the means to marry free, believing women, then [he may marry] from those whom your right hands possess of believing slave

Koran 78:31 "Verily for those who follow Us, there will be a fulfillment of your desires: enclosed Gardens, grapevines voluptuous full-breasted maidens of equal age, and a cup full to the brim of wine. There they never hear vain discourse nor lying—a gift in payment — a reward from your Lord.'

Tafsir Tabari I:280 "Allah said, 'It is My obligation to make her bleed once every month as she made this tree bleed. I must also make Eve stupid, although I created her intelligent.

Koran 55:70-77 "Therein gardens will be fair wives good and beautiful; Then which of the Blessings of your Lord will you deny? Houris [virgins] restrained in pavilions; Then which of the Blessings of your Lord will you deny? Whom no man has opened their hymens with sexual intercourse before. Then which of the Blessings of your Lord will you deny? Reclining on green cushions and rich beautiful mattresses. Then which of the Blessings of your Lord will you deny?"

Koran 56:37-40 "...We created the houris and made them virgins, loving companions for those on the right hand....

This does not include rape victims, concubines, and sex slaves.

Tafsir Tabari 9: 126 "The Messenger of Allah married fifteen women. He combined eleven at a time and left behind

9) FEMALE GENITAL MUTILATION HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH ISLAM AND IS ONLY AN AFRICAN CUSTOM. - WRONG!

FGM went from being a pre-Islamic Arab tradition to a universal Islamic tradition when it was included in the hadiths. Muslims will perform taqiya and say it is not in the Koran, which is true, but will not tell you that it is in the hadiths. One Islamized Old Testament story is responsible for the mutilation of millions upon millions of girls for 1400 years. Over 95% of FGM happens in all the Muslim countries from Morocco to Indonesia, including Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Malaysia. Somalis and Egyptians are the countries with the majority of their women's clitorises cut off and many with their vaginas sewn shut. Just google FGM and the Muslim country of your choice, such as Indonesia, to do your research.

The non-Muslim societies that do perform FGM are a tiny fraction of the total and are all neighbours with Muslims that hear of the "smoothness" and "attractiveness" of the female genitalia after the procedure. Since it is not religiously based in these countries, these practices are fading away.

The practice is rooted in the hadith version of the story of Sarah & Abraham. Since a woman is considered filthy during her period, Tafsir Tabari 1: 298 "The Black Stone (Ka'aba) which was originally whiter than snow... " Tafsir Tabari 1: 303 "Turned black because it was fingered by menstruating women.", Abraham instructed his slave and concubine, Hagar, not to touch the water from the well during her period. She retrieved the water, nonetheless, and as a punishment, Sarah cut her clitoris off. This is the root reason why many Muslim

countries support FGM. It is also the reason that over 95% of tens of millions of victims of FGM are Muslim.

In Muslim countries, a woman who "urinates like a horse" is considered a whore and impure. For a more personal description, read "Infidel" by Ayaan Hirsi Ali and learn her experiences. European Muslims also take their daughters to their home countries for cutting purification vacations.

Even though Arabs practiced FGM before Mohammad, this hadith scripture guarantees a permanent place for FGM in Muslim society. This in addition to stories of their prophet's wives having gone through the procedure and the tale of Sarah's jealousy towards Hagar that is continuously taught in their schools.

The Islamized story of Abraham's wife, Sarah, cutting off Hagar's clitoris. (Tafsir Tabari II:72) ensures that Female Genital Mutilation will continue for another 1400 years.

Muslim Indonesians, Arabs, Kurds, Egyptians, Saudis, North Africans, and others practice FGM. Non-Muslim countries in Africa that neighbor Muslim countries are a tiny minority and the practice is not rooted religion, but it is falsely made out that it is only an African tribal custom. Read about FGM in Asia.

Tafsir Tabari 2: 66 "Abraham dug a well in Beersheba and said. 'Drink from it and do not let a menstruating woman dip

Tafsir Tabari 2: 72 "Sarah swore to cut something off of Hagar. 'I shall cut off her nose, I shall cut off her ear-but no, that would deform her. I will circumcise her instead.' So she did that, and Hagar took a piece of cloth to wipe the blood away. For that reason women have been circumcised and have taken pieces of cloth down to today." "A menstruating woman came and dipped water from the well. Whereupon the water dried up.

THE 53 YEAR OLD MOHAMMED DID NOT MARRY A 9 YEAR OLD. ACCORDING TO THE SIRA, HE MARRIED AISHA WHEN SHE WAS 6 AND "CONSUMATED THE MARRIAGE" WHEN SHE WAS 9!

This is true. His favourite of 15 wives was only 6 years old. The 50 year old put her on his lap and said he wanted to marry Aisha, but waited until she was 9 (and he 53) to consummate the marriage. Because of this, child marriage will always be tolerated and many Muslim country's minimum age law for girls to marry is 9.

Ayatollah Khomeini even declared, "Let not your daughters be in your house upon their first blood". Meaning marry them off before their first period. Elderly men and child brides are legal in most Muslim countries and tolerated and accepted even if the country was recently pressured to make it "illegal". The custom is accepted and will always be practiced. Reason: Demography as weapon.

Most people know of his 6 year old bride, Aisha, when he was in his 50s, but most do not know Ummu'l, and that 10 years later, he was going to do it again when he was 62 to an even younger girl, but he died before he had the chance. Sira Ishaq: 311 "The Apostle saw Ummu'l when she was a baby crawling before his feet and said, 'If she grows up, I will marry her.' But he died before he was able to do so. the reason why there is no age limit for girls in Sharia law. They can even marry an infant.

Child marriages are common and accepted, especially among the religious leaders. Tafsir Tabari IX:130 "Bakr married Aisha to Muhammad when she was only six years

Child marriage cannot be condemned for they would condemn the actions of their prophet. Koran 033.021 "You have in (Muhammad) the Messenger of Allah a beautiful pattern of conduct for any one to follow.

Tafsir Tabari 9: 128 "Aisha, when he married her, was very young and not yet ready for consummation.

Tafsir Tabari 9: 130 "Bakr married Aisha to Muhammad when she was only six years old.'

Tafsir Tabari 9: 131 "My mother came to me while I was being swung on a swing between two branches and got me down. My nurse wiped my face with some water and started leading me. When I was at the door she stopped so I could catch my breath. I was then brought in while the Messenger was sitting on a bed in our house. My mother made me sit on his lap. Then the men and women got up and left. The Prophet consummated his marriage with me in my house when I was nine years old."

Tafsir Tabari 7: 7 "The Prophet married Aisha in Mecca three years before the Hijrah, after the death of Khadija. At the time she was six."

Sira Ishaq:281 "When the Apostle came to Medina he was fifty-three." Tafsir Tabari VII:6 "In May, 623 A.D./A.H. 1, Allah's Messenger consummated his marriage to Aisha."

7) JIHAD DOES NOT MEAN HOLY WAR. HALF TRUE: JIHAD MEANS "EFFORT" WITH YOURSELF AND "STRUGGLE" WITH OTHERS - LIKE IN HITLER'S "MEIN KAMPF"!

This myth is contradicted by the hundreds of violent surahs in the Koran, the hundreds of quotes in the hadiths, and the actions of their prophet. Only a few are listed here. Most of the peaceful surahs are replaced by a later contradicting violent surah by the use of the Doctrine of Abrogation.

In some verses, Jihad is the most important deed. Bukhari: V4B52N44 "A man came to Allah's Apostle and said, 'Instruct me as to such a deed as equals Jihad in reward.' He replied, 'I do not find such a deed.'" Bukhari: V4B52N50 "The Prophet said, 'A single endeavor of fighting in Allah's Cause in the forenoon or in the afternoon is better than the world and whatever is in it.'" In other verses, it is the 2nd most important. Bukhari: V1B2N25 "Allah's Apostle was asked, 'What is the best deed?' He replied, 'To believe in Allah and His Apostle Muhammad.' The questioner then asked, 'What is the next (in goodness)?' He replied, 'To participate in Jihad in Allah's Cause.'"

In the final jihad, Mohammad even claimed the Christians and Muslims will unite and kill all the Jews and then Jesus will turn on His followers. Bukhari: V4B55N657 "Allah's Messenger said, 'Isa (Jesus), the son of Mariam, will shortly descend amongst you Muslims and will judge mankind by the law of the Koran. He will break the cross and kill the swine [Jews] and there will be no Jizyah tax taken from non-Muslims. Money will be so abundant no one will accept it. So you may recite this Holy Verse: "Isa (Jesus) was just a human being before his death. On the Day of Resurrection he (Jesus) will be a witness against the Christians."""

Koran 2:190 "Jihad is holy fighting in Allah's Cause with full force of numbers and weaponry. It is given the utmost importance in Islam and is one of its pillars. By Jihad, Islam is established, Allah's Word is made superior, and Islam is propagated. By abandoning Jihad, Islam is destroyed and Muslims fall into an inferior position; their honor is lost, their lands are stolen, their rule and authority vanish. Jihad is an obligatory duty in Islam on every Muslim. He who tries to escape from this duty, dies with one of the qualities of a hypocrite."

Bukhari: V4B55N657 "Allah's Messenger said, 'Isa (Jesus), the son of Mariam, will shortly descend amongst you Muslims and will judge mankind by the law of the Koran. He will break the cross and kill the swine [Jews] and there will be no Jizyah tax taken from non-Muslims. Money will be so abundant no one will accept it. So you may recite this Holy Verse: "Isa (Jesus) was just a human being before his death. On the Day of Resurrection he (Jesus) will be a witness against the Christians.""

Bukhari: V4B52N50 "Muhammad said, 'A single endeavor of fighting in Allah's Cause is better than the world and whatever is in it."

Bukhari: V4B53N386 "Our Prophet, the Messenger of our Lord, ordered us to fight you till you worship Allah alone or pay us the Jizyah tribute tax in submission. Our Prophet has informed us that our Lord says: 'Whoever amongst us is killed as a martyr shall go to Paradise to lead such a luxurious life as he has never seen, and whoever survives shall become your master.'"

Koran 47:4 "When you clash with the unbelieving Infidels in battle (fighting Jihad in Allah's Cause), smite their necks until you overpower them, killing and wounding many of them. At length, when you have thoroughly subdued them, bind them firmly, making (them) captives. Thereafter either generosity or ransom (them based upon what benefits Islam) until the war lays down its burdens. Thus are you commanded by Allah to continue carrying out Jihad against the unbelieving infidels until they submit to Islam."

Koran 61:4 "Surely Allah loves those who fight in His

Sira Ishaq:315 If you do not surrender to Islam, then you will live to regret it. You will be shamed in Hell, forced to wear a garment of molten pitch forever!"

8th surah "O Prophet, urge the faithful to fight. If there are twenty among you with determination they will vanquish two hundred; if there are a hundred then they will kill a thousand Infidels, for they are a people devoid of understanding."

4th surah: "Those who barter their life in this world for the next should fight in the way of Allah; whether he is killed or victorious, a glorious reward awaits." "Seize them and kill them wherever they are." "Muslims who sit idle are not equal to those who fight in Allah's Cause with their wealth and lives. Allah has exalted those who fight for Islam."

Sira Ishaq: 587 "Our onslaught will not be a weak faltering affair. We shall fight as long as we live. We will fight until you turn to Islam, humbly seeking refuge. We will fight not caring whom we meet. We will fight whether we destroy ancient holdings or newly gotten gains. We have mutilated every opponent. We have driven them violently before us at the command of Allah and Islam. We will fight until our religion is established. And we will plunder them, for they must suffer disgrace."

Tafsir Tabari 9: 69 "Arabs were the first to respond to the call of the Prophet. We are Allah's helpers and the viziers of His Messenger. We fight people until they believe in Allah. He who believes in Allah and His Messenger has protected his life and possessions from us. As for one who disbelieves, we will fight him forever in the Cause of Allah. Killing him is a small matter to us."

Bukhari: V4B52N220 "Allah's Apostle said, 'I have been made victorious with terror. The treasures of the world were brought to me and put in my hand."

Koran 47:4 "When you clash with the unbelieving Infidels in battle (fighting Jihad), smite their necks until you overpower them, killing and wounding many of them. At length, when you have thoroughly subdued them, bind them firmly, making (them) captives. Thereafter either generosity or ransom until the war lays down its burdens. Thus are you commanded by Allah to continue carrying out Jihad against the unbelieving infidels until they submit to Islam

Koran 9:5 "Fight and kill the disbelievers wherever you find them, take them captive, harass them, lie in wait and ambush them using every stratagem of war

Koran 8:12 "I will cast terror into the hearts of those who disbelieve. Therefore strike off their heads and strike off every fingertip of them"

Sira Ishaq: 369 "The Jews were in a state of fear on account of our attack upon them. The Prophet declared, 'Kill every Jew who falls into your hands.'"

ISLAM RESPECTS OTHER RELIGIONS. A BLATENT LIE! - ALLAH COMMANDS TO SUBJUGATE THEM, THIS IS WHAT ISLAM MEANS: SUBMIT!

The most dangerous word in the world is "Kafir" (infidel). The weight of the word has been lost for 1000 years in other languages, but in Arabic, the weight of the word means that you are below an animal and a subhuman. So potent is the insult that Allah calls non-believers kafirs. It is the reason why Muslims can kill non-Muslims and sleep well at night. You will never see a Muslim with PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder). All soldiers are taught to dehumanize their enemies to make killing easier. But since a soldier usually starts at 18, the first part of his life is to respect human life. A Muslim, since they were children, are taught that kafirs are subhuman and so engrained with this thinking, that killing non-Muslims is a matter of pride. Muslims who are collateral damage will enjoy the fruits of heaven.

If you wondered how Muslims can target and kill innocent children such as the 300 children in Beslan, Russia or have such coldness in their eyes as they weed out the Christians in the mall massacre in Nairobi, or the up and close stabbings of 30 Chinese by Muslim Uighurs (who made it all the way to Mosul to kill Christians) in Kunming, or of the thousands of attacks on non-believers at New York, Boston, Madrid, London, and Paris, you now know that the hate starts when, all their lives, they hear their parents and family members speaking of the "dirty kafirs".

Christians are treated as second class citizens, left to do only dirty jobs and forced to live in slums such as cleaning garbage in Egypt or cleaning sewers in Pakistan. If you are curious at how Christians, Hindus, or Buddhists are treated in Muslim countries, just type the minority and Muslim country in YouTube, such as "Christians" and "Pakistan".

If you are a Christian or Jew, you have three options. Convert, die, or pay a "protection tax" called the Jizyah. The extortion fee is almost equal to 3.5 grams of silver for each child and adult, a cash cow to Muslims. Even so, tens of thousands of Christian children were kidnapped by neighbors or used by the Turks for their harems and as janissary soldiers.

If you are a Buddhist, Hindu, Zoroastrian, Yezidi, or other, you were limited to two choices. Death or conversion. If you look at a map of Muslim countries, they are devoid of these religions by completely wiping them out.

Koran 5:051 "Believers, take not Jews and Christians for your friends. They are friends to each other. He who befriends them becomes (one) of them. Lo! Allah guides not wrongdoing folk?"

Koran 2:221 Do not marry unbelieving women (idolaters), until they believe: A slave woman who believes is better than an unbelieving woman, even though she allures you. Nor marry (your girls) to unbelievers until they believe: A man slave who believes is better than an unbeliever, even though he allures you.

Koran 9:29 "Fight against those People of the Book [Jews and Christians] who do not follow what Allah and His Messenger (Muhammad) acknowledge as the true religion (Islam), nor accept Our law, until they pay the Jizya [tribute tax] in submission, and feel themselves subdued."

Sira Ishaq: 240 "The Jews are a treacherous, lying, and evil people

Tafsir Tabari 9:75 "He who holds fast to his religion, Judaism or Christianity, is not to be tempted from it." This is because the Jizyah tax is much more profitable than the Zakat tax. "It is incumbent on them to pay the jizyah protection tax. For every adult, male or female, free or slave, one full denarius [about 3.5 grams of silver], or its value in alma afir [fine cloth]. He who pays that to the Messenger has the protection of Allah and His Messenger, and he who holds back from it is the enemy of Allah and His Messenger."

Koran 8:55 "Verily the worst of creatures, the vilest of beasts in the sight of Allah, are those who reject Him and will not believe."

ALLAH IS THE SAME AS THE JEWISH GOD OR THE CHRISTIAN GOD. JEWS AND CHRISTIANS WOULD SAY NO!

The biggest lie that is perpetrated is that Allah is the same as the Christian god or the Jewish god. The war cry, Allahu Ukbar DOES NOT mean "God is great". It means "Allah is greatest/greater". God in Arabic is "Ilah". The ISIS flag and the Saudi flag does not say "There is no god but god". That doesn't even make sense. They say there is "no god but Allah". Allah is the name of their god. The same as the Old Testament name, Yahweh or the Greek God, Zeus. If someone kills an innocent person and yells "Zeus is greatest", it is a declaration that all other gods are inferior. There are hundreds of references that show the difference in the Koran like Koran 20:14 "Verily, I am Allah. No Ilah (god) may be worshiped but I." A shudder of fear comes into any person of a minority religion after they hear these words, for there are no people of minority religions that haven't been touched by Muslims volence. Also, the trinity is completely rejected by Muslims ot his statement is complete nonsense. Also the Christian god is based on love while the Muslim god is based on love while the Muslim god is based on fear.

Two things are yelled during the murders of innocents to physiologically eliminate the guilt a human would feel with killing another human. One is "Allahu Akbar" because they would be doing the killing in their god's cause. The other is "Kafir". In Arabic, this means "infidel". The weight of this word has been lost in English for a millennium. However, in Arabic, it is the worst possible word that you can be called or to call someone. It means that you are inhuman and deserve death. There are hundreds of surahs in the Koran that belittles unbelievers who are not worthy of life. Any non-Muslim is considered a kafir. Koran 005:072 "They are surely Infidels who say Christ, the Messiah is God," "Kafir" is the world's most dangerous word. It is the reason that Muslims are able to kill innocent people and then sleep well at night. The same as a butcher cuts (and commonly the same method) the throat of a sheep, Muslims view of kafirs is that they are just animals worthy of death. You will never see a Muslim with PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder). Koran 005 073 "They are surely dishelievers who blaspheme and say: 'God is one of three in the Trinity for there is no ilah (god) except One, Allah. If they desist not from saying this, verily a grievous penalty will befall them."

The brainwashing of Muslims start before they can speak. It is a place of honor to whisper into a newborn child's ear that Mohammad is god's messenger. Also the brainwashing included their parents and family's insults of kafirs and Allah's superiority. Where if a Westerner soldier kills even a guilty Muslim or accidentally kills a bystander, that soldier is affected his whole life and suffers PTSD. A Muslim who targets innocent people is treated as a hero and worshiped. The family of those who are killed during the killing of innocent people are praised and the house is full of congratulations as if it was a wedding. The word Martyr in Islam is completely twisted than that in every other part of the world. Instead of dying for a cause (or witness), it means dying while killing for Islam.

Koran 2:10 "As for those who deny Islam...they shall be the faggots for the Fire of Hell." Islam's god is a spirit of an entirely different color.

Koran 005.072 "They are surely Infidels who say Christ, the Messiah is God"

Koran 005.072 "They are surely infidels who blaspheme and say: 'God is Christ, the Messiah.' But the Messiah only said: 'Children of Israel! Worship Allah.' Lo! Whoever joins other gods with Allah or says He has a partner, Allah has forbidden Paradise, and Hell will be his abode."

Koran 005.073 "They are surely disbelievers who blaspheme and say: 'God is one of three in the Trinity for there is no ilah (god) except One, Allah. If they desist not from saying this, verily a grievous penalty will befall them."

Koran 5:46 "beware of them [Christians] lest they beguile you, seducing you away from any of that which Allah has sent down to you. And if they turn you away [from Islam], be assured that for their crime it is Allah's purpose to smite them."

MUSLIMS BELIEVE IN JESUS. YES! - BUT IN THEIR OWN JESUS CALLED ISA, WHO WAS A PROPHET, NOT THE SON OF GOD!

In an effort to lead the kafirs to view Islam as similar to Christianity, they will tell you that Muslims believe in Jesus but won't mention that they believe Jesus was only a prophet in the same level as Noah. Also, they will not tell you that they don't believe he was crucified, was resurrected, or is part of the trinity.

Jesus' crucifixion was attested by over a hundred people including the Jewish historian, Josephus. Six centuries later, Mohammad claimed that another person died in his place and that the Christians and Muslims will unite to kill the Jews and at the end, Jesus will condemn the Christians. Even Jews believe he was crucified, but neither of them believes in his resurrection which makes Jews believe in Jesus more that Muslims. Also, Mohammad even claims to have met Jesus.

They also believe that the Christians and the Muslims will unite to kill the Jews and even the rocks will come to life telling the Muslim to come and kill the Jew hiding behind it. And that Jesus will judge the Christians with by the laws of the Koran and not the gospels. Bukhari:V4B52N177 "Allah's Apostle said, 'The Hour will not be established until you fight with the Jews, and the stone behind which a Jew will be hiding will say. "O Muslim! There is a Jew hiding behind me, so kill him.""

Bukhari:V4B55N657 "Allah's Messenger said, 'lsa (Jesus), the son of Mariam, will shortly descend amongst you Muslims and will judge mankind by the law of the Koran. He will break the cross and kill the swine [Jews] and there will be no Jizyah tax taken from non-Muslims. Money will be so abundant no one will accept it. So you may recite this Holy Verse: "Isa (Jesus) was just a human being before his death. On the Day of Resurrection he (Jesus) will be a witness against the Christians """

Koran 004.157 "We killed the Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary,' but they killed him not, nor crucified him. But it appeared so to them (as another man who was killed instead of Him). Nay, Allah raised him up unto Himself. Those who differ with this version are full of doubts. They have no knowledge and follow nothing but conjecture. For surely they killed him not."

Koran 004.171 "O people of the Book (Christians), do not be fanatical in your faith, and say nothing but the truth about Allah. The Messiah who is Isa (Jesus), son of Mariam, was only a messenger of Allah, nothing more. He bestowed His Word on Mariam and His Spirit. So believe in Allah and say not Trinity for Allah is one Ilah (God)..."

Koran 004.159 "And there is none of the People of the Book but will believe in him (Jesus as only a messenger of Allah and a human being) before his (Jesus') death. He will be a witness against them."

Bukhari:V4B55N658 "Allah's Apostle said 'How will you be when the son of Mary descends amongst you and he will judge people by the Law of the Koran and not by the law of

Bukhari:V4B55N646 "The Prophet shared, 'I met Jesus.' The Prophet described him saying, 'He was one of moderate height and was red-faced as if he had just come out of a bathroom.'"

MUSLIMS ARE ALWAYS VICTIMISED BY ISLAMOPHOBIA. ISLAM IS THE CREATOR OF THE TERM ISLAMOPHBIA!

The crusades are portrayed as Christians invading Muslim lands and thus Muslims are victims but it is never mentioned how the lands became Islamic. The first crusade began in 1095 A.D. after 300 years of "crescades" that had conquered lands from India and China (Battle of Talas - 751) to North Africa to Spain. This, in addition to the fury over the complete destruction, to the foundation, of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in 1009 and other churches by the Muslims and the extreme suppression of the Christians and Jews. including being forced to wear distinguishable clothing and being forced to ride donkeys backwards (it was illegal for kafirs to own horses). By the time the crusades started, millions have been killed and forced into conversion and slavery. Europe's response was minuscule compared to the aggression of the Muslim armies. What Europe didn't know during the times of the crusades, that when the Turks took over the caliphate, the conquering would be much more vast and worse. The fall of Constantinople (accelerated by the 4th crusade) was a tragedy to human kind and that England and Germany chose to help maintain the Muslims rather than have the country return to the Orthodox owners.

They also attribute their victimization to the Palestinians while most of the violent history was already committed before Israel's creation in 1948. Wahhabism started in 18th century. The Muslim Brotherhood started in 1928. The Armenian genocide, Bulgarian genocide, Hindu genocide, Serbian genocide, Maronite genocide, Assyrian genocide, Coptic genocide, Jewish genocide, Greek genocide, and countless others were committed before the creation of Israel.

Even now, what Muslims do to the minorities of the East is rarely mentioned, and before 9/11, completely ignored. Minorities who are victims are silenced and called intolerant if they mention what Muslims have done, thereby double victimizing them. In the West a beheading while screaming Allahu Akbar is considered workplace violence and mass shooting of gays is considered a homophobic act and swept under the politically correct rug, Muslims even claim that more of their own people are killed, but that is a paltry amount compared to the amount of kafirs that have been killed in history. Wahhabi Sunnis are doing the killing if they are not the right kind of Muslim or are considered hypocrites, heretics, or follow non-Islamic behavior so they don't even believe they are killing Muslims. Shia, Sufis, Ahmadiyyas, Druze, and Alawites are not doing the killing.

The Turks, who conquered so much European land and enslaved countless Europeans and filled their harams with their captured women and emptied out vast stretches of land as in Romania and Hungary, now cry Islamophobia when they can't join the E.U. or have open borders.

Even pointing out the violent quotes of the Koran and the Hadiths and the violence in their prophet's actions and their current followers marks that person as intolerant and islamophobic and in Europe and Canada leads to fines and jail. At least groups like ISIS or the Muslim Brotherhood (or hundreds more) are honest and they tell and do like it truly is and point out their scriptures and prophet's history.

The only thing different from ISIS and Mohammad and his army is social media. But other groups will use taqiya to deceive Westerners and say that ISIS and Al Shabab do not represent Islam but in fact do and they are unapologetic about it. Which makes ISIS more honest than CAIR.

One glance at the map and you can see what the crusades faced and the reason for the response.

By the time the Turks took over the caliphate, almost a third of the known world was conquered by Islam.

WHAT DOES ISLAM SAY ABOUT HOMOSEXUALITY? Generally speaking, Homosexuals seldom can be considered religious. This has a reason. Most religious teachings do not accept "wickedness and sexual misconduct" and practised homosexual activities definitely belong to sexual misconduct it is deemed a mortal sin. The majority of religious books are very clear about it, so for examle the Torah in the Old

Do not lie with a man as one lies with a woman; that is detestable. (Leviticus 18:22, New International Version)

Islam does not tolerate homosexuality at all, because there are teachings in the Koran which declare that it is unnatural and against the will of Allah:

"And as for the two of you men who are guilty of lewdness, punish them both. And if they repent and improve, then let them be. Lo! Allah is Merciful." [Koran 4:16]

Most schools of Sharia Law view homosexual practices as serious crime deserving the same punishment as adultery, meaning; it carries the death penalty.

What does this mean in practice?

Testament says:

Some Islamic states impose the death penalty on people caught taking part in homosexual acts. In the UK, there are Muslims who are openly homosexual. Although they are protected by European anti-discrimination laws, they sometimes face strong opposition from fellow Muslims and within their own families.

Some new laws, such as gay marriage and gender politics in general, are considered too liberal by almost all orthodox religious groups. Temsions between the two world views, the traditional wiews as well as the liberal views are mounting and one day might explode around all our ears.

SLAVERY IN ISLAM

Slavery is one of the must shameful and disgusting aspects of Islam and its scripture. Being aware of this fact, Muslims deliberately tell falsehoods and lies about slavery in Islamic doctrines which are based on the Koran, the Sira, and the Hadith. And if they do not tell Westerners blatent lies, then they at least keep silent about this topic like in the translation of the following book, the Umdat al Salik translated into English by the American Muslim Nuh Ha Mim Keller. He simply did not translate the slavery passages of the Islamic scripture in order not to further compromise the already bad reputation of Islam.

Supply of slaves has two distinct sources: (1st) Captured slaves in a war, and (2nd) slavery as punishment for a crime in which the convict has to repent by penal service. The war slaves were used as rowers of the galleys or in mines, the convicts were used in private households. Then the men were castrated. The women of either of those groups were used as sex-slaves either privately or in whore houses. Slaves had to be young and healthy. In other words: old, frail, or otherwise inable humans were invariably executed, often right on the spot of capture.

Slavery in Islam began in the 7th century with Mohammed already. We know that he had slaves, particular sex-slaves. His successors got their slaves from the conquered territories of the Roman Empire, Spain and the Balkans, the Persian Empire, from India, Central Asia, and from China. Islamic slave traders ventured to the European coasts and even into the North Sea raiding towns in the British Isles, in France, and the German Lowlands.

From the 9th to the 12th centuries, the Vikings were hunting for slaves in France, Germany, Russia. The Mongol invasions and conquests from the 12th to the 14th centuries also resulted in taking numerous captives into slavery from Persia, India, Russia, and China. Slave commerce during the Late Middle Ages was mainly in the hands of Venetian and Genoses merchants and cartels, who were involved in the slave trade with the Golden Horde from 1100 to 1500. Nobody kept their hands clean. That is why nobody today really wants to talk about it.

The Muslim slave business came to a sudden end in 1815 when the United States Navy smashed the fleets of the Islamic Barbary states [present-day Libya, Tunisia, and Algeria] in North Africa between the years 1801 and 1815. Thomas Jefferson created the US-Navy precisely for this purpose in the previous years. He had read the Koran due to the Muslim Barbary attacks on American trading ships and selling the captured crew into slavery. He now knew why they did it, and also why the young American nation had to pay Jizya tribute to the Barbary states.

Islam ran the wholesale slave trade in Africa. Slavery after the conquest of the Americas in the 16th century has been a two-end business: Muslim and Western customers on one end, Muslim slave hunters and traders on the other end; those were the only ones familiar with the African environment. Thomas

Sowell [in his book Race and Culture, BasicBooks, 1994, p. 1881 estimates that 11 million slaves were shipped across the Atlantic and 14 million were sent to the Islamic nations of North Africa and the Middle East. For every slave captured many others died. Estimates of this collateral damage vary. The renowned missionary David Livingstone estimated that for every slave who reached a plantation, five others were killed in the initial raid or died of illness and privation on the forced march.[Woman's Presbyterian Board of Missions, David Livingstone, p. 62, 1888] Those who were left behind were the very young, the weak, the sick and the old. These soon died since the main providers had been killed or enslaved. Even when we estimate only one family member was killed for one single slave, it would double the number of victims. So, for 25 million slaves delivered to the markets on the West African coast, we have an estimated death toll of about 50 million to 120 million Africans.

With the genocidal murders and enslavements committed by the Muslims of ISIS [also known as ISIL or Islamic State], slavery takes its modern twist. Slavery has been documented in recent years, despite its illegality, in Muslim-majority countries in Africa including Chad, Mauretania, Niger, Mali, and Sudan. In 2014, Islamic Jihadist groups in the Middle East (ISIS) and Northern Nigeria (Boko Haram) have not only justified the taking of slaves in war but actually enslaved women and girls.

According to media reports from late 2014, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) was selling Yazidi and Christian women as slaves. According to Haleh Esfandiari of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, after ISIL militants have captured an area they "usually take the older women to a makeshift slave market and try to sell them." In mid-October 2014, the UN estimated that 5,000 to 7,000 Yazidi women and children were abducted by ISIL and sold into slavery. In the digital magazine Dabiq, ISIL claimed religious justification for enslaving Yazidi women whom they consider to be from a heretical sect. ISIL claimed that the Yazidi are idol worshipers and their enslavement is part of the old shariah practice of spoils of war. According to The Wall Street Journal, ISIL appeals to apocalyptic beliefs and claims "justification by a Hadith that they interpret as portraying the revival of slavery as a precursor to the end of the world'

ISIL announced the revival of slavery as an institution. In 2015 the official slave prices set by ISIL were following:

- Children aged 1 to 9 were sold for 200,000 dinars (\$169). • Women and children 10 to 20 years sold for 150,000
- dinars (\$127). Women 20 to 30 years old for 100 000 dinar (\$85).
 - Women 30 to 40 years old are 75,000 dinar (\$63).
- Women 40 to 50 years old for 50,000 dinar (\$42).

However some slaves have been sold for as little as a pack of cigarettes. Sex slaves were sold to Saudi Arabia, other Persian Gulf states and Turkey. See also Wikipedia articles: Ma malakat aymanukum [The most common term in the Koran to refer to slaves, in particular to sex-slaves, is the expression ma malakat aymanukum, meaning "those whom your right hands possess."]; History of slavery in the Muslim world; Sexual slavery in Islam; Slavery in 21st-century jihadism; Human rights in ISIL-controlled territory; ISIL slave trade; Islamic views on slavery; Slave trade, Genocide of Yazidis by ISIL; Sexual slavery, Sexual jihad, Sexual slavery, Middle East, Sexual violence in the Iraqi insurgency, and Slavery in 21stcentury Islamism

The largest community in the World that could resist, is the Roman Catholic Church. But again, after the disgraceful silence of the Church in World War I, the shameful absense in World War II, the Church members, and also the non-Christians on the Right and on the Left, in the Western World are wallowing in the ideological filth of Political Correctness and Woke instead of standing up for the righteousness taught by Jesus Christ. Christ and his righteousness is dead, and the Muslims sense it. How can these complacent Western people look into the mirror seeing their own ugly face of cowardess, while their brothers and sisters are raped, murdered, and enslaved by Islam?

And how about the so-called "peaceful" and "moderate Muslims? How can they willingly support a civilisation of hatred, created in Medina, that kills hundreds of thousands of their very own Umma-fellowmen and -women? How can they follow the lies, distortions, and immoralities of a someone who promised them a sensual paradise after death, but inevitably lead to the death sentence of their own civilisation? How can such a person view themself in the mirror seeing endless suffering and the ugly face of death of their own brothers and sisters around them, while the teachers and disciples of that someone work for their own good, depriving their own people of any future? Do they not see the disgusting cowardness like their Western counterpart? Suppression. oppression, subjugation, submission, distortion, execution, murder, dictatorship, cruely, mercilessness - subjugating half of their bearing population - is that really all they know? Where and who is Allah the merciful and compassionate?

THE MANUAL TO SHARIA LAW

or Reliance of the Traveller (Migrant) or Umdat al-Salik by Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri (1302-1368 AD) Translation: Nuh Ha Mim Keller, 1991

(Umdat al-Salik wa Uddat an-Nasik, in English: "Reliance of the Traveller and Tools of the Worshipper", better known by its shorter title "Reliance of the Traveller" is a classical manual of Islamic jurisprudence. The word "traveller" does not refer to its modern connotation, such as 'holiday maker' or 'vacation voyager'; it focusses more on the Islamic migrant as migration to non-Muslim societies [in order to Islamise them] is an Islamic doctrine coming directly from Mohammed. The author of the main text is 14th-century scholar Shihabuddin Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn an-Naqib al-Misri (1302-1368 AD / 702-769 AH). Al-Misri based his work on the previous Shafi'i works of Imam Nawawi and Imam Abu Ishaq as-Shirazi, following the order of Shirazi's al-Muhadhdhab (The Rarefaction) and the conclusions of Nawawi's Minhaj at-Talibin (The Seeker's Road).

Umdat al-Salik was translated into English by the American Muslim scholar Nuh Ha Mim Keller in 1991 and became the first translation of a standard Islamic legal reference in a European language to be certified by Al-Azhar. The translation comprises 26 sections titled according to the letters of the English alphabet, Book A, Book B, Book C, etc. Books A through C contain introductory material forming a guide to figh compiled by Keller. Books D through O correspond to the original work of al-Misri, commencing with an "Author's Introduction". Following are translations of eight shorter works - Books P through V - which address topics such as personal ethics, character, and traditional Islamic Sufism, and include famous classical texts such as Al-Ghazzali's Ihya'ulum al-din and Nawawi's Riyadh as-Saaliheen

Attention: Certain sections of the book [such as slavery] were deliberately left untranslated although the original Arabic text is retained. It is said, Keller considered them "irrelevant to modern societies." In reality, it was a political decision, inspired by Keller's Islamic convictions, because these parts include doctrine on slavery, describing the rights and duties of slaves and their masters. Being an American, and looking back on slavery in the United States, Keller was well aware of the fact how repellent those sections must be to readers with any western background. This omitting does not mean that slavery has been abolished by Islam. On the contrary. Due to the fact that the "perfect man" Mohammed (THE role model for any true Mohammedan) possessed slaves, including sex slaves, slavery has neither been condemned nor officially abolished by Islam, nor will it ever be abolished because slavery is part of the Koran, the "perfect book" that cannot be changed, edited or reformed in any way. In most Islamic countries, slavery is currently not openly enforced and only has been suspended for the time being. Also not translated were some smaller sections such as, for example, a discussion on fixing utensils using gold. The 4 last books are not displayed here: Book W: Notes and Appendices, Book X: Biographical Notes, Book Y: Works Cited, Book Z: Indices.)

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BOOK A - SACRED KNOWLEDGE

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a1.0 THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOOD AND BAD

a1.1 (Abd al-Wahhab Khallaf:) There is no disagreement among the scholars of the Muslims that the source of legal rulings for all the acts of those who are morally responsible is Allah Most Glorious.

a1.2 The question arises. Is it possible for the mind alone, unaided by Allah's messengers and revealed scriptures, to know rulings, such that someone not reached by a prophet's invitation would be able through his own reason to know Allah's rule concerning his actions? Or is this impossible?
a1.3 The position of the Asharis, the followers of Abul

Hasan Ash'ari, is that the mind is unable to know the rule of Allah about the acts of those morally responsible except by means of His messengers and inspired books. For minds are in obvious disagreement about acts. Some minds find certain acts good, others find them bad. Moreover, one person can be of two minds about one and the same action. Caprice often wins out over the intellect, and considering something good or bad comes to be based on mere whim. So it cannot be said that an act which the mind deems good is therefore good in the eyes of Allah, its performance called for and its doer rewarded by Allah; or that whatever the mind feels to be bad

is thus bad in the eyes of Allah, its nonperformance called for and its doer punished by Allah.

a1.4 The basic premise of this school of thought is that the good of the acts of those morally

responsible is what the Lawgiver (syn. Allah or His messenger (Allah bless him and give him peace) has indicated is good by permitting it or asking it be done. And the bad is what the Lawgiver has indicated is bad by asking it not be done. The good is not what reason considers good, nor the bad what reason considers bad. The measure of good and bad, according to this school of thought, is the sacred Law not reason (dis:W3).

a1.5 According to this school, a person is not morally obligated by Allah to do or refrain from anything unless the invitation of a prophet and what Allah has legislated have reached him (n:w4 discusses Islam's relation to previous prophets' laws). No one is rewarded for doing something or punished for refraining from or doing something until he knows by means of Allah's messengers. What he is obliged to do or obliged to refrain from. So whoever lives in such complete isolation that the summons of a prophet and his Sacred Law do not reach him is not morally responsible to Allah for anything and deserves neither reward nor punishment. And those who lived in one of the intervals after the death of a prophet and before a new one had been sent were not responsible for anything and deserve neither reward nor punishment. This view is confirmed by the word of Allah Most High. "We do not punish until we send a messenger" (Koran 17:15). (.Ilm usul al-fiqh (y71) 96-98)

a2.1 THE SUPERIORITY OF SACRED KNOWLEDGE OVER DEVOTIONS

a2.1 (Nawawi:) Allah most High says:

(1) "Say, Are those who know and those who do not know equal?" (Koran 39:9).

(2) "Only the knowledgeable of His slaves fear Allah" (koran 35:28).

(3) "Allah raises those of you who believe and those who have been given knowledge whole degrees" (Koran 58:11).

a2.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)said:
(1) "Whoever Allah wishes well, He gives knowledge of

religion.'

(2) "The superiority of the learned Muslim over the devotee is as my superiority over the least of you." Then the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Allah and His angels, the inhabitants of the heavens and the earth, the very

ant in its anthill and the fish bless those who teach people what is good."

- what is good."

 (3) "When a human being dies his work comes to an end except for three things: ongoing charity, knowledge benefited from, or a pious son who prays for him."
- (4) "A single learned Muslim is harder on the Devil than a thousand worshippers."
- (5) "Whoever travels a path seeking knowledge Allah makes easy for him a path to paradise.

"Angels lower their wings for the seeker of knowledge out of pleasure in what he seeks.

"Those in the heavens and the earth, and the very fish in the water ask Allah to forgive the person endowed with Sacred Knowledge. "The superiority of the learned Muslim over the devotee is like the devotee is like the superiority of the moon over all the stars. "The learned are the heirs of the prophets. The prophets have not bequeathed dinar nor dirham, but have only left Sacred Knowledge, and whoever takes it has taken an enormous share."

- (6) "He who calls others to guidance shall receive the like of the reward of those who follow him without this diminishing their own reward in the slightest. And he who calls others to misguidance shall bear the like of the sins of those who follow him without this diminishing their own sins."
- (7) "He who goes forth to seek Sacred Knowledge is in the way of Allah [syn jihad def:09] until he returns."
- (8) "This world and what is in it are accursed [dis: w5] except for the remembrance of Allah, that which Allah loves, someone with Sacred Knowledge or someone learning it."
- a2.3 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (Allah be well pleased with him) said, "The religious scholar is greater in reward than the fighter in the way of Allah who fasts the day and prays the night."
- a2.4 Abu Darda' (Allah be well pleased with him) said, "Teaching Sacred Knowledge for a brief time is better than spending a night in prayer."
- spending a night in prayer."
 a2.5 Yahya ibn Abi Kathir said, "Studying Sacred Knowledge is a prayer."
- a2.6 Sufyan al-Thawri and Shafi'i said, "There is nothing after what is obligatory that is superior to seeking Sacred Knowledge."
- a2.7 (Nawawi:) There are similar statements from whole groups of early Muslims I have not mentioned that are like those I have quoted, the upshot of which is that they concur that devoting one's time to Sacred Knowledge is better than devoting it to voluntary fasting or prayer, better than saying "Subhan Allah" (lit. "Exalted is Allah above any limitation"), or other supererogatory devotions. Among the proofs for this, besides the foregoing, is that:
- the benefit of Sacred Knowledge affects both its possessor and the Muslims, while the above mentioned supererogatory works are confined to oneself;
- (2) Sacred Knowledge validates, so other acts of worship require it, though not vice versa;
- (3) scholars are the heirs of the prophets, while devotees are not characterized as such;
- (4) the devote follows the scholar, being led by and imitating him in worship and other acts, obeying him being obligatory and not the other way around;
- (5) the benefit and effect of Sacred Knowledge remain after its possesser departs, while supererogatory works cease with the death of their doer:
 - (6) knowledge is an attribute of Allah Most High:
- (7) Sacred Knowledge, meaning the knowledge we are discussing, is a communal obligation (def: c3.2), and it is thus better than the supererogatory. The Imam of the Two Sanctuaries (A: Juwayni) says in his book alGhiyathi that "the communal obligation is superior to the personal obligation in that the person performing it fulfills the need of the Islamic Nation (Umma) and lifts the obligation from it, while the obligation of the individual is restricted to himself." And success is through Allah (alMajmu' (y108), 1.18-22).

a3.0 THE BLAMEWORTHINESS OF SEEKING SACRED KNOWLEDGE FOR OTHER THAN ALLAH

- a3.1 (Nawawi:) Know that what we have mentioned about the merit of seeking Sacred Knowledge only applies to the seeker who thereby intends Allah Himself, not some end concerned with this world. Whoever seeks it for a worldly aim such as money, leadership, rank, prestige, fame, people inclining towards him, defeating opponents in debate, or similar motive, is blameworthy. (A When the basic reason is Allah but other motives play a role, they diminish the merit in the proportion that they enter into it.)
- a3.2 Allah Most High says:
- (1) "Whoever wants to cultivate the afterlife We shall increase for him his village, while whoever wants to cultivate this world, we shall give him of it, but he will have no share in the next (Koran 42:20).
- (2) "Whoever wants the present world We hasten for him therein whatever We will, for whomever We want, and then consign him to hell, roasting in it condemned and rejected". (Koran 17:18).
 - (3) "Verily, your Lord is ready at ambush" (Koran 89:14).

- (4) "They were not ordered except to worship Allah, making their religion sincere unto Him as pure monotheists" (Koran 98:5)
- a3.3 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: (1) "The first person judged on Resurrection Day will be a man martyred in battle. "He'll be brought forth, Allah will reacquaint him with His blessings upon him and the man will acknowledge them, where-upon Allah will say, 'What have you done with them?' to which the man will respond, 'I fought to the death for you.' "Allah will reply, You lie. You fought in order to be called a hero, and it has already been said. Then he will be sentenced and dragged away on his face to be flung into the fire." "Then a man will be brought forward who learned Sacred Knowledge, taught it to others, and who recited the Koran. Allah will remind him of His gifts to him and the man will acknowledge them, and then Allah will say. What have you done with them?' The man will answer. I acquired Sacred Knowledge, taught it, and recited the Koran, for Your sake." "Allah will say, You lie. You learned so as to be called a scholar, and read the Koran so as to be called a reciter, and it has already been said. Then he will be sentenced and dragged away on his face to be flung into the fire.
- (2) "Anyone who seeks Sacred Knowledge to argue with fools, vie with scholars, or draw people's attention to himself, will take a place in hell."
- (3) "The most severely tortured on Resurrection Day shall be the scholar who did not benefit from his knowledge."
- a3.4 Sufyan al-Thawri said. "No servant increased in knowledge and then in desire for the things of this world, save that he increased in distance from Allah." (Ibid.,1.23-24)

a4.0 PERSONALLY OBLIGATORY KNOWLEDGE

a4.1 (Nawawi:) There are three categories of Sacred Knowledge. The first is the personally obligatory (fard al-ayn, def:c2.1), which is a morally responsible individual's learning the knowledge that the obligatory acts he must perform cannot be accomplished without, such as how the ablution (wudu) and prayer are done and so forth. Its obligatory character is how groups of scholars have interpreted the hadith in the Musnad of Abu Ya'la al-Mawsuli, from Anas, who relates that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Seeking knowledge is an obligation upon every Muslim." The meaning of this hadith, though the hadith itself is not well authenticated (A: being weak (dis:p9.5)), is true.

a4.2 As for the basic obligation of Islam, and what relates to tenets of faith, it is adequate for one to believe in everything brought by the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace) and to credit it with absolute conviction free of any doubt. Whoever does this is not obliged to learn the evidences of the scholastic . The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) did not require of anyone anything but what we have just mentioned, nor did the first four caliphs, the other prophetic Companions, nor others of the early Muslim community who came after them. Rather, what befits the common people and vast majority of those learning or possessing Sacred Knowledge is to retrain from discussing the subtleties of scholastic theology, lest corruption difficult to eliminate find its way into their basic religious convictions. Rather, it is fitter for them to confine themselves to contentment with the abovementioned absolute certainly.Our Imam Shafi'i (Allah Most High have mercy on him) went to the greatest possible lengths in asserting that engaging in scholastic theology is forbidden. (A: What he meant thereby was the heretical scholastic theology that proliferated in his time and put rationalistic theories ahead of the Koran and sunna, not the science of theology (ilm altawhid) by which Ash'ari and Maturidi scholars (dis: x47) have clarified and detailed the tenets of faith of Sunni Islam, which is an important part of the Islamic sciences.) He insistently emphasized its unlawfulness, the severity of the punishment awaiting those who engage in it, the disgrace of doing it, and the enormity of the sin therein by saying, "For a servant to meet Allah with any other sin than idolatry (shirk) is better than to meet Him guilty of anything of scholastic theology." His other statements expressing the same meaning are numerous and well known. But if someone has doubts (Allah be our refuge) about any of the tenets of faith in which belief is obligatory (def: books u and v), and his doubt cannot be eliminated except by learning one of the theologians' proofs, then it is obligatory for him to learn it in order to remove the doubt and acquire the belief in question.

a4.3 Scholars disagree about the Koranic verses and hadiths that deal with the attributes of Allah (n: such as His hand' (Koran 48:10), His eyes' (52:48) or His nearness' (50:16)) as to whether they should be discussed in terms of a particular figurative interpretation (ta'wil, def:w6) or not. Some say that they should be figuratively interpreted as befits them (n: interpreting His hand.' for example, as an allusion to His omnipotence). And this is the more well known of the two positions of the scholastic theologians. Others say that such verses should not be given a definitive interpretation, but rather their meaning should not be discussed, and the knowledge of them should be consigned to Allah Most High, while at the same time believing in the transcendence of Allah

Most High, and that the characteristics of created things do not apply to Him. For example, it should be said we believe 'the All-merciful is 'established' [Ar. istawa, dis:v1.3] on the Throne" (Koran 20:5), but we do not know the reality of the meaning of that, nor what is intended thereby, though we believe of Allah Most High that; "there is nothing whatsoever like unto Him" (Koran 42:11), and that He is above indwelling in created things (hulul, dis:w7), or having the characteristics of temporal, contingent existence (huduth, dis:w8). And this is the path of the early Muslims, or the vast majority of them, and is the safest, for a person is not required to enter into discussions about this. When one believes in Allah's transcendence above created things, there is no need for debate on it, or for taking risks over what there is neither pressing necessity nor even any real call for. But if the need arises for definitive interpretations to refute someone making unlawful innovations and the like, then the learned may supply them, and this is how we should understand what has come down to us from scholars in this field. And Allah knows best. a4.4 A person is not obliged to learn how to perform ablution, the prayer, and so forth, until the act itself is obligatory for him. As for trade, marriage, and so forth, of things not in themselves obligatory, the Imam of the Two Sanctuaries (A: Juwayni), Ghazali, and others say that learning their means and conditions is personally obligatory for anyone who wants to do them. It has also been said that one should not call this knowledge "personally obligatory," but rather say, "It is unlawful to undertake them until one knows the conditions for their legal validity." And this expression is more accurate.

a4.5 It is obligatory for one to know what is permissible and what is unlawful of food, drink, clothing, and so forth, of things one is unlikely to be able to do without. And likewise for the rulings on treatment of women if one has a wife.

a4.6 Shafi'i and colleagues (Allah have mercy on them) say that fathers and mothers must teach their children what will be obligatory for them after puberty. The guardian must teach the child about purification, prayer, fasting, and so forth; and that fornication, sodomy, theft, drinking, lying, slander, and the like are unlawful; and that he acquires moral responsibility at puberty and what this entails. It has been said that this education is merely recommended, but in fact it is obligatory, as the plain content of its scriptural basis (n: mentioned below) shows. Just as it is mandatory for a guardian to wisely manage his charge's property, this is even more important. The merely recommended is what exceeds this, such as teaching him the Koran, Sacred Law, etiquette, and teaching him what he needs to earn a living. The evidence for the obligation of teaching a young child is the word of Allah Mighty and Majestic, "O you who believe, protect yourselves and families from a fire" (Koran 66:6). 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (Allah be well pleased with him), Mujahid, and Qatada say it means. "Teach them that with which they can save themselves from hell '

a4.7 As for knowledge o the heart, meaning familiarity with the illness of the heart such as envy, pride, and the like (dis:book p.r. and s). Ghazali has said that knowledge of their definitions, causes, remedy, and treatment is personally obligatory. (A: And this is what Ghazali meant when he said that Sufism (Tasawwuf, dis:w9) is personally obligatory for every Muslim. He did not mean that taking a way (tariga) and sheikh are obligatory, but rather the elimination of unlawful inner traits, which one could conceivably accomplish through the companionship of a single sincere brother.) Others hold that if the morally responsible individual is endowed with a heart free of all these unlawful diseases, it suffices him, and he is not obliged to learn what will cure them. But if not safe from them he must reflect: if he can purify his heart from them without instruction then he must purify it, just as he must shun fornication and the like without learning the evidence proving he must. But if he cannot rid himself of these unlawful traits except through learning the above mentioned knowledge, then he is personally obliged to. And Allah knows best (al-Majmu' (v 108), 1.24-26).

a5.0 COMMUNALLY OBLIGATORY KNOWLEDGE

a5.1 (Nawawi) The second category (in of Sacred Knowledge) is what is communally obligatory (fard al-kifaya, def:c3.2), namely the attainment of those Sacred Sciences which people cannot do without in practicing their religion, such as memorizing the Koran and hadith, their ancillary disciplines, methodological principles, Sacred Law, grammar, lexicology, declension, knowledge of hadith transmitters, and of scholarly consensus (ijma'. def:b7) and nonconsensus.

a5.2 As for learning which is not Sacred Knowledge but is required to sustain worldly existence, such as medicine and mathematics, it too is a communal obligation (ibid.,1.26).

a6.0 RECOMMENDED KNOWLEDGE

a6.1 (Nawawi:) The third category is the supererogatory (def: c4.2), such as in-depth research into the bases of evidences, and elaboration beyond the amount required by the communal obligation, or such as an ordinary Muslim learning the details of nonobligatory acts of worship for the purpose of

performing them; though not the work of scholars in distinguishing the obligatory from the nonobligatory, which is a communal obligation in respect to them. And Allah knows best (ibid, 1.27).

a7.0 SUBJECTS THAT ARE NOT SACRED KNOWLEDGE

a7.1 (Nawawi:) Having mentioned the categories of Sacred Knowledge the subjects it excludes are those that are unlawful offensive, or impermissible.

a7.2 Unlawful knowledge includes:

(1) learning sorcery (dis: p3), since according to the most reliable position, it is unlawful, as the vast majority of scholars have decisively stated:

(2) philosophy (dis:w10);

(3) magic (Shabadha, meaning sleight of hand, etc.);

(4) astrology (dis:p41);

(5) the sciences of the materialists (dis:w11).

(6) and anything that is a means to create doubts (n: in eternal truths), Such things vary in their degree of unlawfulness.

a7.3 Offensive knowledge includes such things as postclassical poetry which contains romance and uselessness.

a 7.4 Permissible knowledge includes post-classical poetry which does not contain stupidity or anything that is offensive, incites to evil, hinders from good; not yet that which urges one to do good or helps one to do it (n: as the later would be recommended) (ibid. 1.27).

BOOK B - THE VALIDITY OF FOLLOWING QUALIFIED SCHOLARSHIP

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b1.0 INTRODUCTION

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b1.1 (Mohammed sa'id Buti:) What is the proof that it is legally valid and even obligatory to accept the authority of qualified scholarship (taq lid) when one is not capable of issuing expert legal opinion (ijtihad) on matters of Sacred Law? There are several aspects to it (n: discussed in the sections that follow) (al-Lammadhhabiyya akhtar bid a tuhaddidu al-sharia al-Islamiyya (y33), 70).

b1.2 (n:) For the key term qualified to issue expert legal opinion (Ar. mujtahid. this ability being ijtihad) please turn to book o and read o22.1(d) the qualifications of an Islamic judge (gadi). The difference between the qualifications for the Imam of a school and those for a judge or a mufti is that the former's competence in giving opinion is absolute ,extending to all subject matters in the Sacred Law, while the competence of the judge or mufti is limited respectively to judging court cases or to applying his Imam's ijtihad to particular questions. No age of history is totally lacking people who are competent in iitihad on particular questions which are new, and this is an important aspect of Sacred Law to provide solutions to new ethical problems by means of sound Islamic legal methodology in applying the Koranic and hadith primary texts. But while in this specific sense the door of ijtihad is not and cannot be closed, Islamic scholarship has not accepted anyone's claims to absolute iitihad since Imams Abu Hanifa Malik, Shafi'i, and Ahmad. If one studies the intellectual legacy of these men underscholars who have a working familiarity with it, it is not difficult to see why. As for those who decry "hidebound conservatism" and would open the gate of ijtihad for themselves while lacking or possibly not even knowing the necessary qualifications, if such people have not studied the rulings of a particular school and the relation between these rulings, the Koranic and hadith primary texts, and the school's methodological principles, they do not know how ijtihad works from an observer's standpoint,let alone how to employ it. To ask them for example which of two equally authenticated primary texts that conflict on a legal question should be given precedence, and why, is like asking an aspiring drafting student for the particulars of designing a suspension bridge. Answers may be forthcoming, but they will not be the same as those one could get from a qualified contractor. To urge that a mujtahid is not divinely protected from error (ma'sum) is as of little relevance to his work as the fact that a major physicist is not divinely protected from simple errors in calculus; the probability ofinding them in his published work is virtually negligible. Regarding other, longdead schools, such as the Zahiriyya, the difference between their work and that of the four living schools is firstly one of quality, as their positions and evidence have not been reexamined and upgraded by succeeding generations of firstrank scholars like those of the four schools (dis:w12), and secondly the lack of verification of the actual positions of their Mujitahid's through reliable chains of transmitters, as described below at b7.6.

b2.0 THE KORANIC EVIDENCE FOR FOLLOWING SCHOLARS

b2.1 (Mohammed Sa'id Buti;) The first aspect of it is the word of Allah the Majestic. "Ask those who recall if you know not" (Koran 16:43).

By consensus of all scholars (ijma.def:b7), this verse is an imperative for someone who does not know a ruling in Sacred Law or the evidence for it to follow someone who does. Virtually all scholars of fundamentals of Islamic law have made this verse their principle evidence that it is obligatory for the ordinary person to follow the scholar who is a mujtahid.

b2.2 Similar to the above verse in being evidence for this is the word of Allah Most High: "Not all of the believers should go to fight. Of every section of them, why does not one part alone go forth, that the rest may gain knowledge of the religion to admonish their people when they return, that happily they may take warning" (Koran 9:122). Allah Most High prohibited the people to go out altogether in military expeditions and jihad and ordered a segment of them to engages solely in becoming knowledgeable in the religion of Allah, so that when their brothers returned to them, they would find someone qualified to give them legal opinion on the lawful and unlawful and to explain the rule of Allah the Glorious and Exalted (ibid., 71).

b3.0 THE PRACTICE OF THE PROPHETIC COMPANIONS (SAHABA)

b3.1 (Mohammed Sa'id Buti:) A second aspect is the consensus of scholars that the Companions of the Prophet (Ar. Sahaba, anyone who personally met the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) and died while believing in Islam) were at various levels of knowledge in religion; not all of them were capable of giving formal legal opinion (fatwa), as Ibn Khaldun has noted, nor was the religion taken from all of them.

b3.2 Rather, there were those of them capable of legal opinion and ijtihad and these were a small minority in relation to the rest, and there were those of them who sought legal opinion and followed others therein, and these were the vast majority of them. (n: Suyuti, in Tadrib al-rawi, quotes Ibn Hazm's report that most of the Companions legal opinions came from only seven of them:'Umar, Ali, Ibn Mas'ud, Ibn Umar Ibn Abbas, Zayd ibn Thabit, and Aisha;

and this was from thousands of the Companions (Tadrib alrawi fi sharh Taqrib al-Nawawi(y109),2,219).)

b3.3 Nor did the individual Companion giving a legal opinion necessarily mention the evidence for it to the person who had asked about it, Al-Amidi notes in his book al-lhkam: "As for scholarly consensus [ijma dis: b7.2] it is that ordinary people in the times of the Companions and those who immediately followed them, before there were dissenters, used to seek the opinion of mujtahids and would follow them in rules of Sacred Law. "The learned among them would unhesitatingly answer their questions without alluding to mention of evidence. No one censured them for doing this; a fact that establishes scholarly consensus on the absolute permissibility of the ordinary person following one capable of ijthad."

b3.4 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) used to dispatch the most knowledgeable of the Companions to places whose inhabitants knew nothing more of Islam than its five pillars. The latter would follow the person sent to them in everything he gave his judgement upon and had them do, of works, acts of worship, dealing with one another, and all matters of the lawful and unlawful. Sometimes such a person would come across a question on which he could find no evidence in the Koran or sunna, and he would use his own personal legal reasoning and furnish them an answer in light of it, and they would follow him therein.

b3.5 As for the era of those who came after them (Ar. tabi'in, those who had personally learned from one or more of the Companions but not the Prophet himself (Allah bless him and give him peace)), the scope f legal reasoning had expanded, and the Muslims of this time followed the same course as had the Companions of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him

peace), except that the legal efforts were represented by the two main schools of thought, that of juridical opinion (ra'y) and that of hadith (n: the former in iraq, the latter in Medina) because of the methodological factors we previously mentioned when we quoted Ibn Khaldun. There were sometimes discussions and sharp disputes between leading representatives of the two schools, but the ordinary people and learners not at the main figures' level of understanding were unconcerned with this disagreement, and followed whomever they wanted or whomever was near to them without anyone censuring them for this (al-Lamadhhabiyya akhtar bid'a tuhaddidu al-shari'a al-Islamiyya (y33), 71-73).

${\sf b4.0}$ THE RATIONAL EVIDENCE FOR FOLLOWING SPECIALISTS

b4.1 (Mohammed Sa'id Buti:) A third aspect is the obvious rational evidence, which we express in the words of Sheikh Abdullah Diraz, who says: "The logical proof is that, assuming that a person does not have the qualifications for ijtihad, when an instance of a particular religious ruling arises, he will either not worship by any means at all, which all concur is impermissible, or, if he worships by means of something, it will either be by examining the proof that verifies the ruling or by following a competent authority. "The former is inadmissible because it would lead, in respect to him and all others like him, to indepth examination of the evidences for all such instances, preoccupation with which would obviate the earning of livelihoods, disrupting trades and occupations, running the world by neglect of tillage and offspring, and preventing any one's following another's ijtihad, placing everyone under the most extreme hardship. The sole remaining alternative is to follow another, which is the means through which one must worship in such a case"

b5.0 THE OBLIGATORINESS OF FOLLOWING QUALIFIED SCHOLARSHIP

b5.1 (Mohammed sa'id Buti:) Because scholars accept the evidence from Koran, sunna, and reason as complete and intersubstantiative that the ordinary person or learned one not at the level of textual deduction and ijtihad is not entitled but to follow a qualified mujtahid who has a comprehensive grasp of the evidence -they say that a formal legal opinion (fatwa) from a mujtahid is in relation to the ordinary person just as a proof from the Koran and sunna is in relation to the Mujtahid for the Koran just as it obligates the scholar throughly versed in it to hold to its evidences and proofs, also obligates (n:in the verse quoted above at b2.1) the uninformed person to adhere to the formal legal opinion of the scholar and his ijtihad (ibid.,73).

b6.0 WHY QUALIFIED SCHOLARS DIFFER ON LEGAL QUESTIONS

b6.1 (Salih Mu'adhdhin:) Muslims of the Sunna and Community are in agreement that we have arrived at all the rulings of Sacred Law through evidence that is either of unquestionably established transmission (qat'i al-wurud) or probabilistically established transmission (zanni al-wurud). The suras of the Koran, all of its verses, and those hadiths which have reached us by so many channels of transmission that belief in them is obligatory (mutawatir, def:o22.1(d(II))) are all of unquestionably established transmission, since they have reached us by numerous means, by generation from generation, whole groups, from whole groups such that it is impossible that the various channels could all have conspired to fabricate them. As for the evidentiary character of these texts, regardless whether they are of unquestionably or probabilistically established transmission, they are of two types. The first type, unquestionable as evidence (gat'i aldalala), is a plain text that does not admit of more than one meaning, which no mind can interpret beyond its one meaning, which no mind can interpret beyond its one meaning, and which there is no possibility to construe in terms of other than its apparent sense. This type includes Koranic verses that deal with fundamental tenets of faith in the oneness of Allah, the prayer, zakat, and fasting; in none of which is there any room for disagreement, nor have any differences concerning them been heard of or reported from the Imams of Sacred Law. Everything in this category is termed unquestionable as evidence. The second type, probabilistic as evidence (zanni al-dalala), is a text that can bear more than one meaning, whether because it contains a word that can lexically have two different meanings, or because it was made by way of figure of speech or metaphor, or because it can be interpreted in other than its apparent sense in the context without this contradicting what was intended by the Wise Lawgiver. It is here that we find scope for scholarly difference of opinion to a greater or lesser extent depending on the number of meanings a text can imply, how much interpretation it will bear, and so forth. All of the derivative rulings of Sacred Law are of this type, probabilistic as evidence, so we naturlly find differences among Islamic legal scholars as to their interpretation, each scholar interpreting them according to his comprehension and the

broadness of his horizons, while not giving the text a reading it does not imply, and then corroborating his interpretation with evidence acceptable to scholars. Scholarly differences are thus something natural, even logically necessary, as a result of the factors we have just described. Allah Mighty and Majestic has willed that most texts of the Sacred Law be probabilistic as evidence because of a wisdom He demands, namely, to give people more choice and leave room for minds to use ijtihad in understanding His word and that of His messenger (Allah bless him and give him peace).

b6.2 We conclude this short summary with an example to clarify what we have said. Consider the word of Allah "Divorced women shall wait by themselves for three periods' (Koran 2:228) as opposed to His saying, in the same sura, Those who forswear their women have a wait of four months" (Koran 2:226). Allah's saying "three" in the former and "four" in the latter are texts that are decisive as evidence, in that neither admits of more than one interpretation, namely, the well-known numbers. But in contrast with this when Allah says "periods" (Ar.quru') in the first, and "months"(ashhur) in the second, we find that the former word can have more than one sense in its Arabic lexical root meaning, while months cannot, the latter being decisive in meaning and incapable of bearing another interpretation. Concerning this question, Imam Qurtubi says in his Koranic exegesis: "Scholars differ about the word periods. Those of kufa hold that it means menstrual periods, and this is the position of 'Umar, 'Ali, and Ibn Mas'ud. But those of the Hijaz hold it means the intervals of purity between menstrual periods, and this is the view of A' isha, Ibn Umar, and Shafi'i." Considering this, is it not natural that there should be various opinions about understanding the verse "three periods" but only one about understanding Allah's saying "four months"? If Allah had wanted all opinions to coincide on this question. He might have said for example, "three menstrual periods" (hiyad) or "three intervals of purity between menstrual periods" (athar), just as He said "four months." And all the texts of Sacred Law that can bear more than one meaning are comparable to this example (Umdat alsalik (y90). 11-13).

b7.0 SCHOLARLY CONSENSUS (IJMA')

b7.1 ('Abdal-Wahhab Khallaf:) Scholarly consensus (ijma') is the agreement of all the mujtahids (def:o22.1(d)) of the Muslims existing at one particular period after the Prophet's death (Allah bless him and give him peace) about a particular ruling regarding a matter or event. It may be gathered from this that the integral elements of scholarly consensus are four, without which it is invalid:

(a) that a number of mujtahids exist at a particular time:

- (b) that all mujtahids of the Muslims in the period of the thing or event agree on its ruling, regardless of their country, race, or group, though nonmujtahids are of no consequence;
- (c) that each mujtahid present his opinion about the matter in an explicit manner, whether verbally, by giving a formal legal opinion on it, or practically, by giving a legal decision in a court case concerning it;
- (d) and that all mujtahids agree on the ruling, for if a majority of them agree, consensus is not

effected, no matter how few those who contradict it, nor how many those who concur.

- b7.2 When the four necessary integrals of consensus exist, the ruling agreed upon is an authoritative part of Sacred Law that is obligatory to obey and not lawful to disobey. Nor can mujtahids of a succeeding era make the thing an object of new ijithadm because the ruling on it, verified by scholarly consensus, is an absolute legal ruling which does not admit of being contravened or annulled.
- b7.3 The proof of the legal authority of scholarly consensus is that just as Allah Most Glorious has ordered the believers, in the Koran, to obey Him and His Messenger, so too He has ordered them to obey those of authority (ulu al-amr) among them, saying, "O you who believe, obey Allah and obey the Prophet and those of authority among you" (koran 4:59), such that when those of authority in legal expertise, the mujitahids, agree upon a ruling, it is obligatory in the very words of the Koran to follow them and carry out their judgement. And Allah threatens those who oppose the Messenger and follow other than the believers' way, saying, "Whoever contraverts the Messenger after guidance has become clear to him and follows other than the believers' way, ke shall give him over to what he has turned to and roast him in hell, and how evil an outcome" (Koran 4:115).
- b7.4 A second evidentiary aspect is that a ruling agreed upon by all the mujtahids in the Islamic Community (Umma) is in fact the ruling of the Community, represented by its mujtahids, and there are many hadiths that have come from the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), as well as quotes from the Companions, which indicate that the Community is divinely protected from error, including his saying (Allah bless him and give him peace):
 - (1) "My Community shall not agree on an error."
- (2) "Allah is not wont to make my Community concur on misguidance."

(3) "That which the Muslims consider good, Allah considers good."(Ilm usul al-fiqh (y71), 45-47)

b7.5 (n: Another hadith that scholars quote in connection with the validity of scholarly consensus is the following, given with its commentary.) The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Allah's hand is over the group, and whoever dissents from them departs to hell." Allah's hand is over the group (al-Azizi:) Munawi says, "Meaning His protection and preservation of them, signifying that the collectivity of the people of Islam are in Allah's fold, so be also in Allah's shelter, in the midst of them, and do not separate yourselves from them. "The rest of the hadith, according to the one who first recorded it (n: Tirmidhi), is, and whoever dissents from them departs to hell. Meaning that whoever diverges from the overwhelming majority concerning what is lawful or unlawful and on which the Community does not differ has slipped off the path of guidance and this will lead him to hell (al-Siraj almunir sharh al-Jami' al-saghir (y18), 3.449).

b7.6 (n: In addition to its general interest as a formal legal opinion, the following serves in the present context to clarify why other than the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence do not necessarily play a role in scholarly consensus.) (Abd al-Rahman Ba'alawi:) Ibn Salah reports that there is scholarly consensus on its being unlawful to follow rulings from schools other than those of the four Imams, meaning in one's personal works, let alone give court verdicts or formal legal opinions to people from the, because of the untrustworthiness of the ascription of such rulings to the scholars who reportedly gave them, there being no channels of transmission which obviate the possibility of textual corruption and spurious substitutions.

The Zaydis, for example, who trace themselves to Zayd ibn 'Ali Husayn (n:son of 'Ali and Fatima), the beatitude of Allah be upon them, despite the fact that Zayd was one of Imams of the religion and a renowned figure well qualified to give guidance to those seeking it, his followers identify him with extreme permissiveness on many questions, ascriptions based on failure to check as to what his positions actually were (n: by naming the intermediate transmitters and establishing their reliability). It is quite otherwise with the four schools, whose Imams (Allah reward them) have spent themselves in checking the positions of their schools, explaining what could be rigorously authenticated as the position of the person it was attributed to, and what could not be. Their scholars have thus achieved safety from textual corruption and have been able to discern the genuine from the poorly authenticated (Bughya almustarshidin fi talkhis fatawa ba'd al-a'imma min al-muta'akhkhirin (y19),8).

BOOK C - THE NATURE OF LEGAL RULINGS

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c1.0 KINDS OF RULINGS

- c1.1 (Abd al-Wahhab Khallaf:) A legal ruling is a statement from the Lawgiver (syn. Allah or His messenger (Allah bless him and give him peace)) concerning the acts of those morally responsible which:
 - (1) requires something;
 - (2) allows a choice:
 - (3) or gives stipulations.
- c1.2 An injunctive ruling is one that enjoins the morally responsible individual to either do or refrain from an act, or gives him an option to do or refrain from it. An example of enjoining one to do an act is Allah's saying, "People owe Allah to make pilgrimage to the House" (Koran 3:97). An example of enjoining one to refrain from an act is His saying, "Let no people mock another people" (Koran 49:11). And an example of giving an option to do or refrain from an act is His saying, "When the prayer is finished, go forth in the land" (Koran 62:10).
- c1.3 As for stipulatory rulings, they entail that something is made a legal reason (sabab) for another thing, a condition (shart) for it, or a preventive (mani) of it. An example of being stipulated as reason for something is Allah's saying, "O believers, when you go to pray, wash your faces and wash your forearms to the elbows" (Koran 5:6), which stipulates wanting to pray as a reason for the obligation of performing ablution (wudu). An example of something being made a condition for another thing is His saying, "People owe Allah to make pilgrimage to the House, whoever is able to find a way" (Koran 3:97), which implies that the ability to get to the House (n: Kaaba) is a condition for the obligatoriness of one's pilgrimage. Another example is the Prophet's saying (Allah bless him and give him peace), "There is no marriage unless there are two witnesses," which means the presence of two witnesses is a condition for the validity of a marriage. An example of being made a preventive of something is the Prophet's saying (Allah bless him and give him peace), "The killer does not inherit," which entails that an heir's killing the deceased is preventive of his inheriting an estate division share from him ('Illm usul al-fiqh (y71), 100-102).

c2.0 TYPES OF HUMAN ACT

c2.1 (N:) The obligatory (fard) is that which the Lawgiver strictly requires be done, Someone who performs an obligatory act out of obedience to Allah is rewarded, while a person who refrains from it without excuse deserves to be punished. (A: In the Shafi'i school there is no difference between obligatory (fard) and requisite (wajib) except in the pilgrimage, where nonperformance of a requisite does not invalidate the pilgrimage, but necessitates an expiation by slaughtering. For any conditions necessary for its validity and all of its integrals (rukn, pl. arkan) are obligatory, since it is unlawful to intentionally perform an invalid act of worship.)

c2.2 The sunna (n: or recommended (mandub)) is that which the Lawgiver asks be done, but does not strictly require it. Someone who performs it out of obedience to Allah is rewarded, though someone who refrains from it is not punished.

c2.3 The permissible (mubah) is what the Lawgiver has neither requested nor prohibited, so the person who does it is not rewarded or punished. Rather, doing or not doing it are equal, though if a person does it to enable him to perform an act of obedience to Allah, or refrains from it for that reason, than he is rewarded for it. And if he does such an act to enable him to perform an act of disobedience, he is sinning.

c2.4 The offensive (makruh) is that which the Lawgiver has interdicted but not strictly forbidden. A person who refrains from such an act out of obedience to Allah is rewarded, while the person who commits it does not deserve to be punished.

c2.5 The unlawful (haram) is what the Lawgiver strictly forbids. Someone who commits an unlawful act deserves punishment, while one who refrains from it out of obedience to the command of Allah is rewarded. (n: Scholars distinguish between three levels of the unlawful:

(1) minor sins (saghira, pl. sagha'ir), which may be forgiven from prayer to prayer, from one Friday prayer (jumu'a) to another, and so forth, as in mentioned in hadith;

(2) enormities (kabira, pl. kaba'ir), those which appear by name in the Koran or hadith as the subject of an explicit threat, prescribed legal penalty, or curse, as listed below at hook p:

(3) and unbelief (kufr), sins which put one beyond the pale of Islam (as discussed at o8.7) and necessitate stating the Testification of Faith (Shahada) to reenter it. Repentance is obligatory for all three (al-Zawajir 'an iqtiraf al-kaba'ir (y49), 15.9))

c2.6 (Nawawi:) There is no doubt that the merit of an act varies. Fasting, for example, is unlawful on 'Eid Day, obligatory before it, and recommended after it. The prayer is highly desirable most of the time, but offensive at some times and situations, such as when restraining oneself from using the lavatory. Reciting the Koran is desirable, but offensive when bowing in the desirable, but offensive when bowing in the prayer or prostrating. Dressing one's best is good on the 'Eid or on Friday, but not during the drought prayer. And so

forth. Abul Qasim al-Junayd (Allah have mercy on him)said, "A sincere person changes forty times a day, while the hypocritical show-off stays as he is forty years." The meaning of this is that the sincere person moves with what is right, wherever it may lead, such that when prayer is deemed better by the Sacred Law, then he prays, and when it is best to be sitting with the learned, or the righteous, or guests, or his children, or taking care of something a Muslim needs, or mending a broken heart, or whatever else it may be, then he does it, leaving aside what he usually does. And likewise for fasting, reciting the Koran, invoking Allah, eating or drinking, being serious or joking, enjoying the good life or engaging in self-sacrifice, and so on. Whenever he sees what is preferred by the Sacred Law under the circumstances, he does it, and is not bound by a particular habit or kind of devotion as the show-off is. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) did various things of prayer, fasting, sitting for Koran recital and invocation, eating and drinking, dressing, riding, lovemaking with his wives, seriousness and jest, happiness and wrath, scathing condemnation for blameworthy things, leniency in punishing those who deserved it and excusing them, and so ion, according to what was possible and preferable for the time and circumstances (al-Majmu' (y108),1.17-18).

c3.0 OBLIGATORY ACTS

c3.1 ('Abd al-Wahhab khallaf:) Obligatory acts are distinguished in four ways, according to various considerations. One distinction is whether current performance is time-restricted or non-time-restricted. A time-restricted obligatory act is one the Lawgiver demands be done at a particular time, such as the five obligatory prayers, for each of which the time for current performance is set, such that the particular prayer is not obligatory before it, and the individual is guilty of serious sin if he delays it past its time without excuse. A non-time-restricted obligatory act is one which the Lawgiver strictly demands, but does not specify a time for its current performance, such as the expiation obligatory for someone who swears and oath and breaks it (def: 020).

c3.2 A second distinction between obligatory acts is made on the basis of who is called upon to perform them, namely whether an act is personally obligatory or communally obligatory. A personally obligatory (fard al-'ayn) act is what the Lawgiver requires from each and every morally responsible person. It is insufficient for someone to perform such an act on another's behalf, such as the prayer, zakat (def: h1.0), pilgrimage, keeping agreements, and avoiding wine or gambling. A communally obligatory (fard al-kifaya) act is what the Lawgiver requires from the collectivity of those morally responsible, not from each one of them, such that if someone undertakes it, then the obligation has been fulfilled and the sin and responsibility (n: of nonperformance) is lifted from the rest, while if no one undertakes it, then all are guilty of serious sin for neglecting the obligation, Examples include commanding the right and forbidding the wrong (def: book q), praying over the dead, building hospitals, lifesaving, fire fighting, medicine, industries people require, the existence of Islamic courts and judges, issuing formal legal opinions, responding to someone who says "as-Salam 'alaykum," and testifying in court. The Lawgiver requires that these obligatory acts exist in the Islamic Community regardless of who does them. But He does not require they be done by each person, or some particular one, since the interests of the Community are realized by the existence of these things through the efforts of some of those morally responsible, and do not entail every particular person's performance of them. Someone able through himself or his property to perform the communally obligatory act is obliged to perform it, and someone unable to do it himself is obliged to urge and have the person do it who can. If the obligatory

act is done, all are cleared of the sin, and if neglected all the guilty of serious sin. The person capable of it is guilty because he neglected a communally obligatory act he could have done, and the rest are guilty because they neglected to urge him and have him perform the obligatory act he was capable of. When an individual is the only one available who can perform a communally obligatory act, it becomes personally obligatory for him.

c3.3 A third way Obligatory acts are distinguished is by the amount of them required, that is, whether the act is of a defined amount or an undefined amount. Obligatory acts of defined amount are those for which the Lawgiver has determined a particular quantity, such that the subject is not free of the obligation until he has done the amount stipulated by the Lawgiver, as with the five obligatory payers, or zakat. Obligatory acts of undefined amount are those which the Lawgiver has not stipulated the amount of, but rather demands them from the subject in an undetermined quantity, such as spending in the way of Allah, cooperating with one another in good works, feeding the hungry, helping those in distress, and so forth.

c3.4 A fourth distinction between obligatory acts is whether an act is a specific obligation, or an obligation to choose between certain alternatives. Specific obligations are

those in which the Lawgiver demands the act itself, such as the prayer, fasting in Ramadan, paying for merchandise, rent from a tenant, or returning something wrongfully taken; such that the individual is not free of the obligation until he does that very act. An obligation to choose between certain alternatives is when the Lawgiver requires the performance of one of a given number of actions, such as one of the options in expiating a broken oath, where Allah Most High requires the person who has broken his oath to feed ten poor people, clothe them, or free a slave ('abd,def:w13), and the obligation consists of doing any of these three things ('Ilm usul al-fiqh (y71), 106, 108-11).

c4 0 RECOMMENDED ACTS

c4.1 (Abd al-Wahhab Khallaf:) Recommended acts are divided into three categories.

The first is recommended acts whose demand is confirmed. Someone who neglects such an act does not deserve punishment, but does deserve censure and blame. This includes the sunnas and recommended acts that are legally considered to complete obligatory acts, such as the call to prayer (adhan) or performing the obligatory prayers, in a group, as well as all religious matters that the Prophet Allah bless him and give him peace) diligently performed and did not omit except once or twice to show that they were not obligatory, like rinsing out the mouth when performing ablution, or reciting a sura or some verses of the Koran after the Fatiha during the prayer. This category is called the confirmed sunna (sunna mu akkada) or sunna of guidance.

c4.3 The second category is those acts whose performance is sanctioned by sacred Law such that the person who performs them is rewarded, though someone who omits them deserves neither punishment nor blame. This includes acts the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) did not diligently perform, but did one or more times and then discontinued. It also includes all voluntary acts, like spending on the poor, fasting on Thursday of each week, or praying rak'as (units) of prayer in addition to the obligatory and confirmed sunna prayers. This category is called the extra sunna or supererogatory (nafila).

c4.4 The third category consists of the superlatively recommended, meaning those acts considered part of an individual's perfections. It includes following the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) in ordinary matters that proceeded from him as a human being, as when a person eats, drinks, walks, sleeps, and dresses like the Prophet used to. Following the example of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) in these and similar matters is an excellence and considered among one's refinements, as it shows one's love for the Prophet and great attachment to him. But someone who does not follow the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) in matters like these is not considered a wrongdoer, because they are not part of his lawgiving (A: though such acts are rewarded when one thereby intends to follow the prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), and every desirable practice one performs

means a higher degree in paradise which the person who neglects it may not attain to). Acts of this category are called desirable (mustahabb), decorum (adab), or meritorious (ibid., 112).

c5.1 UNLAWFUL ACTS

c5.1 (Abd al-Wahhab Khallaf:) The unlawful is of two kinds. The first is the originally unlawful in itself, meaning the Sacred Law forbids it from the outset, such as adultery, theft, prayer without ritual purity, marrying a member of one's unmarriageable kin while knowing them to be such, selling unslaughtered dead animals, and so forth, of things that are intrinsically unlawful because they entail damage and harm, the prohibition applying from the outset to the very act. The second is the unlawful because of an extrinsic reason, meaning that the initial ruling of an act was that it was obligatory, recommended, or permissible, but an extrinsic circumstance became linked with it that made it unlawful, such as a prayer performed in a garment wrongly taken, or a sale in which there is fraud, or a marriage whose sole purpose is to allow the woman to remarry her previous husband who has pronounced a threefold divorce against her, or fasting day after day without breaking the fast at night, or an unlawfully innovated divorce (def: n2.3), and so forth, of things unlawful because of an external circumstance. The prohibition is not due to the act itself. But because of something extrinsic to the act; meaning the act is not damaging or harmful in itself, but something has happened to it and become conjoined with it that makes it entail damage or harm.

c5.2 One consequence of the above distinction is that an intrinsically unlawful act is uncountenanced by the Law to begin with, so it cannot be a legal cause or reason, or form the basis for further legal consequences, Rather, it is invalid, Because of this, prayer without ritual purity is invalid, marriage to a close unmarriageable relative when one knows them to be such is invalid, and the sale of an unslaughtered dead animal is invalid. And something legally invalid is without other legal efficacy. But an act that is unlawful

because of an extrinsic circumstance is intrinsically lawful, and can thus be a legal reason and form the basis for further legal consequences, since its prohibition is accidental to it and not essential. Because of this a prayer while wearing a garment wrongfully taken is legally valid, though the person is guilty of serious sin for having taken it; a sale in which there is fraud is legally valid (N: though the buyer has the option to cancel the sale and return the merchandise for a full refund); and an unlawfully innovated divorce is legally effective. The reason for this is that the prohibition of an act because of an extrinsic event or circumstance does not vitiate either the basis of its being a legal cause or its identity, provided all its integrals and conditions exist. As for intrinsic unlawfulness, it negates the basis of an act's being a legal cause and vitiates its identity by the nonexistence of one of its integrals or conditions, so that it is no longer something that is of legal consideration (ibid., 113-14).

c6.0 DISPENSATION (RUKHSA) AND STRICTNESS (AZIMA)

c6.1 (Abd al-Wahhab khallaf:) Strictness is what Allah initially legislates, of general rulings not concerned with one circumstance rather than another, or one individual rather than another.

c6.2 Dispensation is when what is normally forbidden is made permissible because of neccessity or need. For example, if someone is forced to make a statement of unbelief (kufr) it is made permissible, to ease his hardship, for him to do so as long as faith remains firm in his heart. Likewise with someone who is forced to break his fast in Ramadan, or forced to destroy the property of another; the normally prohibited act which he is forced to do becomes permissible for him, to ease the hardship. And it is made permissible for someone forced by extreme hunger or severe thirst to eat from an unslaughtered dead animal or drink wine. (A: The latter is not permissible even under such conditions in the Shafi'i school) Dispensation also includes being permitted to omit an obligatory act when an excuse exists that makes its performance a hardship (dis: c7.2. second par.) upon the individual. Thus, someone who is ill or travelling in Ramadan is permitted not to fast. And someone who is travelling is permitted to shorten prayers of four rak'as to only two rak'as (ibid., 121-22).

c6.3 (n:) Since it is permissible for a Muslim to follow any of the four Imams in any of his acts of worship, comparison of their differences opens another context from discussing dispensation and strictness, a context in which classical scholars familiar with various schools often use the term "dispensation" to refer to the ruling of the school easiest on a particular legal question, and "strictness" to refer to the ruling of the school that is most rigorous. Which school this is varies from question to question. The following entry discusses how and when it is permissible for ordinary Muslims to use dispensation in the sense of following easier rulings from a different school, while entry c6.5 discusses the way of greater precaution (al-ahwat fi al-din) taken by those Muslims who purposely select the strictest school of thought on each legal question because of its being more precautionary and closer to godfearingness (taqwa).

c6.4 Scholars frequently acknowledge that the difference of the Imams is a mercy, and their unanimity is a decisive proof, Sheikh Umar Barakat, the commentator of 'Umdat al-salik, says: "It is permissible to follow each of the four Imams (Allah be well pleased with them), and permissible for anyone to follow one of them on a legal question, and follow a different one on another legal question. It is not obligatory to follow one particular Imam on all legal questions" (Fayd al-llah al-Malik (y27), 1.357). This does not, however, imply that it is lawful to indiscriminately choose dispensations from each school, or that there are no conditions for the above mentioned permissibility. Imam Nawawi was asked for a formal legal opinion on whether pursuing dispensations in such a manner was permissible; (Question:) "Is it permissible for someone of a particular school to follow a different school in matters that will be of benefit to him, and to seek out dispensations?" He answered (Allah be well pleased with him), 'It is not permissible to seek out dispensations [A: meaning it is unlawful, and the person who does is corrupt (fasiq)], and Allah knows best" (Fatawa al-Imam al-Nawawi (y105),113). But when forced by necessity or hardship to take such a dispensation (A: even retroactively as when one has finished the action, and then makes the intention to have followed another Imam's school of thought on the question), then there is nothing objectionable in it, provided that one's act of worship together with its prerequisites is valid in at least one of the schools. One may not simply piece together (taliq) constituent parts from various schools in a single act of worship, if none of the schools would consider the act valid. An example is someone who performs an ablution that is minimally valid in the Shafi'i school by wetting only a few hairs of his head in the ablution sequence, something not permitted by Hanafis, and then prays behind an imam without himself reciting the Fatiha, something permitted by Hanafis but not shafiis. His ablution, the necessary condition for his

prayer is inadequate in the Hanafi school and his performance of the prayer is inadequate school, with the result that neither considers his prayer valid, and in fact it is not, Whoever follows a ruling mentioned in this volume from another school must observe the conditions given at w14 and make sure his worship is valid in at least one school, which for prayer can best be achieved by performing all recommended measures in the present volume relating to purity, for example, e5.e11. and so on, as if obligatory.

c6.5 A second way to use differences between schools is to take the way of greater precaution by following whoever is most rigorous on a given question. For example, when performing the purificatory bath (ghusl), rinsing the mouth and nostrils with water is a nonobligatory, sunna measure according to the Shafi'i school, but obligatory and necessary for the purificatory bath's validity according to Hanafis. The way of greater precaution is for the Shafi'i to perform it as diligently as if it were obligatory, even though omitting it is permitted by his school. (Abd al-Wahhab Sha'rani:) My brother, when you first hear of the two levels of this scale (n: dispensation and strictness), beware of jumping to the conclusion that there is absolute free choice between them, such that an individual may without restriction choose either dispensation or strictness in any ruling he wishes. It does not befit a person able to perform the stricter ruling to stoop to taking a dispensation permissible to him. (A: The more rigorous is always preferable in the Shafi'i school even when the dispensation is permissible.) For as you know my brother, I do not say that the individual is free to choose between taking the dispensation or taking the stricter ruling when he is able to perform the stricter ruling obligatory for him. I take refuge in Allah from saying such a thing, which is like making a game of religion. Of an absolute certainty, dispensation are only ofr someone unable to perform the stricter ruling, for in such a case, the dispensation is the stricter ruling in relation to him. Moreover, I hold that mere sincerely and honesty demand of anyone who follows a particular school not to take a dispensation that the Imam of his school holds is permissible unless he is someone who needs to; and that he must follow the stricter ruling of a different Imam when able to, since rulings fundamentally refer back to the word of the Lawgiver, no one else; this being especially necessary when the other Imam's evidence is stronger, as opposed to what some followers do. We find among the dictums of the Sufis that one should not follows a position in Sacred Law for which the evidence is weaker except when religiously more precautionary than the stronger position. For example, the Shafi'i opinion that (n:a male's) ablution is nullified by touching a girl who is a child or touching the nails or hair of a woman: though this position is considered weaker by them (n: than the position given at e7.3),it is religiously more precautionary, so performing ablution for the above-mentioned things is better (al-Mizan al-kubra (y1230,:10-11). (A Because more rigorous rulings necessarily meet the requirements of less rigorous ones (though not vice versa), following more rigorous rulings from another school is unconditionally valied, unlike following its dispensations. And Allah knows best.)

c7.0 THINGS ONE MAY BE HELD LEGALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR

c7.1 ('Abd al-Wahhab Khallaf:) Three conditions must exist in any act that it is legally valid to make an individual responsible for. The first is that the act be well enough known to the individual that he can perform it in the way required of him. It should be noted that the individual's knowledge of what he is responsible for means the possibility of his knowing it, not his actual knowledge of it. Whenever a person reaches puberty, of sound mind and capable of knowing the rulings of Sacred Law by himself or by asking those familiar with them. then he is considered to know what he is responsible for, and rulings are carried out on him, their consequences exacted of him, and the excuse of being ignorant of them is not accepted from him. The second condition is that it is known that the ruling has been imposed by someone who possesses the authority to do so and whose rules the individual is obliged to observe, since it is through this knowledge that the individual's will can be directed to obey him. This is the reason that in any proof for a ruling of Sacred Law the first point discussed is why it is legally binding for individuals. The third condition is that the act the subject is responsible for be possible and within the capacity of the subject to do or to refrain from. This condition in turn implies two things: first, that it is legally invalid to impose something impossible, whether impossible in itself or impossible because of another thing; and second, that it is invalid to ask that a particular individual be responsible for someone else's performing an act or refraining from one, since someone else's action or inaction is not within the individual's own capacity. Hence, a person is not responsible for his father's paying zakat, his brother's performing the prayer, or his neighbour's refraining from theft. As regards others, all a person is obliged to do is to advise, to command the right and forbid the wrong, for these are acts he is capable of. Nor is it legally valid to make a

person responsible for various innate human states which are the results of natural causes that are not of the person's acquisition or choice, such as emotional arousal when angry; turning red when embarassed; love, hate, grief, elation, or fear when reasons them exist; digestion; breathing; being short or tall, black or white; and other innate traits with which people are born and whose presence or absence is subject to natural laws, not to the individual's will and choice, and which are thus beyond his capacity and not among the things possible for him. And if some primary texts have reached us that apparently show that there is responsibility for some of the things that are not within a person's capacity, these are not as they seem. For example, the order of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), "Do not become angry," is outwardly an order to refrain from something natural and unacquired, namely, anger when motives for it exist. But the real meaning is "Control yourself when angry and restrain yourself from its bad consequences.

c7.2 From the condition that an act must be within the individual's capacity before he can be held accountable for it, one should not jump to the conclusion that this implies there will not be any hardship whatsoever for the individual in the act. There is no contradiction between an act's being within one's capacity and its being hard. Nothing a person is responsible for is completely free of hardship, since moral responsibility is being obliged to do that in which there is something to bear with, and some type of difficulty. Hardship, however, is of two types. The first is that which people are accustomed to bear, which is within the limits of their strength, and were they to continue bearing it, it would not cause them harm or damage to their persons, possessions, or other concerns. The second is that which is beyond what people are accustomed to bear and impossible for them to continually endure because they would be cut off, unable to go on, and damage and harm would affect their persons, possessions, or one of their other concerns. Examples include fasting day after day without breaking it at night, a monastic life, fasting while standing in the sun, or making the pilgrimage on foot. It is a sin for someone to refuse to take a dispensation and insist on the stricter ruling when this will probably entail harm (Ilm usul al-fiqh (y71), 128-33).

c8.0 WHO MAY BE HELD RESPONSIBLE

c8.1 (Abd al-Wahhab Khallaf:) Two conditions must exist in an individual for it to be legallly valid to hold him responsible. The first condition is that he is able to understand the evidence that he is responsible for something, such that it is within his capacity to understand legal texts from the Koran and sunna by which the ruling is imposed. whether by himself of through another (dis: b5.1). Since human reason is something hidden, unobservable by outward sense perception, the Lawgiver has conjoined responsibility for rulings with something manifest and perceptible to the senses from which reason may be inferred, namely, puberty. Whoever reaches puberty without showing signs of impaired intellectual faculties, his capacity for responsibility exists. And conversely, neither an insane person nor child are responsible, because of their lack of intellect, which is the means of understanding the evidence that something is a ruling. Nor are those responsible who are in a state of absentmindedness or sleeping, because while they are heedless or asleep it is not within their capacity to understand. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "The pen has been lifted from three: the sleeper until he awakens, the child until his first wet dream, and the insane person until he can reason." The second condition (n:for the legal validity of holding someone responsible) is that he be legally eligible for the ruling. Eligibility is of two types, eligibility for obligation, and eligibility for performance.

c8.2 Eligibility for obligation is the capacity of a human being to have rights and duties. This eligibility is established for every person by the mere fact of being human, whether male, female,fetus, child, of the age of discrimination, adolescent, intelligent, foolish, sane or insane, healthy or ill; because its basis is an innate attribute found in man. Every human being, whoever he or she may be, has eligibility for obligation and none lacks it because one's eligibility for obligation is one's humanness. There are only two human states in relation to eligibility for obligation, partial and full. One could have partial eligibility for obligation by being entitled to possess rights over others but not have obligations towards them, like a fetus in its mother's womb, which has rights, since it can be an heir, inherit a bequest, and the proceeds of an endowment (waqf) can accrue to it, but it does not have any

obligations to others. Full eligibility for obligation means a person has rights upon others and

obligations towards them. Every human being acquires it at birth.

c8.3 Eligibility for performance is the capacity of an individual for words and actions that are legally significant, such that if an agreement or act proceeds from him, it legally counts and entails the rulings applicable to it. If he prays, fasts, makes the pilgrimage, or does anything obligatory; it is

legally acknowleged and discharges the obligation. And if he commits a crime against another's person, possessions, or honour, he is held accountable for his crime and is bodily or financially penalised. So eligibility for performance is responsibility, and its basis in man is intellectual discrimination. There are three states which a person may have in relation to eligibility for performance:

(1) A person could completely lack or lose eligibility for performance, like a young child during his childhood or an insane person during his insanity (regardless of his age), neither of whom has eligibility for performance because they lack human reason, and for neither of whom are there legal consequences entailed by their words or actions. Their agreements and legal dispositions are null and void, the limit of which is that if either of them commits a crime against another's person or possessions, he is responsible for paying the indemnity out of his own property, but not subject to retaliation in his own person. This is the meaning of the scholars' expression, "The intentional act of a child or insane person is an honest mistake."

(2) A person could have partial eligibility for performance, an example of which is the child who has reached the age of mental discrimination (def: f1.2) but not puberty (k13.8), or the retarded person, who is not disturbed in intellect nor totally bereft of it, but rather is weak-minded and lacking in intellect, so that the Sacred Law treats him as it does the child with discrimination. Because each of these two possesses the basis of eligibility for performance by the fact of having discrimination, those of their legal actions which are absolutely beneficial to them, such as accepting gifts or alms, are valid without their guardian's permission. As for those of their legal actions which are wholly harmful to them, such as giving donations or waiving their rights to something, these are not in any way valid, even with the guardian's permission. The gift, bequest, endowment, and divorce of such persons are not valid, and the guardian's permission is irrelevant to these actions. The legal actions of the child with discrimination or the retarded person which are between absolute benefit and absolute harm to him are valid, but only on condition that the guardian gives his permission for them. If the guardian gives permission for the agreement or disposition, it is implemented, and if he does not permit it, the action is invalid.

(3) Or a person could have full eligibility for performance by the fact of having reached puberty sound of mind. Events, however, may befall this eligibility. They include those that happen to a person without affecting his eligibility for performance by eliminating or diminishing it, but which alter some rulings concerning him because of considerations and interests that arise through these events, not because of loss or lessening of eligibility for performance. Examples include the foolhardy and the absentminded person. Both have reached puberty with normal intelligence and have full eligibility for performance, but to protect their own property from loss and prevent them from becoming a financial burden on others, they are declared legally incompetent in financial dealings such that neither their financial transactions nor donations are valid. This is not because of a lack or lessening of their eligibility for performance, but rather to protect their own property. A debtor has likewise reached puberty with normal intelligence and possessess full eligibility for performance, but to protect the rights of his creditors, he is declared legally incompetent to make transactions with his money that infringe on the rights of his creditors, such as charitable donations(Ilm usul al-fiqh (y71) 134-40).

BOOK D - INTRODUCTION (by al-Misri) Contents: Introduction d1.0 A Description of the Book d1.2 The Title d1.3

d1 0 AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

d1.1 In the name of Allah, Most Merciful and Compassionate. Praise be to Allah, Lord of the Worlds. Allah bless our liegelord Mohammed, his folk, and his Companions one and all.

d1.2 This is a summary of the school of Imam Shafi'i (the mercy and bliss of Allah Most High be upon him) in which I have confined myself to the most dependable positions (alsahih) of the school according to Imam Rafi'i and Imam Nawawi, or according to just one of them. I may mention a difference of opinion herein, this being when their recensions contend (dis: w12), giving Nawawi's position first (0: as he is the foremost reference of the school), and then as opposed to it, that of Rafi'i (n:generally left untranslated because it is the weaker position where mentioned).

d1.3 I have named it The Reliance of the Traveller and Tools of the Worshipper. (0: Reliance means that which is depended upon, since the author meant that this text should be a reliable resource work for whoever goes by it, because it contains the most dependable positions of the school and omits the weak ones. Traveller (salik) derives from travel (suluk), meaning to proceed along, the allusion being to the

spiritual journey, meaning one's seeking knowledge of the rules of religion with seriousness and effort, to thereby reach Allah Most High and be saved from perdition. Tools are physical instruments their owner depends on in his work, like those of a carpenter. The tools here are knowledge of the rules of Sacred Law found in this text which the validity of worship depends upon.) d1.4 I ask Allah to give benefit through it, and He is my sufficiency, and best to rely on.

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e1.0 WATER

e1.1 Water is of various types:

(1) purifying;

(2) pure;

(3) and impure.

e1.2 Purifying means it is pure in itself and it purifies other things. (O: Purification (Ar. tahara) in Sacred Law is lifting a state of ritual impurity (hadath, def:e7), removing filth (najasa, e14), or matters similar to these, such as purificatory baths (ghusl) that are merely sunna or renewing ablution (wudu) when there has been no intervening ritual impurity.)
e1.3 Pure means it is pure in itself but cannot purify other

things (O: such as water that has already been used to lift a state of ritual impurity).

e1.4 Impure means it is neither purifying nor pure. (O:

(1) less than 216 litres of water (qullatayn) which is contaminated by filth (najasa), even when none of the water's characteristics (n: i.e. taste, color, or odor) have changed.

(2) or 216 liters or more of water when one of its characteristics of taste, color, or odor have changed (n:through the effect of the filth. As for the purity of water

that has been used to wash away filth, it is discussed below at e14.14).)

e1.5 It is not permissible (O: or valid) to lift a state of ritual impurity or remove filth except with plain water (O: not used water (def:(2) below), or something other than water like vinegar or milk), meaning purifying water as it comes from nature, no matter what quality it may have (O: of taste. such as being fresh or saline (N: including seawater); of color, such as being white, black, or red; or of odor, such as having a pleasant smell).

e1.7 It is not permissible to purify (def: e1.2(O:)) with:

(1) water that has changed so much that it is no longer termed water through admixture with

something pure like flour or saffron which could have been avoided:

(2) less than 216 litres of water that has already been used for the obligation (dis:c2.1(A:), end) of lifting a state of ritual impurity, even if only that of a child;

(3) or less that 216 litres of water that has been used to remove filth, even if this resulted in no change in the water.

e1.8 It is permissible to purify with water:
(1) (non-(1) above) that has been only slightly changed by saffron or the like;

(2) that has been changed by proximity with something such as aloes or oil that are (O: i.e. even if) fragrant;

(3) that has been changed by something impossible to prevent, such as algae, tree leaves falling in it, dust, or the

effects of standing too long;
(4) (non-(2) of the previous ruling) that has already been used for a nonobligatory use such as the sunnas of rinsing out the mouth, renewing ablution when there has been no intervening state of ritual impurity, or a sunna purificatory

(5) or water that has already been used (n: to lift a state of ritual impurity) and has now been added together until it amounts to 216 litres or more

e1.9 With less than 216 litres, if a person performing ablution (after washing his face once) or the purificatory bath (after making intention for it) makes the intention in his heart to use his hands to scoop up the water, then the introduction of his hands into this amount of water does not make the water used. But if not (O: if he does not make this intention at all, or does so after putting his hands in the water, which is less than 216 litres), then the rest of the water is considered as already used (n: and no longer purifying. But in the Maliki school (dis: c6.4 (end)), it is valid (though offensive) to lift a state of ritual impurity with water that has already been used for that purpose (al-Sharh al-saghir'ala Aqrab al-Malik ila madhhab al-Imam Malik (y35), 1.37)).

e1.10 As for 216 litres or more of water, even if two or more persons in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba, def; e10) are immersed in it, whether simultaneously or serially, their impurity is lifted and the water does not thereby become used (n: but remains purifying).

e1.11 Qullatayn (lit. "two great jars") roughly equal five hundred Baghdad ritls, and their volume is one and a quarter dhira in height, width, and length. (n: The definition of qullatayn as being 216 litres is based on estimating the dhira' at fortyeight centimetres. Metric equivalents of Islamic weights and measures are given at w15.)

e1.12 Two hundred and sixteen litres of water does not become impure by mere contact with filth, but only becomes so by changing (n: in taste, colour, or smell) because of it, even when (O: this change is) only slight.

e1.13 If such change (n: in 216 litres or more of water) disappears by itself (O: such as through standing at length) or by water is used or impure) then the water in again purifying.

e1.14 But the 216 litres of water does not become purifying if the change disappears by (O: putting) such things as musk (O: in it, or ambergris, or camphor, which mask the Scent; or putting saffron and the like in which mask the colour) or vinegar (O: which masks the taste) or earth.

e1.15 Less than 216 litres becomes impure by mere contact with filth, whether the water changes or not, unless filth falls into it whose amount (N: before it falls in is so small that it) is indiscernible by eyesight (A eyesight, here and for all rulings, meaning an average look, not a negligent glance nor yet a minute inspection), or if something dead falls into it of creatures without flowing blood, such as flies and the like, in both cases it remains purifying. This is equally true of running or still water.

e1.16 When less than 216 litres of impure water is added to (O: even if with impure water) until is amounts to 216 litres or more and no change (def: below) remains in it, then it is (O: has become) purifying.

e1.17 Change, resulting from something pure or impure, means in colour, taste, or smell. (N: But the least change caused by filth makes water (n: even if more than 216 litres) impure, while change caused by something pure does not hurt as long as it can still be termed water. For example, when sugar and tea, it has become pure but not purifying. As for a slight discoloration by tea leaves, or a slight sweetness from sugar, this does not negate water's being purifying.)

e2.0 CONTAINERS AND UTENSILS

- e2.1 Purification is permissible with water from any pure container, except those of gold or silver, or those to which enough gold or silver has been applied that any of it could be collected from the vessel by heating it with fire (N: meaning that if the vessel were exposed to fire, the metallice coat would melt and seperate from the container, even if not drop by drop). Such containers or utensils are unlawful for men or women to use in purification, eating, drinking, or other use (O: of any type whatever). It is unlawful to acquire such a container or utensil even if one does not use it. Even a small eye-liner stick of silver is unlawful.
- e2.2 Vessels soldered with gold are absolutely unlawful. It is unlawful to use a vessel to which much def:14.5) silver solder has been applied by way of decoration; permissible to use a vessel to which only a little silver solder has been applied by way of a needed repair; and offensive but not unlawful to use a vessel to which only a little silver has been applied for decoration, or much out of neccessity. Solder means that a part of the vessel has been broken and then silver is put there to hold it together.
- e2.3 It is offensive to use the vessels of non-Muslims (N: before washing them) (O: to be certain of the purity of the vessels used, since non-Muslims are not as concerned about purity as Muslims are) or wear their clothers (O: for the same reason).
- e2.4 It is permissible to use a vessel made of any precious gem, such as a ruby or emerald.

e3.0 USING A TOOTHSTICK (SIWAK)

- (O: In Sacred Law it refers to the use of a twig or the like on the teeth and around them to remove an unpleasant change in the breath or similar, together with the intention (n: of performing the sunna).)
- e3.1 Using a toothstick is recommended any time, except after noon for someone who is fasting, in which case it is offensive. (A: Using toothpaste is also offensive then, and if any reaches the stomach of someone fasting, it is unlawful (n: if the fast is obligatory, as this breaks a fast).)
- e3.2 It is especially desirable to use the toothstick for every prayer, for reading (O: the Koran, hadith, or a lesson), ablution, yellowness of teeth, waking from sleep, entering one's house, and for any change of breath from eating something with a bad odor or from not eating. (A: When there exists a demand for an act, such as using the toothstick before reading the Koran, and an equal demand not to, as when it is after noon on a fast-day, then the proper course is not to do it.)
- e3.3 Anything coarse is adequate (n: to fulfill the sunna) except rough fingers, though the best is a twig from the arak (n: a desert shrub) that is dried (N: meaning previously cut from the shrub long enough to have dried) and then moistened.
- e3.4 It is best to clean the teeth laterally, beginning on the right and paying particular attention to the bases of the back teeth, and to intend the sunna thereby.

e4.0 THE BODY

- e4.0 THE BOD e4.1 It is sunna:
- (1) to trim the fingernails and toenails;
- (2) to clip one's mustache (O: when it grows long. The most one should clip is enough to show the pink of the upper lip. Plucking it out or shaving it off is offensive.) (A: Shaving one's beard is unlawful according to all Imams except Shafi'i, who wrote two opinions about it, one that it is offensive, and the others that it is unlawful. A weak chain of narrators ascribes an opinion of offensiveness to Imam Malik. It is unbelief (kufr) to turn from the sunna in order to imitate non-Muslims when one believes their way to be superior to the sunna):
- (3) for those used to it, to pluck away the hair of the underarms and nostrils, though if plucking the underarms is a hardship, then shaving them; and to shave the public hair;
- (4) and to line the eyes with kohl (n: an antimonic compound that one should be careful to see contains no lead), each eye an odd number of times, preferably three.
- e.4.2 It is offensive to shave part of the head and leave part unshaven (A: though merely cutting some of the hair shorter than another part is not objectionable). There is no harm in shaving it all off (O: but it is not recommended except for the rites of hajj and umra (n: the greater and lesser pilgrimages)). e4.3 Circumcision is obligatory (O: for both men and women. For men it consists of removing the prepuce from the penis, and for women, removing the prepuce (Ar. bazr) of the clitoris itself, as some mistakenly assert). (A: Hanbalis hold that circumcision of women is not obligatory but sunna, while Hanafis consider it a mere courtesy to the husband.)
- e4.4 It is unlawful for men or women to dye their hair black, except when the intention is jihad (O: as a show of strength to unbelievers). Plucking out gray hair is offensive. It is sunna to dye the hair with yellow or red. (N: It is unlawful for a woman to cut her hair to disfigure herself (n:e.g. for mourning), though if done for the sake of beauty it is

permissible.) It is sunna for a married woman to dye all of her hands and feet with henna (n: a red plant dye), but it is unlawful for men to do so unless it is needed (N: to protect from sunburn, for example).

e5.0 ABLUTION (WUDU) (by al-Misri)

(N: Meaning to wash certain parts of the body with water, with the intention of worship.) (O: The legal basis for ablution, prior to scholarly consensus, is the word of Allah Most High. "O believers, when you go to pray, wash your faces, and wash your forearms to the elbows, wipe

your heads, and [wash] your feet to the two anklebones" (Koran 5.6) and the hadith related by Muslim. "A prayer is not accepted without purification.")

THE INTEGRALS OF ABLUTION

- e5.1 Ablution has six obligatory integrals:
- (a) to have the intention when one starts washing the face;
- (b) to wash the face;
- (c) to wash the arms up to and including the elbows;
- (d) to wipe a little of the head with wet hands;
- (e) to wash the feet up to and including the anklebones; (f) and to do these things in the order mentioned.
- The sunnas of ablution are all its actions besides the above. (N: The obligatory minimum is to perform (b), (c), (d), and (e) once, though the sunna is to perform them each three times.)

THE INTENTION

- e5.2 The person performing ablution intends:
- (1) to lift a state of lesser ritual impurity (hadath) (O: since the purpose of ablution is to eliminate that which prevents prayer and the like);
 - (2) to purify for the prayer;
- (3) or to purify for something not permissible without purification, such as touching a Koran, or something else.(N: The simple intention to perform the obligation of ablution suffices in place of all the above.)
- e5.3 The above intentions are not used by three types of people when performing ablution:
- (1) a woman with chronic vaginal discharge (def:e13.6);
- (2) a person unable to hold back intermittent drops of urine coming from him (n: or with some similar state of chronic annulment of ablution (e13.7));
- (3) or a person intending to perform dry ablution (tayammum,def:e12).
- Such people merely intend permission to perform the obligation of the prayer as they begin their ablution. (O: The intention to lift a state of minor ritual impurity is inadequate for these people because their state of impurity is not lifted.) (n: Rather the Sacred Law gives them a dispensation to perform the prayer and so forth without lifting it.)
- e5.4 The necessary condition of ablution is that the intention for it exist in the heart and that it accompany one's washing the first part of the face. It is recommended to pronounce it aloud, and that it be present in the heart from the first of ablution (O: during the preliminary sunnas before washing the face, so as to earn their reward). It is obligatory that this intention persist in the heart until one washes the first part of the face (O: as that is the first part of the face (O: as that is the first part of the making the intention when washing the face, it suffices, but one is not rewarded for the previous sunnas of rinsing the mouth and nostrils and washing the hands (N: provided that one merely intended cleanliness or something else by them and the intention of worship did not come to one's mind).

HOW TO PERFORM ABLUTION

- e5.5 It is recommended to begin ablution by mentioning (n: in Arabic, like the other invocations in this volume (def:wl)) the name of Allah Most High (O: by saying "In the name of Allah," which is the minimum. The optimum is to say, "In the name of Allah. Most Merciful and Compassionate," Before this, it is sunna to say, "I take refuge in Allah from the accursed Devil," and to add after the Basmala: "Praise to Allah for Islam and its blessings. Praise to Allah who made water purifying and Islam a light. My Lord, I take refuge in You from the whispering of devils and take refuge in You lest they come to me." It is sunna to say all the above to oneself.) If one internationally or absentmindedly omits saying the name of Allah (n: at the first of ablution), then one pronounces it
- during it (O: by saying, "In the name of Allah, first to last"). e5.6 It is recommended to wash the hands three times. (O: By saying "three times," the author indicates the sunna character of performing such acts thrice, and that it is an independent sunna (N: rewarded apart from the sunnas it is conjoined with).) If one has doubts as to whether or not one's hands are free of filth, it is offensive to dip them into less than 216 litres of water without first washing them three times. (O: When sure they are pure, it is not offensive to immerse them. When sure they are impure, it is unlawful to dip them into this amount of water (N: since it spoils it by making it impure).)

e5.7 One next uses the toothstick (def.e3), and then rinses the mouth and nose out three times, with three handfuls of water. One takes in a mouthful from a handful of water and snuffs up some of the rest of the handful into the nostrils (n: swishing the water around the mouth, and expelling the water of the mouth and the nose simultaneously), then again rinses the mouth and then the nostrils from a second handful of water, followed by rinsing the mouth and then the nostrils from the third handful of water. One lets the water reach as much of the mouth and nostrils as possible, unless fasting, when one goes lightly.

- c5.8 Then one washes the face three times, face meaning from the point where the hairline usually begins to the chin in height, and from ear to ear in width.
- e5.9 It is obligatory to wash all facial hair-inner, outer, and the skin beneath, whether the hair is thick or thin or thinsuch as eyebrows, mustache, and so forth; except for the beard, since:
- (1) if it is thin its inner and outer hair and the skin beneath must be washed:
- (2) but if thick, then the outer hair is enough, though it is recommended to saturate it by combing it from beneath with wet fingers. It is obligatory to cause the water to flow over the outer(O: hair of the) part of the beard that hangs below the chin (O: though not its inner hair). It is obligatory to wash part of the head in every direction beyond the bounds of the face, to make sure everything has been completely covered. It is sunna to use new water to saturate one's beard (O: if it is thick) by combing it from beneath with the fingers.
- c5.10 Then one washes the hands up to and including the elbows three times. (If the arm has been amputated between the hand and elbow, it is necessary to wash the remaining forearm and the elbow, If amputated at the elbow, then the end of the upper arm must be washed. If it has been amputated between the elbow and shoulder, then it is recommended to wash the rest of the upper arm.)
- c5.11 Then one wipes the head with wet hands, beginning at the front of the head, sliding the paired hands back to the nape of the neck, and then returning them to where one began. (C: This is an explanation of the best way, for otherwise, fulfilling the obligation does not depend on starting at the front, but may be from any part of the head.) One does this three times. If one is bald, or one's hair never grew, or is long, or braided, then it is not recommended to slide the hands back to the front. Each of the following suffices as wiping the head:
- (1) to place the hand on the head without moving it so that one wets any of what is referred to by "wiping the head," the minimum of which is part of a single hair, provided this part does not hang below the limits of the head;
- (2) to drip water on the head without making it flow over it:\
- (3) or to wash the head (If it is difficult to remove one's turban, then after wiping the minimum of the head required, one may finish by wiping the turban.)
- c5.12 One then wipes the ears inside and out with new water, three times, and then the ear canals with one's little fingers with more new water, three times (O: though this second sunna is not separately mentioned in the more well known books, which speak of the two sunnas together, making "wiping the ears" include the ear canals).
- c5.13 Then one washes the feet up to and including the anklebones three times.
- c5.14 If one does not know whether one washed a particular limb or the head three times (N: as is sunna), then one assumes one has washed it the least number that one is sure of, and washes as many additional times as it takes to be certain one has reached three.
- c5.15 One begins with the when washing arms and legs, but not the hands, cheeks, and ears, which are washed right and left simultaneously.
- c5.16 One washes more than is obligatory of the face by adding part of the head and neck, and likewise with the arms and legs by washing above the elbows and ankles, the maximum of which is the whole upper arm or lower leg.
- c5.17 One washes the parts of the body successively and without pausing between them (Osuch that in normal weather the last part would not dry before one began the next), though if one pauses between them, even for a long time, one's ablution is still valid without renewing the intention.
- c5.18 After finishing, one says: "I testify that there is no god but Allah, alone, without partner, and I testify that Mohammed is His slave and messenger. O Allah, make me one of the oftrepentant, one of the purified, one of Your goodly slaves. O Allah, I declare Your exaltedness above every imperfection and Your Praise. I testify ther is no god but you. I ask Your forgiveness and turn to You in repentance." There are supplications said for each limb washed, but these are not authenticated as being of the sunna.

OTHER RECOMMENDED MEASURES

- e5.19 Other recommended measures (adab) include:
- (1) facing the direction of prayer;
- (2) not to talk during ablution for other than a necessity;
- (3) and to begin with the top of the face and not slap water upon it.

- e5.20 If another person is pouring one's water (N: or if using a tap) one begins washing the arms from the elbows, and the feet from the anklebones. If pouring one's own water (N: from a jug, for example), one begins washing the arms from the fingers and the feet from the toes.
- e5.21 One should take care that water reaches the inner corners of the eyes, and the heels (N: up to the level of the anklebones) and similar places it is feared one may neglect, especially during the winter.
- e5.22 One moves one's ring when washing the hand to allow water to reach the skin beneath. (O: If the water cannot otherwise get under it, it is obligatory to move the ring.)
- e5.23 One saturates between the toes using the little finger of the left hand. One begins with the little toe of the right foot, coming up through the toes from beneath, and finishes with the little toe of the left.

THINGS OFFENSIVE IN ABLUTION

- e5.24 It is offensive:
- (1) to have another person wash one's limbs, unless there is some excuse (O; such as old age or the like):
- (2) to wash the left before the right;
- (3) or to waste water.
- e5.25 It is recommended:
- (1) not to use less than 0.51 liers (mudd) of water for ablution;
- (2) not to use less than 2.03 liters (sa') of water for the purificatory bath (ghusl);
- (3) not to dry off the parts washed in ablution (N: unless there is an excuse such as illness or cold weather) or shake the water off one's hands;
- (4) not to ask another to pour water for one's ablution;
- (5) and not to wipe the neck.

OTHER PROVISIONS

- e5.26 If dirt under the nails prevents the water (O: of ablution or the purificatory bath from reaching the skin beneath) then the ablution (O: or bath) is not valid. (N: The same is true of waterproof glue, paint, nail polish, and so forth on the nails or skin: if it prevents water from reaching any part of the nails or skin, no matter how small, one's ablution or purificatory bath is not valid.)
- e5.27 If one has doubts during the course of the ablution that one has washed a particular limb or the head, then it is obligatory to wash it again and everything that follows it in the ablution sequence. But if these doubts arise after one has finished ablution, one need not repeat anything. (A: The same is true of the purificatory bath (ghusl).)
- e5.28 It is recommended to renew the ablution (N: when there has been no intervening state of minor ritual impurity) when one has performed any prayer, obligatory or nonobligatory, will it.
- e5.29 Ablution is recommended for someone in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba) who wishes to eat, drink, sleep or make love again. And Allah knows best.

e6.0 WIPING FOOTGEAR

- (N: Wiping one's footgear (Ar. khuff) with wet hands is a dispensation that can take the place of the fifth ablution integral of washing the feet. The footgear Muslims generally use for this are ankle-high leather socks that zip up and are worn inside the shoes.)
- e6.1 Wiping footgear is permissible for 72 hours (lit. "three days and nights") to a traveller on a lawful trip (N: one not undertaken for purposes of disobeying Allah) that fulfills the conditions permitting one to shorten prayers on journeys (def:f15.1-5). Wiping them is permissible to a nontraveller for 24 hours (lit. "a day and a night"). (n: At the end of these periods, one removes the footgear to perform ablution, or, if one has ablution at the time, to wash the feet, before putting them on again and starting a new period of permissibility, as at e6.7) The beginning of the period is reckoned from the time of the first minor ritual impurity (hadath) that occurs after having put them on while in a state of ablution. Wiping footgear is permissible for only 24 hours:
- (1) when one has wiped one has wiped both of a pair of footgear for ablution or just one of the pair (n: leaving the other for later) when not on a trip, and then begun travelling;
- (2) or (O: When one has wiped both of a pair of footgear or just one) when on the trip and then finished travelling;
- (3) or when one is in doubt as to whether one first wiped one's footgear for ablution while travelling or whether it was while not travelling. Wiping footgear is permissible for 72 hours if one's ablution is nullified when not travelling and one then lifts that state of minor ritual impurity by wiping them for the ablution while travelling.
- e6.2 When one doubts as to whether or not the permissible period for wiping them has expired, then one may not wipe them while the doubt exists. (A: Because dispensations cannot be taken unless one is certain (N: of their necessary conditions).) If one has doubts(n: when near the end of the permissible period for wiping them, for example, and uncertain exactly when it began) about whether one nullified one's ablution at the time of the noon prayer, or whether it

was at the time of the midafternoon prayer, then one proceeds on the assumption that it was at the time of the noon prayer.

- e6.3 If a state of major ritual impurity (janaba) occurs during the permissible period for wiping footgear, then one must take them off for the purificatory bath (ghusl).
- e6.4 The conditions for the permissibility of wiping footgear are:
- (a) that one have full ablution when one first puts them on; (b) that they be free of filth:
- (c) that they cover the whole foot up to and including the anklebones;
- (d) that they prevent water (N: if dripped on them drop by drop from directly) reaching the foot (O:-if water reaches the foot through the holes of a seam's statues, it does not affect the validity of wiping them, though if water can reach the foot through any other place, it violates this condition); (e) and that they be durable enough to keep walking around upon a travellers do in attending to their needs (O: when encamping, departing, etc.); -no matter whether they are of leather, felt, layers of rags (N: including thick, heavy wool socks that prevent water from reaching the foot (A: not modern dress socks (n:due to non(d) and (e) above), which are not valid to wipe in any school, even if many are worn in layers)), wood, or other; nor whether they have a cleavage laced up with eyelets (O: provided none of the foot shows). One may not wipe footgear if wearing just one of a pair, washing the other foot. Nor if any of the foot shows through a hole in them.
- e6.6 It is sunna to wipe the footgear on the top, bottom, and heel in lines (N: as if combing something with the fingers), without covering every part of them or wiping them more than once. One puts the left hand under the heel and the right hand on top of the foot at the toes, drawing the right hand back towards the shin while drawing the left along the bottom of the foot in the opposite direction towards the toes. It is sufficient as wiping the footgear to wipe any part of their upper surface (9n: with wet hands), from the top of the foot up to the level of the anklebones. It is not sufficient to only wipe some of the bottom, heel, side of the foot, or some of the footgear's inner surface that faces the skin.
- e6.7 When on an ablution that was performed by wiping the footgear, and then some part of the foot shows because of taking them off, or through a hole, it's sufficient (N: to complete one's ablution) to merely wash the feet again (O: without repeating the ablution).

e7.0 THE FOUR CAUSES OF MINOR RITUAL IMPURITY (HADATH)

(N: Meaning the things that nullify one's ablution.)

ANYTHING THAT EXITS FROM THE PRIVATE PARTS

e7.1 The first is anything that exits from the front or rear private parts, whether a substance (O: such as urine or feces) (N: or the mucus that exits from the vagina with or without sexual stimulation, though not a woman's sexual fluid that appears through orgasm, discussed below) or wind, and whether something usual or something uncommon such as a worm or stones. But not a male's sperm or female's sexual fluid (Ar. maniyy, that which exits with orgasmic contractions, whether a man's or a woman's (def:e10.4)), which necessitates the purificatory bath (N: as it causes major ritual impurity) but does not necessarily nullify ablution, an example of this being someone firmly seated (dis: e7.2 second paragraph) who sleeps and has a wet dream, or someone who looks at something lustfully and sperm or sexual fluid come. Otherwise, if one makes love to one's spouse, or has an orgasm while lying asleep, ablution is nullified (n: respectively) by touching the spouse's skin (e7.3) or by sleep (below).

LOSS OF INTELLECT THROUGH SLEEP ETC.

- e7.2 The second cause of minor ritual impurity is loss of intellect (O: meaning the loss of the ability to distinguish, whether through insanity, unconsciousness, sleep, or other. Loss of intellect excludes drowsing and daydreaming, which do not nullify ablution. Among the signs of drowsing is that one can hear the words of those present, even if uncomprehendingly). Sleep while firmly seated on the ground (A: or any other surface firm enough to prevent a person's breaking wind while seated on it asleep) does not nullify ablution, whether riding mounted, leaning on something which if removed would cause one to fall, or otherwise seated. If one sleeps when firmly seated and one's rear moves from its place before one awakens, this nullifies one's ablution. But not if:
- (1) one's rear moved after or during awakening, or if one is uncertain about whether it happened before awakening or during;
- (2) one's arm dropped to the ground while one was firmly seated;
- (3) or when one drowses while not firmly seated, hearing but not comprehending, or if one is

uncertain as to whether one drowsed or slept, or uncertain as to whether one slept while firmly seated or not firmly seated

CONTACT OF MAN AND WOMAN'S SKIN

e7.3 The third cause of minor ritual impurity is when any, no matter how little, of the two skins of a man and woman touch (N: husband and wife, for example) when they are not each other's unmarriageable kin (Ar. mahram, def:m6), even if they touch without sexual desire, or unintentionally, and even if with tongue or a nonfunctional or surplus limb; though touching does not include contact with teeth, nails, hair, or a severed limb. Ablution is also nullified by touching AN AGED person or a corpse (N: of the opposite sex) but not by touching a member of one's unmarriageable kin, or a child who is younger than the age that usually evokes sexual interest. One's ablution is not nullified when one is uncertain about:

- (1) whether one touched a male or female;
- (2) whether one touched hair or skin;
- (3) or whether the person one touched was one's unmarriageable kin or not.

TOUCHING HUMAN PRIVATE PARTS WITH HAND

- e7.4 The fourth cause of minor impurity is touching human private parts with the palm or inner surface of the fingers only(N: i.e those parts which touch when the hands are put together palm to palm), whether one touches the private parts:
- (1) absentmindedly;
- (2) without sexual desire;
- (3) in the front or rear;
- (4) of a male or female;
- (5) of oneself or another, even if deceased, or a child; -but not if one touches them with one's finger tips, the skin between the fingers, with the outer edge of the hand, or touches the corresponding parts of an animal.
- e7.5 Ablution is not mullified by vomiting, letting blood, nosebleed, laughing during the prayer, eating camel meat, or other things (N: not discussed above).
- e7.6 When certain that a minor ritual impurity has occurred, but uncertain whether one subsequently lifted it (N: with ablution), then one is in a state of minor ritual impurity (A: because in Sacred Law, a state whose existence one is certain about does not cease through a state whose existence one is uncertain about). When certain that one had ablution, but uncertain that it was subsequently nullified, then one still has ablution.

e8.0 ACTIONS UNLAWFUL DURING MINOR RITUAL IMPURITY

- e8.1 The following are unlawful for someone in a state of minor ritual impurity:
 - (1) to perform the prayer;
- (2) to prostrate when reciting the Koran at verses in which it is sunna to do so (def; f11.13);
- (3) to prostrate out of thanks (f11.19);
- (4) to circumambulate the Kaaba (j5);
- (5) or to carry a Koran, even by a strap or in a box, or touch it, whether its writing, the spaces between its lines, its margins, binding, the carrying strap attached to it, or the bag or box it is in. (n: Other aspects of proper manners (adab) towards the Book of Allah are treated below at w16.) (A: The opinion expressed in Fiqh al-sunna that it is permissible to touch the Koran without ritual purity is a deviant view contrary to all four schools of jurisprudence and impermissible to teach (dis:r7.1(3), except to explain that it is oberrant)(n:Though in the Hanifi school. it is permissible for someone in a state of minor ritual impurity to touch or carry a Koran that is inside a cover not physically attached to it, such as a case or bag, as opposed to something joined to it, like a binding (al-Lubab fi sharh al-Kitab (y88), 1.43). And Allah knows best.)
- e8.2 It is also unlawful (n: when without ablution) to touch or carry any of the Koran written for the purpose of study, even a single verse or part of one, as when written on a slate or the like. (O: But this is permissible for nonstudy purposes such as when the Koran is intended to be an amulet (def:w17). It is not prohibited to touch or carry such an amulet even if it contains whole suras, or even, as Sheikh (N:Shirbini) al-Khatib has said, if it contains the whole Koran.) It is permissible to carry a Koran in one's baggage and to carry money, rings, or clothes on which Koran is written. It is permissible to carry books of Sacred Law, hadith, or Koranic exegesis which contain Koran, provided that most of their text is not Koran (O:because the non-Koranic part is the purpose, though this is unlawful if half or more is Koran). Boys who have reached the age of discrimination (def:f1.2(O:)) may touch or carry the Koran while in a state of minor ritual impurity (O: because of the need to learn it and the hardship of their keeping ablution, and likewise for young girls, though this is for study alone, as opposed to nonstudy, when it is unlawful. As for children under this age, their guardian may not give a Koran to them) (A:as this is an insult to it. Also teachers should remind children that it is unlawful to

moisten one's fingers with saliva to turn its pages). Someone in a state of minor or major impurity may write Koran if he does not touch or carry what he has written.

e8.3 When one fears that a Koran may burn, get soaked, that a non-Muslim may touch it,or that it may come into contact with some filth, then one must pick it up if there is no safe place for it, even if one is in a state of minor or major ritual impurity, though performing the dry ablution (tayammum, def:e12) is obligatory if possible.

e8.4 It is unlawful to use a Koran or book of Islamic knowledge as a pillow (O:except for fear of theft, when it is permissible to do so). And Allah knows best.

e9 0 GOING TO LAVATORY

- e9.1 It is recommended when one intends to use the lavatory:
- (1) to put something on one's feet, unless there is an excuse (O:such as not having shoes);
- (2) to cover the head (O: even if only with a handkerchief or other);
- (3) to set aside anything on which there is the mention of Allah Most High. His messenger (Allah bless him and give him peace), or any revered name (O:like those of prophets or angels). If one enters with a ring (O:on which something worthy of respect is written), one closes one's hand around it;
- (4) to ready stones (N: or other suitable material (def:e9.5)) (O:if one uses them) to clean oneself of filth (N:though water alone is sufficient);
- (5) to say before entering: "In the name of Allah. O Allah, I take refuge in You from demons, male and female," and after leaving. "[O Lord,] Your forgiveness: Praise be to Allah who rid me of the hurt and gave me health";
- (6) to enter with the left foot first and depart with the right foot first (and this, together with and above, are not only for indoors, but recommended outdoors as well);
- (7) not to raise one's garment until one squats down to the ground (O: to keep one's nakedness covered as much as possible) and to lower it before one stand up;
- (8) to put most of one's weight on the left foot while squatting;
- (9) not to spend a long time;
- (10) not to speak;
- (11) when finished urinating, for men to squeeze the penis with the left hand from base to head (O: recommended because this is where the urethra is, and for women to squeeze their front between thumb and forefinger) (N: so urine does not exit later and nullify one's ablution) pulling lightly three times (O: this being recommended when one thinks the urine has stopped, though if one thinks it has not, this is obligatory):
- (12) not to urinate while standing (O: which is offensive) unless there is an excuse (N: such as when standing is less likely to spatter urine on one's clothes than sitting, or when sitting is a hardship);
- (13) not to clean oneself with water in the same place one relieved oneself, if it might spatter, though if in a lavatory one need not move to a different place;
- (14) to distance oneself from others if outdoors and to screen oneself:
- (15) not to urinate into holes, on hard places, where there is wind, in waterways, where people gather to talk, on paths, under fruit trees, near graves, in still water, or in less than 216 liters of running water;
- (16) and not to relieve oneself with one's front or rear facing the sun, moon, or the Sacred Precinct in Jerusalem.
- e9.2 It is unlawful to urinate on anything edible, bones, anything deserving respect, a grave or in a mosque, even if into a receptacle.
- e9.3 It is unlawful to urinate or defecate with one's front or rear towards the direction of prayer when outdoors and there is no barrier to screen one, though this is permissible when one is indoors within a meter and a half of a barrier at least 32 cm. high, or in a hole that deep. When one is not this close to such a barrier at least 32 cm. high, or in a hole that deep. When one is not this close to such a barrier, it is not permissible except in a lavatory, where, if the walls are farther from one than the maximal distance or are shorter than the minimal height, relieving oneself with front or rear towards the direction of prayer is permissible, though offensive.
- e9.4 It is obligatory to clean oneself of every impure substance coming from one's front or rear, though not from gas, dry worms or stones, or excrement without moisture.
- e9.5 Stones suffice to clean oneself, though it is best to follow this by washing with water. Anything can take the place of stones that is a solid, pure, removes the filth, is not something that deserves respect or is worthy of veneration, nor something that is edible (O: these being five conditions for the validity of using stones (N: or something else) to clean oneself of filth without having to follow it by washing with water). But it is obligatory to wash oneself with water if:
- (1) one has washed away the filth with a liquid other than water, or with something impure;
- (2) one has become soiled with filth from a separate source;
- (3) one's waste has moved from where it exited (n: reaching another part of one's person) or has dried;

(4) or if feces spread beyond the inner buttocks (N: meaning that which is enfolded when standing), or urine moved beyond the head of the penis, though if they do not pass beyond them, stones suffice. It is obligatory (N: when cleaning oneself with a dry substance alone) to both remove the filth, and to wipe three times, even when once is enough to clean it, doing this either with three pieces (lit. "stones") or three sides of one piece. If three times does not remove it, it is obligatory to (N: repeat it enough to) clean it away (O: as that is the point of cleaning oneself. Nawawi says in al-Majmu' that cleaning oneself (N: with a dry substance) means to remove the filth so that nothing remains but a trace that could not be removed unless one were to use water) (N: and when this has been done, any remaining effects of filth that could have been done, any remaining effects of filth that could have only been removed with water are excusable). An odd number of strokes is recommended. One should wipe from front to back on the right side with the first piece, similarly wipe the left with the second, and wipe both sides and the anus with the third. Each stroke must begin at a point on the skin that is free of impurity. It is offensive to use the right hand to the oneself of filth.

e9.6 It is best to clean oneself of filth before ablution, though if one waits until after it to clean, the ablution is nevertheless valid(N: provided that while cleaning, the inside surface of the hand (def: e7.4 does not touch the front or rear private parts). If one waits until after one's dry ablution (tayammum, def:e12) to clean away filth, the dry ablution is not valid (A: because lack of filth is a condition for it).

e10.0 MAJOR RITUAL IMPURITY (JANABA)

- e10.1 The purification bath (ghusl, def:e11) is obligatory for a male when:
- (1) sperm exists from him;
- (2) or the head of his penis enters a vagina;
- and is obligatory for a female when:
- (1) sexual fluid (def: below) exits from her;
- (2) the head of a penis enters her vagina;
- (3) after her menstrual period;
- (4) after her postnatal lochia stops or after a child is born in a dry birth.
- (n: The Arabic term manivy used in all these rulings refer to both male sperm and female sexual fluid, i.e that which comes from orgasm, and both sexes are intended by the phrase sperm or sexual fluid wherever it appears below.)
- e10.3 When a woman who has been made love to performs the purificatory bath, and the male's sperm afterwards leaves her vagina, then she must repeat the ghusl if two conditions
- (a) that she is not a child. but rather old enough to have sexual gratification (A: as it might otherwise be solely her husband:s sperm):
- (b) and that she was fulfilling her sexual urge with the lovemaking, not sleeping or forced.
- e10.4 Male sperm and female sexual fluid are recognised by fact that they:
 - (a) come in spurts (n: by contractions);
 - (b) with sexual gratification;
- (c) and when moist, smell like bread dough, and when dry, like egg-white.

When a substance from the genital orifice has any one of the above characteristics, then it is sperm or sexual fluid and makes the purificatory bath obligatory. When not even one of the above characteristics is present, it is sperm or sexual fluid. Being white or thick are not being yellow or thin are not necessary for it to be considered female sexual fluid.

- e10.5 The purificatory bath is not obligatory:
- (1) when there is an unlustful discharge of thin, sticky, white fluid (madhy) caused by amorous play or kissing;
- (2) or when there is a discharge of the thick, cloudy white fluid (wady) that exits after urinating (O: or carrying something heavy).
- e10.6 If one does not know whether one's discharge is sperm or whether it is madhy (def:(1) above), then one may either:
- (1) consider it sperm, and perform the purificatory bath (O: in which case washing the portions of clothes and so forth affected with it is not obligatory, a it is legally considered a pure substance):
- (2) or consider it madhy, and wash the affected portions of the body and clothes (N: which is
- obligatory, as it is legally considered filth), and perform ablution, though not the purificatory bath. The best course in such cases of uncertainity is to do all of the above(O: of bathing, washing the affected portions, and ablution, so as to take due precaution in one's worship).
- e10.7 All things unlawful for someone in minor ritual impurity (def: e8.1) are also unlawful for someone in a state of major ritual impurity (N: or menstruation). In addition, it is likewise unlawful for such a person:
- (2) or to recite any of the Koran, even part of a single verse, though it is permissible to use its

(1) to remain in a mosque:

invocations (dhikr) when the intention is not koran recital (O: such as saying in disasters, "Surely we are Allah's, and unto Him we will return," and the like). If one intends Koran recital, it is disobedience, but if one intends it primarily as invocation (dhikr), or as nothing in particular, it is permissible. It is permissible to pass through a mosque (A: though not to enter and leave by the same door (Ar. taraddud), which is unlawful) when one is in a state of major ritual impurity, but this is offensive when there is no need.

e11.0 HOW TO PERFORM THE PURIFICATORY BATH

- e11.1 When performing the purificatory bath, one:
- (1) begins by saying, "In the name of Allah, Most Merciful and Compassionate";
- (2) removes any unclean matter on the body (O: pure or impure);
- (3) performs ablution (wudu) as one does before the prayer;
- (4) pours water over the head three times, intending the purificatory bath, or to lift a state of major ritual impurity (janaba) or menstruation, or to be permitted to perform the prayer, and running the fingers through one's hair to saturate
- (5) and then pours water over the body's right side three times, then over the left side three times, ensuring that water reaches all joints and folds, and rubbing oneself.
- (6) If bathing after menstruation, a woman uses some musk to eliminate the afterscent of blood (O: by applying it to a piece of cotton and inserting it, after bathing, into the vagina as far as is obligatory (def: (b) below) for her to wash). (N: What is meant thereby is a substance that removes the traces of filth, by any means, and it is fine to use soap.) Two things (N: alone) are obligatory for the validity of the purificatory
- (a) having the intention (4 above) when water is first applied to the parts that must be washed;
- (b) and that water reaches all of the hair and skin (N: to the roots of the hair, under nails, and the outwardly visible portion of the ear canals, though unlike ablution the sequence of washing the parts is not obligatory), even under the foreskin of the uncircumcized man, and the private parts of the nonvirgin woman which are normally disclosed when she squats to relieve herself. (n: In the Hanafi school, rinsing out the mouth and nostrils (defL e5.7) is obligatory for the validity of the purificatory bath (al-Lubab fi sharh al-Kitab (y88) 1.14) It is religiously more precautionary for a Muslim never to omit it, and Allah knows best.)
- e11.2 If one begins the purificatory bath while on ablution (wudu) but nullifies it (def:e7) before finishing, one simply completes the bath (N: though one needs a new ablution before praying).
- e11.3 If there is filth (najasa) on the body, one washes it off by pouring water on it and then performs the purificatory bath, though washing oneself a single time suffices for both removing it and for the purificatory bath.
- e11.4 When a woman who is obliged to both lift a state of major ritual impurity (janaba) and purify after menstruation performs the purificatory bath for either of these, it suffices

Whoever performs the bath one time with the intention to (n: both) lift a state of major ritual

impurity and fulfill the sunna of the Friday prayer bath has performed both, though if he only intends one, his bath counts for that one but not the other.

- e11.5 The purificatory bath is sunna:
- (1) for those who want to attend the Friday prayer (def:f18) (O: the bath's time beginning at dawn);
- (2) on the two 'eids (f19) (O: the time for it beginning from the middle of the night):
 - (3) on days when the sun or moon eclipse;
 - (4) before the drought prayer (f21);
- (5) after washing the dead (O: and it is sunna to perform ablution (wudu) after touching a corpse);
- (6) after recovering one's sanity or regaining consciousness after having lost it;
- (7) (N: before) entering the state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram, def:j3), when entering Mecca, for

standing at 'Arafa (j8), for circummambulating the Kaaba (j5) and going between Safa and Marwa (j6), for entering Medina, at al-Mash'ar al-Haram (j9.2), and for each day of stoning at Mina (j10) on the three days following 'Eid al-

e12.0 DRY ABLUTION (TAYAMMUM)

(N: When unable to use water, dry ablution is a dispensation to perform the prayer or similar act

without lifting one's minor or major impurity, by the use of earth for one's ablution.)

- e12.1 Three conditions must be met for the legal validity of performing dry ablution.
- (a) The first is that it take place after the beginning of the prayer's time if it is for an obligatory or a nonobligatory one that has a particular time. The act of lifting earth to the face and arms (N: the first step of dry ablution) must take place during that time. If one performs dry ablution when unsure that the prayer's time has come, then one's dry ablution is

invalid, even if it coincides with the correct time (dis e6.2(A:)). If one performs dry ablution in midmorning for the purpose of making up a missed obligatory prayer, but the time for noon prayer comes before one has made up the missed obligatory prayer, then one may pray it (N: the noon prayer) with that dry ablution (N: because one did not perform dry ablution for a different prayer in that prayer's time, which clarifies why this does not violate the conditions of praying with dry ablution), or one could pray a different missed prayer with it (O: as one is not required to specify which obligatory prayer the dry ablution is for).

(b) The second condition is that dry ablution must be performed with plain, purifying earth that contains dust, even the dust contained in sand; though not pure sand devoid of dust; nor earth mixed with the likes of flour; nor gypsum pottery shards (O: which are not termed earth), or earth that has been previously used, meaning that which is already on the limbs or has been dusted off them.

(c) The third condition is inability to use water. The person unable to use water performs dry ablution, which suffices in place of lifting all forms of ritual impurity permitting the person in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba) or woman after her menstrual period to do everything that the purificatory bath (ghusl) permits them to do. If either of them subsequently has a minor ritual impurity (hadath), then only the things prohibited on minor impurity are unlawful for them (def:e8.1) (N: not those prohibited on major impurity (e10.7), that is, until they can again obtain water to life their state of major impurity, when they must, for the dry ablution is only a dispensation to pray and so forth while in states of impurity and is nullified by finding water).

e12.2 Inability to use water has (O: three) causes (n: lack of water, fear of thirst, and illness).

LACK OF WATER

e12.3 The first is lack of water. When one is sure there is none, one performs dry ablution without searching for it. If one thinks there might be some, one must look through one's effects and inquire until one has asked all of one's party or (N: if too numerous) there is no time left except for the prayer. One does not have to ask each person individually, but may simply call out, "Who has water, even for a price?" Then one looks around, if on level ground. If not level, one checks on foot within the range at which one's group could be expected to respond to a cry for help, provided there is no threat to life or property. Or one may climb a nearby hill. The search for water must occur after the particular prayer's time has come. When one checks, does not find water, performs dry ablution, (N: prays an obligatory prayer with it,) and remains at the place, one need not search again before performing dry ablution for another obligatory prayer (N: when the next prayer's time comes), provided one made sure there was no water the first time, and nothing has happened to change one's mind. But if one did not make sure, or if something has happened to suggest that there might now be water, like the appearance of rain clouds or riders, one is obliged to check again for water.

e12.5 When sure that one can obtain water by waiting until the last of a prayer's time, then it is better to wait. But if one thinks otherwise, then it is better to perform dry ablution (n: and pray) at the first of the time.

e12.6 (N: This entry's rulings apply equally to obtaining water for purification and to obtaining clothing to fulfill the prayer's condition of covering one's nakedness (def:f5).) If a person gives or loans one water, or loans one a bucket (O: when it is the sole means of the water) then one must accept it;though not if the person loans or gives one the price of these things (O: because of the burden of accepting charity that it involves. If one finds water or a bucket for sale at the usual price for that locality and time, then one is obliged to buy it, provided one's money is in excess of one's debts, even if they are not due until a future date; and provided one's money exceeds the amount required for the journey's expenses, round trip.

When someone has water he does not need but will not sell, one may not simply take it from him by force, except when compelled by thirst (N: provided the water's owner is not also suffering from thirst, and provided one pays him the normal price for it in that locality and time, because one's need does not eliminate another's rights).

e12.7 If one finds some water, but not enough to complete purification, one must use it as far as it will go, and then perform dry ablution in place of the rest. For minor ritual impurity, one uses the water on the face, then the arms, and so forth, in the usual ablution sequence. For major ritual impurity (janaba), one begins wherever one wishes, though it is recommended to start at the top of the body.

FEAR OF THIRST

e12.8 The second cause of inability to use water is fear of one's own thirst, or that of worthy companions and animals with one, even if in the future (O: worthy meaning those whose killing is unlawful, such as a trained hunting dog or

other useful animal, while unworthy includes non-Muslims at war with the Muslims, apostates from Islam (def:08), convicted married adulterers, pigs, and biting dogs). Ablution (N: as well as the purificatory bath (ghusl)) is unlawful in such a case. One should conserve one's water for oneself and others, and may perform dry ablution for prayer with no need to make up the prayer later (A: provided lack of water predominates in that place (dis:e12.19(N))).

ILLNESS

e12.9 The third cause is an ailment from which one fears (N: that performing a normal ablution or purificatory bath would cause):

- (1) harm to life or limb;
- (2) disability;
- (3) becoming seriously ill;
- (4) an increase in one's ailment;
- (5) a delay in recovering from one's illness;
- (6) considerable pain;

(7) or(n: a bad effect from the water such as) a radical change in one's skin color on a visible part of the body. One may depend on one's own knowledge (N: as to whether one of the above is to be apprehended) (O: if one is knowledgeable in medicine) (N: though it is not a condition that one be knowledgeable in medicine, for one's own previous experience may be sufficient to establish the probability that one of them will occur if a full ablution or bath (ghusl) is performed). Or one may depend on a physician whose information concerning it is acceptable (A: meaning one with skill in medicine whose word can be believed, even if he is not a Muslim).

e12.10 (n:Rulings e12, 11-13 below have been left in Arabic and deal with a person who has injuries that prevent a normal ablution or bath for one of the above reasons. Strictness on the question(azima) is to follow the Shafi'is, while dispensation (rukhsa) is to follow the Hanafi school ((2) below)

(1) The Shafi'i school is the hardest in this matter, insisting on a full ablution except for the injured part, where a full dry ablution must be performed at the proper point in the ablution sequence in place of washing the injured part, as at e12.11 below. If someone has a cast or dressing harmful to remove, as at e12.12, it must be first applied when one has ablution, and thereafter one must wipe it with water when one comes to it in the ablution sequence in addition to performing a complete dry ablution at that point. Finally, when someone with such a bandage on the members of dry ablution (the face or arms) recovers and has his cast or dressing removed, he is obliged to make up (repray) all the prayers he performed with such an ablution, as at e12.13(C):

(2) The Hanafi school requires someone with an injury who wants to pray to make a complete ablution (N: or bath, if needed). But if this would entail harm, such as one of the things mentioned above at e12.9. then when he comes to the injury in the ablution sequence, he is merely required to wipe it with wet hands so as to cover more than half of the injury. If this would also entail harm, or if he has a bandage that cannot be removed without harm or he cannot reapply the dressing by himself and has no one to help him to do so, then he simply wipes more than half the bandage when he comes to it in his ablution. He may pray with such an ablution and need not repeat the prayer later (al-Hadiyya al-'Ala'iyya (y4) (43-44). It is not necessary that he be free of minor or even major impurity (janaba) at the time the dressing is applied (al-Lubab fi sharh al-Kitab (y88), 1.41).

(3) (N: There is strong evidence for performing dry ablution (tayammum) in place of washing such an injury. To add it at the proper point of the ablution sequence as a precautionary measure (dis: c6.5) would not interfere with the validity of following the Hanafi position just discussed.)

e12.14 If it is cold that one fears an illness or one of the things previously mentioned(12.9) from the use of water and one lacks means of heating the water or warming one's limbs up afterwards, then one performs the dry ablution (N: prays), and repeats the prayer later.

e12.15 When one lacks both water and earth, one is obliged to pray the obligatory prayer by itself, and later make up the prayer when one again finds water or finds earth, if in a place where dry ablution suffices as purification for a prayer that need not be made up later (N: such as in the desert (dis:e12.19(N:))).

THE INTEGRALS OF DRY ABLUTION

e12,16 Dry ablution has seven obligatory integrals:

(a) the intention, one intending permission to perform the obligation of the prayer, or that which requires dry ablution (N: such as carrying the Koran when there is no water for ablution). It is inadequate to intend to lift a state of minor ritual impurity (dis:e5.3 90:)) or intend the obligation of dry ablution. If one is performing dry ablution for an obligatory prayer, one must intend its being obligatory, though need not specify whether, for example, it is for the noon prayer or the midafternoon prayer. If one were to intend it for the obligation of performing the noon prayer, one could (N: instead) pray the midafternoon prayer with it (N: though not

both, as at e12.20). If one intends a dry ablution for both an obligatory prayer and a nonobligatory prayer, then both may be prayed with that same dry ablution. But if one's intention is merely for a nonobligatory prayer, a funeral prayer (janzay), or simply prayer, then one may not pray an obligatory prayer with that dry ablution. If one intends an obligatory prayer, one may pray nonobligatory prayers only, or pray them before and after an obligatory prayer's time, or after the obligatory prayer's time has expired. The intention must occur when one conveys the earth (O:meaning when one first strikes the earth) and must continue until one wipes part of the face;

(b and c) that one's hands contact the earth and convey it (N: up to the face and arms, after having shaken the excess dust from one's hands);

(d and e) to wipe the face (N: not missing under the nose) and arms including the elbows;

(f) to do the above in the order mentioned;

(g) and that the dry ablution be performed by striking the earth twice, once for wiping the face, and a second time for wiping the arms. It is not obligatory to make the earth reach under the hair (N: of the arms and face).

THE SUNNAS OF DRY ABLUTION

e12.17 The sunnas of dry ablution are:

- (1) to say, "In the name of Allah, Most Merciful and Compassionate":
- (2) to wipe the upper face before the lower:
- (3) to wipe the right arm before the left;
- (4) and for wiping the arms, (N: holding the palms up.) to place the left hand crosswise under the right with left hand's fingers touching the backs of the fingers of the right hand, sliding the left hand up to the right wrist. Then, curling the fingers around the side of the right wrist, one slides the left hand to the right elbow, then turns the left palm so it rests on the top of the right forearm with its thumb pointed away from one before sliding it back down to the wrist, where one wipes the back of the right thumb with the inside of the left thumb. One then wipes the left arm in the same manner, followed by interlacing the fingers, rubbing the palms together, and then dusting the hands off lightly. (N: This method is not obligatory, but rather any way will suffice that wipes all of both arms.)
- e12.18 One separates the fingers when striking the earth each of the two times, and must remove one's ring for the second (N: before wiping the arms).

THINGS WHICH NULLIFY DRY ABLUTION

e12.19 Dry ablution is nullified by both the things which nullify ablution (def: e7) and by the mere belief that one can now obtain water when this belief occurs before one begins praying, such as by seeing a mirage or a troop of riders. This belief also nullifies dry ablution when it occurs during one's prayer if the prayer is one which must be later made up, like that of someone at home who performs dry ablution for lack of water (N: because if one performs dry ablution in a place where water is generally available during the whole year, it is obligatory to make up one's prayer, in view of the fact that the dry ablution has been performed for a rare excuse. The rule is that whoever performs the prayer without full ritual purity because of a rare excuse is obliged to make up his prayer, as when the water of a city or village is cut off for a brief period of time during which those praying perform dry ablution, while if one has performed it in a place where water is seldom available during the year, it is not obligatory to make up one's prayer, as when one performs dry ablution in the desert). But if not of those prayers that must be made up later, such as that of a (N: desert) traveller who has performed dry ablution, then it(N: the belief that one can now obtain

when it occurs during prayer) does not (N: nullify one's dry ablution) and one finishes the prayer, which is adequate, though it is recommended to interrupt it in order to begin again after one has performed ablution.

e12.20 One may not perform more than one obligatory prayer with one dry ablution, whether one of the prescribed obligatory prayers or one vowed (def: j18), though one may pray any number of nonobligatory prayers or funeral prayers with it

e13.0 THE MENSTRUAL PERIOD

e13.1 The minimal age for menstruation is about 9 full years. There is no maximal age for the end of it, as it is possible until death. The minimal mentrual period is a day and a night. It generally lasts 6 or 7 days. The maximal period is 15 days. The minimal interval of purity between two menstruations is 15 days. There is no maximal limit to the number of days between menstruations.

e13.2 Whenever a woman who is old enough notices her bleeding, even if pregnant, she must avoid what a woman in her period avoids (defL e13.4). If it ceases in less than 24 hours (lit. "the minimum"), then it is not considered menstruation and the woman must take up the prayers she has omitted during it. If it ceases at 24 hours, within 15 days, or

between the two, then it is menstruation. If it exceeds 15 days, then she is a woman with chronic vaginal discharge (dis:e13.6). Yellow or dusky colored discharge is considered menstrual flow. If a woman has times of intermittent bleeding and cessation during an interval of 15 days or less, and the times of bleeding collectively amount to at least 24 hours, then the entire interval, bleeding and nonbleeding, is considered menstruation.

- e13.3 Postnatal bleeding (nifas) lasts at least a moment, generally 40 days, and at most 60. If it exceeds this, the woman is considered to have chronic vaginal discharge (dis:e13.6)
- e13.4 All things unlawful for someone in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba) (dis:e10.7) are unlawful for a woman during her menstruation and postnatal bleeding. It is also unlawful for her to fast then, and the (N: obligatory) fastdays she misses must be made up later, though not missed prayers. It is unlawful for her:
- (1) to pass through a mosque when she thinks some of her blood might contaminate it (N: and it is unlawful for her to remain in the mosque under any circumstances (n: when menstruating or during postnatal bleeding)):
- (2) to make love, or take sexual enjoyment from what is between her navel and knees;
- (3) to be divorced;
- (4) or to perform purification with the intention to raise a state of ritual impurity. When her bleeding ceases, then fasting, divorce, purification, and passing through the mosque are no longer unlawful for her, though the other things remain unlawful for her until she performs the purificatory bath (ghusl, def:e11).
- e13.5 If a woman claims to be having her period, but her husband does not believe her, it is lawful for him to have sexual intercourse with her.
- e13.6 A woman with chronic vaginal discharge (N: preparing to pray) should wash her private parts, apply something absorbent to them and a dressing, and then perform ablution (N: with the intention discussed above at e5.3). She may not delay (N: commencing her prayer) after this except for reasons of preparing to pray such as clothing her nakedness, awaiting the call to prayer (adhan), or for a group to gather for the prayer. If she delays for other reasons, she must repeat the purification. She is obliged to wash her private parts, apply a dressing, and perform ablution before each obligatory prayer (N: though she is entitled, like those mentioned below, to perform as many nonobligatory prayers as she wishes, carry and read the Koran, etc. until the next prayer's time comes (n. or until her ablution is broken for a different reason), when she must renew the above measures and her ablution).
- e13.7 People unable to hold back intermittent drops of urine coming from them must take the same measures (def: above) that a woman with chronic vaginal discharge does. (N: And likewise for anyone in a state of chronic annulment of ablution, such as continually breaking wind, excrement, or madhy (def:e10.5) though washing and applying an absorbent dressing are only obligatory when filth exits.) (A: If a person knows that drops of urine will not stop until the time for the next prayer comes, then he takes the above measures and performs the prayer at the first of its time.)

e14.0 FILTH (NAJASA)

- e14.1 Filth means:
- (1) urine
- (2) excrement; (3) blood;
- (4) pus;
- (5) vomit:
- (6) wine:
- (7) any liquid intoxicant (n: including, for the Shafi'i school, anything containing alcohol such as Eau de Cologne and other cosmetics, though some major Hanafi scholars of this century, including Mohammed Bakhit al-Muti'i Egypt and Badr al-Din al-Hasani of Damascus, have given formal legal opinions that they are pure (tahir) because they are not produced or intended as intoxicants.(N: Other scholars hold they are not pure, but their use is excusable to the extent strictly demanded by necessity.) While it is religiously more precautionary to treat them as filth, the dispensation exists when there is need, such as for postoperative patients who are unable for some time after their surgery to wash away the alcohol used to sterilise sutures. And Allah knows best.) (N: As for solid intoxicants, they are not filth, though they are unlawful to take,eat, or drink);
 - (8) dogs and pigs, or their offspring;
- (9) wady and madhy (def:e10.5); (10) slaughtered animals that (N: even when slaughtered) may not be eaten by Muslims (def:16);
- (11) unslaughtered dead animals other than aquatic life locusts, or humans (A: which are all pure, even when dead, though amphibious life is not considered aquatic and filth
- (12) the milk of animals (other than human) that may not be eaten:

- (13) the hair of unslaughtered dead animals:
- (14) and the hair of animals (other than human) that may not be eaten, when separated from them during their life (N: or after their death. As for before it is separated from them, the hair is the same as the particular animal, and all animals are pure during their life except dogs and swine). (n: In the Hanafi school, the hair of an unslaughtered dead animal (other than swine), its bones, nails (hoofs), horns, rennet and all parts unimbued with life while it was alive (A: including its ivory) are pure (tahir). That which is separated from a living animal is considered as if from the unslaughtered dead of that animal (Hashiya radd al-muhtar ala al-Durr almukhtar sharh Tanwir al-absar(y47, 1.206-7).)
- 14.2 Rennet (n: a solidifying substance used in cheese-making) is pure if taken from a slaughtered (def:j17) suckling lamb or kid that has eaten nothing except milk.
- 14.3 That which comes from the mouth of a sleeping person is impure if from the stomach, but pure if from the saliva ducts. e14.5 The following are pure:
- (1) seminal fluid that has reached the stages of gestation in the womb, becoming like a bloodclot and then becoming flesh; (2) the moisture (N: mucus) of a woman's private parts (O:
- as long as it remains inside the area that need not be washed in the purificatory bath (def: e11.1(b). end) though if it exit, it is
 - (3) the eggs of anything;
- (4) the milk, fur, wool, or feathers of all animals that may be eaten, provided they are separated from
- the animal while living or after properly slaughtered: (5) human milk, male sperm, and female sexual fluid
- (def:e10.4).
- e14.6 No form of filth can become pure, except:
- (1) wine that becomes vinegar;
- (2) the hide of an unslaughtered dead animal that is tanned: (3) new animate life that comes from filth (O:such as worms
- that grow in carrion);
- (4) (n: and for the Hanafis, filth which is transformed [molecularly changed] into a new substance, such as a pig becoming soap, etc. (al-Hadoyya al-Ala'iyya (y), 54)). Wine that becomes vinegar without anything having been introduced into it is pure, as are the sides of the container it touched when it splashed or boiled. But if anything was introduced into the wine before it became vinegar, then turning to vinegar does not purify it. (A: In the Hanafi school it is considered pure whether or not anything has been introduced into it.) Tanning means removing from a hide all excess blood, fat, hair and so forthby using an acrid substance, even if impure. Other measures such as using salt, earth, or sunlight, are insufficient. Water need not be used while tanning, though the resultant hide is considered like a garment affected with filth, in that it must be washed with purifying water before it is considered pure. Hides of dogs or swine cannot be purified by tanning. Any hair that remains after tanning has not been made pure, though a little is excusable.
- Something e14.7 that becomes impure contact.(def:below) with something from dogs or swine does not become pure except by being washed seven times, one of which (recommended not to be the last) must be with purifying earth (def: e12.1 (b)) mixed with purifying water, and it must reach all of the affected area. One may not substitute something else like soap or glasswort in place of earth. (n: The contact referred to is restricted, in the Shafi'i school, to contamination by traces of moisture from dogs or swine, whether saliva, urine, anything moist from them, or any of their dry parts that have become moist (Mughni almuhtaj ila ma'rifa alfaz al- Minhaj (y73), 1.83). (A: If something dry such as the animal's breath or hair touches one's person, it need only be brushed away.) In the Maliki school, every living animal is physically pure, even dogs and swine (al-Figh 'ala al-madhahib al-arba'a (y66), 1.11) (A: and they consider the above sevenfold washing as merely a sunna). While more precautionary

to follow the Shafi'i school, the dispensation exists for those who have difficulty in preventing contamination from dogs, provided their prayer with its prerequisites is considered valid in the Maliki school (dis:c6.4(end) and w14.1(6)). And Allah knows best.)

e14.8 NO TRANSLATION!

e14.9 The urine of a baby boy who has fed on nothing but human milk can be purified from clothers by sprinkling enough water on the spot to wet most of it, though it need not flow over it. The urine of a baby girl must be washed away as an adult's is.

WASHING AWAY FILTH

e14.10 As for kinds of filth that are "without substance" (N: i.e. without discernible characteristic (najasa hukmiyya) such as a drop of dry urine on a garment that cannot be seen), it is sufficient (N: to purify it) that water flow over it. But if it is a substance (N: with discernible characteristic (najasa 'ayniyya)). it is obligatory to remove all taste of it, even if difficult, and to remove both color and odor if not difficult. If the odor alone is difficult to remove, or the color alone, then

the fact that one of these two remains does not affect a spot's purity, though if both the odor and color of the filth remain in the spot, it is not considered pure.

e14.11 When using less than 216 litres of water to purify a spot affected by filth, it is obligatory that the water flow over it (N: and it may not be simply immersed in the water (dis: e1.15), though this would be permissible with more than 216 litres), but is not obligatory to wring it out. After one purifies it is recommended to wash it a second and third time.

e14.12 When the ground (A: or floor, or carpet) is affected with liquid filth (A: like wine or urine), it is enough to drench the place with water and is not necessary that the filth sink into the ground. If the effects of sun, fire, or wind remove the traces of the filth, the ground is still not pure until one drenches it with water.

e14.13 Liquids other than water, such as vinegar or milk, cannot be purified after they become affected with filth. But if a solid is affected, such as shortening, one discards the filth that fell into it and the shortening around it, and the remainder is pure.

e14.14 Water used to wash away filth is impure when:

- (1) it changes (def: e1.17):
- (2) its weight increases;
- (3) (O: or if neither of the above have occurred, but some trace (N: i.e. an inexcusable amount (def: e14.10, second par)) of filth remains on the place to be purified);

-but if none of the above occurs, then it is not impure (O: i.e then the water is pure but not purifying to other things); though if it amounts to (N: or is added to until it amounts to) 216 or more liters (dis el.16), then it is purifying. If less, it is considered the same as the spot it washed: if the spot is pure (N: i.e an inexcusable trace does not remain) then the water is pure, but if the spot is still impure, then the water is impure.

e14.15 (n: the Hanafi school, if a garment's damp spot of filth, whose quantity is too slight to wring out any drops, touches another dry, pure garment, the latter does not become impure (Maraqi al-falah sharh Nur al-idah(y126),

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F1.0 WHO MUST PRAY

- (O: The legal basis for the prayer, prior to scholarly consensus, is Koranic verses such as the word of Allah Most High,"And perform the prayer" (Koran 2:43), and hadiths such as the word of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace): "On the night I was taken from Mecca to Jerusalem [dis: Koran 17:1], Allah imposed fifty obligatory prayers upon my community. So I kept petitioning Him in the matter, asking they be lightened, until He made them but five each day and night." a hadith related by Bukhari, Muslim, and others.)
- f1.1 The prayer is only obligatory for Muslims who have reached puberty, are sane, and in purity (O: meaning not during menstruation or postnatal bleeding). Those who lose their reason through insanity or illness do not have to make up the prayers they miss while in this state, and nor do converts to Islam (N: make up prayers form before their Islam). An apostate from Islam (murtadd, def:o8) who then returns must make up every prayer missed. (n: w18 discusses why making up prayers missed without excuse is obligatory.)
- f1.2 When a child with discrimination (O: meaning he can eat, drink, and clean himself after using the toilet unassisted) is seven years of age, he is ordered to perform the prayer, and when ten, is beaten for neglecting it (N: not severely, but so as to discipline the child, and not more than three blows).
- f1.3 Someone raised among Muslims who denies the obligatoriness of the prayer, zakat, fasting Ramadan, the pilgrimage, or the unlawfulness of wine and adultery, or denies something else upon which there is scholarly consensus (ijma, def:b7) and which is necessarily known as being of the religion (N: necessarily known meaning things that any Muslim would know about if asked) thereby becomes an unbeliever (kafir0 and is executed for his unbelief (O: if he does not admit he is mistaken and acknowledge the Obligatoriness or unlawfulness of that which there is scholarly consensus upon. As for if he denies the obligatoriness of something there is not consensus upon, then he is not adjudged an unbeliever).
- f1.4 A Muslim who holds the prayer to be obligatory but through lack of concern neglects to perform it until its proper time is over has not committed unbelief (dis: w18.2). Rather, he is executed, washed, prayed over, and buried in the Muslim's cemetery (O: as he is one of them. It is recommended, but not obligatory, that he be asked to repent (N: and if he does, he is not executed)).
- f1.5 No one has an excuse to delay the prayer beyond its time except:
- (1) someone asleep (N: when its time first came who remained so until the time ended);
- (2) someone who forgot it;
- (3) or someone who delayed it to combine two prayer during a journey (dis:f15.12).
- f2.0 PRAYER TIMES AND MAKING UP MISSED PRAYERS PRAYER TIMES
- f2.1 The prescribed prayers are five:
- (1) The time for the noon prayer (zuhr) begins after the sun's zenith for that day, and ends when an object's shadow, minus the length of its shadow at the time of the sun's zenith, equals the object's height.
- (2) The time for the midafternoon prayer (asr) begins at the end of the noon prayer's time, and ends at sunset, though when an object's shadow (N: minus the length of its shadow at the sun's zenith) is twice as long as the object's height, the preferred time is over and the merely permissible time remains.
- (3) The time for the sunset prayer (maghrib) begins when the sun has completely set. It only;y lasts long enough to perform ablution (wudu), clothe one's nakedness, make the call to prayer (adhan) and call to commence (iqama) and to pray five moderate length rak'as (units) of prayer. It is a sin to delay commencing the sunset prayer beyond this, and if one

does, one is making up a missed prayer (O: i.e., according to the position the author has adopted, which contradicts the more reliable opinion that one's prayer is not a makeup until after the red has disappeared from the sky), though if one begins it within the right time, one may continue until the red disappears from the sky.

- (4) The time for the nightfall prayer (isha) begins when the red of sunset leaves the sky, and ends at true dawn (n:true dawn being when the sky around the horizon begins to grow light. Before this, a dim light sometimes appears overhead for some minutes followed by darkness, and is termed the deceptive dawn (al-kadhib) (Al-Iqna' fi hall alfaz Abi Shuja' (y7), 1.95). But after a third of the night has passed, the preferred time for nightfall prayer has ended and the merely permissible remains.
- (5) And the time for the dawn prayer (subh) begins at true dawn and ends at sunrise, though the preferred time for it ends when it becomes light outside, after which the merely permissible remains. (n: Prayer times vary a little each day with the season and the year, and from one town to another through the effects of latitude and longitude. One can keep abreast of the changes by obtaining the whole year's times in a printed calendar from one's local Muslim association or mosque, or by using the pocket computer mentioned below at w19, which discusses how one fasts and prays at northerly latitudes (including much of North America and Europe during teh summer months) lacking the features that legally define the true prayer and fasting times, such as nightfall or true dawn.)
- f2.2 it is best to pray every prayer at the first of its time, taking the necessary steps at its outset, such as purification, clothing one's nakedness, giving the call to prayer (adhan and call to commence (iqama), and then praying.
- f2.3 If less than one rak'a of one's prayer occurs within the proper time (A: meaning that one does not life one's head from the second prostration of the rak'a before the time ends) and the remainder takes place after it, then the whole prayer is considered a make-up. If one rak'a or more takes place within the prayer's time and the remainder is after it, then the prayer is considered a current performance, though it is unlawful to intentionally delay the prayer until part of it occurs after the time is finished.
- f2.5 It is permissible to relay (N: for knowledge that a prayer's time has come) on a knowledgeable, dependable muezzin (caller to prayer). If one lacks someone to inform one of the time, then one may reason on the basis of reciting a scheduled period of invocation or Koran recital (Ar.wird)(n:referring to those whose wirds normally take the whole time between two prescribed prayers such that when they finish, they know the time for the second prayer has come. The legal basis of wirds is discussed at w20), and the like (N:including modern clocks, and prayer time calendars issued by experts on the times in various localities.

MAKING UP MISSED PRAYERS

- f2.6 When enough of a prayer's time has elapsed to have performed the prayer during it and someone who has not yet prayed loses their reason or their menstrual period begins they are obligated to make up that missed prayer (O: as soon as they are able).
- 12.7 Whenever a prescribed prayer is missed for a valid reason (def:f1.5). it is recommended to make it up immediately. If missed without a valid reason, it is obligatory to make it up (dis: w18) immediately (A: meaning during all one's time that is not occupied by necessities, In the Shafi'i school, it is not even permissible for such a person to perform sunna prayers(N:before having finished making up the missed ones). The same applies to making up missed obligatory fasts (N: by fasting a day in place of each day missed), and it is unlawful to delay doing so until the following Ramadan(dis:11.33).
- f2.8 It is recommended that missed prayers be made up in the order they were missed. (n:The call to prayer (adhan) and call to commence (iqama) when making up missed prayers are discussed at f3.5, and whether to recite prayers aloud or to oneself at f8.25.)
- f2.9 It is recommended to make up missed prescribed prayers before performing the current one, unless one fears its time will pass, in which case it is obligatory to pray the current one first. If one begins making up a missed prayer thinking that there will be time for both it and the current prescribed prayer, but finds that there is only enough time left for the latter, then one must discontinue the make-up in order to perform the current one.
- f2.10 If one has a prayer to make up and finds the current prayer being performed by a group, it is recommended to perform the make-up by oneself before praying the current
- f2.11 If one misses one or more of the five prayers but does not remember which of them it was, then one must pray all five, intending for each one making up the missed prayer.
- f2.12 (n:If someone finds he has been consistently mistaken day after day in praying, for example, the dawn prayer(subh) before its time, or some similar timing error, then each prayer

performed after the first day of the whole series of prayers thus mistakenly prayed is considered the make-up of the day before it, and when such a person discovers the error, he has only one prayer to make up, namely the one on the last day prior to learning of the mistake (Mughni al-muhtajila ma'rifa ma'ani alfaz al-Minhaj(y73), 1.127).)

f3.0 THE CALL TO PRAYER (ADHAN) AND CALL TO COMMENCE (IQAMA)

- f3.1 The call to prayer (adhan) and call to commence (iqama) are two sunnas for the prescribed prayers, even when praying alone or in the second group to pray (N: in a mosque, for example), such that there is public congnizance (O: of both the call to prayer and to commence, whether in a large or small town).
- f3.2 To give the call to prayer (adhan) is better than being the imam for a group prayer (O: though to be imam is superior to giving the call to commence(iqama)).
- f3.3 When praying alone in a mosque where a group has already prayed, one does not raise one's voice in giving the call to prayer, though if no group has yet prayed, one raises it. The same applies to a second group to pray: they do not raise their voice.
- f3.4 It is sunna for a group of women who are praying together to give the call to commence without giving the call to prayer.
- f3.5 When making up one or more missed prescribed prayers, one gives the call to prayer only for the first (N: in the series), but gives the call to commence for each one.
- f3.6 The words of the call to prayer and call to commence are well known.
- (n: The words of the call to prayer mean: "Allah is greatest, Allah is greatest. Allah is greatest. Allah is greatest. I testify there is no god but Allah. I testify there is no god but Allah. I testify that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah. I testify that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah. Come to the prayer. Come to success. Come to success. [n: At this point, before the dawn prayer only, one adds: "Prayer is better than sleep. Prayer is better than sleep. Prayer is better than sleep. Prayer is no god but Allah." The words of the call to commence mean: "Allah is greatest. Allah is greatest. I testify there is no god but Allah. I testify that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah. Come to the prayer. Come to success. The prayer is commencing. The prayer is commencing. Allah is greatest, Allah is greatest. There is no god but Allah.")
- G3.7 Each word (N: of both of them) must be recited in the order mentioned above. If one remains silent for long or speaks at length between the words of the call to prayer (O: or call to commence), it is not valid and must be begun again, though a short remark or silence while calling it does not invalidate it. When giving the call to prayer or call to commence by oneself, the minimal auditbility permissible is that one can hear oneself. The minimum when calling them for a group is that all their contents can be heard at least one other person.
- f3.8 It is not valid to give the call to prayer before a prayer's time has come, except for the dawn prayer, when it is permissible to give the call to prayer from the middle of the night onwards (N: as is done in Mecca and Medina).
- f3.9 When giving the call to prayer and call to commence, it is recommended to have ablution (wudu), stand, face the direction of prayer, and to turn the head(not the chest or feet) to the right when saying, "Come to the prayer," and to the left when saying, "Come to success." It is offensive to give the call to prayer while in a state of minor ritual impurity (hadath), more offensive to do so in a state of major ritual impurity(janaba), and even worse to give the call to commence(iqama) while in either of these two states. It is recommended:
- (1) to give the call to prayer from a high place near the mosque;
- (2) to put one's fingertips in one's ears while calling it;
- (3) to take one's time in giving the call to prayer (A: pausing for an interval after each sentence equal to the sentence's length) (O: except for repetitions of "Allah is Greatest," which are said in pairs);
- (4) and to give the call to commence rapidly, without pause. f3.10 It is obligatory for the muezzin (O: or person giving the call to commence):
- (a) to be Muslim;
- (b) to have reached the age of discrimination (def:f1.2);
- (c) to be sane;
- (d) and if calling for a men's group prayer, to be male. It is recommended that he be upright (def:o24.4) and have a strong, pleasant voice. It is offensive for a blind person to give the call to prayer unless a sighted person is with him (O: to tell him when the time has come).
- f3.11 When one hears the call to prayer (N: or call to commence), it is recommended to repeat each phrase after the muezzin, even if in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba), during menstruation, or when reciting impurity (janaba), during menstruation, or when reciting the Koran (N: and a

fortiori when reading or reciting something else). One does not repeat the phrases "Come to the prayer" or "Come to success," but rather says after them, "There is no power or strength except through Allah." And at the call to prayer at dawn, one does not repeat "Prayer is better than sleep,"but instead says, "You have spoken the truth, and piously." When the person giving the call to commence says, "The prayer is commencing," one replies," May Allah establish it and make it endure as long as the heavens and earth, and make me one of the righteous of its folk." If one hears it while making love, going to the lavatory, or performing the prayer, one says the words when finished

f3.12 It is recommended for the muezzin, after he finishes, and those hearing him to bless the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace). (A: It is unobjectionable in the Shafi'i school for the muezzin to do so as loudly as the call to prayer.) Then one adds, "O Allah, Lord of this comprehensive invitation and enduring prayer, grant our liegelord Mohammed a place near to You, an excellence and exalted degree, and bestow on him the praiseworthy station that You have promised him.

f4.0 PURITY OF BODY, CLOTHES, AND PLACE OF

f4.1 It is a necessary condition (shart) for the validity of prayer that one have purity (N: absence of filth (najasa, def:e14.1)) in:

(a) body:

(b) clothing, whether or not it moves with the person (N:who is praying);

(c) anything that touches the body or clothing (O: though if one's chest overhangs something impure while prostrating without touching it, this does not hurt);

(d) and the place on which one is standing during the prayer. f4.2 One's prayer is invalid if one is holding the end of a rope connected with something impure. One's prayer is valid if performed on the pure portion of a rug which is affected with some filth (N: on another part)or on a bed whose legs rest on something impure, even if the rug or bed moves when one's own portion moves. (N: The rule illustrated by these examples is that it is not permissible for the person praying to support or carry something affected by filth, but is persmissible for him to be supported by it, provided he is not in direct contract with the filth.)

f4.3 Impure substances (najasa) other than blood (dis:below) that are indiscernible by (A:average) vision are excusable, though if visually discernible, they are inexcusable. (A: That which is seen by a normal look is not excusable, while that which can only be seen by minute scrutiny is excusable.)

f4.4 As for blood or pus, if it is from another, (O: human or otherwise,) then only a little (def:below) is excusable, though if from the person praying, it is excusable whether much or little regardless if from a squeezed pimple, a boil, a sore, being bled, cupped, or something else.

f4.5 (N: In rulings of Sacred Law, the application of key descriptive terms like little, much, near, far, briefly, at length and so forth, is governed by the concept of common acknowledgement ('urf). To know whether something is little or much, which could be stipulations in a particular ruling, we stop to reflect whether it is commonly acknowledged as such, namely, whether most people would describe it as such when speaking about it. Common acknowledgement also takes into consideration what is normal or expected under the circumstances. For example, a few drops of animal blood on the clothes of a butcher would be little, while the same amount on the clothes of student would be much.)

f4.7 If one prays with (N: an inexcusable amount of) something impure (N: on one's person, place, or clothes) that one did not know of or forgot, and notices it after finishing, one must repeat the prayer, It invalidates the prayer if noticed

f4.8 If one gets some mud on oneself from the street and but is not certain it contains, filth, then it is is considered pure (N: the rule being that the initial presumption for all things is that they are pure, as long as their impurity has not been decisively established).

f4.9 Someone unable to remove filth from his person or who is being held in an impure place must pray and later make up the prayer when capable of purity. (N: When being held in an impure place,) one bows the head as close to the ground as possible without actually contacting the filth, which is unlawful to place the forehead upon.

f4.10 If one loses track of a spot of filth on a garment, then, all of it must be washed without trying to decide where the spot might be, though if someone reliable knows where it is and informs one, one may accept this.

f4.11 If a spot of filth is on one of two garments (N: one of which the person wants to pray in) and the person is not sure which then he may reason and choose the one he believes is pure (N: to pray in), regardless of whether another pure one is available or whether he can wash one to use.(N: But it is not obligatory to try to decide which is pure. Rather, he may wash one, or both, and pray in them, or pray in some other garment.) If one washes the garment believed to have filth on it, then one may pray wearing both garments, or pray in each garment alone, though if one makes no attempt to decide which garment is impure, but rather performs a prayer in each one separately, then neither prayer is valid.

f4.12 If one loses track of its location on a small plot of ground in open country, one may pray wherever one wishes. But if one loses track of the location of filth on the ground or in a room (bayt, lit. "house," meaning a one-room dwelling), then all the ground or floor must be washed (def:e14.12) before one may pray on any of it.

f4.14 It is offensive to pray:

- (1) in a bathhouse or its outer room where clothes are removed:
 - (2) in the middle of a path:
- (3) at a rubbish dump:
- (4) at a slaughterhouse;
- (5) in a church;
- (6) in places where taxes (dis: p32) are gathered or taken;
- (7) in places likely to be contaminated by wine;
- (8) on top of the Kaaba;
- (9) or towards a tomb(dis:w21)

f4.15 Prayer is unlawful in a garment or on land wrongfully taken, being legally valid (dis:c5.2), but without

f5.0 CLOTHING ONE'S NAKEDNESS

f5.1 Clothing one's nakedness (O: from the eyes of men as well as jinn (def:w22) and angels, for these too see people in this world) is obligatory, by scholarly consensus (ijma,b7), even when alone, except when there is need to undress. (O: Zarkashi states (A: and it is the authoritative position for the school) that the nakedness it is obligatory to clothe when alone consists solely of the front and rear private parts for, men, and of that which is between the navel and the knees for women.)

f5.2 Clothing one's nakedness is a necessary condition for the validity of the prayer (O: when one is able). Seeing a hole in one's clothes after a prayer is like seeing a spot of filth (n; meaning the prayer must be repeated, as at f4.7, unless one covers the hole immediately, as below at f5.5).

f5.3 The nakedness of a man (O: man meaning the counterpart of the female, including young boys, even if not yet of the age of discrimination) consists of the area between the navel and knees. The nakedness of a woman (O: even if a young girl) consists of the whole body except the face and hands. (N: The nakedness of woman is that which invalidates the prayer if exposed (dis:w23). As for looking at women, it is not permissible to look at any part of a woman who is neither a member of one's unmarriageable kin (mahram, def:m6.1) nor one's wife, as is discussed below in the book of marriage

f5.4 It is a necessary condition that one's clothing:

(a) prevent the colour of the skin form being perceptible (n:Nawawi notes, "A thin garment beneath which the blackness or whiteness of the skin may be seen is not sufficient nor a garment of thick, gauze like fabric through which part of the nakedness appears" (al-Majmu'(y108),3.170));

(b) enclose the body as a garment, for a prayer, performed without clothes in a small tent would not be valid;

(c) and conceal the nakedness from view on all sides and above, though it need not do so from below.

f5.5 One's prayer is valid when there is a tear through which one,s nakedness shows that one covers with one's hand (A: immediately, i.e. one must do so before enough time passes to say "Subhan Allah") (O: that is, one must cover it with one's hand when not prostrating, at which point not covering it is excusable)

f5.6 It is recommended for a woman to wear a covering over her head (khimar), a full length shift, and a heavy slip under it that doesn't cling to the body. (O: She should not wrap it so tightly about herself that it hinders standing, sitting, and other postures connected with the actions of prayer. She is recommended to pray in three garments even though the headcover and shift lone are sufficient as a covering.)

f5.7 It is recommended for a man to pray in his best clothes, and to wear an ankle-length shirt and a turban (O: and a shawl over head and shoulders, a mantle, and a wraparound or loose drawers (N: under the ankle-length shirt)). If the does not wear all of these, it is desirable to wear two, namely the anklelength shirt with either the mantle, the wraparound, or the loose drawers

f5.8 If only wearing enough to clothe one's nakedness, one's prayer is valid, though it is recommended to place something on one's shoulders even if only a piece of rope. If one does not have clothes but is able to conceal part of one's nakedness, one must cover the front and rear private parts. If only one of these two can be covered, it must be the front. If one has no clothes at all, then one performs the prayer without clothes and need not make it up later

f6.0 FACING THE DIRECTION OF PRAYER (QIBLA)

f6.1 Facing the direction of prayer (QIBLA) is a necessary condition for the prayer's validity, with the sole exceptions of praying in extreme peril (dis:f16.5) and nonobligatory

prayers performed while travelling.

f6.2 (N: The rulings below deal with nonobligatory prayers, not the five prescribed ones, which must be performed while facing the proper direction for prayer(qibla) whether one is riding in a vehicle or not (dis:w24).) A traveller may perform nonobligatory prayers riding or walking, even on short trips. When riding and able to face the direction of prayer, prostrate, and bow, as when on a ship, one is obligated to. If not able, the one is only required to face the direction of prayer, during the first Allahu Akbar of the prayer, provided this is not difficult, as when one's mount is stationary or when one can turn oneself or one's mount the proper direction. If it is difficult, as one's mount is not properly saddle broken, or if the reins are not in one's hands, as when riding in a pack train with each animal tied to the one ahead of it, then it is not obligatory to face the direction of prayer at any point of the prayer's performance, and one merely nods in the direction of travel instead of bowing and prostrating. One's nod for prostration must be deeper than the nod for bowing. One does not have to bow to the limit of one's capacity, nor bow the forehead until it touches the mount's back, though this is permissible if oneself, though this is permissible if one trouble oneself to do so. When praying while walking, one must stop to bow and prostrate on the ground (O: if easy, though if walking in mud, water, or snow, one may simply nod), and may walk during the rest of the prayer, though it is obligatory to face the direction of prayer during the first Allah Akhar and at each bowing and prostration. Such prayers (O: whether riding or walking) are only valid on condition.

(a) that one's journey continue for the prayer's duration;

(b) and that one not turn from the direction of travel towards anything but the direction of prayer. If one reaches home while thus praying, or the destination, or a town where one intends to stay, then one must face the direction of prayer, and bow and prostrate on the ground or on one's mount if stopped.

f6.3 When at the Kaaba, one must pray directly towards the Kaaba itself. One's prayer is invalid if one merely faces the semicircular wall (N:Hiir Isma'il) that is to one side of it, or directs any part of the body outside the outline of the Kaaba. unless one is standing at the end of a long row of people praying at the periphery of al Masjid al-Haram(n:the mosque of the Kaaba), a row which, if the people in it were to advance, some of them would be facing outside the Kaaba's outline. To pray in such a row is valid for everyone in it.

f6.5 For knowledge of the proper direction it is obligatory to rely to rely on the prayer niche (mihrab) of mosque in a city or village through which many people pass. At every place the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) faced to pray and established where he stood, it is obligatory to pray facing as he did, without reconsidering the direction of prayer or turning right or left, though in other places one may use personal reasoning as to whether to turn right or left.

f6.6 If one does not find an informant to tell one of the proper direction of prayer by having seen the Kaaba in that direction, then one employs personal reasoning, using other evidence. (n: To establish the direction of prayer in cities far from Mecca one may use a world globe and a piece of string, since in North America, Australia, and other regions, using a flat world map will yield the woring direction because of the curvature of the earth, and the error factor is often considerable. One puts the end of the string on the position of Mecca on the globe, the other end on one's own city, and pulls the string taut, observing the bearing of the string and drawing a line in the same direction on a local map, which can be oriented with a compass and used to indicate the proper direction to pray.) If one does not know how to use other evidence, (O: and it is a communal obligation (def:c3.2) for someone to know,) or one is blind, then one follows another (O:reliable sighted person acquainted with the evidence)

f6.7 If, after praying one becomes certain one was mistaken, then the prayer must be repeated.

(n:In the Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali schools, the criterion for facing the direction of prayer is merely that some portion of the person's face be directed towards the Kaaba (al-Figh 'ala al-madhahib alarba'a (y66), 1.195). (A: This takes in 180 degrees, from far left to far right, such that when the Kaaba's anywhere between, one is considered to be facing the direction of prayer .)

f7.0 PLACING A BARRIER IN FRONT OF ONE'S PRAYER PLACE

f7.1 It is recommended to put a barrier at least 32 cm, high in front of oneself when performing the prayer, or to spread out a mat, or if one cannot, to draw a line (N:on the ground, straight out, perpendicular to one's chest) about a metre and a half (O: or less) in front of one. It is then unlawful for a anyone to pass (O: between the person praying and such a barrier, even when there is no other way to pass (dis:p75.27)). If someone tries to pass between oneself and the barrier, it is recommended to gently him back. If he persists, one may push him back as hard as necessary, as one would an attacker (def:

- 07.3). Where he to die as a result, one would not be subject to retaliation (03)or have to pay an indemnity (04) to his kin.
- f7.2 If there is no barrier, or if the person praying is farther than a meter and a half from it, then passing in front of him is merely offensive, and the person praying is not entitled to push him.
- f7.3 (A: Passing in front of a person without a barrier, in a mosque for example, is limited to the length of his prostration, and it is not Unlawful or offensive to pass in front of him when farther than that.)
- f7.4 When one notices a gap in row of people performing a group prayer, one is entitled to pass in front of others to fill it.

f8.0 DESCRIPTION OF THE PRAYER

f8.1 (n:Special vocabulary:

Allahu Akbar: Allah is greatest. Ameen: a one-word supplication meaning "Answer our prayer." as-Salamu 'alaykum: Peace be upon you. Fatiha: the opening sura of the Koran. Follower: someone praying in group behind an imam. Integral (ruku): one of the legally essential elements found within an action that compose it. Imam: someone leading a group prayer. Rak'a: one complete cycle of the words and actions of the prayer. Sura: a chapter of the Koran. Ta'awwudh: to say in Arabic, "I take refuge in Allah from the accursed Devil.")

MEASURES RECOMMENDED BEFORE PRAYER

f8.2 It is recommended:

- (1) to stand for the prayer after the end of the call to commence (iqama);
- (2) to be in the first row;
- (3) to make the rows straight, especially if one is the imam (O: when one should order the group to do so);
- (4) and to fill up the first row first, then the second, and so on (0: meaning there should not be a second row when the first one is not full (A: as to pray in such a second row is the same as not praying with a group, and is rewarded as if one had prayed alone), nor gaps within one row, nor a distance in excess of a meter and a half between rows). It is superior to stand on the imam's right (A: though the sunna is for the imam to be in the middle) (N: and if one arrives at a group prayer in which the row extends to the right, one's rewards is greater for standing on the left, since one is performing the sunna)

THE INTENTION

f8.3 Then one makes the intention with one's heart.

If it for an obligatory prayer, one must intend performing the prayer, and that it is obligatory, and know which one it is. such as the noon. midafternoon, or Friday prayer. The intention must coincide with one's first Allahu Akbar, obligatory existing in the mind and recommended to be uttered with the tongue (N: before the first Allahu Akbar) as well. One intends it from the first of the phrase " Allahu akbar" to the last of it. It is not obligatory to specify the number of rak'as or that it is for Allah Most High, or whether it is a current performance or a makeup prayer, though specifying these is recommended. (A: some scholars hold that the mere determination to perform a particular prayer existing in the mind before hand is sufficient. Such an intention could be expressed, for example, by walking to the mosque after hearing the call to the noon prayer (dis: w25).) If the intention is for a nonobligatory prayer that has a particular time, one must intend which one it is, such as for Eid, the eclipse prayer, assuming the state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram), the sunna prayers before and after the noon prayer, and so forth. If it is for a nonobligatory prayer that is wholly supererogatory, unconnected with a particular time, one may simply intend to perform prayer.

- f8.5 It immediately invalidates one's prayer:
- (1) to cease to intend praying;
- (2) to decide that one will cease to;
- (3) not to know whether one has ceased to or not (O: meaning one hestiates in one's heart, saying, "Shall I stop intending or continue?" The mere thought of how it would be if one were to hesitate during the prayer is of no consequence, but rather the occurrence of doubt that negates one's resolve and certainty):
- (4) to intend during the first rak'a to stop when one reaches the second;
- (5) or to decide to interrupt one's prayer if such and such a thing happens, regardless whether the event will definitely occur during the prayer or whether it merely may happen, such as, "I'll stop if Zayd comes in."
- f8.6 If one knowingly begins the noon prayer (N: for example) before its time has come, one's prayer is not legally considered to have begun. If one does so unknowingly, it is validly begun, but counts as a nonobligatory prayer.

THE OPENING ALLAHU AKBAR

f8.7 The Allahu Akbar (n: an integral) that begins the prayer can only be in Arabic and must be pronounced "Allah akbar" or "Allahu akbar." One's prayer is not legally

considered to have begun if one omits any of its letters, pauses between the two words, adds the letter waw between them, or says "Allahu akbar" with a long a between the final b and r. If unable to pronounce it because of being a mute or similar, one must move the tongue and lips according to one's capacity.

f8.9 The minimal valid auditability for saying "Allah akbar," reciting the Koran, and all invocations (dhikr), is that one can hear them oneself, given normal hearing ands lack of extraneous noise. The imam speaks aloud (def: below) every time he says "Allahu akbar" in the prayer.

f8.10 (A: Throughout the rulings, aloud (jahran) means that someone beside or behind the speaker could distinguish his words, while to oneself (sirran) means that the speaker can distinguish his own words, but such a person could not.)

f8.11 It is obligatory that one be standing when one opens an obligatory prayer with "Allahu

akbar." If a single letter of it occurs while not standing, the prayer is not considered to have validly begun as an obligatory prayer, but is considered to have begun as a supererogatory prayer, provided one is ingnorant that it is unlawful, though not if one knows. (N: The latecomer to a group prayer should take careful note of this, and not bow or make other prayer movements until he has completed the opening Allah Akbar while standing.)

f8.12 It is recommended to lift the hands to shoulder level when one say's Allahu akbar" (O: meaning that one's fingertips are even with the tops of the ears, thumbs with the earrlobes, ands palms with one's shoulders), fingers slightly outspread. If one intentionally or absentmindedly does not lift one intentionally or absentmindedly does not lift the hands at the first of saying " Allahu Akbar," one may do so during it, though not afterwards. The palms face the direction of prayer(qibla) and the hands are uncovered. After the opening Allahu Akbar, one places the hands between the chest and navel, grasping the left wrist with the right hand, and fixing one's gaze on the place where one's forehead will prostrate. (O: One does this when not reciting the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud, def;f8.45), where one only looks at the place of prostration until one says "except Allah," and then looks at the index finger.) (A: It is offensive to close one's eves while praying unless it is more conducive to awe and humility towards Allah.)

THE OPENING SUPPLICATION (ISTIFTAH)

f8.13 Then one recites (N: to oneself) the Opening Supplication (Istiftah), which means: "I turn may face to Him who created the heavens ands earth, a pure montheist, in submission, and an not of those who associate others with Him. My prayer, worship, life, and death are for Allah, Lord of the Worlds, who has no partner. Thus I have been commanded, and I am of those who submit." This is recommended for anyone performing an obligatory or supererogatory prayer, even if seated; no matter whether a child, woman, or traveller (O: alone or in a group, imam or follower), though not for a funeral prayer.

f8.14 If one intentionally or absentmindedly omits the Opening Supplication (Istifath) and begins saying "I take refuge, etc." (Ta'awwudh), one may not return to the Opening Supplication.

f8.15 When (N: joining a group that has already begun, and) the imam says "Ameen" just after one's opening Allahu Akbar, one says "Ameen" with him and then recites the Opening Supplication (Istiftah). If one says the opening Allahu Akbar and the imam finishes the prayer with Salams before one has sat down with the group, then one recites the Opening Supplication (Istiftah). But if one has already sat down when the imam finishes with Salams and one rises (N: to finish one's prayer), then one does not recite it (O: the Opening Supplication). If one joins the group while the imam is standing, and one knows it is possible (O: to recite the Opening Supplication) together with saying I take refuge," and so on (Ta'awwudh) and the Fatiha (N: all before the imam will finish his recital and bow), then one may recite the Opening Supplication, though if one has doubts (N: that there is enough time), one omits both the Opening Supplication and Ta'awwudh, and begins reciting the Fatiha. If the imam bows, before one finishes (O: the Fatiha), one bows with him, provided one has omitted the Opening Supplication and Ta'awwudh, though if one did not omit them, then one must recite as much (A: as many letters) of the Fatiha as one recited of them, since if one bows before having recited that much, it invalidates one's prayer. If one recites what we have just said is enough of the Fatiha to permit one to bow with the imam (n: when one is a latecomer, for otherwise it is obligatory to recite it all, as at f12.17(0:)), but one holds back from bowing with him without excuse, then if the imam straightens up from bowing before one has oneself bowed, one has missed that rak'as (N: and must rise after the group has finished to perform it).

SAYING "I TAKE REFUGE, ETC. " (TA'AWWUDH)

f8.16 After the Opening Supplication, it is recommended to recite the Ta'awwudh, saying, "I take refuge in Allah form the accursed Devil." It is said in every rak'a and especially

recommended in the first, whether one is imam, follower, or praying by oneself, and whether the prayer is obligatory, supererogatory, or even a funeral prayer. It is said to oneself in both the prayers recited to oneself and those recited aloud.

THE FATIHA

f8.17 Then one recites the Fatiha (def:w1.16) in every rak'a(n: an integral), whether one is imam, follower, or praying alone. The Basmala (n: the words "In the name of Allah, Most Merciful and Compassionate") is one of its verses. (n: In the other three schools, it is recited to oneself even when the rest is recited aloud (Sharah al-sunna (y22), 3.54).) It is obligatory to recite the Fatiha's verses in order and without interruption. It is considered to be interrupted and must be begun again if one deliberately pauses, at length during it, or pauses briefly but thereby intends to cease reciting, or mizes with it some words of invocation (dhikr)or Koran that are not in the interests of the prayer. One's recital of the Fatiha is not considered to be interrupted if one speaks words during it that are in the interests of the prayer, such as saying "Ameen" in response to the imam's Ameen, or reminding him of the right words when he errors, or prostrating with him as a sunna for his Koran recital (def: f11.14). Nor is it interrupted if one forgetfully falls silent during it or absentmindedly adds some words of invocation (dhikr).

f8.18 If one omits one of the Fatiha's letters (Ar. harf, a consonant or long vowel (A: mistakes in a short vowel (haraka) do not harm as long as they do not alter the meaning)), fails to double a letter that should be doubles, or substitutes a wrong letter for the right one, it invalidates (0: one's recital of that particular word, and one must recite the word again (dis: s3.3). But it does not invalidate one's prayer unless it changes the meaning and was done deliberately).

SAYING "AMEEN"

18.19 After reciting (n: the last words of the Fatiha)" nor of the lost, " one says "Ameen" to oneself in prayers spoken to oneself and aloud in those recited aloud. When following an imam, one says "Ameen" when he does, and then a second time (N: to oneself) when finished with one's own recital of the Fatiha

RECITING A SURA

f8.20 If one is the imam or praying by oneself, it is recommended in the first and second rak'as only to recite one complete sura (O: even if short) the Fatiha. It is recommended to recite:

(1) the suras from al-Hujurat (Koran 49) to al-Naba'(Koran 78) for the dawn (subh) and noon (zuhr) prayers;

(2) the suras from al-Naba'(Koran 78) to al-Duha (Koran 93) for the midafternoon ('as) and nightfall ('isha) prayers; (provided that there are a restricted number of followers (O: meaning no others are praying behind the imam) who do not mind the length of these ((1) and (2) above) recitations, though if otherwise, the imam should be brief)

(3) the suras from al-Duha (Koran 93) to the end (Koran 114) for the sunset prayer (maghrib);

(4) al-Sajda (Koran 32) for the dawn prayer on Friday (n: in the first rak'a' when the group may prostrate during the recital, as at f11.14), and al-Insan (Koran 76) (n:in the second rak'a):

(5) and al-Kafirun (Koran 109) (n: in the first rak'a) and al-Ikhlas (Koran 112)(n: in the second)for the sunna prayers that accompany the sunset and dawn prayers (def:f10.2), for the two rak'as after circumambulating the Kaaba (j5), and for the guidance prayer (istikhara, f10.12).

f8.21 It is recommended to r recite the Koran in a distinct, pleasant way (tartil) (O: i.e. to recite it as revealed by Allah, observing the proper rules of Koranic recitation) and to reflect upon its lessons and meanings (dis:w26).

f8.22 It is offensive for a follower to recite a sura when praying behind an imam whose recital is audible to him, though it is recommended for the follower to recite the sura during prayers that are not recited aloud, or those recited aloud if he cannot hearing, or can hear it, but uncomprehendingly.

f8.23 One recites a longer sura in the first rak'as than in the second.

f8.24 If a latecomer to a group prayer misses the first two rak'as with the group and then performs them alone after the imam has finished the group prayer with Salams, he is recommended to recite the suras to himself during them.

f8.25 The imam (or person praying by himself) recites the Fatiha and suras aloud for the dawn prayer (subh), Friday prayer (jumu'a), prayer on the two 'Eids (def: f19), drought prayer (f21), lunar eclipse prayer (f20), the group prayer that is sunna on the nights of Ramadan (tarawih, f10.5), and for the first two rak'as of the sunset (maghrib) and nightfall ('isha) prayers. In other prayers, the Fatiha and suras are recited to oneself. When making up at night (lays, from sunset to true dawn) a prayer that one missed during the day or night, one recites aloud. When making up in the daytime (nahar, from dawn to sunset) a prayer that one missed during the day or

night, one recites to oneself. At dawn, however (N: from true dawn to sunrise), all makeup prayers are recited aloud. (N: The upshot is that one recites aloud in all prayers that are made up at times when one normally recites aloud, and recites to oneself at the times one normally recites to oneself.)

STANDING

f8.27 Standing is an integral in all obligatory prayers (O: for anyone who can stand, whether by himself or assisted by another, though it is not an integral in nonobligatory prayers). Standing requires that the spine be upright. One is not standing if one inclines forward so that the backbone is no longer straight, or bends so that one is closer to bowing (def: f8.29) than to standing. If a person's back is bowed with age or the like so that this normal posture resembles someone bowing, then he stands as he is, but must bend a little further for bowing if able to. It is offensive in prayer to stand on one foot, for both feet to be held together (A: though this is sunna for women), or for one foot to be ahead of the other. To stand at length (A: reciting the Koran in prayer) is better than to prostrate or bow at length (A: therein).

f8.28 It is permissible to pray nonobligatory prayer seated (O: any way one wishes, though the iftirash (def: f8.37) style of sitting is best or lying down, even when able to stand (A: but the merit is less than to do so standing).

BOWING

f8.29 Then one bows from the waist (n: an integral), he minimum is to bow as far as an average size person needs to when he wants to put his hands on his knees. It is obligatory that one repose therein, minimally meaning to remain motionless for a moment after having moved. It is also obligatory that one intend nothing by the motion but bowing.

f8.30 The optimal way is to raise one's hands and say "Allahu akbar" so that one begins raising the hands as one starts saying it, and when the hands are at shoulder level, one bows. Whever one says "Allahu akbar" during a movement from one prayer posture to another, it is recommended to prolong the words until one reaches the next posture (A: so that one's prayer is not devoid of invocation (dhikr) at any point). Then one puts the hands on the knees, fingers apart, with back and neck extended, legs straight, and elbows out. though women keep them close. One then says, "My Lord Most Great is exalted above all limitation," three times, the least that is optimal. If praying alone, or the imam of a limited number of followers who do not mind the extra length, one may increase the number of times one says this to five,

seven, nine, or eleven. When finished, (O:however many times one has said it,) it is recommended to say, "O Allah, to You I bow, in You I believe, to You I submit. My hearing, sight, mind, bones nerves, and all that my feet bear up are humbled before You."

STRAIGHTENING UP

f8 31 Then one lifts one's head, the minimum of which is to return to standing as one was before bowing, and, then remain motionless for a moment. (n: Each is an integral.) It is obligatory to intend nothing by one's movement except straightening up.

f8.32 The optimal way is to raise the hands (A: lifting them from the knees as one starts straightening up, raising them to shoulder level) and the head together, saying, "Allah hears whoever praises Him," This is said whether one is imam, follower, or praying alone. When one is standing upright, one says. "Our Lord, all praise is Yours, heavenful, earthful, and whatever-else-You-will-full." (O: If following an imam or praying alone, one says this to oneself. If imam, one says" Allah hears whoever praises Him" aloud, but the rest to oneself.) Those we have previously mentioned who wish to add to the words of bowing may add here "O You who deserve praise and glory, the truest thing a slave can say (and all of us are Your slaves) is, 'None can withhold what You bestow, non can bestow what You withhold, and the fortune of the fortunate avails nothing against You.'

PROSTRATION

f8.33 Then one prostrates (n: an integral). The conditions for its validity are:

(a) that an uncovered portion of the forehead touch a part of the place prayer (N: it is not obligatory that any of the other limbs of prostration be uncovered);

(b) that one remain motionless for a moment while prostating

(c) that the place of prostration bear the weight of the head; (d) the one's higher than one's head;

(e) that one not prostrate on something joined to one's

person that moves with one's motions, such as a sleeve or turban.

(f) that nothing but prostration be intended by one's motion;

(g) and that part of each knee, the bottom of the toes of each foot, and the fingers of each hand be placed on the ground. (O: In our school, it is not Obligatory that the nose touch the ground in prostration, though it is desirable)

f8.34 If one cannot fully prostrate so that one's forehead touches the ground (N: a pregnant woman, for example), then it is not necessary to stack up pillows on the place of prostration to touch the forehead on them. One merely bows as low as one can. If one has put a bandage on the foreheads because of an injury that affects all of it, and there is hardship in removing it (O: severe enough to permit dry ablution (tayammum) (def: e12.9)), then one may prostrate upon it and need not make up the prayer.

f8.35 The optimal way to prostrate is to say "Allahu akbar"

(1) to put the knees down first, then the hands, and then the forehead andnose (O: the order is called for, and any other order is offensive):

(2) to prostrate with the hands directly under one's shoulders, fingers together, extended towards the direction of prayer (qibla), hands uncovered;

(3) for men to keep 1 span (n: about 23 cm) between the two knees and two feet (O: though a woman's are kept together);

(4) for men to keep the stomach apart from the thighs,

though women keep them together;
(5) and to say three times, " My Lord Most High is exalted above all limitation." Those we have previously mentioned who wish to add to the words of bowing may increase the number of times this is said as previously described (O: namely, in odd numbers up to eleven) and add: "O Allah, I prostrate myself to You, believe in You, and surrender to You. My face prostrates to Him, and surrender to you. My face prostrates to Him who created it and gave it form, who opened its hearing and vision by His Power and strength. Allah is exalted in perfection, the Best of Creators." It is commendable to supplicate Allah while prostrating

SITTING BETWEEN PROSTRATIONS

f8.36 Then one raises the head (N: and sits back before prostrating a second time. Sitting at this point is an integral). It is obligatory to sit motionlessly for at least a moment and to intend nothing but sitting by one's movement.

f8.37 The optimal way is:
(1) to say "Allahu akbar" (N:as one raises the head);

(2) to sit in ifirash, which is to place the left foot on its side and sit upon it while keeping the right foot resting on the bottom of its toes, heel up;

(3) to place one's two hands on the thighs near the knees, fingers extended and held together;

(4) and to say, "O Allah forgive me, have mercy on me, pardon me, set me right, guide me, and sustain me.

f8.38 There are two other ways of sitting back (iq'a') (O: between the two prostrations, or at the first and second Testifications of Faith (Tashahhud, def:f8:45)). One way is to sit back on the heels with the bottom of the toes and knees upon the ground. This is recommended between the two prostrations, though iftirash (def: f8.37) is better. The other way is to simply sit on the ground, palms down, and knees, drawn up. This is offensive in any prayer.'

f8.39 Then one prostrates again just as before. (O: The first rak'a is only completed when one has performed the second prostration, because each prostration is a separate integral, as is the moment of motionlessness in each.)

f8.40 After this one raises the head, saying "Allah akbar" (O: as one first raises it, drawing out the words until one is standing upright). It is sunna, here land in each rak'a that is not followed by the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud), to briefly rest in the iftirash style of sitting (f8.37) before rising. Then one (O: quickly) raises, helping oneself up with both hands (O: palms down), and prolonging the Allah Akbar until standing. If the imam omits this brief sitting, the follower performs it anyway. It is not done after a Koran recital prostration (def: f11.13).

f8.41 Then one performs the second rak'a of the prayer just like the first, except for the initial

intention, the opening Allah Akbar, and Opening Supplication (Istiftah).

f8.42 If one's prayer exceeds two rak'as one sits in iftirash (def:f8.37) after the first two rak'as and recites the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud, f8.45) and the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), though not upon him family (N: which is done only in the final Testification of Faith at the end of the prayer). Then one rises, saying "Allah akbar" and leaning on one's hands (n: as before). When standing, one lifts the hands to shoulder level (A: which one does here, but not after rising from the first or third rak'a) and then goes on to perform the remainder of the prayer as one did the second rak'a, except that one recites the Fatiha to oneself and does not recite a sura after it

TESTIFICATION OF FAITH (TASHAHHUD)

f8.43 One sits back (n: an integral) at a the last of one's prayer for the Testification of Faith in the tawarruk style of sitting, with one's (O: left) posterior on the ground and left foot on its side, emerging from under right, which is vertical.(O: The wisdom in the difference between the ways of sitting during the two Testifications of Faith, namely, iftirash (f8.37) in the first and tawarruk in the second, is that a

latecomer to group prayer may know by observing the former that the prayer has not finished and by the latter that it nearly has. Imam Malik holds the sunna in both testifications to be the tawarruk style of sitting; while Abu Hanifa holds that the iftirash style is sunna for both. May Allah have mercy on them all for explaining the Deity's command without the slightest loss.) However one sits here (O: in the final Testification of Faith (Tashhud)) and in the foregoing (O: Testification of Faith, as well as between the two prostration) is permissible. though iftirash and tawarruk are sunna. A late comer to a group prayer sits in iftirash at the end of his imam's prayer and sits in tawarruk at the end of his own. Similarly, the person who must perform a forgetfulness prostration (def: f11) sits in iftirash for his last Testification of Faith, prostrates for forgetfulness, and then sits in tawarruk for his Salams.

f8.44 In the two Testifications of Faith, one's left hand rests on the left thigh near the knee, its fingers extended and held together. The right hand is similarly placed, but is held closed with its thumb touching the side of the index finger, which alone is left extended. One lifts the index finger and points with it when one says the words "except Allah" One does not move it while it is thus raised (O: following the sunna from a hadith related by Abu Dawud. It is offensive to move it here, though some hold that it is recommended, the evidence for which is also from the sunna, in a hadith related by Bayhaqi, who states that both hadiths are rigorously authenticated (sahih). Precedence is given to the former hadith, which negates moving the finger, over the latter hadith, which affirms it, because scholars hold that what is sought in prayer is lack of motion, and moving it diminishes one's humility. The Prophet's moving it (Allah bless him and give him peace) was merely to teach people that it was permissible (A: as it was the Prophet's duty (Allah bless him a nd give him peace) to distinguish for his Community the acts that were offensive from those that were unlawful, and he was given the reward of the obligatory for doing such offensive acts.) Moreover, Bayhaqi says that the meaning of moving it in the latter hadith is simply raising it. So there is no actual contradiction).

f8.45 The minimal Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) is to say: "Greetings to Allah. Peace be upon you, O Prophet, and the mercy of Allah and His blessings. Peace be upon us and upon Allah"s righteous slaves. I testify there is no god except Allah, and that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah." The optimal way is to say: "Greetings, blessings, and the best of prayers to Allah. Peace be upon you O Prophet, and the mercy of Allah and His blessings. Peace be upon us and upon Allah's righteous slaves. I testify that there is no god except Allah, and that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah." Its words (N:minimal or optimal) are obligatory (O: i.e when one can recite the Arabic, one may not use other words) and their order is a condition. If one cannot say it, one must learn. If one cannot learn (O: because there is no teacher, or there is, no teacher, or there is, but one is unable), then one may translate it (O: to any language one wishes)One then says the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) (n: an integral after the final Testification of Faith, but merely sunna after the first one, as at

f9.15 below). The minimum is to say, "O Allah, bless Mohammed." (n: One confines oneself to this minimum at the first Testification of Faith, as mentioned above at f8.42.) The optimal way is to say: "O: Allah, bless Mohammed and the folk of Mohammed as You blessed Ibrahim and the folk of Ibrahim. O Allah, show grace to Mohammed and the folk of Mohammed as You did to Ibrahim and the folk of Ibrahim in the worlds, for You are truly the Most Praiseworthy and Noble." (A: It is desirable to add before each mention of the names Mohammed and Ibrahim the word sayyidina ("our liegelord"). The hadith " Do not liegelord me in the prayer' is a forgery containing corrupt Arabic)

f8.46 It is recommended afterwards (O: after the second Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) of the prayer, though not after the first) to supplicatae Allah for any permissible thing one wishes concerning one's religion or this world. One of the best supplications is: "O Allah, forgive me what I have done and what I may do, what I have hidden and what I have made known, my excesses and what You know better than I. Only You put one ahead or behind. There is no god but You." It is recommended (O: if one is imam) that such supplications be briefer than the Testification of Faith with its Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) (O: though if one is alone, one may supplicate as long as one wishes, if not afraid of forgetting (N: that one is still in the prayer)).

CLOSING THE PRAYER WITH SALAMS

f8.47 Then one says the final Salams (n: an integral). The minimum is to say "as-Salamu alaykum" (peace be upon you), and it must occur while one is sitting. (O: It is inadequate to say "Salam salaykum" without the first word being definite (n: i.e. as-Salamu), since this has not reached us through any hadith texts, and invalidates the prayer if done intentionally.)The optimal way is to say, "Peace be upon you, and the mercy of Allah" (O: though to add the words "and His grace" (was barakatuhu) is not sunna) and to turn the head to the right enough to show the right cheek. (N: to those

behind). One thereby intends to finish the prayer and intends greetings of peace to the angels and Muslims (whether human or jinn (deff:w22)) on the right. One then turns one's head to the left and repeats the Salam, intending to greet to those on the left. A follower intends one of the two Salams as a response to the imam's, depending on which side the imam is on, or if the follower is directly behind him, he may intend either Salam as a response to him.

f8.48 When one is a latecomer to a group prayer, it is recommended not to stand up to finish one's missed rakas until the imam has said both Salams. It is permissible to stand after he has said just one, but if one stands before he has said the first Salam it invalidates one's prayer, unless one purposely intended to cease participation in the group prayer before doing so. A latecomer, if making his first Testification of Faith while the group is making their last one, may sit at length (O: for dhikr or supplications) after the imam's Salams before he stands up to finish his own rakas, though it is offensive. If he does this when not at the point of his first Testification of Faith, it invalidates his prayer if intentional.

f8.49 Someone who is not a latecomer to a group prayer may sit as long as he wishes after the imam's Salams to supplicate, finishing with his own Salams whenever he wants (O:because the imam's leadership ends with the imam's first Salam, so there is no harm in the follower taking his time, as he is now praying alone, and someone praying alone may do so as long as he likes.

f8.50 It is recommended to invoke Allah Most High (dhikr)to oneself and to supplicate after the prayer. (O: Shafi'i says in al-Umm, "I prefer that the imam and follower invoke Allah (dhikr) after the Salams, and do so silently, unless the imam wants to be learned from, in which case he says the invocations aloud until he believes that he has been learned from, after which he says them to himself.") (n: The following invocations are listed in the commentary and have been written in full and vowelled by the translator in the facing column of Arabic. Their order is sunna, as the commentator notes below.

- (1) Ayat al-Kursi (Koran 2:255) (said once);
- (2) al-Ikhlas (Koran 112) (once);
- (3) al-Falag (Koran 113) (once):
- (4) al-Nas (Koran 114) (once):
- (5) "I ask Allah's forgiveness" (three times):
- (6) "O Allah, You ar peace, from You is peace, You are exalted through Yourself above all else, O You of Majesty and Beneficence"
- (7) "O Allah, none can withhold what You bestow, none can bestow what You withhold and the fortune of the fortunate avails nothing against You";
- (8) "Allah is exalted above any limitation or imperfection' (thirty-three times);
- (9) "Praise be to Allah" (thirty-three times);
- (10) "Allah is greatest" (thirty-three times (A: or thirty-four) times); (N: (8), (9), and (10) above are also recommended before going to sleep at night, in which case "Allah is greatest" is said thirty-four times)
- (11) and "There is no god but Allah, alone, without partner. His is the dominion, His the praise, and He has power over all things." (O: It is recommended to begin the supplication with the Koran when called for, like Ayat al-Kursi and so forth, then, (5)through (10) above.) One should invoke the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) at the beginning (O: and middle) and end of one's supplications.
- f8.51 The imam turns for (N: postprayer) invocation and supplications so that his right side is towards the group and his left side towards the direction of prayer (qibla). He leaves his place as soon as he finishes, if there are no women (N: in which case he waits for them to leave first). It is recommended that the followers remain seated until the imam stands.(A: In the Shafi'i school, the invocations are recommended to precede the postprayer sunna rak'as)
- f8.52 It is recommended for those who nonobligatory prayers after the prescribed prayer to first wait till after some conversation: it being better to pray them elsewere, and best to perform them in one's home. (O: However, it is better to perform certain nonobligatory prayers in the mosque, such as those before the Friday prayer, those after circumambulating the Kaaba, and those before entering the state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram) if there is a mosque at the site. (A: Others that are better in the mosque include.)
 - (1) the midmorning nonobligatory prayer (duha, def:f10.6);
- (2) the guidance prayer (istikhara, f10.12);
- (3) the two rak'as that are sunna before departing on a journey and when arriving from one;
- (4) prayers performed during a period of spiritual retreat in a mosque (i'tikaf,i3);
- (5) confirmed sunna prayers (sunna mu'akkada, f10.2) that one is afraid of missing if one does not pray them in the mosque;
- (6) and the sunna rak'as before the sunset prayer.))
- f8.33 While performing the dawn prayer (subh)it is sunna to lift one's hands supplicate after straightening up from bowing in the second rak'a. One says: "O Allah, guide me

among those You guide, grant me health and pardon among those You grant health and pardon, look after me among those You lookafter, grant me grace in what You have given me, and protect me from the evil [A: here, one turns the palms down for a moment] of what You have ordained; for You decree and non decrees against You, and non is based whom You befriend, O our Lord, who are above all things sacred and exalted, all praise is Yours for what You decree. I ask Your forgiveness and turn to You in repentance." It is commendable to add "and none is exalted whom You are at enmity with" (A: after the above words "and non is based whom You befriend"). If one is imam, one pluralizes the singular pronominal suffix so that, for example, ihadina ("guide us") and so forth (dis:w1.27). The words of this supplication are not set and may be accomplished by pronoucing any supplication (O: and praise) or Koranic verse containing a supplication, such as the last verses of al-Baqara (Koran 2:285-86), though the above words are better. After this, one invokes the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace). It is recommended to raise one's hands throughout the supplication (O: palms up when asking the good, palms down when asking Allah to avert affliction). One does not stroke the face or chest with one's hands after the supplication (O: as opposed to other supplications, for which it is recommended to wipe the face with the hands, as is mentioned in hadith). The imam says the supplications aloud. The follower says "Ameen" after each supplication that is audible to him and participates in the praises and so forth by responding with similar expressions. If the imam is inaudible. the follower himself the supplication. When praying alone one says it to oneself. When disasters (O: such as drought or an epidemic) befall the Muslims, they similarly supplicate in every prescribed prayer (O: after straightening up from bowing in the last rak'a).

f9.0 WHAT INVALIDATES, IS OFFENSIVE, OR OBLIGATORY IN PRAYER

EXTRANEOUS SPEECH

f9.1 The prayer is invalidated (if one has no excuse (def:below)) by uttering two or more letters or when two or more letters worth of sounds such as laughter, crying, groaning, clearing the throat, blowing, sighing, or similar are audible. It is also invalidated by much (O: i.e. more than six words worth of) sound, even when there is a valid excuse such as blurting out words unthingly, laughter or coughing overcoming one, absentmindedly speaking, or when one speaks because as a new Muslim one does not know it is unlawful during the prayer; though with such an excuse a slight amount of speech does not invalidate the prayer. One's prayer is invalid if one speaks knowing that it is unlawful but ignorant of the fact that it invalidates the prayer, and is also invalid if one says "Aah" during it out of fear of hell. When it is impossible to recite the Fatiha(N: to oneself) (A: or the final Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) or Salams) except by clearing one's throat, one may do so even when it approximates two letters, though if it is merely impossible to recite aloud, then one may not clear one's throat, but must instead recite to oneself. (A: Some things which are not commonly known to invalidate the prayer, such as clearing the throat, do not invalidate the prayer of ordinary people, whose ignorance of them is excusable, though a scholar has no such excuse)

- f9.2 If one notices (N: during the prayer) a blind person about to fall into a well, or the like, then one must speak up to alert him if there is not a nonverbal means of warning him ofit
- f9.3 No form of invocation of Allah (dhikr) invalidates the prayer unless it is a direct address such as "Allah have mercy on you" or "And upon you be peace", though it does not invalidate the prayer if it refers to someone not present, such as "Allah have mercy on Zayd" (O: nor is it invalidated by addressing Allah or the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him
- f9.4 When something happens to one during the prayer. (O: such as someone asking permission to enter, or having to remind the imam that he has forgotten something), then if one is male, one says "Subhan Allah" (O: intending only invocation (dhikr) thereby, as one may not merely intend to inform, nor lack any particular intention thereby, for these invalidate the prayer), or if female, one claps the right palm on the back of the left hand, not palm to palm. If one recites a Koranic expression such as "O Yahya, take the book" (Koran 19:12), intending only to inform (O: without intending invocation) or not intending anything in particular, this invalidates the prayer, though not if the intention is Koran recital or recital and informing together.

A SUBSTANCE REACHING THE BODY CAVITY

f9.5 The prayer is invalidated when any (even if a little) substance (A: other than saliva) reaches the body cavity intentionally. It also invalidates the prayer if it occurs absentmindedly or in ignorance of its prohibition, provided

the amount of the substance is commonly acknowledge to be much (def:f4.5), though not if it is little.

EXTRANEOUS MOTION

f9.6 Adding surplus action that is an Integral, such as bowing, invalidates the prayer if done intentionally, but does not invalidate it if done because one has forgotten (O: that one has already performed it). The prayer is not invalidated by intentionally or absentmindedly adding a surplus spoken Integral such as repeating one's recital of the Fatiha or the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) or reciting them in the wrong place.

The prayer is invalidated by adding, even if absentmindedly, a motion that is not one of the actions of prayer, provided it is both (O: considered by common acknowledgement (def:f4.5) to be) much and uninterruptedly consecutive, such as three steps (O: or successively moving three separate body parts like the head and two hands, though an up-and-down motion is considered just one) or three or more consecutive motions. The prayer is not invalidated by action that is not much, such as two steps, or is much but is separated so that the subsequent motion is considered to be unconnected with the proceeding (O: slight) action is grossly improper, such as jumping, it invalidates the prayer.

f9.8 Slight actions such as scratching oneself, or turning a rosary (subha, dis: w27) do not affect the validity of the prayer, nor does remaining silent at length.

THINGS OFFENSIVE IN PRAYER

f9.9 It is offensive to perform the prayer while one is holding back from urinating or defecating, (O: If enough time remains to perform the prayer, the sunna is to relieve oneself first, even when one fears missing praying with a group, since it diminishes one's awe and humility in prayer.)

f9.10 It is offensive to pray in the presence of food or drink one would like to have, unless one fears that prayer's time will end. It is offensive during the prayer:

(1) to interlace the fingers;

(2) to turn (N: the head when there is no need. As for turning the chest from the directions of prayer (qibla), it invalidates the prayer except when there is an excuse such as in extreme peril, or when performing a nonobligatory prayer during a journey);

(3) to look to the sky;

(4) to look at something distracting;

(5) to gather one's clothes or hair with the hand, tuck one's haira under a turban, or wipe the

dust from one's forehead:

(6) to yawn, though if it overcome one, one should cover mouth with the hand:

(7) to exaggerate in lowering one's head while bowing;

(8) or to put one's hands on the hips.

f9.11 It is offensive during the prayer to spit to the front of one or to the right. Rather, one should expectorate to the left, in the left, in the hem of one's garment, or under the foot (N when one is praying in a desert or similar). (O: It is unlawful to spit in a mosque except into the left hem of one's garment (N: or a handkerchief. The slight motions necessary to take out one's handkerchief and return it do not harm, as they are inconsiderable))

THINGS OBLIGATORY IN PRAYER

f9.12 The prayer has conditions (def: f9.13), integrals (f9.14), main sunnas (f9.15), and ordinary sunnas.

THE CONDITIONS OF PRAYER

f9.13 The prayer's conditions are eight:

- (a) purification from minor and major ritual impurity (hadath ands janaba) (A: through ablution (wudu, def: e5) and the purificatory bath (ghusl, e11) respectively, as well as from menstruation and postnatal bleeding by bathing after
- (b) that one be free of filth (najasa, e14) (A: in body, clothes, and place of prayer (f4));
- (c) that one's nakedness be clothed(f5);
- (d) the one be facing the direction of prayer (qibla, f6);
- (e) that one avoid the actions prohibited in prayer, i.e. extraneous speech, eating, and excessive motion (f9.1-7);
- (f) knowing or believing that the prayer's time has come (f2);
- (g) knowing that the prayer is obligatory;
- (h) and knowing how it is performed.
- Whenever one violates any of these conditions, one's prayer is invalidated, such as:
- (1) (non-(a) above)) when a state of ritual impurity occurs during the prayer, even if

absentmindedly;

(2) (non-(b)) when some filth containing moisture affects a garment during the prayer, but one does not immediately shed the garment; or when some dry filth affects it, but one throws it off with the hand or sleeve (O: since in that case one is supporting it and in contact with it (dis: f4.2 (N:))):

(3) (non-(c)) when the wind discloses a art of one nakedness and its cover gets beyond reach;

(4) or (non-(g)) when one believes that some elements of the prayer are obligatory and some are merely recommended, but does not know which are obligatory. One's prayer is not invalidated if one thinks that all the prayer's parts are obligatory, or (2) above) if one immediately sheds the garment affected by moist filth, brushes off dry filth, or((3) above) immediately re-coveres one's nakedness.

THE INTEGRALS OF PRAYER

f9.14 The prayer's integrals (ruku, pl, arkan) are seventeen:

(a) the intention (def: f8.3);

(b) the opening Allahu Akbar (f8.7);

(c) standing (f8.27);

(d) the Fatiha (f8.17):

(e) bowing (f8.29);

(f) remaining motionless a moment therein;

(g) straightening back up after bowing (f8.31);

(h) remaining motionless a moment therein;

(i) prostration (f8.33);

(j) remaining motionless a moment therein;

(k) sitting back (f8.36) between the two prostrations;

(1) remaining motionless a moment therein:

(m) the prayer's final Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) (f8.45);

(n) sitting therein (f8.43);

(o) the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) after the prayer's final Testification of Faith (f8.45):

(p) saying "as-Salamu 'alaykum" the first of the two times it is said at the end of the prayer (f8.47);

(q) and the proper sequence of the above integrals.

THE MAIN SUNNAS OF PRAYER

f9.15 The prayer's main sunnas (A: meaning those which if omitted call for a forgetfulness

prostration (def:f11)) are six:

(a) the prayer's first Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) (N: in prayers that have two);

(b) sitting during it;

(c) the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) after it (f8.45):

him peace) after it (18,45); (d) the blessings on his family in the prayer's final Testification of Faith (Tashahhud);

(e) the supplication (f8.53) after bowing in the final rak'a of the dawn prayer (subh);

(f) and standing therein.

OTHER SUNNAS

f9.16 All other parts of the prayer are ordinary sunnas (O: and missing one is not compensated by a forgetfulness prostration).

10 0 SUPEREROGATORY PRAYER

f10.1 The prayer is the best of the body's spiritual works (O: prayer referring to the prescribed prayer, and body excluding worship connected with the heart, such as faith in Allah, which is better than the works of the body), and supererogatory prayers are the best of voluntary spiritual works (O: though scholarly work in Islamic religious knowledge, meaning beyond what is obligatory to ensure the validity of one's worship, is superior to nonobligatory prayer because it fulfills a communal obligation (fard alkifaya, def:c3.2)). Supererogatory prayers that the Sacred Law stiplulates be prayed in groups, such as the prayer on the two 'Eids (f19), the prayer at solar and lunar eclipses, and the drought prayer, are better than those it does not stipulate be prayed in groups, namely, all others besides these. But the sunna rak'as before and after the prescribed prayers (O: whether confirmed sunna (sunna mu'akkada, def: below) or otherwise) are superior to the group prayer that is sunna on the nights of Ramadan (tarawih)

THE SUNNA PRAYERS BEFORE AND AFTER THE PRESCRIBED PRAYERS

f10.2 It is sunna to diligently perform the nonobligatory prayers that are offered before and after the prescribed ones. The optimal number of these is two rak'as before the dawn prayer (subh), four before and after the noon prayer (zuhr), four before the midafternoon prayer (asr), two after the sunset prayer (maghrib), and two after the nightfall prayer ('isha). The confirmed sunnas (dis:c4.1) of these (O: confirmed (mu'akkada) meaning those which the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) did not omit whether travelling or at home) consist of ten rak'as:

(1) two before the dawn prayer (subh);

(2) two before and after the noon prayer (zuhr);

(3) two after the sunset prayer (maghrib);

(4) and two after the nightfall prayer('isha).

It is recommended to pray two rak'as before the sunset prayer. The sunnas of the Friday prayer (jumu'a) are the same as those of the noon prayer(zuhr) (dis:w28.1). The time for the nonobligatory rak'as that come before prescribed prayers is that of the prescribed prayers. It is proper (adab) to pray

such a sunna before the prescribed prayer, though if prayed after it, it is still a current performance (A: not a makeup, and one must intend it, for example, as the sunna before noon prayer(zuhr)). The time for nonobligatory rak'as that come after the prescribed prayer begins when one has performed the prescribed prayer and ends with the end of the prayer's time.

WITR (THE FINAL PRAYER AT NIGHT)

f10.3 The minimal performance for witr (lit, "odd number") is one rak'a (O: even if one omit the sunnas after the nightfall prayer('isha)), (A: A witr of at least three rak'as is obligatory (wajib) in the Hanafi school, and one should never omit it.) The optimal way is to perform eleven rak'as and (O: if one perform more than three) one should finish with Salams (def: 18.47) after every pair. The least considered optimal is three rak'as (O: and one separates them by) finishing two times with Salams (N: i.e. by finishing two rak'as with Salams and then performing the final rak'as). One recites al-A'la (Koran 87) in the first rak'a al-Kafirun (Koran 109) in the second, and al-Ikhlas, al-Falaq, and al-Nas (Koran 112,113, and 114) in the third. It is permissible to (n: serially) join all the rak'as of any witr prayer that has from three to eleven rak'as by finishing them once with Salams (O: in the final rak'a, In that case and also when one's witr is only a single rak'a onw merely intends whereas in other witrs prayer in pairs (n: until one reaches the last one), one intends each pari as two rak'as of witr). When joining the rak'as of witr one may limit oneself to a single Testification of Faith (Tashahud) (A: in the final rak'a), or may recite two Testifications, one in the last rak'a and one in the next to last, and to thus recite two Testifications is superior (A: if one separates the final two rak'as from one another by finishing the next to the last rak'a with Salams (N: before praying the final rak'a by itself), for otherwise it is better to recite a single Testification, as making witr resemble the sunset prayer (maghrib) is offensive). More than two Testifications (A: in a joined witr) invalidates the whole prayer

fi0.4 The best time for witr is just after the sunna rak'as that follow the nightfall prayer ('isha), unless one intends to offer the night vigil prayer (tahajjud; to rise at night after having slept, to pray some nonobligatory rak'as), in which case it is best to pray witr after the night vigil prayer (A: provided that one usually manages to get up when one has made such an intention. If not, then it is better to perform witr after the sunnas of the nightfall prayer ('isha)). When one has already performed witr, but decides to pray the night vigil prayer (tahajjud), one performs the latter's rak'as two by two, and there is no need to repeat the witr, or "make it an even number" by performing one rak'as before the night vigil prayer. However, it is recommended not to intend performing prayer between witr and dawn.

TARAWIH

f10.5 It is recommended to perform tarawih, which is twenty rak'as of group prayer on each night of Ramadan. (O: As well as being sunna to pray tarawih alone, it is also sunna to pray it in a group.) One finishes each pair of rak'as with Salams. It is recommended to pray witr in a group after tarawih, unless one intends the night vigil prayer (tahajjud), in which case one should postpone witr until after it. During the second half or Ramadan, in the last rak'a (N: of witr), it is recommended to supplicate as one does in the dawn prayer (def: f8.53), and then one adds: "O Allah, we ask Your help, Your forgiveness, and Your guidance. In You we believe, on You we rely, You we praise with every good, we are grateful to You and not ungrateful, and disown and abandon him who commits outrages against You. O Allah, You alone do we worship, to You we pray and prostrate, You we strive for and hasten to obey, hoping for Your mercy and fearing Your punishment. Truly, Your earnest punishment shall overtake the unbelievers." The time for witr and tarawih is between the nightfall prayer ('isha) and dawn.

THE MIDMORNING PRAYER (DUHA)

f10.6 It is recommended to pray the midmorning prayer (duha), which minimally consists of two rak'as, is optimally eight rak'as, and maximally twelve. One finishes each pair of rak'as with Salams. Its time is after the sun is well up until hust before the noon prayer (zuhr). (O: The preferable time for its performance is after a quarter of the day has passed.)

f10.7 When one misses (O: even intentionally) any supererogatory prayer that has a specified time, such as the two 'Eids, duha, witr, or the Sunnas before and after the prescribed prayers, it is recommended to make it up at any time afterwards. If one misses a supererogatory prayer that is contingent upon some passing event, such as the eclipse prayer, drought prayer, greeting the mosque, or the prayer for guidance (istikhara. def: 10.12), one does not make it up.

THE NIGHT VIGIL PRAYER (TAHAJJUD)

f10.8 Supereogatory prayer at night is a confirmed sunna (def: f10.2 (O:)), even if one can only do a little. Wholly supererogatory prayers (O: meaning those unconnected with a particular time or reason) at night are better than during the

day. If one divides the night into six parts, the fourth and fifth part are the best for prayer. If divided in half, the second half is best. If divided into thirds, the middle part is best. Praying the entire night, every night, is offensive. It is recommended to begin one's night vigil prayers (tahajjud) with two brief rak'as to have intended the night vigil prayer before going to sleep, and not to make a practice of more prayer than one can regularly perform without harm to oneself. (A: It is a sunna to recite the suras of the night vigil prayer sometimes aloud, sometimes to oneself.)

f10.9 One (O: who is performing wholly supererogatory prayers, whether in the night or day) finishes every two rak'as with Salams, though one may also:

(1) join three or more rak'as by finishing but once with Salams.

(2) pray a single supererogatory rak'a by itself;

(3) recite the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) every two rak'as (O: without finishing them with Salams), or every three, or every four, even if the Testifications of Faith grow very numerous (A: before finishing the series of rak'as with Salams). (N: This is if not praying witr (dis: f10.3, end));

(4) or confine oneself to just one Testification of Faith

(Tashahhud) in the final rak'a (O: in which case one recites a sura in each of the rak'as and finishes with Salams after the above mentioned final Testification of Faith), though it is not permissible to recite the Testification of Faith in every rak'a (O: without finishing with Salams). When one's intention (N: in a wholly supererogatory prayer) is to perform a specific number of rak'as (O: four or more), then one may change one's mind as to the number and pray fewer rak'as, or more, provided one changes the intention before (O: having added or substracted any). Thus it is permissible to intend four but finish after two, if one intends to subtract two, though it invalidates the prayer to purposely finish it after two without having made the intention to curtail the planned four rak'as. If one absentmindedly finishes with Salams, one goes on to complete the four and performs the forgetfulness prostration (def:fl1) at the end.

GREETING THE MOSOUE

f10.10 It is recommended for whoever enters a mosque to greet the mosque by praying two rak'as each time he enters, even if many times within an hour. One is no longer entitled to pray if after sitting. It is accomplished anytime one enters a mosque and prays two rak'as, whether one intends merely performing two supererogatory rak'as fulfilling a vow, the sunna rak'as before or after a prescribed prayer, the prescribed prayer alone, or the prescribed prayer together with the intention of greeting the mosque. (O: If one enters the mosque when one does not have ablution (wudu), it is sunna to say four times, "Allah is far exalted above any limitation, praise be to Allah, there is no god but Allah, Allah is greatest.")

fl0.11 It is offensive to begin any nonobligatory prayer, whether greeting the mosque, the sunna rak'as before a prescribed prayer, or other, when the imam has begun the prescribed prayer or the muezzin has begun the call to commence (idama).

THE GUIDANCE PRAYER (ISTIKHARA)

f10.12 (n: the translator has added the following text from Imam Nawawi's Rivad al-salihin:) Jabir (Allah be well pleased with him) relates that "the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) used to teach us the guidance prayer (istikhara) for all matters, as he would a sura of the Koran, saying: " 'When a matter concerns one of you, pray two nonobligatory rak'as [dis: f8.20(5)] and say; "O Allah, I ask You to show me what is best through Your knowledge, and bring it to pass through Your power, and I ask You of Your immense favor: for You are all-powerful and I am not, You know and I do not, and You are the Knower of the Unseen. O Allah, if You know this matter to be better for me in my religion, livelihood, and final outcome [or perhaps he said, " the short t and long term of my case"], then bring it about and facilitate it for me, and bless me with abundance therein. And if You know this matter to be worse for me in my religion, livelihood, and final outcome [or perhaps he said, "the short and long term of may case"], then keep it from me, and keep me from it, and bring about the good for me whatever it may be, and make me pleased with it," and then one should mention the matter at hand." (Rivad al-salihin (v107), 325-26)

f10.13 A nonobligatory prayer at home is superior to one performed at the mosque (dis: f8.52).

f10.14 It is offensive for one to single out the night before Friday (lit, "night of Friday," i.e Thursday night, since in Arabic the night of a given date comes before its day) as a special night for prayer.

f10.15 It is an offensive, blameworthy innovation (bid'a def:w29) to perform any of the following spurious prayers:

(1) twelve rak'as between the sunset prayer (maghrib) and nightfall prayer ('isha) on the first Thursday night of the month of Rajab;

(2) one hundred rak'as in the middle of the month of Sha'ban;

(3) (O: two rak'as after each of three times of reciting Ya Sin (Koran 36) on the night of mid-Sha'ban;

(4) or the so-called prayer of 'Ashura' on 10 Muharram.)

f11.0 PROSTRATIONS OF FORGETFULNESS, KORAN RECITAL. OR THANKS

THE FORGETFULNESS PROSTRATION

f11.1 The two reasons for the forgetfulness prostration are nonperformance of something called for (O: such as a main sunna (f9.15)), or performance of something uncalled-for (O: such as absentmindedly adding a rak'a to one's prayer).

f11.2 (n: As for nonperfomance,) if one misses an integral of the prayer (def:f9.14) and does not remember it until doing what comes after it, then one must (A: it still in the same rak'a) go back to it, perform it and what comes after it, and (A: it is sunna to) prostrate for it at the end of one's prayer (O: provided one is not a follower. As for a follower who misses an integral, he continues following the imam until the imam finishes with Salams, and then the follower rises alone and performs a makeup rak'a. One is only obligated to reperform a missed integral (A: in the same rak'a i.e. when praying by oneself) if one's forgetfulness of it doesn't continue (A: until the next rak'a). If one's forgetfulness continues and one goes on to perform the integral (A: during the course of the subsequent rak'a) then the same integral (A: of the following rak'a) takes the missed integral's place (A: in which case the rak'a containing the omission does not count and one does not return to it, but performs the rest of the prayer and then adds a makeup rak'a at the end, after which one performs the forgetfulness prostration before one finishes with Salams)).

fil.3 (O: If there is a surplus action, such as when one absentmindedly goes from standing to prostration without having bowed, but then remembers, in such a case one stands up and bows, and performs the forgetfulness prostration (N: at the end of the prayer). This (N: having stood twice before bowing) is a surplus action. One does not prostrate for forgetfulness when there is no surplus action, as when one omits the final prostration of the prayer, but remembers it before one finishes with Salams and performs it, in which case one does not prostrate for it because there has not been an addition.)

f11.4 If one misses a main sunna (def: f9.15), even purposely, one perform a forgetfulness prostration. If one misses anything besides an integral or main sunna, then one does not prostrate for it.

f11.5 One does not prostrate for (A: either intentionally or absentmindedly) doing an uncalled for action of the type which when done intentionally does not invalidate the prayer (O: such as turning the head, or taking one or two steps), though reciting a part or all of the Fatiha or Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) at the wrong place in the prayer are exceptions to this in that, although intentionally reciting them at the wrong place does not invalidate the prayer, it does call for a forgetfulness prostration.

f11.6 One performs a forgetfulness prostration for unintentionally doing an uncalled-for action of the type which when done intentionally invalidates the prayer (O : Such as a small amount of extraneous speech), provided it is not the type of action whose unintentional performance also invalidates the prayer (O: such as much extraneous speech or action (def:f9)) (N: since doing it would in any case invalidate the prayer and obviate the need for a forgetfulness prostration). Straightening back up after bowing (f8.31), and sitting between prostration (f8.36) are two brief integrals. To intentionally make them lengthy invalidates one's prayer, though to do so absentmindedly merely calls for a forgetfulness prostration (A: An exception to this is standing at length after bowing in the final rak'a of any prayer, as this does not invalidate the prayer even when done intentionally, and even if one does not supplicate therein.)

f11.7 If one forgets the first Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) and stands up it is unlawful to return to it. If one intentionally returns to it, this invalidates one's prayer (O: because one has interrupted an obligatory act (A: the Integral of standing) for the sake of something nonobligatory (A: the main sunna of the first Testification of Faith (Tashahhud))). But if one returns to it absentmindedly or out of ignorance, one merely prostrates for it, though one must (O: interrupt the Testification of Faith that one has returned to, and) stand up as soon as one remembers. If one (A: has omitted the first Testification of Faith and started to rise, but) checks oneself before standing and sits down again, this does not call for a forgetfulness prostration (O: as it is not a full surplus action (def: f11.3)). But if one intentionally rises and then returns to sitting after having been closer to standing, one's prayer is invalid. If not (O: i.e. if one had not yet been that close or had but returned absentmindedly or in ignorance of its prohibition), it is not (O: invalid). The same applies to omitting the supplication of the dawn prayer (f8.53), where placing the forehead on the ground is as standing up is in the above ruling(N; that is , one may return to the omitted

supplication as long as one has not yet completed one;s (A:first) prostration).

f11.8 When praying behind an imam who misses the first Testification of Faith (Tashuhhud) by standing, the follower may not remain seated to recite it by himself (O: as this is a gross contravention of his leadership and invalidates the prayer when done purposely and in awarness of its prohibition) unless he has made the intention to cease his participation in the group prayer and finish alone. But it the imam omits the first Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) and the follower stands up with in, and then the imam sits, down, it is unlawful for the follower to follow him therein, Rather, the follower should either cease his participation in the group prayer, or else remain standing and wait for the imam to rise before they continue the prayer together. If the follower intentionally sits back down when the imam does (O: knowing it is unlawful) when his prayer is invalid. If the imam is sitting for the Testification of Faith and the follower absentmindedly stands up, then he must sit again, in deference to his imam's leadership (O: because following him in what is correct takes priority over starting an obligatory integral, which is also why the late comer to group prayer may omit both standing and reciting the Fatiha (n: to bow when the imam bows, as above at f8.15)).

f11.9 One does not perform the forgetfulness prostration when one is uncertain (A: i.e. does not know or believe) that one did something that calls for a forgetfulness prostration, or that one added a surplus integral, or did something uncalled for. But if uncertain whether one omitted a main sunna (def: f9.15), or performed the forgetfulness prostration, or whether one prayed three rak'as or four (A: and this includes being uncertain (N: i.e not knowing or believing it probable) that one performed one or more of a rak'a integrals, since without all seventeen integrals (def: f9.14), the rak'a remains unperformed), then one proceeds on the assumption that one did not yet do it (O: returning to the original basis, which was that one had not done it) and one finishes with a forgetfulness prostration. When one's doubt (A: that one has performed an extra rak'a) is resolved before finishing the prayer with Salam, one also prostrates for forgetfulness because of the rak'a one prayed while uncertain, which was presumed to have possibly been extra (A: i.e the final rak'a. which one performed thinking it might be extra). But if performing it would have been obligatory in any case, as when one is uncertain during the third rak'a(A: of a fourrak'a prayer) as to whether it is the third or fourth rak'a (A: both of which would be obligatory for the prayer in any case), but one remembers during it that it is the third, then one does not prostrate for one's forgetfulness, though if one did not remember which it was until rising for the fourth rak'a (A: which one presumed might be the fifth), one prostrates for forgetfulness. (A: The same applies to prayers of less than four rak'as.)

f11.10 The forgetfulness prostration, even if there are numerous reasons for it in one prayer, is only two prostrations.

f11.11 If one comes late to a group prayer and the imam performs a forgetfulness prostration at the end of the group's prayer, one performs it with the group, and once again at the end of one's own prayer. A follower does not prostrate for forgetfulness when he makes an individual mistake (A: the imam did not make) while following (n: unless he omits an integral, as discussed above at f11.2(O:)), though he does prostrate if his mistake occured before joining the group or after the imam finished with Salams. If the imam makes a mistake, even if it was before one joined the group prayer, then one must prostrate for it with the group out of deference to the imam's leadership, one does not it invalidates one's prayer.If the imam neglects to perform a forgetfulness prostration, the follower does so anyway. If one comes late to group prayer, absentmindedly finishes with Salams with the imam, and then remembers (O: the rest of the prayer that one has to complete), one performs the remainder and prostrates for forgetfulness

f11.12 The forgetfulness prostration is a sunna. It is performed before one's final Salams, whether the reason is a surplus action or an omitted one. One is no longer entitled to perform it if one deliberately finishes with Salams before it, or absentmindedly finishes with Salams and there is a lengthy interval before one recalls that one was supposed to have performed it; though if this interval is brief and one wishes, then one may prostrate, and one has thereby returned to the prayer and must again finish it with Salams.

THE KORAN RECITAL PROSTRATION

f11.13 To prostrate for recital of appropriate verses of the Koran is sunna for the person reciting, listening, or merely hearing.

f11.14 One prostrates for one's own recital if praying by oneself or if one is imam (O: but it invalidates one's prayer to intentionally and with knowledge of its prohibition recite a verse for the purpose of prostrating during the prayer (N: if one prostrates therein), except for al-Sajda (Koran 32) recited in the dawn prayer (subh) on Friday. (A: Though if such a

verse merely occurs in the course of one's prayer, as when one is reciting a particular sura containing it, one may prostrate)). But if either of them prostrates upon hearing someone else's recital, it invalidates their prayer. A follower prostrates with his imam. The follower's prayer is invalid if he prostrates for his own recital, the recital of someone besides the imam, or does not prostrate when the imam does.

f11.15 There are fourteen prostration verses, two of them in al-Hajj (Koran 22). They do not include the prostration at Sad (Koran 38:24), which is a prostration of thinks, not of Koran recital, and is only performed outside of prayer. To purposely prostrate for it during the prayer invalidates the prayer.

fil.1.6 When one prostrates for reciting while in the prayer, it is recommended to say "Allahu akbar" before prostrating and again when rising. It is obligatory to stand again after it (O: or to sit up again if performing a nonobligatory prayer seated) and recommended to then recite more of the Koran before one bows. When one prostrates for reciting while outside of the prayer, it is obligatory to say an opening Allahu Akbar (O: and to finish with Salams, The four integrals of both the prostration of Koran recital (A; outside of prayer) and of the prostration of thanks are:

(a) the intention;

(b) the opening Allahu Akbar;

(c) the prostration;

(d) and the final Salams (A: which can only be performed in a sitting position). Whether in or out of prayer, the things that invalidate a normal prayer invalidate the prostrations of recital or thanks, and the conditions of the prayer,i.e. ablution (wudu), clothing nakedness, the entry of the proper time which is when the the last letter of a prostration verse has been recited - facing the direction of prayer (qibla), and so forth, are also conditions of these prostrations). It is recommended to say "Allahu akbar" when one prostrates and rises, though not to recite the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) therein.

f11.17 If one delays the recital prostration past its time and the interval is brief (O: meaningless than the time of two brief, medium-length rak'as) then one is still entitled to prostrate. If longer than that, one does not make it up. When one repeats a prostration verse within one sitting or within one rak'a and one has missed the prostration at its first mention, then it is accomplished b a single prostration (O: though if one prostrates for the first, one still prostrates for the subsequent times, as the reason to do so has been renewed).

f11.18 When reciting the Koran, whether during the prayer or not, it is recommended to ask Allah for mercy at the verses mentioning mercy, and to seek refuge in Him (Ta'awwudh) at verse mentioning punishment.

THE PROSTRATION OF THANKS

f11.19 Whenever a manifest blessing appears in one's life (O: such as a child, wealth, or prestige), it is recommended to prostrate out of thanks to Allah, and likewise when an affliction is averted (O: such as being saved from drowning, regaining health, or the reappearance of someone lost or the death of a tyrant)), or when one sees someone Allah has afflicted with disobedience or illness, though in the latter case one should prostrate in private (O: so as not to sadden the person). The prostration of thanks is the same as the Koran recital prostration outside of the prayer (O: regarding its integrals and conditions (def: f11.16)). It invalidates one's prayer if performed during it.

fil.20 It is unlawful to prostrate without occasion merely to humble oneself to Allah to draw near to Him (O: because it is a reprehensible innovation (bid'a def: w29.3)).

f11.21 The recital prostration's requirements of facing the direction of prayer (qibla), purity, and clothing nakedness are the same those of nonobligatory prayers.

f12.0 GROUP PRAYER AND THE IMAM

GROUP PRAYER

f12.1 Group prayer is a communal obligation (def:c3.2) upon all male nontravellers for the five current prescribed prayers, such that the rite of the prayer be public. (O: In a small town, it is enough to merely gather somewhere and pray. In a city, the prayer must be held in public places such that the manifestations of obedience to Allah's command are evident. If held in houses where the rite of prayer is not public, the obligation remains unfulfilled (A: though a house with a sign on it is sufficient).)

f12.2 Group prayer is sunna for women, travellers, and for makeup prayers in which the imam and followers are performing the same type of prayer; though it is not sunna for a follower's makeup prayer to be performed behind an imam's current prescribed prayer, or for a makeup prayer to be performed behind a different type of makeup (O: such as a follower making up the noon prayer (zuhr) behind an imam who is making up the midafternoon prayer ('asr)).

f12.3 It is personally obligatory to perform the Friday prayer (jumu'a) in a group (A: for every male Muslim who is not travelling).

f12.4 The group prayer for which the demand is the strongest is the dawn prayer (subh), then the nightfall prayer ('isha), and then the midafternoon prayer ('isha), and then the midafternoon prayer ('asr). The minimal number of people for a group prayer is an imam and a follower. It is best for men to perform group prayer at the mosque (O: as the act of going to the mosque makes the group prayer evident). The best mosque in which to pray is the one with the most people. If there is a nearby mosque attended by few people, then it is better to go to a distant one attended by more, unless the imam there commits reprehensible innovations (bid'a def:w29.3), is immoral, does not consider one of the integrals of the prayer to be an integral (n: though this does not matter if it is the result of the imam's following a different school of jurisprudence, as below at f12.29(N:)), or if one's going to the farther mosque will make group prayer impossible at the one nereby (A: as when one is one of the only two people who are likely to come), in all of which cases it is better to pray at the nearby mosque. It is better for women to pray at home than at the mosque (A; whether they are young or old). It is offensive for an attractive or young woman to come to the mosque to pray (O: or for her husband to permit her), though not offensive for women who are not young or attractive when this is unlikely to cause temptation. (N: The author's words here must be interpreted in the light of the following details: If a woman's going to group prayer or elsewhere will definitely lead to temptation between the sexes, it is unlawful for her to go. If such temptation can be definitely prevented, her going to attend group prayer remains sunna, as is attested to by the hadiths that have reached us on the subject. If temptation is feared but not certain to occur, her going becomes offensive. Whether such temptation is likely to occur is something that differs with different times, places, and people. An old woman is not like a young one, nor a righteous society like one in which temptation between the sexes is the rule; nor is a special prayer place set aside for women at a mosque like a prayer place which they share with men. This is why 'A'isha(Allah be well pleased with her) said. 'Had the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) seen what women do now, he would have forbidden them the mosque as the women of Banu Isra'il were forbidden." a hadith reported Bukhari and Muslim. The temptation between the sexes whose occurrence is to be feared when they intermingle is of various degrees, the least of which is a person's appreciating and admiring the other, then being attracted to enamored with the other, and finally, those indecencies which are not hidden from anyone. Islam is eager to eliminate evil at its inception and extirpate temptation from its outset, and the word of Allah Most High. "Tell believers to lower their eyes and to guard their private parts" (Koran 24:30), explains both the starting point and final outcome of the temptation of men through women and the temptation of women through men.)

- f12.5 There is no demand to go to group prayer (O: whether communally obligatory (dis: f12.1), personally obligatory (f12.3), or sunna (f12.2)), when there is a valid excuse not to, such as:
- (1) hardship due to rain or snow that soaks clothing;
- (2) hardship due to heavy mud (O: from getting soiled or slipping when walking through it);
 - (3) (O: severe) winds at night (O: or dawn);
- (4) severe heat or cold (O: because of the hardship of moving in them, and likewise intense darkness at night, which is an excuse not to attend);
- (5) being in the presence of food or drink that onewants to have (O: as they obviate the awe and humility befitting they prayer. One should eat enough to take the edge off one's hunger (A: and then go to join the group));
- (6) holding back from going to the toilet or breaking wind (O; as one should relieve oneself first, even if one fears missing the group prayer);
 - (7) hazard to one's person;
- (8) hazard to one's property (O: from theft or seizure, whether it belongs to oneself or to another whose property one is obliged to protect. It also includes bread one has put in the oven that would burn if one were to leave and attend the prayer):
- (9) hardship from an ailment (O: even when one is able to attend, if it entails a hardship comparable to that of walking in the rain. If one is suffering from a slight indispostion such as a toothache or the like, it is not an excuse);
- (10) taking care of a sick person (O: who would suffer harm if one left to pray, whether a relative, friend, or total stranger) or taking care of someone ill who is strongly attached to one's staying with him;
- (11) the death of relative, friend, (O: or spouse);
- (12) fear of missing the impending departure of the party one intends to travel with;
- (13) having eaten something with a bad odor(O: such as raw onions or garlic, though not if
- cooked as this eliminates the smell);

(14) or fear of meeting someone who will try to collect a debt one owes him and one is unable to pay. (O: The demand for group prayer is not eliminated by other the above excuses.)

f12.6 It is a condition of a valid group prayer that the follower intend to follow the imam (O: whether at the opening Allahu Akbar or thereafter). If the follower neglects to do so, his prayer is as if he had performed it alone. It invalidates one;s prayer to purposely omit the intention to follow the imam while at the same time praying behind him and following his motions by awaiting them at length, though awaiting them shortly or performing one's own prayer simultaneously with his does not invalidate it. It invalidates one's prayer to take a follower as one's imam when the follower is concurrently praying behind an imam (O: though if his imam finishes with Salams and the follower is still praying, he may then be taken as one's imam.).

f12.7 The imam intends the prayer as imam. If he neglects this intention then his own prayer counts as if he had prayed alone (N: though his follower's prayer counts as a group prayer), the imam having lost the reward for praying in a group. In the Friday prayer (jumu'a), it is a necessary counts for the prayer's validity that the imam intend leading as imam.

f12.8 When going to a group prayer, it is recommended to walk with tranquillity. (O: It is sunna not to gambol about, speak of disapproved things, or engage in acts which are offensive in the prayer itself, such as looking right or left.) It is recommended to diligently seek the spiritual merit of being at the group prayer's opening Allahu Akbar, meaning that one says it just after the imam does.

f12.9 If one has begun a nonobligatory prayer when the call commence (iqama) is given, one should finish it before joining the group, as long as one does not fear the group will finish before one can join them. If afraid they will, then one interrupts the nonobligatory prayer to join them. If one has begun praying a prescribed prayer alone and the call to commence (iqama) is given for a group prayer, it is recommended to turn one's prayer into a supererogatory prayer of two raka's and pray the prescribed prayer with the group. Were one to merely change one's intention to that of following their imam, it would count as a valid group prayer for one, but it is offensive. In such a case if one reaches the end of one's prayer before the group, one may either wait for them to finish with one while sitting in the final Testification of Faith (Tashahhud), or else finish with Salams as soon as one reaches the end of one's prayer. (O: One may not follow the imam in what is in excess of one's own prayer.)

f12.10 It is permissible to start praying with a group, and then cease one's participation in praying with them (A: by a silent intention) and finish one's prayer alone, though this is offensive when there is no excuse, such as being ill, or unable to endure the imam's lengthy Koran recital because of weakness or having business to attend to (N: or a pressing emergency).)

f12.11 When one arrives late to a group prayer in which the imam is already bowing, it is obligatory for one to say the opening Allahu Akbar while standing upright, after which one says a second Allahu Akbar before one bows to join the group (O: though if one only says it once, intending the opening Allahu Akbar thereby, then omitting the second Allahu Akbar of bowing does no harm, as it is sunna). If any part of one's opening Allahu Akhar occurs when one is not standing upright (def: f8.27), one's prayer is invalid. A latecomer is considered to have performed the raka if he manages to say "Allahu akbar," bow, and remains motionless a moment therein before the imam straightens up beyond the definitional limit of bowing (f8.29). If one is uncertain as to whether the imam straightened up past the limits of bowing before one reached that position, or whether it was after, then one has not performed the raka (O: as one assumes, when uncertain, that one had not yet reached it). Nor does the raka count for such a follower when it does not count for the imam, such as when the imam nullifies his ablution (wudu), or has overlooked something impure on his person, or has mistakenly added a fifth raka to his prayer. If one does not join the group until the imam has straightened up from bowing, or thereafter, then one follows his motions, saying 'Allah akbar" with him and repeating "Subhan Allah" and the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) when he does, even when this does not correspond to the raka in which one's own Testification of Faith would be if one were praying alone. If one joins the group just as the imam is prostrating or sitting in the final Testification of Faith, then one prostrates or sits with him (N: after having recited one's opening Allahu Akbar while standing) without (A: a second) Allahu Akbar (O: though one does say "Subhan Allah" in prostration and recite the Testification of Faith with the imam, in deference to his leadership). If the final Testification of Faith of the imam coincides with one's own first Testification, then when the imam finishes with Salams, one stands up with an Allahu Akbar to finish one's prayer; though if the

imam's final Testification does not coincide with one's first Testification, one rises to finish without an Allahu Akbar. f12.12 Whenever one joins the group before the imam finishes with Salams, one has attained the merit of the group prayer. (N: But it is less than the merit of praying with the group from the beginning or joining them in the middle, though joining them at the end is better than praying alone.)

f12.13 That rakas one performs before the imam finishes with Salams are the first rakas of ones prayer, and those performed after the imam finishes are the last. Hence, if the imam performs the dawn prayer's supplication (def: 18.53) in the raka in which one joins the group, one repeats it in one's own second raka.

f12.14 It is obligatory for one to follow the imam's leadership in prayer actions, such that each of one's movements begins after the imam begins it and before he finishes (N: the following integral). (O: It is highly desirable that) one follows the imam's spoken integrals in the same way, with the sole exception of saying "Ameen" (def: 18.19), which should be simultaneous with his. It invalidates one's prayer to say one's opening Allahu Akbar simultaneously with the imam, or to be uncertain as to whether one did so or not. It is offensive to perform some other part of the prayer simultaneously with the imam, and one thereby loses the merit of group prayer.

f12.15 It is offensive to proceed to an integral ahead of the imam, as when one bows before he does, and one is recommended to return to following him. (N: An "integral" in rulings concerning the person who gets ahead of the imam or lags behind him refers to integrals that are physical actions, such as standing, bowing, straightening up, prostrating, or sitting up between prostrations. It does not refer to spoken integrals such as reciting the Fatiha, or to remaining motionless for a moment in the various positions.) It is unlawful, though it does not invalidate the prayer, to completely finish an integral before the imam comes to it, as when one bows, straightens up, and then waits for him to straighten up. It invalidates one's prayer to completely finish two integrals before the imam does, if one does so intentionally (O: and knowing it is unlawful). If one does so absentmindedly (O: or in ignorance of its prohibition), it does not invalidate the prayer, but the raka does not count (O: and one must add an additional raka after the imam finishes with

LAGGING BEHIND THE IMAM

f12.16 If there is no excuse (def: below), it is offensive to lag behind the imam until he completely finishes an integral (def: f12.15(N:)) ahead of one, and it invalidates one's prayer to lag behind the imam until he finishes to integrals. If the imam bows and straightens up while (N: without excuse) one has not yet bowed, it does not invalidate one's prayer until the imam actually begins going down towards prostration and one still has not bowed (O: since lagging means that the imam has finished two integrals before the follower has reached the first of them). This invalidates one's prayer even before the imam reaches prostration, as he has completed two integrals.

f12.17 When one lags behind the imam for a valid reason, such as one's slow recital (O: the imam being fast in his recital) due to one's inability (A: whether natural inability or being a non-Arabic-speaker), not merely to unfounded misgivings (waswasa, def: s3.3), and the imam bows, then it is obligatory for one to finish the Fatiha (O: one is not entitled in such a case to simply omit the rest of the Fatiha and bow with the imam, as a latecomer is entitled to do (dis: f8.15, third par.)), after which one rapidly performs the elements of the prayer to catch up with the imam, provided the imam is not more than three (O: long) integrals ahead of one. (O: Long excludes the integrals of straightening up after bowing and sitting between prostrations, which are short. Rather, the imam's being three integrals ahead of one means he has bowed, prostrated once, and begun the second prostration, while the follower still has not bowed.) If one is further behind than that (O: as when he has started to stand up while one is still standing for recital), then one follows from where one is (N: the number of rakas one has done) and performs the ones missed after the imam finishes with Salams.

f12.18 When the imam is bowing or in the final Testification of Faith (Tashahhud), and becomes aware of someone coming to join the group prayer, it is recommended that he wait for the latecome (N: so the raka counts for him if they are bowing, or so the group prayer counts for him if they are in the final Testification of Faith), provided:

(a) that the person has entered the mosque or place of prayer;

(b) that the wait is not excessively long;

(c) and that the imam's intention is obedience to Allah, not to give distinction or honor to the latecomer, such as by waiting for the noble but not the lowly. Waiting for a latecomer is offensive in other than bowing and the final Testification of Faith.

f12.19 When a mosque has an imam assigned to it (O:by the person in charge of the mosque, or as a condition of an endowment (waqf, def:k30)), and the mosque is not in a busy location, it is offensive for another to commence the group

prayer without the imam's permission (O: because the imamate is his, no one else's, and because of the alienation and hurty feelings it involves). It is not offensive for another to do so in a mosque at a busy location or one to which no imam has been assigned.

f12.20 When one has already performed one's prescribed prayer alone or in a group, and finds another group prayer being performed, it is recommended to repeat one's prayer with them, intending the obligatory prayer. (A: The first fulfills one's obligation of the prescribed prayer, but one intends repeating, e.g., the noon prayer (zuhr).) Its reward is that of a supererogatory prayer.

f12.21 The imam is recommended to keep his recital of sura brief (O: not necessarily the absolute minimum, but not the maximum desirable for someone praying alone). When leading a group composed solely of those who do not mind lengthy prayers, he is recommended to lengthen the recital. (O: The imam should not prolong the recital when he does not know how everyone feels, and of those present some generally prefer lengthy rakas and some do not, or when praying in a mosque at a busy location where people often join the prayer after the imam has begun.)

f12.22 When the imam stops reciting the Koran because of uncertainty, it is recommended for the follower to remind him of what comes next. (N: When he does not stop but merely hesitates, the follower does not remind him, so as not to fluster him.) If the imam forgets an invocation (dhikr), the follower says it so the imam can hear. If he forgets an action, the follower should remind him of it by saying "Subhan Allah" (n: with the intention of invocation, as at f9.4(O:)). If the imam remembers having missed the action, he performs it. But if he does not remember having missed it. It is not permissible for him to perform it just because the followers or others are reminding him, even if they are numerous. (A: The more reliable opinion is that if their number reaches four or more, he must act upon it.)

f12.23 If the imam omits an obligatory element of the prayer (O: and does not return to it and perform it), then it is obligatory for the follower to cease his participation (def: f12.10) in the group prayer. If the imam omits a sunna that the follower cannot add without considerably lagging behind, such as the first Testification of Faith (Tashahhud), then it is unlawful for the follower to perform the missing sunna (O:rather, he must follow the imam). If he performs it anyway (O: intentionally and knowing it is unlawful), it invalidates his prayer, though he is entitled to cease his participation in the group prayer to perform the sunna in the course of finishing his own prayer alone. IF the sunna omitted by the imam can be done without much of a lag, such is sitting briefly before rising for a new raka (def: f8.40), then the follower may add it without ceasing his participation in the group. (O: This also applies to when the imam omits the dawn prayer's supplication (f. 8.53), which the follower may perform it he can catch up with the imam before the imam lifts his head from the second prostration, though if the imam lifts his head before the follower has prostrated even once and the follower has not intended to cease his participation in the group prayer, then the follower's prayer is invalid.)

f12.24 Whenever the imam ceases his prayer because of his ablution (wudu) being nullified, or another reason, he may choose a successor to finish leading the prayer, provided the successor is eligible (def: f12.27) to lead the group. If the group performs a whole integral (f12.15(N:)) after the imam has stopped leading, then he may no longer choose a successor. Any follower may be picked as the successor (O: even if he came late to the group prayer). If a latecomer, he leads the group beginning at the same point in the prayer where the imam left off. When he finishes leading them in their prayer, he stands (O: to finish his own), and indicates to them to cease following his leadership, or better yet, indicates for them to remain waiting for him (A: in their final Testification of Faith (Tashahhud)) until he comes to it after finishing his own rakas. If he does not know which raka the imam was in, then he should observe (O: by looking left or right to see if the followers are sitting or) whether they are ready to rise. If they are, he rises, and if not, then he sits in a Testification of Faith. It is permissible for the successor to be someone who has not been praying with the group, provided he is picked in the first or third raka (if the prayer has four rakas), though he may not be picked in the second or fourth raka (A: because the order of the person's prayer will not correspond to theirs, for such a person is not committed to the imam's order). The followers need not intend to follow the successor. They may each simply break off and finish alone. If the imam chooses someone but they put forward someone else, their choice takes

THE IMAMATE

f12.25 The one with the right to be imam (N: in order of preference, when there is a disagreement) is:

(1) the most learned in Sacred Law (A: i.e. the rulings concerned with prayer) (O: even if he has not memorised any of the Koran except the Fatiha, since the need in prayer for

knowledge of its rules is practically unlimited, while the only Koran recital required is the Faitha):

- (2) he who has memorized the most Koran:
- (3) the most godfearing (O: because leading the prayer is an embassage between the servant and Allah Most High, and best befits him most honoured by Allah);
 - (4) he who has been a Muslim longest;
- (5) the noblest in lineage;
- (6) he with the best life history or reputation;
- (7) the cleanest in person and clothes;
- (8) he with the best voice;
- (9) and the most handsome.

When only one of the above is present, he is chosen. If all people present or some of them possess one or more of these characteristics, then someone from the first of the list takes priority over those listed after him. If two are equal and each insists on being the imam, they draw lots. (N: It is permissible for a less qualified person to lead, even when a better qualified one is present.) The imam assigned to a mosque or a person living in the house where the prayer takes place, even if only renting, takes precedence over everyone on the list, from the most learned on down, though he may select anyone else he wishes to lead the prayer. The sultan and those under him, of Islamic judges, regional governors, and so on, take precedence over even the imam of the mosque, the householder, and others. The following take precedence even when the latter is more learned in Sacred Law:

- (1) a nontraveller over a traveller:
- (2) an upright person (def: o24.4) over a corrupt one:
- (3) and an adult over a child. A slighted and a blind person are equally eligible to lead the prayer.

f12.26 It is offensive for someone to lead a group at prayer when most of the group dislike him for a reason recognised by Sacred Law (O: such as wrongdoing, not taking precautions against filth (najasa), having a blameworthy income, keeping the company of oppressors or the immoral, and so forth. If a minority dislike him, it is not offensive, for nobody lacks someone who dislikes him).

f12.27 It is not permissible (O: or valid) to follow an imam who is non-Muslim, insane, in a state of ritual impurity (def: e7,e10), or who has filth (najasa) on his clothing or person, or is a woman leading men, or someone who omits or mispronounces (def: f8.18) a letter of the Fatiha leading someone who knows it, or a mute, or someone who slurs the words so the letters are indistinct from one another, or someone with a lisp. If after the prayer one finds out that the imam was one of the above, then one must make up the prayer, unless the imam had filth upon him that was concealed, or he was in a state of ritual impurity (N: in which cases one need not make it up).

f12.28 The group prayer is valid:

(1) When the imam is performing a supererogatory prayer and the follower is performing a

prescribed prayer, or vice versa;

- (2) when the imam is performing the noon prayer (zuhr) and the follower is praying the dawn prayer (subh) (A: i.e. when the type of prayer differs), or vice versa;
- (3) when the imam is praying while sitting and the follower is praying standing, or vice versa;
- (4) and when the imam is performing a makeup prayer and the follower is performing a current one, or vice versa. (n: But a person shortening his prayer because of travelling may not pray behind an imam who is performing the full number, as at

113.8(1.)
f12.29 It is valid for a Shafii to follow the leadership of an imam who follows a different school of jurisprudence whenever the follower is not certain that the imam has omitted an obligatory element of the prayer, though if certain the imam has omitted one, it is not valid to follow him. The validity is based solely on the belief of the follower as to whether or not something obligatory has been omitted. (N: One should mention the position of the Malikis and Hanbalis here, which is that the criterion for the validity of following the imam is the imam's school of jurisprudence, such that if his prayer is valid in his own school, it is permissible to follow him as imam. How close this is to the spirit of the Law, which strives for Muslim unity.)

f12.30 It is offensive to take an immoral person (def: o24.3(A:)) as imam (O: because he might not be concerned about the things that are obligatory in the prayer), or someone who stutters over the letter f or the letter t, or who makes inconsequential mistakes in the Arabic vowelling (O: that do not change the meaning).

RULES AND CONDITIONS OF FOLLOWING

F12.31 When there are two or more male followers, it is sunna for them to stand behind the imam. A single male follower stands on the imam's right, and if a second follower arrives, the newcomer stands to the imam's left and says his opening Allahu Akbar, after which the two followers move back (O: little by little). If they cannot move back (O: for lack of room) then the imam moves forward.

f12.32 When there are men, boys, and women present, the men form the front row or rows, then the boys, and then the

wome. (A: This is also the rule for husband and wife: the wife prays in a separate row behind the husband.) (O: If the men's back row is incomplete, it should be completed with boys (A: and a latecomer may not remove the boys to make a place for himself unless they are directly behind the imam). Those who form a new row behind a row that is incomplete do not attain the merit of group prayer.) A woman leading women in prayer stands in the middle of their first row.

fi2.33 It is offensive for the imam's place to be higher or lower than the follower's unless the imam wishes to teach the followers the actions of prayer. If the imam and follower are not in a mosque, it is obligatory that part of the imam's body be level with part of the follower's when both are of average height.

f12.34 A latecomer to a group prayer who does not find a place in the last row should stand behind it, begin his prayer with the opening Allahu Akbar, and then indicate to someone in the row to stand with him, by drawing him back; and it is recommended that the person selected cooperate by stepping back (A: this is only if the latecomer does not expect anyone else to come).

f12.35 The follower's prayer is invalid if his heel is farther forward than the imam's. (O: He should be farther back than the imam's heel, even if only a little, but not more than 1.44 meters, for otherwise the merit of group prayer is lost (A:i.e. unrewarded, though not legally invalid).)

f12.36 Whenever an imam leads a follower in a mosque, the group prayer is valid no matter if they are at a distance from each other, and no matter whether they are in the same chamber or not, as when one of them is on the roof (even if the door is closed) and the other is in the mosque's well, provided that (O: both places open onto the mosque, and that) the follower can know when the imam is performing the motions of the prayer, whether by seeing the imam, or hearing his backup man (muballigh, the person who repeats the imam's Allahu Akbars and Salams in a loud voice so people can hear). Multiple interconnected mosques opening onto each other are considered as one mosque (O: and so are the mosque's outer courtyards, even when there is a walkway between the courtyard and mosque).

MAXIMAL DISTANCES BETWEEN THE IMAM AND FOLLOWERS

f12.37 When the imam and follower are not in a mosque, but are in an open expanse such as a desert or large house, their group prayer is valid as long as the distance between them does not exceed approximately 144 meters. If farther apart than this, their group prayer is not valid. If there are rows of people behind the imam, this distance is the maximum that is valid between each row and the one in front of it, even if there are miles between the imam and the last row, or a fire, river that would have to be swum to reach him, or busy street between them. If the imam is in one building and the follower in another, such as two houses, or if there is a house, inn, or school where the imam is in a courtvard and the follower is under a covered porch, or vice versa, then the maximum allowable distance is the same as for outdoors (def: above), provided that there is nothing between the imam and follower that obstructs passage to the imam, such as a latticework window (O: and provided that there is nothing that prevents the follower from seeing him, such as a closed door) The group prayer is valid when the imam is in a mosque and the follower is in an adjoining space, provided that there is 144 meters or less between the follower and the edge of the mosque, and that between the follower and the mosque there is not a barrier lacking a breach in it, breach meaning, for example, when the follower is standing before a wall's open gate. If such a person's group prayer with the imam is thus valid, then the prayer of those behind him or in the row with him is also valid. even when (O: these others are numerous, and) the group extends beyond the area fronting the gate. Such a person's group prayer is not valid if he turns from the gate, or if the wall of the mosque, a window, or a closed door (locked or not) lies between him and the imam.

f13.0 TIMES WHEN THE PRAYER IS FORBIDDEN

f13.1 (O: The rules below apply to prayers that are wholly supererogatory, i.e. which are not performed for any particular occasion or reason, and apply to prayers performed for a reason that will occur after the prayer, such as the two sunna rakas before entering the state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram).)

f13.2 The prayer is unlawful and invalid:

(1) from sunrise until the sun is a spear's length above the horizon (N: meaning when a distance

equal to the sun's diameter appears between the sun and the horizon):

- (2) from the time the sun is at its highest point in the sky until it moves on;
- (3) from when the sun yellows before sunset until after it has set;
 - (4) after praying the current dawn prayer (subh);
 - (5) and after praying the current midafter-noon prayer (asr).

f13.3 It is permissible at the above times to offer nonobligatory prayers that are performed for a particular reason, such as the funeral prayer, greeting the mosque (def: f10.10), or the two rakas that are sunna after ablution (wudu); and is also permissible to make up missed prayers; though one may not perform the two rakas that are sunna before entering the state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram).

f13.4 It is not offensive to pray within the Meccan Sacred Precinct (Haram) at any time. Nor is it offensive to pray when the sun is at its zenith on Fridays (N: whether in the Sacred Precinct or elsewhere).

f14.0 THE PRAYER OF A SICK PERSON

f14.1 Someone unable to stand may pray the prescribed prayer seated (O: and need not make it up), unable meaning that standing involves manifest hardship, will cause illness or the worsening of a present illness, or cause vertigo, as when one is on a ship. Such a person may sit for the prayer any way he likes, though the iftirash style of sitting (def: f8.37) is recommended. It is offensive in prayer to simply sit on the ground, palms down and knees drawn up, or to sit with legs outstretched (A: when there is no excuse).

f14.2 When seated for the prayer, the minimal bowing is to incline until the forehead is farther forward than the knees. The optimal way is to incline until the forehead is as far forward as the place where the head rests in prostration. When unable to bow or prostrate, one comes as close to the ground with the forehead as one can. When unable to do this, one performs them by nodding.

f14.3 If an abscess or the like prevents one from sitting, then one "sits" standing (A: meaning ordinary standing, with the intention of sitting (N: so that one stands between prostrations and for the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud).

f14.4 If one is capable of standing but suffers from a painful swelling of the eyes or something similar (O: such as a wound that can be treated by having the patient remain lying down) and a reliable physician (O: in terms of knowledge and expertise in medicine, who can be believed) tells one that praying while on one's back will enable one to be treated, then it is permissible to pray while lying down O: without having to make up the prayer)

f14.5 If unable to stand and unable to sit, one lies on one's right side (O: the right is recommended) facing the direction of prayer (qibla) with the face and front of the one's body, though one must bow and prostrate if possible (O: meaning one stands up enough to bow, then bows, then prostrates; or else sits up and bows). If this is not possible, one bows and prostrates by merely nodding one's head (O: bringing one's forehead as near to the ground as possible), deeper for prostration than for bowing. If unable to even nod, one merely glances down with the eyes for bowing and prostration. If one cannot, one goes through the integrals of the prayer in one's mind. If unable to speak (O: to recite the Fatiha) one recites it in one's heart. The obligation of prayer exists as long as one is able to reason (dis: f1.1, second par.).

f14.6 If one is standing during the prayer and becomes unable to remain standing, one sits to finish the prayer. If this occurs during the Fatiha, one may not interrupt reciting it, but must continue to do so as one proceeds to sit. If one's condition improves enough (O: i.e. if seated during a prescribed prayer because of illness and a recovery of strength enables one to now stand), then one must stand to complete the prayer.

f15.0 SHORTENING OR JOINING PRAYERS FOR TRAVEL OR RAIN

(A: The two travel dispensations of shortening and joining pravers have no effect on each other; one may take both together, either, or none. It is superior in our school not to take dispensations that are permissible.)

SHORTENING PRAYERS WHILE TRAVELLING

f15.1 It is permissible to shorten the current prescribed prayers of noon (zuhr), midafternoon (asr), and nightfall (isha) to two rakas each, when one:

(a) is travelling for a reason that is not disobedience to Allah (O: as there is no dispensation to shorten prayers on such a trip);

(b) on a journey of at least 48 Hashemite miles (n: approximately 81 km./50 mi.) one way. One may also shorten the above prayers when one both misses them and makes them up on the trip, though one must pray the full number if one misses them while not travelling and makes them up on the trip, or misses them on the trip and makes them up while not travelling.

f15.2 This distance (n: 81 ka/50 mi. one way) holds for travel by water as well as by land. If such a distance is traversed in an instant (O: preternaturally, because of a miracle (karama, def: w30)), one may still shorten the prayer. (O: The brevity of the time taken to travel the distance is of no consequence.)

f15.3 When there are two routes to a destination and one of them is less than the distance that permits shortening prayers but one chooses the longer way for a legitimate purpose such as safety, convenience, or recreation (O: provided that recreation is merely the reason for taking that route, not the reason for the trip itself, which must have some other legitimate purpose such as trade, for an outing is not a legitimate purpose) then one may shorten prayers. But if the only reason for choosing the longer way is to take the dispensation, then doing so is not valid and one must pray the full number. (A: Purely recreational trips whose purpose is not disobedience are permissible, but there are no travel dispensations in them, though if undertaken in order to gain religious knowledge, to visit a fellow Muslim, or visit the grave of a righteous or learned Muslim (dis: g5.8), these and similar purposes are legitimate and permit the dispensations.)

f15.4 The journey's destination must be known. If a wife travelling with her husband or a soldier with his leader does not know the destination, they may not shorten their prayers (N: as long as they have not yet travelled the distance that permits shortening. When they have travelled it, then they may). If they know the destination and the journey meets the conditions (def: f15.1), then they may shorten their prayers (N: from the beginning of the journey).

f15.5 Someone whose journey constitutes an act of disobedience, such as a woman travelling against her husband's wishes, may not shorten their prayer but must pray the full number. (O: The same applies to someone who undertakes a legitimate trip and then changes the purpose of it to disobedience.) (N: Though shortening prayers is permissible for someone who commits an act of disobedience while on a legitimate trip, as when someone travels for trade, but then sins by drinking wine, for example.)

THE REGINNING OF THE IOURNEY

f15.6 If one's city has walls, one may begin shortening prayers as soon as one has passed them, whether or not there are other buildings outside them. If there are no walls, one may shorten one's prayers after passing beyond the last buildings, excluding farms, orchards, and cemeteries. (N: When the buildings of a city extend to the next city, one's journey begins at the former's city limits, or at what people commonly acknowledge (def: f4.5) to be the edge of town.) A desert dweller may begin shortening prayers when he passes beyond his people's tents. (O: A person living in a valley begins shortening prayers when he has traversed the distance of the valley's width. Someone living on a hill begins when he comes down from it. A person living in a gorge begins when he climbs up out of it.)

THE END OF THE JOURNEY

f15.7 When the trip ends one must pray the full number of rakas for each prayer. A trip ends when one reaches one's hometown. It also ends:

(1) by the mere intention to stay in a place at least 4 full days, not counting the day one arrives or the day one departs;

(2) or by staying that long without the intention, so that after one has stayed 4 full days, not counting the days of arrival and departure, one prays the full number of rakas, unless one is staying in a place in order to fulfill a purpose that one expects to accomplish and intends to leave as soon as one does. As long as this is the case, one may shorten one's prayers for up to 18 days. If longer than this, one prays the full number. This holds for both jihad (def: o9) and other purposes. When one reaches one's destination and intends to stay there for a significant amount of time (O: 4 days), one must pray the full number of rakas, but if not (O: as when not intending to stay at all, or intending 3 days or less), then one may continue shortening prayers for either 4 days (O: if one learns that one cannot accomplish one's purpose during them), or 18, if one can expect one's purpose to be accomplished at any moment

THE CONDITIONS FOR SHORTENING THE PRAYER f15.8 The conditions for shortening the prayer while travelling are:

(a) (O: that the trip be legitimate (def: f15.5);

(b) that it be at least 81 km./50 mi. one way;

(c) that the destination be known (f15.4));

(d) that the prayer take place from start to finish while one the trip (A: if one's vehicle arrives before the prayer is finished, one prays the full number);

(e) that the intention to shorten the prayer coincide with the opening Allahu Akbar (O: it not being valid if made after

(f) that no portion of the prayer be performed while following an imam who is praying the full number of rak'as; (g) (O: that one be aware of the permissibility of shortening

prayers for travel; (h) and that the intention be free of things which nullify it

(A: such as vacillation or doubts (dis: below). One must pray the full number of rakas if: (1) (non-(d) above) the intention to stay at the place for 4

days occurs during the prayer; (2) (non-(h)) one is uncertain whether one's intention was

to shorten, but one soon recalls that one did intend it:

(3) (non-(h)) one vacilates in the intention between shortening the prayer or not doing so:

(4) or (non-(f)) one does not know whether one's imam is shortening or not, though if one does not know the imam's intention, it is valid to intend that if the imam shortens the prayer, one will shorten, and if he prays the full number, one will pray the full number, and then to do this.

JOINING TWO PRAYERS DURING A JOURNEY

f15.9 It is permissible to join the noon prayer (zuhr) and midafternoon prayer (asr) during the time of either of them (N; or the Friday prayer (jumua) and midafternoon prayer in the time of the Friday prayer), and permissible to similarly join the sunset prayer (maghrib) and nightfall prayer (isha) during the time of either, provided one joins them during a journey in which prayer may be shortened (def: f15.8 (a,b,c,d). If one stops travelling (A: to rest, for example) during the time of the first of the two prayers, then this is the best time to join them, but if one is travelling steadily during the first time, the time of the second is better.

f15.10 The conditions for joining two prescribed prayers on a trip in the time of the first of them are:

(a) that the trip continue (A: until one finishes both prayers):

(b) that the first of the two be prayed first;

(c) that the intention to join the two prayers occur before finishing the first, either coinciding with the opening Allahu Akbar, or occuring during the prayer;

(d) and that one not separate the two prayers by waiting between them, though a short interval (A: meaning one that could contain two rakas of the briefest possible) is of no consequence, nor is a brief search for water (dis: e12.3) by someone who has performed dry ablution (tayammum). If one prays the second of the two prayers before the first (non-(b) above,), then that prayer is invalid (O: and must be repeated after the first, if one still wants to join them). One must wait to perform the second of the two prayers until its own time if:

(1) (non-(a) above) one finishes one's journey before performing the second prayer;

(2) (non-(c)) one neglects to intend joining them during the first prayer;

(3) or (non-(d)) one waits at length between them.

f15.11 If one has performed both prayers and the journey subsequently ends (A: whether in the time of the first prayer or the time of the second), they are and remain valid.

f15.12 The necessary condition for joining two prayers in the time of the second of them (A: in addition to f15.8 (a b c d)) is that one make the intention to do so before the end of the first prayer's time (O: by an interval which could contain at least one raka). If one neglects this intention, one has sinned, and praying the first prayer during the second prayer's time is considered making it up.

f15.13 When joining two prayers in the time of the second, it is recommended (A: not obligatory):

(1) to pray the first one before the second:

(2) to not pause at length between them;

(3) and that the intention to join them be present during the prayer one performs first.

JOINING PRAYERS BECAUSE OF RAIN

f15.14 It is permissible for a nontraveller to pray the noon prayer (zuhr) and the midafternoon prayer (asr) at the time of the noon prayer (N: or the Friday prayer (jumua) and midafternoon prayer at the time of the Friday prayer), and to similarly pray the sunset prayer (maghrib) and nightfall prayer (isha) at the time of the sunset prayer if:

(a) it is raining hard enough to wet one's clothing (O: and like rain in this is melted snow or hail):

(b) one is praying with a group in a mosque (O: or other place of prayer):

(c) the mosque is far (O: from one's door, i.e. far by common acknowledgement (def: f4.5));

(d) it is raining when the first prayer begins, when it ends, and when the second prayer begins;

(e) and conditions f15.10 (b,c,d) exist.

f15.15 (A: If one arrives during the second of two prayers joined because of rain and does not finish one's own first prayer before the group finishes their second, then one is no longer entitled to join one's prayers for rain. It is a necessary condition that one pray at least part of the second prayer with them though one may hurry through one's own first prayer alone to catch up with and join them during their second.)

f15.16 If the rain stops after one finishes the two prayers or during the second one, both prayers are and remain valid.

f15.17 It is not permissible to join two prayers in the time of the second of them because of rain.

f15.18 (n: In the Shafii school, there are no valid reasons other than travel or rain for joining prayers, though others exist in the Hanbali school, as discussed in what follows.) (Abd al-Rahman Jaziri:) The hanbalis hold that the above mentioned joining between the noon prayer (zuhr) and midafternoon prayer (asr), or between the sunset prayer (maghrib) and nightfall prayer (isha) is permissible, whether in the time of the first prayer of each of these two pairs, or in

the time of the second prayer of each of them, though it is superior not to join them. It is a necessary condition for the permissibility of joining them that the person praying be:

- (1) a traveller on a trip in which shortening prayers is
- (2) a sick person for whom not to join prayers would pose a hardship;
- (3) a woman who is nursing an infant, or who has chronic vaginal discharge (dis: e13.6), since she is permitted to join prayers to obviate the hardship of purification for every single
- (4) someone with an excuse similar to the woman with chronic discharge, such as a person unable to prevent intermittent drops of urine coming from him (e 13.7);
- (5) or someone who fears for himself, his property, or his reputation, or who fears harm in earning his living if he does not join prayers; the latter giving leeway to workers for whom it is impossible to leave their work. (al-Fiqh ala almadhahib al-arbaa (y66), 1.487)

PRAYING THE SUNNA RAKAS WHEN ONE JOINS PRAYERS

f15.19 (O: When one wants to join the midafternoon prayer (asr) and noon prayer (zuhr) in the time of the noon prayer, one first prays the sunnas that come before the noon prayer, followed by the noon prayer, the midafternoon prayer, the sunnas that come after the noon prayer, and then the sunnas that come before the midafternoon prayer. Similarly, when one joins the nightfall prayer (isha) with the sunset prayer (maghrib), one prays the sunnas that come before the sunset prayer, and postpones those that follow the sunset prayer until after one has prayed the nightfall prayer, after which one prays the sunnas that come before and after the nightfall prayer, and then witr. Their order is sunna.)

f16.0 THE PRAYER OF PERIL

f16.1 The prayer of peril may be performed when the Muslims are engaged in permissible fighting (O: whether obligatory, as when fighting non-Muslims or highwaymen whom the caliph (def: o25) is fighting, or permissible, as when fighting someone who is trying to take one's property or that of others).

f16.2 When the enemy is not in the direction of prayer (qibla), the imam divides the Muslim force into two groups. One group faces the enemy while the other prays a raka, the group makes the intention to cease following his leadership in the prayer and then finishes their second raka alone as individuals while the imam remains standing at the beginning of his second raka, reciting the Koran and awaiting the second group. Then this first group goes to relieve the others in facing the enemy, and the others come and begin their group prayer behind the imam, who is still standing and who remains so long enough for the second group to recite the Fatiha and a short sura. At the end of this raka when the imam sits in the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud), the group rises and performs their second raka without him (while he remains sitting at the end of his second raka waiting for them to reach the same point in their own prayer). When they catch up with him, he closes the prayer with Salams. If this prayer is the sunset prayer (maghrib), the first group prays two rakas following the imam's lead, and the second group follows him in the third raka. If it is a prayer with four rakas, then each group follows the imam for two rakas. The imam may also divide the Muslim force into four groups and have each group pray one raka behind him.

f16.3 When the enemy is visible in the direction of prayer (qibla) and the Muslims are numerous, the imam arranges them in two or more rows, opens the group prayer with "Allahu akbar," and (O: after reciting the Faitha with all of them) he bows and straightens up with everyone following his lead. Then he prostrates together with the row nearest him, while the other row remains standing. When the imam and his row stand after their second prostration, the other row performs its own prostrations and rises to catch up with the imam and his row, who have remained standing waiting for them. In the second raka all bow and straighten up together, but when the imam prostrates, the second row, who remained standing on guard before, prostrate with him while the row nearest him remain standing on guard. When those who have prostrated with the imam sit back (O: after their prostration, for the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud)) then the row nearest him (O: who have been standing on guard) prostrate (O: and catch up with the others in the Testification of Faith (Tashahhud).

f16.4 It is recommended to remain armed during the prayer of peril.

f16.5 When the peril is great, in actual combat, Muslims may pray walking or riding, facing the direction of prayer (qibla) or not, in a group or singly, and nodding in place of bowing and prostration when they are unable to perform them, nodding more deeply for prostration than for bowing. If forced to strike blow after blow during the prayer, this is permissible. Shouting is not.

f17.0 UNLAWFUL CLOTHING AND JEWELRY

f17.1 (A: It is offensive for men to wear tight clothing that discloses the size of the parts of their body which are nakedness (def: f5.3), and this is unlawful for women.)

f17.2 It is unlawful for men to wear silk or use it in any way, even to line clothing, though it is permissible to use it as padding in a cloak, pillow, or mattress.

f17.3 Women may wear and use silk, and it is permissible for a guardian to dress a child in it before puberty.

f17.4 It is permissible for men to use fabric composed partly of silk as long as the weight of the silk is half or less of the weight of the fabric; to embroider with silk thread where (O: the width of) the design does not exceed four fingers (O: though the length does not matter); to have a silk fringe on a garment; It is also permissible for men to use silk when there is need to in severe heat or cold, to clothe their nakedness with it for the prayer when there is nothing else, or to use it when suffering from itching or for protection from lice. (O: The upshot is that when there is real need for it, one may use it. Otherwise, it is an enormity (def: c2.5(2)). Imam Ghazali attributes its prohibition to its effeminacy and softness, which are unbecoming of men.)

f17.5 It is permissible to wear a garment affected by something impure (najasa, def: e14.1) when not in prayer (O: or other activities requiring purity, provided one is not in a mosque. As for wearing such a garment in a mosque, one may not, since it is not permissible to carry something impure into the mosque when there is not some need, such as having to take one's shoes inside). It is unlawful to wear leather taken from the carcass of an unslaughtered animal (n: before tanning, as at e 14.6) except when there is pressing need, such as in the event of a sudden outbreak of war (A: when there is nothing else) and the like.

f17.6 It is unlawful for men to wear gold jewelry, even the teeth of a ring's setting that holds its stone. (O: Unlike silk, there is no difference for the prohibition of gold between small and large amounts.) Nor may men wear objects painted or plated with gold, though if these tarnish so that the gold is no longer apparent, then they are permissible.

f17.7 It is permissible to repair teeth with gold.

f17.8 It is unlawful (A: for both sexes) to wear a silver ring (A: the sunna for men being to do so on the little finger, of either hand), and (A: for men) to decorate battle weapons with silver, but not ridding gear such as saddles and the like, nor an inkwell, writing utensil case, work knife, penknife, or lamp fixture-even if in a mosque- nor to have silver jewelry other than rings, such as a necklace, armband, bracelet (O: because these resemble the habits of women and it is unlawful for men to imitate women), or a crown. It is not permissible to use silver (A: or gold) to embellish the ceiling or walls of a house or mosque (O: even those of the Kaaba, because it is wasteful, and no one has reported that the early Muslims did so), though if the amount is so slight that none could be melted off by applying fire, then it may remain. If more that that then not (O: i e it must be removed)

f17.9 (O: It is offensive to use cloth for interior decoration in houses (A: meaning that if curtains and the like are used merely for decoration, it is offensive, though there is nothing wrong with using them to screen a room from view), even for shrines at the tombs of the righteous and learned. It is unlawful to decorate walls with pictures (n: of animate life, as

f17.10 It is permissible for both men and women to decorate copies of the Koran and to embellish writing with silver (O: out of reverence for it). It is permissible for women to have copies of the Koran decorated with gold, but this is unlawful for men

17.11 All gold jewelry is permissible for women, even on shoes and woven into fabric, provided it is not wasteful. But if a woman is wasteful, such as when she has a 720-gram anklet of gold (O:meaning that it (N: i.e. the weight of a piece, though there is no limit to the number of average -weight pieces) exceeds the customary), then it is unlawful (O: since gold is only permitted to women for the sake of beauty, and when gold exceeds what is normal it is repulsive and devoid of beauty. (A: and zakat must be paid on such wasteful jewelry (n: as opposed to jewelry that is not wasteful, on which no zakat is due (dis: h4.4)))).

f18.0 THE FRIDAY PRAYER (JUMUA)

f18.1 (O: Attending the Friday prayer is personally obligatory. It is the finest of prayers, and its day, Friday, is the best day of the week. Its integrals and conditions are the same as other prayers (def: f9.13-14).)

f18.2 Anyone obliged to pray the noon prayer (zuhr) is obliged to pray the Friday prayer (jumua), except for women and for travellers on a trip that is not disobedience (def: f15.5), even if the trip is less that 81 km/50 mi, one way (n: though one's departure for the journey must have taken place before dawn on Friday, as at f18.6). Valid excuses for not attending group prayer (def: f12.5), such as illness or taking care of a sick person, excuse one from attending the Friday prayer (jumua).

f18.3 Eligible Muslims living in a village where there are not forty men (n: the minimum required for a valid Friday prayer, as at f18.7(e) must go to a larger town for the Friday prayer, when the two places are close enough that the call to prayer (adhan) from the larger town is audible to them under normal circumstances, given a calm wind and no interference. Audible means that the call of a man with a loud voice standing in the larger town on the side facing the village could be heard by a man with normal hearing standing on the side of the village facing the town. If such a a call would be inaudible, then the villagers are not obliged to go to pray the Friday prayer (A: but merely pray the noon prayer (zuhr).

f18.4 A Muslim present at the mosque who is not obliged to pray the Friday prayer may leave (A: instead participating in it, such as a traveller merely wanting to pray the noon prayer (zuhr) and go), except for the following, who must pray the Friday prayer:

(1) someone with an illness for whom waiting for the Friday prayer poses no hardship, provided that he has arrived after its time has begun (O: namely noon, for if he arrives before this, or if waiting is a hardship, then he may leave);

(2) someone who is blind:

(3) or someone whose excuse is muddy terrain (dis: f12.5(2)).

Those present at the mosque who are not obliged to pray the Friday prayer (A: other than the above mentioned) may choose between performing the Friday prayer and the noon prayer, (zuhr) (O: even when the fact that they are present eliminates their excuse). If they want to perform the noon prayer (zuhr) in a group(O;as is sunna) and their excuse from the friday prayer is not obvious to onlookers, then they should conceal their group prayer rather than that display it. (O: which would be offensive under the circumstances). If a person is not obliged to perform the Friday prayer, but believes the reason for his excuse may disappear, such as sick person (A: hoping to recover before the prayer ends), then he should postpone his noon prayer (zuhr) until he can no longer hope to attend the Friday prayer. But if one's excuse from the obligation of attending the Friday prayer is not expected to cease, such as being a woman, then it is recommended to pray the noon prayer (zuhr) at the first of its time.

f18.5 The noon prayer (zuhr) of someone obliged to perform the Friday prayer is not valid until he has missed the Friday prayer (A: by its having finished without his having attended).

(1) there is a place on his route where the Friday prayer will take place:

(2) or he is going to travel with a group (O: of people not obliged to pray the Friday prayer) who are departing, such that his staying behind would entail harm for him.

f18.7 In addition to the usual conditions for the prayer (def: f9.13), a valid Friday prayer (jumua) also requires:

(a) that it be a group prayer;
(b) that it take place during the time of noon prayer(zuhr);

(c) that it follow two sermons (khutha def: f18 9):

(d) that its site be located among the dwellings of the community:

(e) that there be a minimum of forty participants who are male, have reached puberty, are sane, and are local residents, meaning they live there and do not leave except when they need to (n: though the minimum according to Abu Hanifa is three participants besides the imam (al-Lubab fi sharh al-Kitab (y88), 1.111));

(f) and that, in places where it is no hardship for everyone to pray at one location, there be no other Friday prayer prior to or simultaneous with it (O: i.e. in the opening Allahu Akbar of the prayer (dis: below)). The imam is counted as one of the forty ((e) above).

A group performing the Friday prayer must finish it as a noon prayer (zuhr) if:

(1) (non-(e) above) the number of participants diminishes during it to less than forty;

(2) or (non-(b)) if its time ends during the prayer (O: with the coming of the midafternoon prayer's time). If the group has doubts before starting the Friday prayer that they will be able to finish it within its time, then they must begin it as a noon prayer (zuhr).

f18.8 In places where having everyone assemble in one location is a hardship, as in Cairo or Baghdad, it is valid to hold as many Friday prayers as are needed. In places where it poses no hardship, such as Mecca or Medina, if two Friday prayers are held, the first of them (A: to open with "Allahu akbar") is the Friday prayer, and the second is invalid (A: and must be reprayed as a noon prayer). If two are held in such a place and it is not clear which was first, they should start over together as one Friday prayer.

THE SERMON (KHUTBA)

f18.9 The integrals of the sermon (khutba) are five (O: and their order is sunna) (n: (a), (b), and (c) below are required in each of the two sermons, while (d) may be in either, and (e) must occur in the second, as mentioned below):

(a) saying "al-Hamdu lillah" (praise be to Allah), this particular utterance being prescribed;

(b) the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), which is also a prescribed utterance:

(c) enjoining godfearingness (taqwa), for which a particular expression is not prescribed, it being sufficient to say "Obey Allah"; (the above (O: integrals (a), (b), and (c)) are obligatory in each of the two sermons)

(d) reciting one verse of the Koran (O: that conveys an intended meaning, such as a promise, threat, exhortation, or similar) in at least one of the two sermons:

(e) and to supplicate for believers (O: male and female) in the second of the two sermons (O: which must be for their hereafter, as supplications of this world alone do not fulfill the integral). (n: The following sermon, added her by the translator from the commentary at m2, has been related by two chains of transmission, one ascribing it to Ibn Masud, and the other through him to the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace): "Praise is truly Allah's. We praise Him, seek His help, and ask His forgiveness. We seek refuge in Allah from the evils of our selves and our bad actions. Whomever Allah guides none can lead astray, and whomever He leads astray has no one to guide him. I testify that there is no god but Allah alone, without any partner, and that Mohammed is His slave and messenger. Allah bless him and give him

peace, with his folk and Companions. O you who believe: fear Allah s He should be feared, and do not die other than as Muslims. "O people, fear your Lord who created you from one soul and created its mate from it, and spread forth from them may men and women. And be mindful of your duty to Allah, by whom you ask of one another, and to the wombs (that bore you), for verily, Allah is vigilant over you'" (Koran 4:1). (n: This sermon fulfills conditions (a), (b), (c), and (d) above (A: and the rest of the sermon may be in any language), and after sitting briefly, one rises and says, "al-Hamdu lillah," the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), enjoins the people to fear Allah, and must add a supplication for the Muslims ((e) above), such as saying, "O Allah, forgive (Ar. Allahumma-ghfir lil-mu'minin walthe believers" mu'minat).)

f18.10 The conditions of the two sermons are:

(a) that the speaker be in a state of purity (O: from minor (def: e7) and major (e10) ritual impurity and from filth (najasa, e14.1));

(b) that his nakedness be clothed;

- (c) that the two sermons occur during the noon prayer's time (zuhr) before performing the two rakas of the Friday
 - (d) that the speaker be standing during them (O: if able);
- (e) that he sit down between the two:
- (f) and that his voice be loud enough for the forty required participants (def: f18.7(e)) to hear (O: the sermons' integrals).

f18.11 The sunnas of the sermon include:

- (1) that the speaker stand on a pulpit (minbar) or high place (O: and that it be to the right of the prayer niche (mihrab) and that the speaker stand on the right side of the
- (2) that he say "as-Salamu alaykum" to those present when he enters the mosque and (O: again) when he ascends the pulpit (O: and reaches his seat there);
- (3) that he sit until the muezzin has finished (A: the second (dis: w28.2) call to prayer (adhan));
- (4) that when speaking, he lean on a sword, bow, or stick (O: which is in his left hand. It is

desirable for him to put his other hand on the pulpit. If he does not have a sword or the like, he keeps his hands still be placing the right upon the left, or dropping them to his sides. He does not move them or fidget with one, as the aim is stillness and humility);

(5) and that he face the group during both sermons (O: and not turn to the right or left during them, for it is a reprehensible innovation. It is desirable for the listeners to face the speaker).

DESCRIPTION OF THE FRIDAY PRAYER

f18.12 The Friday prayer (jumua) consists of two rakas. It is sunna for the imam to recite al-Jumua (Koran 62) in the first raka (A: meaning the entire sura, the sunna being to make the sermon brief and the rakas long, though wisdom must be used in deciding how much those present will accept) and al-Munafiqun (Koran 63) in the second raka (O following the sunna from a hadith reported by Muslim, who also reported that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) sometimes recited al-Ala (Koran 87) in the first raka of the Friday prayer and al-Ghashiya (Koran 88) in the second).

f18.13 A latecomer who joins the group prayer in time to bow and remain motionless a moment therein while the imam is still bowing in the second raka is legally considered to have attended the Friday prayer (A: though such a person must rise after the imam has finished with Salams to pray the raka he missed). If the latecomer joins the group after this point, he has missed the Friday prayer, but (O: obligatorily) intends performing the Friday prayer anyway and follows the imam (O: in case the imam has omitted an integral and has to repeat a raka, in which event the latecomer will have attended the Friday prayer). (N: But if this does not happen, then) when

the imam finishes with Salams, the latecomer rises and completes his prayer as a noon prayer (zuhr).

RECOMMENDED MEASURES FOR THOSE ATTENDING THE FRIDAY PRAYER

f18.14 It is recommended to perform a purificatory bath (ghusl) (O: and offensive not to) before going to the Friday prayer, though it may be performed anytime after dawn. If one is unable to bathe, one may perform the dry ablution (tayammum). It is also recommended to clean the teeth with a toothstick (siwak, def: e3), trim the nails, remove (O: bodily) hair, eliminate offensive odors, wear perfume and one's finest clothes (white being the best), and for the imam to dress better than anyone else. (A: Because of the time taken by these measures, it is offensive to visit others on Friday mornings.) It is offensive for women who attend the Friday prayer to wear perfume or fine clothes. It is recommended:

(1) to arrive early (O: which is recommended for everyone besides the imam, so as to take a seat and wait for the prayer), the best time being from dawn on;

(2) to come on foot in tranquility and dignity, and not to ride to the mosque unless there is an excuse (O:such as old age. weakness, or being so far from the mosque that the fatigue of walking would obviate one's humility and presence of mind in

(3) to sit near to the imam;

(4) and to invoke Allah (dhikr) (O: both on the way and at the mosque before the sermon), and to recite the Koran and invoke Blessings (O: on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)).

f18.15 It is offensive (O: for anyone but the imam, when there is no need) to step over people to reach a place among them, unless one sees a vacant spot that cannot be reached otherwise. It is unlawful to make someone sitting in the mosque rise and then sit in his place, though if someone voluntarily rises it is permissible (O: for another to sit there).

f18.16 It is offensive to give another person one's place in the front row, in closeness to the imam, or to put others ahead of oneself in performing any act of worship (O: as is proved by the rigorously authenticated (sahih)hadith, "People keep staying behind until Allah keeps them behind." As for Allah's saying, "...preferring others to themselves, though poverty be their lot" (Koran 59:9), it refers to things that relate to the physical self, such as feeding a hungry person when one needs the food, in which case preferring another to one self is desirable, without a doubt). It is permissible to send someone to the mosque to save a place for oneself there by spreading something out (O: such as a rug, for no one else may pray on it), though it is permissible for another to move it aside and sit down in its place.

f18.17 It is offensive, though not unlawful, for someone sitting in the mosque to speak or to rise and perform the prayer while the imam is giving the sermon (khutba). (O: The more reliable position is that prayer is unlawful during the sermon (N: for the person already sitting in the mosque, as opposed to someone who has just arrived, as next discussed).) A latecomer who arrives (O: when the imam is speaking or seated on the pulpit) should pray two brief rakas to greet the mosque (O: if the prayer is being held in a mosque. If held elsewhere, one should intend them as the two rakas that are sunna before the Friday prayer, though if one has already prayed these at home, one should simply sit down without praying. It is offensive for a latecomer to simply omit the two rakas of greeting the mosque, though if one enters the mosque at the end of the imam's sermon and believes that praying them will prevent one's participating in the opening Allahu Akbar with the group, then one should remain standing until they rise and incorporate one's greeting the mosque into the obligatory prayer (dis: f10.10)).

f18.18 It is recommended to recite al-Kahf (Koran 18) and invoke Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) on the night before Friday and during its day.

f18.19 It is recommended to supplicate Allah much on Fridays, seeking the moment when prayers are answered (O: in view of the hadith related by Bukhari and Muslim.

"There is a moment on Friday when the slave shall not ask Allah for anything save that He will give it to him"), which lies between the time the imam first sits on the pulpit and when the prayer finishes. (A: Others hold that the moment occurs after the midafternoon prayer (asr).)

f19.0 THE PRAYER ON THE TWO EIDS

(N: Meaning Eid al-Fitr at the end of Ramadan, and Eid al-Adha on 10 Dhul Hijja.)

f19.1 The prayer on the two Eids is a confirmed sunna (def: c4.1) and is recommended to be prayed in a group. Its time begins at sunrise, and it is recommended to take place after the sun is a spear's length (def: f13.2(1)) above the horizon (O: the time for its current performance continuing) until noon.

f19.2 It is best to perform it in the mosque if there is room, though if there is not, then it is better to hold it outdoors.

RECOMMENDED MEASURES FOR THE EID PRAYER f19.3 It is recommended not to eat anything on Eid al-Adha

until one performs the prayer, though one should eat an odd number of dates before the prayer on Eid al-Fitr.

f19.4 It is recommended to perform the purificatory bath (ghusl) after dawn, even if one does not attend the prayer, though it may be performed from midnight on. It is recommended to wear perfume, dress one's best, for young boys to come in their good clothes, and for women who do not attract men's attention to attend, though without wearing perfume or fine clothes. It is offensive for an

woman to attend (dis: f12.4(N:)).

It is sunna:

- (1) to come early after the dawn prayer (subh) on foot:
- (2) to return home by a different route (N: than one came);
- (3) for the imam to delay his arrival until the time of the

(4) and to call the people to prayer with the words "The prayer is gathering," as one also does for the eclipse prayer (def: f20) and the drought prayer (f21).

DESCRIPTION OF THE EID PRAYER

f19.5 The Eid prayer consists of two rakas. (A: In addition to the opening Allahu Akbar,) one says "Allahu akbar " seven times in the first raka after the Opening Supplication (Istiftah, def: f8.13) and before saying "I take refuge, etc." (Ta'awwudh, f8.16); and five times in the second raka, not counting the Allahu Akbar for rising from prostration, before saying the Taawwudh.One raises one's hands (f8.12) each time one says "Allahu akbar." One invokes Allah Most High (N: to oneself) between each Allahu Akbar (O: saying "Glory be to Allah, praise be to Allah, there is no god but Allah, Allah is greatest"), placing the right hand upon the left (A: each time one says this invocation). Missing or adding repetitions of "Allahu akbar" does not necessitate a forgetfulness prostration at the end of one's prayer. If one forgets them and proceeds directly to the Taawwudh, one does not return to

f19.6 It is recommended to recite Oaf (Koran 50) in the first raka and al-Oamar (Koran 54) in the second. Or if one wishes. one way recite al-Ala (Koran 87) in the first raka and al-Ghashiya (Koran 88) in the second. (A: Or one may recite al-Kafirun (Koran 109) in the first raka and al-Ikhlas (Koran 112) in the second.)

f19.7 After the two rakas, the imam gives two sermons (khutba) like those of the Friday prayer (O: in the integrals (def: f18.9), not conditions (n: which here exclude f18.10(c,d,e))). It is recommended to open the first sermon by saying "Allahu akbar" nine times and to open the second by saying it seven times. It is permissible for the imam to sit during the sermons.

f19.8 There are two types of Allahu Akbars (A: said for the Eids), unrestricted and restricted.

The unrestricted, meaning those not confined to a particular circumstance but rather recited in mosques, homes, and the street, are sunna to recite from sunset on the night before each Eid until the imam commences the Eid prayer with the opening Allahu Akbar.

The restricted, meaning those recited after prayers (O: whether the five prescribed prayers or the nonobligatory), are sunna for Eid al-Adha only, from the noon prayer (zuhr) on Eid day until the dawn prayer (Subh) on the last of the three days that follow it, which is the fourth day of the Eid. (N: The more reliable position is that the time for them begins from dawn of the Day of Arafa (n: 9 Dhul Hijja) and ends at the midafternoon prayer (asr) on the last of the three days that follow Eid al-Adha.) They are recited (O: by men, by women (who say them to themselves), by both nontravellers and travellers, and whether one is praying by oneself or in a group) after the current prescribed prayers or making up prescribed prayers missed during the Eid or before, and after prayers performed to fulfill a vow, funeral prayers (janaza), and supererogatory prayers. If one misses a prayer during the Eid but does not make it up until after the Eid, then one does not recite "Allahu Akbar" after it. One says, "Allahu akbar, Allahu akbar, Allahu akbar" (N: and then, "there is no god but Allah. Allahu akbar, Allahu akbar, praise be to Allah"). It is commendable to add, as people are accustomed to. "Allah is ever greatest, etc." (O: namely: "Much praise be to Allah. Glory to Him morning an evening. There is no god but Allah. Him alone we worship, making our religion sincerely His though the unbelivers be averse. There is no god but Allah alone. He fulfilled His promise, gave victory to His slave, strengthened His army, and vanquished Confederates alone. There is no god but Allah. Allah is ever greatest")
f19.9 It is recommended to say "Allahu akbar" on the first

ten days of Dhul Hijja whenever one sees a head of livestock (O: out of reverence for its Creator)

f20.0 THE ECLIPSE PRAYER

(O: Eclipse refers to both that of the moon and sun.) f20.1 The eclipse prayer is a confirmed sunna (def: c4.1) (O: and missing it is not permissible, but rather is offensive).

f20.2 (O: Like the drought prayer, it has no call to prayer (adhan) (n: besides that mentioned at f19.4(4)).)

f20.3 It is recommended to be performed in a group at the mosque. It is recommended for women without attractive figures to attend (O: in their household clothes, that is, women advanced in years and the like. As for women who have attractive figures, it is desirable for them to perform it in their homes (dis: f12.4(N:))).

DESCRIPTION OF THE ECLIPSE PRAYER

f20.4 The eclipse prayer consists of two rak'as. The minimum is:

(a) to open with "Allahu akbar";

(b) to recite the Fatiha;

(c) to bow:

(d) to straighten up;

(e) to recite the Fatiha again;

(f) to bow again;

(g) to (O: straighten up and) remain motionless a moment; (h) and to prostrate, then sit up, and then prostrate again.

This is one rak'a. comprising standing twice, reciting (O: the Fatiha) twice, and bowing twice.

One then prays the second rak'a like the first. It is not permissible to lengthen the amount of time one stands or bows merely because eclipse has not yet passed, or to shorten the rak'as to less (O: than the above way after having intended it) because the eclipse has passed.

f20.5 The optimal way is that after reciting the Opening Supplication (Isiftah, de: f8.13), the Ta'awwudh (f8.16), and the Fatiha, one:

(a) recite al-Baqara (Koran 2) for the first Koran recital;

(b) recite Al 'Imran (Koran 3) after the second time one recites the Fatiha (A: in the first rak'a); (A: then, in the second rak'a)

(c) recite al-Nisa (Koran 4) for the third recital;

(d) and recite al-Ma'ida (Koran 5) for the fourth recital.

Or one may recite comparable amounts of the Koran in place of the above suras. One bows and says "Subhana Rabbiya al-Adhim' ("How far above any limitation is my Lord Most Great") after the first of the four Koran recitals for a period equal to reciting one hundred verses of al-Baqara (N: about 20 minutes); after the second recital for the length of eighty of its verses; after the third for the length of seventy verses; and after the fourth for the length of fifty verses. The other parts of the eclipse prayer are the same as other prayers.

f20.6 After praying, it is recommended that the imam give two sermons like those of the Friday prayer (O: in integrals (def:f18.9) and conditions (f18.10), except that here the sermons follow the prayer, as opposed to those of the Friday

prayer, which precede it).

f20.7 One may no longer perform the eclipse prayer if one has not yet begun it when the eclipse passes, when the sun sets while still eclipsed, or when the sun rises while the moon is still eclipsed. But if one has begun the prayer and the eclipse passes or the sun sets while still in eclipse, one nevertheless completes the prayer.

f21.0 THE DROUGHT PRAYER

f21.1 The drought prayer is a confirmed sunna (def: c4.1) (O: even for someone travelling, or praying alone), and is recommended to be prayed in a group.

f21.2 When the land is parched or the water supply is cut off or diminished, the imam (A: i.e. the caliph (def: o25) or his representative) warns people against wrongdoing and orders them to repent for their sins, give charity (O: because this influences the acceptance of prayers), settle their differences with enemies (O: if the enmity is not for Allah's sake. Otherwise, it is not objectionable, for servering ties with the corrupt is something that one should do), and fast for three days (O: which must be consecutive, for this is obligatory if the caliph orders it). Then, on the fourth day while still fasting, they come out to an empty expanse (lit. "desert") in their work clothes, accompanied by those of the women who do not have attractive figures (dis:f12.4(N:)). livestock, men and women advanced in years, infants and small children, the pious, and those related to the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace); and they ask Allah to give them rain because of those present (O: i.e. by virtue of their spiritual grace (baraka), interceding through them). Each mentions to himself the good works he has done and intercedes through them. Non-Muslim subjects of the Islamic state who attend are not hindered from doing so, but may not mix with us.

DESCRIPTION OF THE DROUGHT PRAYER

f21.3 The drought prayer consists of two rak'as like those of the 'Eid (def: f19.5). The imam then gives two sermons like those of the Eid, except that in place of each Allahu akbar (f19.7), the imam says, "I ask forgiveness of Allah Most Great, whom there is no god but He, the Living, the Ever Subsistent, and I turn to Him in repentance." During the sermons, the imam frequently asks Allah's forgiveness (istighfar), blesses the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), supplicates Allah, and recites the verses, "Ask forgiveness of your Lord verily He is soft-forgiving - and He will loose the sky upon

you in torrents, aid you with wealth and sons, and make gardens and rivers yours" (Koran 71:10-12). In the second sermon (O: about a third of the way through it) the imam turns toward the direction of prayer (qibla) and switches his cloak around (O: by putting the right side of it on his left and vice versa. It is also sunna to turn it upside down. Both sunnas can be effected by putting the lower left corner on the right shoulder and lower right corner on the left shoulder. The wisdom therein is the favorable portent of a change of state). The people do likewise. He should supplicate to his atmost, both to himself and aloud. (O: Those present raise their hands with the backs of the hands up. The sunna supplication is: "O Allah, send us rain, raining wholesomely, healthily, torrentially, widespread, pouringly, in sheets,drenchingly, continuously till Judgement Day. O Allah, give us rain and make us not of those who despair. Allah, servants and cities are in distress, hunger, and want, from which we can ask none but You for relief. O Allah, make the crops grow and the milk of the livestock flow, and send down the sky's blessings upon us and bring forth for us the blessings of the earth. Raise from us the affliction that none but You can lift.") If they pray but are not given any rain, they repeat the prayer (O: until given rain). If they prepare (O: and gather), but are given rain before the prayer, they pray in thanks and ask for more.

f21.4 It is recommended for those whose land is flourishing to supplicate after prayers for those whose land is parched. (O: This being the middle course. The minimum is to make a supplication, while the optimum is to take the above measures of performing two rak'as with the two sermons, the supplications, and asking for forgiveness.)

f21.5 At the first rainfall of the year, it is recommended to uncover part of the body for the rain to strike.

f21.6 It is recommended to glorify Allah when thunder is heard (O: saying, "Glory to Him the thunder and the angels glorify, in awe of Him,") and when lightening is seen (O: saying, "Glory to Him who shows you the lightening that you may have fear and hope").

f21.7 If it rains so much that harm is feared, it is recommended to supplicate as has come in the sunna: "O Allah, around us, not upon us. O Allah upon the hills and bluffs, the valley floors and copses of trees.

BOOK G - THE FUNERAL PRAYER (JANAZA) (by al-

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g1.0 VISITING THE SICK AND DYING

g1.1 It is recommended for everyone to frequently remember death, particularly if one is ill, and to prepare for it by repenting (def:p77) (O: because of the hadith. "Remember often the Ender of Pleasures," meaning death, a hadith related by Tirmidhi, Ibn Hibban, and Hakim, the latter two classifying it as rigorously authenticated (sahih). Nasa'i's version has the addition. "for truly, it is not remembered in a plentitude save it diminishes it, and not remembered in a dearth save it increases it," "plentitude" meaning of wives and this-worldly goods, and "dearth" meaning of spiritual works).

g1.2 It is recommended to visit the ill, even if the malady is only sore eyes, whether the person is a friend or enemy. If the sick person is a non-Muslim subject of the Islamic state (dhimmi, def;011) then if he is a relative or neighbour, visiting him is recommended. If not, visiting him is merely permissible.

g1.3 It is offensive to sit lengthily with a sick person. It is recommended not to continuously visit (O: but only from time $\,$ to time) unless one is a relative or similar person (O: of his friends) whom the sick person is fond of, or someone (O: of the righteous) from whose presence others derive spiritual blessing (baraka), for any of whom visiting the sick person is recommended at any time as long as there is no objection (O: by the sick person to long visits).

g1.4 If the visitor has hopes that the patient will survive, he supplicates for him (O: saying, "O Allah, Lord of Men, remove the harm and heal- for You are the Healer besides whom there is no other-with a cure that will not leave behind pain or sickness,') and then leaves. But if the visitor sees little hope of a recovery, he should encourage the sick person to repent and to make his bequests (def:L1-3) (O: by telling him, e.g. "You should repent of all your sins so that Allah Most High heals you, for repentance is reason for cures. And you should make some provision for bequests, as it prolongs one's life. A person should make bequests while alive and only die after having done so for there is no one who does not pass

INSTRUCTING THE DYING PERSON

g1.5 If the visitor sees the person is dying, he should make him desirous of Allah's mercy (O: since hope should predominate over fear in this state) and should turn him to face the direction of prayer (qibla) by laying him on his right side, or if impossible, on his left. If this too is impossible, he is laid on his back (O: with his face and feet towards the direction of prayer (qibla) by laying him on his right side, or if impossible, on his back (O: with his face and feet towards the direction of prayer (qibla) by proping up his head a little, feet meaning the bottoms of them). The visitor should then instruct the dying person to say" There is no god but Allah,"letting him hear it(N: so he can repeat it) but without irritating insistence, and without telling him "Say...." he says it, then he is let be until he himself speaks of something else. It is recommended that the person instructing him to say it be neither his heir nor enemy

IMMEDIATE MEASURES AFTER DEATH

g1.6 When he dies, it is recommended that the kindliest to him of his unmarriageable kin (mahram) close his eyes. It is recommended:

(1) to close his jaws (O: with a wide bandage tied above his head so his mouth is not left open);

(2) to make his joints flexible (O: by bending the forearm to the upper arm, calf to thigh, thigh to stomach, and then straightening them, and to similarly flex the fingers in order to facilitate washing and shrouding him. If the joints are flexed at this point, they remain flexible, but if not, it becomes impossible afterwards):

(3) to (O:gently) remove his clothes, and to cover him with a light cloth (O: tucking the edge under his head and feet so they do not become uncovered);

(4) and to place something heavy on his stomach (O: to prevent bloating).

g1.7 It is recommended to hasten in paying off the debts of the deceased (dis: L4.2-3) or having them waived (n: by creditors). It is recommended to hurry in implementing his bequests, and in readying him for burial (O: haste being recommended (N: in readying him and burying him) when it is unlikely that the body will rapidly change, but obligatory when this is likely).

g1.8 When someone dies suddenly (O: or is believed to have died), the body is left until it is certain he is dead (O: by a change in odor or the like).

g1.9 Washing the dead person, shrouding him, praying over him, carrying him, and burying him are communal obligations (def:c3.2)

g2.0 WASHING THE BODY

g2.1 Then the body is washed (O: obligatorily).

WHO SHOULD WASH THE BODY

g2.2 when the deceased is male, the best suited to wash the body (A: anyone may wash it, but it is not permissible (N: being offensive) for a non-Muslim to wash the body of a Muslim, and non-Muslim relatives are as though nonexistent in the following priority list) is:

- (1) the father of the deceased:
- (2) the father's father;
- (3) the son;
- (4) the son's son;
- (5) the brother;
- (6) the father's brother;
- (7) the son of the father's brother;
- (8) those named in the sequence given at L10.6(12-14);
- (9) men related to the deceased;
- (10) men not related to him;
- (11) his wife;
- (12) and his unmarriageable female relatives (mahram, def:m6.1).
- g2.3 If the deceased is female, the best suited to wash the body is:
- (1) one of her female relatives (O: meaning the women of her immediate family, such as her daughter or mother);
 - (2) other women;
- (3) her husband:
- (4) and then a member of her unmarriageable male relatives (mahram, def:m6.2) (0: in the above (g2.2) order).
- g2.4 If the deceased is a non-Muslim, then his non-Muslim relatives are better suited to wash him.
- g2.5 It is recommended that the washer be trustworthy (O: so that he can be relied on to wash the deceased completely and so forth. If he notices something good, it is sunna to mention it, but if he notices something bad, it is unlawful to mention it, as this is slander(ghiba, def:r2.2)).

HOW TO WASH THE BODY

g2.6 It is obligatory for the washer to keep the nakedness (def:f5.3) of the deceased clothed (f5.4) while washing him. It is sunna that no one be present except the washer and his assistant. (O: It is preferable that the body be washed while clothed in an anklelength shirt into which the washer inserts his hand from the sleeve if ample enough, while pouring water over the garment and washing the body under it. If the sleeve is not wide enough for this, he tears open the seam from the side under the arm. It is obligatory that the body be covered from naval to knees.) Incense should be burned from the start of washing to the finish (O: as is sunna). It is best to wash the body under a roof, and best that cold water be used, except when necessary (O: to heat it, such as to clean away filth that could not otherwise be removed, or when the weather is cold, since the deceased suffers from it just as a living person would).

g2.7 It is unlawful to look at the nakedness of the deceased (deff5.3) or touch it, except with a cloth (O:or similar, since direct contact without there being something in between is not permissible). It is recommended not to look at or directly touch the other parts of the body save with a cloth.

g2.8 It is recommended:

(1) to force out waste from the stomach;

(2) to clean the private parts of filth (O: which is recommended when one is not certain anything has exited from those parts, though if it has, cleaning is obligatory);

(3) to give the body ablution (wudu) (O: like the ablution of a living person, turning the head when rinsing the mouth and nostrils so that no water reaches the stomach);

(4) to make the intention of performing the purificatory bath (ghusl), and then to wash the head, beard, and body each three times with water infused (with sidr(n:i.e. lote tree(Rhamus spina christi) leaves), taking care each time to press the hand on the stomach (N: in a downward stroke) (O: leaning on it to force its contents out, but gently so as not to hurt the deceased. If the hair of the head or beard is matted, it should be gently combed with a wide-toothed comb so as not to pull any out. If hair comes out as a result, the washer should return it and place it in the shroud to be buried with the deceased).

g2.9 (O: It is sunna:)

(1) that the place of washing be on an incline so the head is highest and the water flows down away from it;

(2) that there be an incense burner present with incense in it;
(3) to put one's right hand on the shoulder of the deceased with the thumb on the nane of his neck so that the head does

not loll, and brace his back up against one's right knee;
(4) to have the helper pour abundant water during the

process to obviate offensive odors from waste leaving the body;
(5) to stroke the stomach firmly and effectively with one's

(5) to stroke the stomach firmly and effectively with one's left hand;

(6) and when finished, to lay the deceased down again on his back with his feet towards the direction of prayer (qibla).)

g2.10 If the body is not clean after three times, one washes it again, reaching an odd number of washings. (O: If clean after an even number of washings, it is sunna to add another. If clean after an odd number, one does not add any.) It is sunna to add a little camphor to the water, especially for the last washing. The obligatory minimum for this purificatory bath (ghusl) is that water reach all external parts of the body (O: and it is obligatory to remove any filth (najasa, def: el4.1), if present). The body should be dried with a cloth afterwards. If anything leaves the body after washing, only the affected area need be washed. (O: It is not necessary to repeat the ablution (wudu) of bath (ghusl, even if the excretion is from the front or rear private parts.)

g3.0 SHROUDING THE BODY

g3.1 Then the body is shrouded (O: obligatorily).

g3.2 If the deceased is male it is recommended that he be wrapped in three washed (O: not new) white shrouds, without an ankle-length shirt or turban, each shroud covering the whole body (O: unless the deceased was in a state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram), in which case the head of the male or face of the female must be left uncovered). It is permissible to add (O: beneath the shrouds) an ankle-length shirt and a turban. It is unlawful to use silk (N: to shroud a man). If the deceased is a woman it is recommended that she be dressed in a wraparound, headcover, and a shift, and that she be wrapped in two shrouds (O: like those used for men in being white and washed, each of which covers her (O: entire body). It is offensive for a woman's shroud to be made of silk, or fabric dyed with saffron or safflower. The obligatory minimum for shrouding a man or woman is to completely cover their nakedness. (O: For a man it is obligatory to cover the navel, the knees, and what lies between them, and for a woman, her entire body.)

g3.3 It is recommended:

(1) to send the shrouds with incense (O: from aloes and the like)

(2) to sprinkle them with hunut (O: an aromatic compound of camphor, reed perfume, and red and white sandalwood) and camphor;

(3) to place cotton and hunut on the apertures of the body (O: such as the eyes, mouth, nostrils, and ears) and on places that touch the ground in prostration (O: the forehead, nose, palms, bottoms of the feet, and the knees);

(4) and it is commendable to perfume the entire body.

g3.4 If a person dies while in a state of pilgrim sanctity (Ihram, def;j3), it is unlawful to scent the body, to dress it in a garment with any sewing in it (A: if male), and to cover the head of a male's body or the face of a female's.

g3.5 It is not recommended to prepare a shroud for oneself, unless to ensure that it comes from a lawful source or from the effects of a virtuous person (O: meaning those who worship much, or religious scholars who apply their knowledge in their lives. In such a case, one may procure it for the blessing therein (tabrruk, di:w31)).

g4.0 THE PRAYER OVER THE DEAD

g4.1 Then the deceased is prayed over (O: obligatorily). The obligation is fulfilled if a single Muslim male (O: who has reached the age of discrimination) prays over the deceased. It is not fulfilled by a prayer of women alone when there is a male available, though if there is no one besides women, they are obliged to pray and their prayer fulfills the obligation.

g4.2 It is recommended to perform the funeral prayer in a group. It is offensive to pray it at a

cemetery (O: though not in a mosque, which is preferable).

WHO SHOULD LEAD THE FUNERAL PRAYER

g4.3 The person best suited to lead the funeral prayer as imam is the one who is best suited to wash the deceased (dis:g2.2) except for women, who have no right to lead (dis:f12.27). The family member responsible for the deceased is given preference in leading the prayer even over the sultan (O: or imam of the mosque). The older of two persons (O: meaning more years in Islam, provided he is upright (def:o24.4)) takes precedence over the more learned in Sacred Law (O: when they are at the same level (n: of the g2.2 precedence order), such as two sons or two brothers, since the purpose is to pray for the deceased, and the supplication of an older person is more likely to be answered) and (n: the older) is given precedence over any others (A: at that level), though if they are of the same age, then one is chosen according to the order used for the imamate of other prayers (def:f12.25). The responsible family member is given precedence in leading the funeral prayer even when the deceased has stipulated some other nonfamily member to be the imam

PLACING THE BODY FOR THE FUNERAL PRAYER

g4.4 It is recommended (N: in the funeral prayer itself, where the deceased, enshrouded, is on a bier in front of the imam and lying on his right side facing the direction of prayer

(qibla)) that the imam stand by the head of the deceased, if male, and by the posterior, if female (0: because this better screens her from view).

g4.5 If there are several bodies, it is best to perform a separate funeral prayer for each individual, though it is permissible to pray for all of them in a single prayer by putting the biers directly in front of the imam (O: one after another (N: parallel with the rows of worshippers), each body facing the direction of prayer (qibla)). The closest body to the imam (O: if the dead differ in gender) should be an adult male, then a boy, then a woman (O: though if all are male, all female, or all boys), then the best Muslim, then the next best (O: in piety, abstinence from this world, godfearingness, and all praiseworthy traits), and so forth. If bodies are brought successively, the first one brought is placed closest to the imam, even if a prior arrival is less virtuous or is a boy, though not if a female, whose body should be placed further from the imam than that of a male brought subsequently.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FUNERAL PRAYER

g4.6 Then one intends to perform the prayer, One must keep in mind its obligatory character, though need not explicity intend it as a communal obligation (def: c3.2). (O: One may confine oneself to merely intending to pray four Allahu akbars over the particular deceased person as an obligatory act, without intending its being in fulfillment of a communal obligation. The intention must coincide with one's opening Allahu akbar.) It is valid for someone to perform a funeral prayer for a dead person who is absent (dis:g4.18) while following an imam who is praying over a dead person who is present.

g4.7 One says"Allahu akbar" four times in the funeral prayer, raising one's hands (O: to shoulder level) at each one, and it is recommended between each one to fold the right hand over the left. The funeral prayer is not invalidated by adding a fifth Allahu akbar, even intentionally, though if the imam adds one the follower does not do likewise, but simply waits to finish with him when he says his Salams.

g4.8 After the first Allahu akbar it is obligatory to recite the Fatiha. It is recommended to say "I take refuge, etc." (Ta'awwudh, def:18.16) before it and "Ameen" after it, though not to recite the Opening Supplication (Istiftah, 18.13) or a sura therein. (A: It is obligatory that the Fatiha be recited in the funeral prayer and that the other spoken elements be uttered, but as for each occuring after its respective Allahu akbar, the only one which must obligatorily be in its place is the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), which must come after the second Allahu akbar.)

g4.9 After the second Allahu akbar (N: and one, remains standing throughout the funeral prayer), it is obligatory to say the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), after which it is sunna to supplicate for the believers. (O: It is also sunna to bless the folk of the Prophet after the blessings upon him (Allah bless him and give him peace) and to say "al-Hamdulillah" before it.)

g4.10 After the third Allahu akbar one supplicates for the deceased. The recommended supplication is: "O Allah, this is Your slave, and son of Your slave. He has left the zephyr of this world and its spaciousness, in which were the things and people he loved, for the darkness of the grave and that which he will meet. He testified that there is no god but You alone without a partner, and that Mohammed is Your slave and messenger. You know him better than we. O Allah, he has gone to remain with You, and You are the best to remain with. He is now in need of Your mercy, and You have no need to torment him. We come to You in desire for You, interceding for him. O Allah, if he did well, treat him the better, and if he did wrong, disregard it and through Your mercy show him Your good pleasure and protect him from the trial and torment of the grave. Make his grave spacious for him and distance the earth from his sides, and through Your mercy protect him from Your torment until You raise him and send him safely to Your paradise, O Most Merciful of the Merciful." (n: This is the optimal supplication, The minimum is mentioned below at g4.13(f).)

g4.11 It is commendable to say before the above: "O Allah, forgive those of us who are alive and those who are young head those present and those who are and those who are old, those who are male and those who are female. O Allah, let those of us You give life live by Islam, and let those of us You take back die in a state of faith." If it is the funeral of a child, one may add to this: "O Allah, send him ahead to smoothe the way for his parents, and make him a reason for reward, a treasure, admonition, reflection, and intercessor. Make the scales of their good deeds heavy through him, and fill their hearts with patience."

g4.12 After the fourth Allahu akbar, it is sunna to say, "O Allah, do not withhold from us his

recompense, nor try us after him, but forgive us and him." Then one says "as-Salamu 'alaykum" twice (O: the first one being obligatory and the second sunna).

g4.13 The integrals of the funeral prayer are seven:

(a) the intention;

- (b) standing;
- (c) saying "Allahu akbar" four times;
- (d) the Fatiha;
- (e) the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give
- (f) the supplication for the deceased, the minimum being "O Allah, forgive this deceased";
- (g) and the first of the two times one says "as-Salamu 'alaykum" to finish the prayer.
- g4.14 The conditions of the funeral prayer are the same as other prayers (def:f9.13), but in addition require:
- other prayers (def:19.13), but in addition require:

 (a) that the deceased's body has been washed before the

(b) and that the imam and those praying do not stand ahead of the body during the prayer (N: i.e closer to the direction of prayer (qibla)). It is offensive to perform the funeral prayer over a body before it has been shrouded. If someone dies under a pile of rubble, and it is impossible to take out the body and wash it (non-(a) above), then he is not prayed over.

g4.15 A latecomer to the funeral prayer whom the imam has preceded by having already said "Allahu akbar" a number of times recites (O: the Fatiha) after his own opening Allahu akbar, and then says "Allahu akbar" each time the imam does, though he performs the integrals in order from the point at which he began (O: reciting the Fatiha after his first Allahu akbar, the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) after the second, and the supplication for the deceased after his third), and when the imam finishes with Salams, the latecomer goes on to complete his remaining number of times of saying "Allahu akbar" and the other spoken elements, and then finishes with his own Salams. It is recommended that the body not be lifted until the latecomer finishes his prayer. If the latecomer joins the group with his opening Allahu akbar, and the imam immediately says the (O: second) Allahu akhar (N: before the latecomer has had a chance to recite the Fatiha), then the latecomer (N: omits the Fatiha and) says "Allahu akbar" with the imam. Here the latecomer has performed the first two Allahu akbars (O: both the second one which he performed with them, and the first one which lacked the Fatiha), and he is no longer obliged to recite the Fatiha. If the imam's Allahu akhar occurs while such a latecomer is reciting the Fatiha, he discontinues it and says "Allahu akbar" with the imam. If the imam says " Allahu akbar" and the follower does not say it until the imam has said it a second time, it invalidates the follower's prayer.

REPEATING THE FUNERAL PRAYER

g4.16 When one has performed a funeral prayer over someone, it is recommended that one not repeat it.

g4.17 Someone who has missed praying (O: a funeral prayer until after the deceased has been buried) may pray it at the grave (O: and such a prayer is legally valid whether the deceased was buried before the funeral prayer had been performed over him, or whether after, though it is unlawful to bury a Muslim before his funeral prayer, and anyone who knows of it is guilty of a sin), but only on condition that the person praying at the grave had reached puberty and was sane on the day the deceased died (O: as he was thus one of those responsible for the communal obligation of praying over the deceased). Otherwise, he may not pray there.

PRAYING OVER THE DEAD WHO ARE NOT PRESENT

g4.18 It is permissible to perform the funeral prayer for an absent person whose body is out of town, even if not far (O: and even if the body is not in the direction of prayer (qibla) which the person praying faces (non-(g4.14(b))). But such a prayer does not lift the communal obligation from the people of the town where the deceased died). It is not permissible to perform the funeral prayer over someone, who is absent (O: from the place of prayer) when the body is in the same town (A: though this is permissible if it is at the edge of a large city and is a problem to reach).

g4.19 If part of the body of a person whose death has been verified is found, then it is obligatory to wash, shroud, and pray over it (O: even if the part is a fingernail or hair, as there is no difference between a little and a lot (A: provided that the part was separated from him after death (N: and provided the rest of him has not been prayed over, for if it has, then it is not obligatory to pray over the part))).

BURYING MARTYRS

g4.20 It is unlawful to wash the body of a martyr (O: even if in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba) or the like) or perform the funeral prayer over him. A martyr (shahid) means someone who died in battle with non-Muslims (O: from fighting them, as opposed to someone who died otherwise, such as a person killed out of oppression when not in battle, or who died from fighting non-polytheists, such as (N: Muslim) transgressors). It is recommended that war gear be removed from the body (O: such as a breastplate and the like), and it is best to bury the martyr in the rest of his bloodstained clothes (O: since it is the effect of worship), though the

responsible family member may nevertheless remove the garments and shroud the body before burial.

BURYING THE STILLBORN

g4.21 A premature baby (A: meaning one born before six full months) that dies is treated as an adult if it gave a cry (O: sneeze, or cough when it left the mother) or showed movement (O: treated as an adult meaning it is obligatory to wash, shroud, pray over, and bury the baby, since its life and death have been verified). If it did not, then:

(1) if it had reached four months in the womb (O: which is the time at which the spirit is breathed into it) then it is washed before burial but not prayed over;

(2) but if it had not, it is only obligatory to bury it.

CARRYING THE DECEASED TO THE GRAVE

g4.22 The burial should take place immediately after the funeral prayer and not be delayed to wait for anyone besides the responsible family member, provided he is (O: reasonably) nearby, if it is not be feared that the condition of the body will change (O: though if this is feared, then the family member is not awaited).

f4.23 It is best that the bier be carried by its poles, sometimes by four (O: men) (N: one pole on the shoulder of each, the poles being parallel with the bier and supporting it, two ends forward and two ends fat) and sometimes by five, the fifth man between the two forward poles. It is recommended that the bearers walk faster than usual, though they should not trot.

g4.24 It is recommended for men to follow the bier to the place of burial close enough behind to be considered part of the funeral procession. It is offensive to follow it with fire or incense burners, which are likewise offensive at the burial.

σ5 O BURIAI

g5.1 Then the deceased is buried (O: obligatorily). It is best bury him in the cemetery. It is unlawful to bury someone where another person has been buried unless the previous body is completed disintegrated (O: such that nothing of it remains, neither flesh nor bone). It is also unlawful to bury two people in the same grave unless absolutely necessary, as when there has been much killing or death, in which case a wall of arth is made between the two bodies as a barrier. If the bodies differ in gender, this is even more imperative, especially, when two people (O: of the same gender or not) are not related. If someone dies on a ship and it is impossible to bury him on land, the body is placed (O: tightly lashed) between two planks (O: to obviate bloating) and thrown into the sea (O: so that it reaches shore, even if the inhabitants are non-Muslims, since a Muslim might find the body and bury it facing the direction of prayer (qibla)).

DIGGING THE GRAVE

g5.2 The obligatory minimum for a grave is that it conceal the odor of the body and that it protect it from (O: being dug up and eaten by) animals. It is recommended to dig the grave wider than the obligatory minimum and that its depth equal the height of an average man with his arm fully extended upward. A lahd (O: i.e. a grave with a lateral hollow large enough for the body dug into the side of the bottom of the grave that is towards the direction of prayer (qibla)) is superior to a shaqq (O: meaning a simple trench dug down into the middle of the floor of the grave with low block walls raised along the trench's sides, in which

the deceased is placed before the walls are ceilinged with blocks (N: and the earth is shovelled back into the grave on top of the them)), unless the earth is soft, in which case the shaqq is preferable (O: so as not to cave in on the deceased). It is offensive to bury the deceased in a coffin (O: or to put in a pillow for him, because all of this wastes money without being of any benefit) unless the earth is soft (O: quick to for) or moist (O: in which cases it is not offensive. If otherwise, then even if a coffin was stipulated by the deceased in his will, it is not provided).

BURYING THE BODY

g5.3 Men should bury the dead, even if the deceased is female, in which case the best suited is the husband, if able, and then (n: for either sex) those listed in the funeral prayer preference order (g4.3), except that (A: when two are on the same level, such as two sons or brothers) the most learned in Sacred Law is preferred to the oldest, unlike the order for the prayer (O: the purpose thereof being knowledge of the rules of burial, which a learned person is likely to know better than others). It is recommended that the number of men (O: burying the deceased) be an odd number.

g5.4 It is preferable to conceal it (0: the grave) with a cloth while placing the body in it (N: a blanket is stretched over the grave about half a meter above the level of the ground, helpers holding each corner, while another person stands down in the grave at the foot end, ready to take the body from the bier). (0: This is especially necessary when burying a female, and is done because something might be disclosed of the deceased

that is desirable to conceal.) The head of the deceased is placed near the foot of the grave (O: foot meaning the end which will accomodate the feet when the body is in place), and the body is slid from the bier head-first. It is recommended for the person burying the deceased (N: who is standing in the grave taking the body, and there may be more than one):

(1) to say (O: to the deceased), "In the name of Allah and according the religion of the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him nd give him peace)":

(2) to supplicate Allah for (O: the forgiveness of) the deceased:

(3) to place a block as a pillow for him, and to pull back the shroud enough to lay his cheek directly on the surface of the block (O: as it is more expressive of lowliness);

(4) and to place the deceased upon his right side. It is obligatory that the body be placed facing the direction of prayer (qibla) (O: and this is absolutely necessary. If buried facing the other way, or lying on his back, he is disinterred and reburied facing the direction of prayer).

g5.5 The lateral hollow dug into the side of the grave (N: in the lahd (def: g5.2)) for the body is walled up with blocks (A: after the body has been placed in it, before filling in the grave. It is sunna to use nine blocks).

g5.6 The person at the graveside sprinkles three scoops of earth (O: using two hands) into the grave. (O: it is sunna to say with the first, "Of it We created you all." with the second, "To it We shall make you all return," and with the third, "And from it We shall bring you forth again" (Koran 20:55).) Then the grave is filled in, using shovels, after which one stays for a moment:

(1) to instruct the deceased (dis: w32) (N: the answers he will need to know when Munkar and Nakir (u3.3) question him in the grave as to his Lord, religion, and prophet);

(2) to supplicate for him (O: such as to say: "O Allah, make him steadfast. O Allah, teach him his pleas");

(3) and to ask forgiveness for him.

THE FINISHED GRAVE

g5.7 One should raise the grave's surface (O: up to) 1 span (n: about 23 cm.) above the ground (O: so that it can be known, visited, and respected), except in countries at war with the Muslims (O: where it is not raised but rather concealed, so as not to be meddled with), and to make its top flat is better (O: than mounding it). No earth should be added (O: when levelling it) to what was excavated from it. It is recommended to sprinkle water over the grave and to put pebbles on it. It is offensive:

(1) to whiten the grave with plasters

(2) to build (O; a cupola or house) over it;

(3) to put khaluq (0: a perfume) on the grave (0: as it is of no benefit and wastes money) or rose water;

(4) to place an inscription on it (O: whether it is the name of the deceased or something other, on a board at the head of the grave or on something else; unless the deceased is a friend of Allah (wali, def: w33) or religious scholar, in which case his name is written so that he may be visited and honored, it then not being offensive);

(5) or to put a pillow or mattress under the deceased.

VISITING GRAVES

g5.8 It is recommended for men to visit graves (dis: w34) (O: of Muslims, especially on Fridays. As for visiting graves of non-Muslims, it is merely permissible. The spirit of the dead person has a connection with his grave that is never severed, but is stronger from the midafternoon prayer (asr) on Thursday until sunrise on Saturday, which is why people often visit graves on Friday and on Thursday afternoon). There is no harm in wearing one's shoes when visiting (O: to walk between graves). The visitor walks up to the grave as close as he would if the deceased were alive, and says, "Peace be unto you, abode of a believing folk; Allah willing, we will be joining you." It is sunna to recite (O: as much of the Koran as is easy) and to supplicate Allah (O: to forgive the deceased, while facing the direction of prayer, as supplications benefit the dead and are more likely to be answered if made after reciting the Koran). (n: w35 discusses whether the spiritual reward for reciting the Koran may be donated to the deceased.)

g5.9 It is offensive for women to visit graves (O: because of their lack of fortitude and excessive grief, though this does not apply to visiting the prophet's tomb (Allah bless him and give him peace) which they should do. And like the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) in this is their visiting the graves of the prophets, righteous, and learned).

g6.0 CONSOLING NEXT OF KIN

g6.1 It is recommended to console all the relatives of the deceased, except young women who are not (O: the consoler's) unmarriageable kin (O: since only her unmarriageable relatives (mahram, def: m6.2) may console her, console meaning to enjoin steadfastness and encourage it by mentioning the reward in the hereafter, to warn against overburdening oneself with grief, and to pray for forgiveness

for the deceased and the lightening of the burden of those bearing the misfortune) when there has been a death in the family, for approximately three days after the burial. It is offensive to sit for it (O: that is, for the extended family of the deceased to be seated and gather in one place for people to come and console them, because it is an innovation (muhdath, syn, bid'a. def.

w29.3) that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) did not do, nor those after him. It is offensive for either men or women). If one is absent (O: whether one is the consoler or person to be consoled) and then arrives after a period (O: of three days), one should console (N: the deceased's relatives) or be consoled (N: if one of them).

g6.2 It is recommended to say:
(1) to a Muslim who has lost a Muslim relative. "May Allah greaten your reward, perfect your consolation, and forgive your deceased";

(2) to a Muslim who has lost a non-Muslim relative. "May Allah greaten your reward and perfect your consolation"

(3) and to a non-Muslim who has lost a Muslim relative, "May Allah perfect your consolation and forgive your deceased."

g6.3 It is permissible to weep before someone dies, but better not to afterwards (O: since the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) wept for his son Ibrahim before his death. It is only considered better not to weep afterwards because it is sorrow for something that has already passed).

g6.4 It is unlawful to eulogize the dead, lament in a raised voice, slap one's cheeks (n: as a display of grief), rend one's garments, or dishevel one's hair.

g6.5 It is recommended for distant relatives and neighbours prepare enough food for the deceased's close family relatives to suffice them for a day and night, and to urge them to eat.

g6.6 For the deceased's family to prepare food and gather people over it is an unpraiseworthy

innovation (bid'a, def:w29.3).

BOOK H - ALMS (ZAKAT) (by al-Misri)

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h1.0 WHO MUST PAY ZAKAT

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(Mohammed Shirbini Khatib:) Lexically zakat means growth, blessings an increase in good, purification, or praise. In Sacred Law it is the name for a particular amount of property that must be payed to certain kinds of recipients under the conditions mentioned below. It is called zakat because one's wealth grows through the blessings of giving it and the prayers of those who receive it, and because it purifies its giver of sin and extolls him by testifying to the genuineness of his faith (al-Iqna fi hall alfaz Abi Shuja (y7), 1.183).)

h1.1 Zakat is obligatory:

(a) for every free Muslim (O: male, female, adult, or child);

(b) who has possessed a zakat-payable amount (Ar.nisab, the minimum that necessitates zakat, def; for livestock h2.4-5; for grain and dried foodstuffs h3.4; for gold, silver, and other money h4.2; and for trade goods h5.1);

(c) for one lunar year.

h1.2 Non-Muslims are not obliged to pay zakat, nor apostates from Islam (murtadd, def:08) unless they return to Islam, in which case they must pay for the time they spent out of Islam, though if they die as non-Muslims their property is not subject to zakat(N:because their property is considered to belong to the Muslim common fund (bayt al-mal) from the moment such people leave Islam).

h1.3 The guardian of a child or insane person is obliged to pay zakat from their property (N: if they owe any). It is a sin for the guardian not to pay the zakat due on their property, and when the child or insane person becomes legally responsible (O: upon reaching puberty or becoming sane), he is obliged to pay the amount that his guardian neglected to pay (O: of zakat in the past).

h1.4 Zakat is due from the owner of property that has been:

- (1) wrongfully seized from him;
- (2) stolen;
- (3) lost:
- (4) fallen into the sea;

(5) or loaned to someone who is tardy in repayment; -only if the owner regains possession of it, whereupon he must pay zakat on it for the whole time it was out of his hands (O: for the year or years that no zakat was paid in the absent property, since his having regained it establishes that it belonged to him the whole time, and his ownership of it not vitiated by the mere fact of its not having been in his possession during these years, provided that it has remained a zakat-payable amount (nisab) during them. If it has diminished through expenditure to less than the zakat-payable amount, then no zakat need be paid on it). If the owner cannot regain the property, there is no zakat on it.

h1.5 If a landlord rents someone a house for two years for 40 dinars, which he accepts in advance and retains possession of until the end of the two years, then at the end of the first of the two years he only pays zakat on 20 dinars, but at the end of the second year he pays one year's zakat on the 20 which he paid zakat on at the end of the first year (N: as the 20 has now been in his possession a second year) and pays two years' zakat on the 20 for which he did not previously pay zakat (N: as it has remained in his possession for two full years).

h1.6 Someone with only the zakat-payable amount (O: of gold or silver) must pay zakat on this amount even when he is

in debt for an amount equal to it, for debts do not remove the obligation of zakat.

h1.7 Zakat is not due on anything besides:

(1) livestock (def: h2.1);

(2) (n: some) food crops (h3.2);

(3) gold and silver (A: or their monetary equivalents); (4) trade goods;

(5) mined wealth (n: meaning gold or silver exclusively, as at h6.1):

(6) and wealth from treasure trovers (A: buried in pre-Islamic times).

h1.8 Zakat is paid from the property itself, though it is permissible to take it from another lot of property (N: on condition that the amount paid is from the same type of property (n: of the five types mentioned above) that the zakat is due on, such that one may not, for example, pay money for zakat due on wheat (n: but must pay wheat. An exception to this is trade goods, which are appraised, and zakat may be paid on them with money, as at h5.1(O:) below)).

THE ZAKAT YEAR

h1.9 By the mere fact that a full lunar year transpires (O: i.e. begins and ends while zakat-payable property is in the owner's possession), the poor now own the portion of it that the owner is obliged to pay as zakat. Thus, if someone has had 200 dirhams (n: the minimal zakat-payable amount of silver) in his possession for years without paying zakat, he is only obliged to pay zakat on it for the first year (O: because after that year, the amount owned by the poor (n: 5 dirhams) has diminished the money he possesses to less than the zakatpayable amount).

h1.10 If all one's property were destroyed after having been in one's possession a full year but before it was possible to pay zakat (O: to deserving recipients), then there is no obligation to pay zakat on it (O: because it was destroyed through no fault of the owner); but if only part of the property has been destroyed, such that this diminishes the rest to less than the zakat-payable amount, then one must take the percentage due on the original amount (n; 2.5 percent, for example) from the remaining property, and no zakat is paid on the amount destroyed. If all or part of one's property is destroyed after having been in one's possession a full year and after it was possible to have paid zakat on it (O: by there being both property and recipients), then one must pay the zakat due on both the remainder and the property destroyed.

h1.11 Zakat is not obligatory if a person's ownership of the property ceases during the year, even if only for a moment, and it then returns to his possession; or if it does not return;

or if the person dies during the year.
h1.12 The zakat year beings on property purchased or inherited when the buyer or inheritor takes possession of it, though if a person relinquishes his ownership of property during the zakat year merely to avoid paying zakat on it, this is offensive (O: as the learned differ about its unlawfulness). The more reliable opinion is that it is unlawful, though the transaction would be legally valid (dis: c5.2). But if such a person sells the property after possessing it a full year and before paying zakat on it (O: as when he sells it all, or sells part and the rest is not enough to require zakat), then the sale of the proportion of the property that was owed as zakat is invalid (O: because it belonged to someone else (n: i.e. the recipients, as at h1.9), and it is not valid to sell another's property without his consent), although the sale of the proportion of the property that was not owed as zakat is valid.

h2 0 ZAKAT ON LIVESTOCK

h2.1 Zakat on livestock is restricted to camels, cattle, sheep, and goats.

h2.2 Zakat is obligatory when one has owned:

(a) a zakat-payable number of livestock; (b) for one year;

(c) and has been grazing them (n: on unowned open range, as dicussed below) for the entire year. There is no zakat on work animals, for example, those trained to plow or bear loads (O: since the purpose in having them is utility, like clothes or household furnishings, and is not production). Grazing means they have been grazed on open range pasturage(O: open range excluding pasturage growing on land that a person owe (A: as it would then be considered fodder)). If the livestock have been given fodder for a period long enough that they would have been unable to survive had they not eaten during it, then there is no zakat on them, though if fed with it for less than such a period, then this does not affect the necessity of paying zakat on them. (A: There is no zakat on cattle that have been solely fed fodder or grain, even if they could have otherwise been grazed.) (n: It is religiously more precautionary (def: c6.5) and of greater benefit to the poor to follow Imam Malik on this question. Malik holds that zakat is obligatory whenever one has possessed a zakatpayable number of livestock for a year, whether or not they are work animals, and whether they have been grazed on open pasturage or fed with fodder for the

entire year (al-Sharh al-saghir ala Aqrab almasalik ila madhhab al-Imam Malik(y35), 1.592).)

ZAKAT ON CATTLE

h2.4 For cattle, the minimum on which zakat is payable is 30 head, for which it is obligatory to pay a yearling, meaning a male calf in its second year (A: though a female may take its place, being worth more). The zakat due on 40 head is a two-year-old female that has entered its third year (A: a male will not suffice). The zakat on 60 head is 2 yearling males. Zakat on additional numbers is figured in the same way: on 30 head, a yearling male, and on 40 head, a two-year-old female (N: according to which of the two alternatives accommodates the last 10 head (dis:h2.6)).

ZAKAT ON SHEEP AND GOATS

h2.5 For sheep or goats (n: the Arabic ghanam meaning both), the minimum on which zakat is payable is 40, on which it is obligatory to pay a shah, meaning either a one-year-old sheep (0: in its second year) or a two-year-old goat (0: in its third year). The zakat on 121 sheep or goats is 2 shahs on 201 sheep or goats is 3,on 400 sheep or goats is 4 and for every additional 100 the zakat is 1 shah.

CALCULATING THE NUMBER OF ANIMALS

h2.6 Numbers (O: of camels, cattle or sheep) which are between zakat quantities (N: i.e. which number more than the last relevant zakat quantity but do not amount to the next highest one) are not counted, and no zakat is due on them.

h2.7 New offspring of a zakat-payable quantity of livestock that are born during the year are counted for the zakat of the year their mothers are currently in, no matter whether their mothers survive or die. Thus, if one owned 40 sheep or goats which gave birth to 40 young a month before the year's end, but then the 40 mothers died, one's zakat on the offspring would be I shah.

h2.9 If a group of livestock are all female, or are both male and female, then only a female animal may be paid as zakat, except as mentioned above (h2.4) for 30 cattle, where a yearling male is acceptable.

h2.10 If a group of livestockare all male, then a male animal may be paid as zakat.

h2.11 If all the livestock are below the minimum age that may be given as zakat (def: h2.4-5), then one of them is given anyway. But if the herd is mixed, with only some of them underage, then only an animal of the acceptable age may be paid

h2.12 If the animals of the herd are defective, an animal is taken which is of the average defectiveness (O: of the group, defective meaning with defects that permit return for refund when sold as merchandise (def: k5.3)).

h2.13 If the herd is composite, such as sheep and goats, then either kind may be paid as zakat, though the value of the animal given must correspond to the average value of the members of the herd.

h2.14 The following are not taken as zakat unless the owner wishes to give them:

(1) a pregnant female (O: because of its superiority);

(2) one that has given birth (O: because of the high yield of milk);

(3) a stud (O: as it is for insemination, and the owner would suffer its loss);

(4) a superior quality animal;

(5) or one fattened for eating.

ZAKAT ON JOINTLY OWNED PROPERTY OR VENTURES WITH SHARED FACILITIES

h2.15 Two people pay zakat jointly as a single person if:

(1) they jointly own a zakat-payable amount of livestock or something else (0: such as fruit, grain, money, or trade goods), as when two people inherit it;

(2) or when the property is not jointly owned, as when each owner has, for example, 20 head of cattle (N: of a herd amounting to the zakat minimum of 40), but they share the same place to bed them down, to gather them before grazing, to pasture, water, or milk them, or share the same stud, employ the same shepherd, or similar, such as having the same watchman (O: for orchards and fields), the same drying or threshing floor (O: for fruit or grain), the same store, or the same warehouse.

h3.0 ZAKAT ON CROPS

h3.1 (N: The rulings of this section apply to the farmers who raise the crops. As for those who buy agricultural produce with the intention to sell it, their produce is no longer considered as crops are, but is rather a type of trade goods, and the zakat on it must be paid accordingly (def; h5).)

h3.2 There is no zakat on grains or legumes except the staple types that people cultivate, dry, and store, such as wheat, barley, millet, rice, lentils, chickpeas, broad beans, grass peas, and Sana'i wheat. There is no zakat on fruit except for raw dates and grapes (O: the zakat on grapes being taken in raisins, and on dates, in cured dates). There is no zakat on

vegetables. Nor is there zakat on seasonings such as cumin or coriander (O:since the aim in using them is preparation of food, not nourishment).

h3.3 One is obliged to pay zakat as soon as one possesses the zakat-payable amount (def: below) of grain, or when the ripeness and wholeness of a zakat-payable amount of dates or grapes is apparent. Otherwise, one is not obliged.

THE ZAKAT-PAYABLE AMOUNT OF CROPS

h3.4 The minimal quantity on which zakat is payable for crops is 609.84 kilograms of net dried weight, free of husks or chaff, though for rice and Sana'i wheat, which are stored in the kernal, the zakat minimum, including husks, is 1219.68 kilograms of dried weight. Zakat is not taken from grain until it has been winnowed (O: made free of straw), nor from fruits until they are dried (n: made into raisins and dates). The produce for the entire year (N: i.e the agricultural year) is added together in calculating the zakat minimum (N: when, for example, the season's first crop alone is less than the zakat minimum). When one crop is harvested after another-due to varietal differences or the location of the two fields-in the same year, and of the same kind of crop (n: such as spring wheat and winter wheat), zakat is payed from them as if they were a single quantity. Different varieties of grain are also calculated additively when harvested at the same time, though the fruit or grain of a different year. Grapes are not calculated cumulatively with dates, nor wheat with barley (O: as they are different from one another).

h3.5 The zakat for crops that have been watered without effort, as by rain and the like, is 10 percent of the crop (N: i.e of the net dried storage weight of the grain, raisins, or dates). The zakat for crops that have been watered with effort such as on land irrigated by ditches (O: or a waterwheel) is 5 percent of the crop. If a crop has been raised without irrigation for part of the year and irrigated for part of it, then the zakat is adjusted (O: according to the period, meaning how much of the time the fruit or crops were growing). (N: It is more reliable to consult agricultural experts as to how much of the crop's water came from rain and how much came from irrigation. If 50 percent of the water came from each, for example, one would pay 7.5 percent of the crop as zakat, as this is the mean between the above two percentages.)

h3.6 After one has paid zakat once on a crop (N: if one is the farmer), there is nothing further due on it (O: as there is no repetition of zakat on one's crops when they are in storage, unlike the repetition of it on money), even if it remains in one's possession for years.

h3.7 It is unlawful for the grower to consume dates or grapes or otherwise dispose of them or sell them before they have been assessed (O: i.e estimated as to how much there is, and the owner made responsible for the portion to be paid as zakat), and if he does, he is responsible for the loss (O: since part of it belongs to the poor (dis:h1.9)).

h3.9 If an act of God destroys the fruit after assessment, there is no zakat on it.

H4.0 ZAKAT ON GOLD, SILVER, AND OTHER MONEY

h4.1 Zakat is obligatory for anyone who has possessed the zakat-payable amount of gold or silver for one year.

THE ZAKAT-PAYABLE AMOUNTS OF GOLD, SILVER, AND OTHER MONEY

h4.2 The zakat-payable minimum for gold is 84.7 grams, on which 2.1175 grams (2.5 percent) is due. The zakat-payable minimum for silver is 592-9 grams, on which 1408225 grams (2.5 percent) is due. There is no zakat on less that this. (N: One must pay zakat (n: 2.5 percent) on all money that has been saved for a year if it equals at least the market value of 592.9 grams of silver (n:that is current during the year). While there is a considerable difference between the value of the gold zakat minimum and the silver zakat minimum, the minimum for monetary currency should correspond to that of silver, since it is better for the poor.)

h4.3 Zakat is exacted proportionately (2.5 percent) on any amount over these minimums, whether the gold or silver is in coins, ingots, jewelry prepared for uses that are unlawful or offensive (dis:f17.6,8,11), or articles which are permanent acquisitions.

h4.4 There is no zakat on (n: gold or silver) jewelery that is for permissible use.

h5.0 ZAKAT ON TRADE GOODS

h5.1 A zakat of 2.5 percent (O: like that of gold and silver as merchandise is assessed according to its value in them) is obligatory for anyone who:

(a) has possessed trade goods for a year (N: whether the merchandise itself remains, or whether there is sale and replacement, as below at h5.4-5);

(b) whose value (n: at the zakat year's end, as at h5.3) equals or exceeds the zakat minimum (N: 592.9 grams of silver if bought with monetary currency or silver, and 84.7 grams of gold if bought with gold, these being reckoned according to

the values of silver and gold existing during the year); provided:

(c) that the trade goods have been acquired through a transaction (O: such as a purchase, or acquired by a woman as her marriage payment (Mahr, def:m8), or received as a gift given in return for something else (dis:k31.4), or such as articles rented from someone in order to rent them out to others at a profit, or land rented from someone in order to rent it out to others at a profit):

(d) and that at the time of acquisition, the owner intended to use the goods for trade. There is no zakat on the trade goods if (non-(c) above) the owner acquired them by estate division (irth, def.L1) or received them as a gift, or if (non-(d)) he acquired them by purchase but at the time did not intend using them for trade.

THE BEGINNING OF THE ZAKAT YEAR FOR TRADE GOODS

h5.2 When the owner buys trade goods that cost (N: at least) the gold or silver zakat minimum, the year of the merchandise's possession is considered to have begun at the beginning of the gold or silver's zakat year (N: so that a merchant's zakat is figured yearly on his total business capital and goods). But the year of the merchandise's possession is considered to have begun at the moment of purchase if:

(1) the owner has bought the merchandise for less than the zakat minimum (O: provided the price of the merchandise plus his remaining money do not amount to the zakat minimum);

(2) or he has bought it(N: in exchange) for nonmonetary goods (N: provided these are not also trade goods, as at h5.4, for if they are, the zakat year continues from the zakat year of the previous goods).

ESTIMATING WHETHER THE VALUE OF ONE'S TRADE GOODS AMOUNTS TO THE ZAKAT

MINIMUM OR NOT

h5.3 Merchandise is appraised (A: at its current market value) at the end of the zakat year:

(1) in terms of the same type of money that it was purchased with, if bought with money (N: i.e if purchased with silver or monetary currency, we see if the merchandise's market value at the year's end has reached the silver zakat minimum (def:h5.1(b)); or if with gold, we see if its market value has reached the gold minimum) even if it had been purchased for less than the zakat minimum (N: at the beginning of the year) (O: so that if it has now reached the value of the zakat minimum, one pays zakat on it, and if not, then there is no zakat):

(2) or in terms of its value in local monetary currency, if the merchandise was acquired by other than paying money for it (O: such as in exchange for goods, or acquired by a woman as her marriage payment (mahr), or by a husband in exchange for releasing his wife from marriage (def:n5)). If its value equals the zakat minimum (h5.1(b)), then zakat is paid. But if not, then there is no zakat on it until the end of the next year, when it is reappraised and zakat is paid if its value amounts to the zakat minimum, and so on (N: in the following year). It is not a condition that the value of the trade goods amount to the zakat minimum except at the end of the year(O: not at the beginning, middle, or during the whole of the year).

h5.4 If trade goods are exchanged for other trade goods during the course of the year, this does not interrupt their possession (O: because zakat on merchandise is based on the value, and the value of the previous merchandise and the new merchandise is the same, so the year of its possession is not interrupted by merely transferring it from one set of goods to another), though the zakat year of the funds which a professional money changer exchange, for other funds is interrupted by each exchange (N: and he pays no zakat as long as he keeps changing his business capital).

h5.5 If merchandise is sold during the zakat year at a profit and its price is kept until the end of the year, then zakat on the merchandise's original value is paid at the end of that zakat year, but the zakat on the profit is not paid until the profit has been possessed for a full year. (n: A second position in the Shafi'i school is that the zakat on the profit is simply paid in the current zakat year of the merchandise, just as one pays zakat on the offspring of livestock (dis:h2.7) in the current year of their mothers (Mughni al-muhtaj ila ma'rifa ma'ani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73), 1.399).)

H.6.0 ZAKAT ON MINES AND TREASURE TROVES

h6.1 A zakat of 2.5 percent is immediately due on:

(a) the zakat minimum or more of gold or silver (def:h4.2) (O:gold or silver excluding anything else, such as iron, lead, crystal, turquoise, cornellian, emerald, antimony, or other, on which there is no zakat);

(b) extracted from a mine (O: i.e a site at which Allah has created gold or silver) located on land permissible for the miner to work or owned by him;

(c) and that this amount of ore has been gathered by working the site one time, or several times uninterrupted by abandoning or neglecting the project. The zakat is only paid

after the ore is refined into metal. If the person stops working the site for a justifiable reason, such as to travel (O: not for recreation, but for something such as an illness) or to fix equipment, then he adds (O: the ore collected after the interruption to that collected before, in calculating the zakat minimum). Ore found on someone else's land belongs to the owner of the land.

ZAKAT ON TREASURE TROVES

h6.2 An immediate zakat of 20 percent is due when one finds a treasure trove that was buried in pre-Islamic times (N: or by non-Muslims, ancient or modern) if it amounts to the zakat minimum (def: h4.2) and the land is not owned. If such a treasure if found on owned land, it belongs to the owner of the land. If found in a mosque or street, or if it was buried in Islamic times, it is considered as a lot and found article (def: k27).

h7.0 THE ZAKAT OF EID AL-FITR

WHO MUST PAY IT

- h7.1 The zakat of Eid al-Fitr is obligatory for every free Muslim, provided:
- (a) that one has the necessary amount (O: 2.03 liters of food);
- (b) and that on the night before the Eid and on the ∼Eid itself, this is in excess of what one needs to feed oneself and those whom one is obliged to support (def:m12.1), what one needs to clothe them, and in excess of one's debts and housing expenses.If one's excess amounts to only part of the required zakat, one must pay as much of it as one has.

PAYING THE ZAKAT OF EID AL-FITR FOR ONE'S DEPENDENTS

- h7.2 Someone obligated to pay the zakat of 'Eid al-Fitr must also pay it for every person he is obliged to support, such as his wife and family (O: e.g. his young son, grandson, father, or mother), if they are Muslim and if he has enough food (O: 2.03 liters per person above his own expenses and theirs), though he is not obliged to pay it for his father's wife when supporting his father because of the father's financial difficulties, even though he is obliged to support her (dis: m12.5).
- h7.3 If one is obligated to pay the zakat of 'Eid al-Fitr but only has enough to pay part of it, then one begins by paying one's own, then that of one's wife, young child, father, mother, and then one's adult son (O: without an income, as when he is chronically ill or insane, for otherwise one is not obligated to support him).
- h7.4 A wealthy woman married to a man too poor to pay her ~Eid al-Fitr zakat is not obliged to pay her own (A: though it is sunna for her to pay this and all forms of zakat to her husband, even if he spends it on her). h7.5 The zakat of ~Eid al-Fitr becomes obligatory when
- h7.5 The zakat of ~Eid al-Fitr becomes obligatory when the sun sets on the night before the Eid (n: meaning on the evening of the last day of Ramadan).

WHAT TYPE OF FOOD MUST BE GIVEN

h7.6 The zakat of Eid al-Fitr consists of 2.03 liters of the main staple of the area in which it is given, of the kinds of crops on which zakat is payable (def:h3.2). (A: If the main staple is bread, as in many countries, only wheat may be given, and is what is meant by the expression giving food here and in all texts below dealing with expiations (e.g. j3.22(2)).) (N: The Hanafi school permits paying the poor the heat's value in money, both here and for expiations.) It is permissible to give the best quality of the staple food of the area, but not to give less than the usual quality (O: such as by giving barley where wheat is the main staple).

h7.7 It is permissible to give the zakat of Eid al-Fitr (N: to deserving recipients (dis: h8.26)) anytime during Ramadan, though the best time is on the day of Eid al-Fitr before the prayer (def:f19.1). It is not permissible to delay giving it until after the day of the Eid (O: that is, one may give it until sunset), and is a sin to delay until after this, and one must make it up (N: by paying it late).

h8.0 GIVING ZAKAT TO DESERVING RECEIPIENTS

h8.1 It is unlawful to delay paying what is due from a zakat-payable amount of property when:

(a) it has been possessed for one year;

(b) one can find the)O: eight) categories (O: of eligible recipients, or some of them) so as to be able to pay it;

(c) and the property is present (O: within 81 km./50 mi.);

unless one is awaiting a poor person more deserving than those present, such as relative (O: of the person paying zakat whom he is not obliged to support), a neighbour, or a more righteous or needy person (O: than those present. Under these circumstances it is not unlawful to delay giving it because there is an excuse, unless withholding it involves considerable harm for those present).

PAYING ZAKAT IN ADVANCE

h8.2 Zakat, on all types of property that a year's possession of the zakat minimum makes giving obligatory, may be payed for the current year (A: alone) before the year's end whenever the property owner possesses the zakat minimum. This zakat in advance is considered valid only when the year ends and:

(a) the recipient it still among the types eligible for zakat (O: meaning, for example, that his state has not changed from poverty to wealth);

(b) the zakat giver is still obligated to pay it;

- (c) and the property is still as it was (0: i.e. the zakat minimum still exists and has not been destroyed or sold). The zakat in advance is not valid if (N: before the end of the year):
- (1) (non-(a) above) the poor person who accepted it dies, or becomes financially independent for some other reason than having accepted the zakat;

(2) (non-(b)) the giver dies;

(3) or (non-(c)) the property diminishes to less than the zakat minimum by more than the amount given in advance (O: such as when the giver takes out 5 dirhams as zakat in advance from 200 dirhams, but his holdings are subsequently reduced by 10 (N: to 190 dirhams, which is less than the zakat minimum)), even when this reduction is because of sale. When the zakat in advance is not valid, the giver may take it back if he has explained that the money has been given in advance (O: by merely having said, "This is my zakat in advance," or if the recipient knows it). If what was given as zakat still exists, the recipient gives it back together with any increment organically connected with it, such as additional weight gained by a head of livestock while in the recipient's possession. But the property owner is not entitled to take back an increment that is not organically connected to the zakat, such as its offspring (O: born from the animal while in the recipient's possession). If the zakat given in advance no longer exists, then the giver is entitled to take back a substitute (O: whether it be the substitute for a commodity that is fungible (mithli, def: k20.3 (1)), such as silver dirhams, or whether for a nonfungible (mutaqawwim) commodity such as sheep or goats, in which case its price is the market value at the time the zakat in advance was accepted, not the time it ceased to exist). After the return of the zakat in advance, the zakat giver pays the zakat from his wealth again if he is still obliged to. The zakat in advance that is paid from the zakatpayable amount (nisab) is considered as if still part of the giver's property (O: only in respect to calculating whether the giver's total property equals the zakat-payable amount. It is not actually considered as still belonging to the zakat giver, since the recipient is entitled to dispose of it by sale or otherwise while it is in his possession). Thus, if the zakat giver paid a sheep in advance as zakat on 120 head, and one of the sheep then gave birth to a new lamb, the giver would now be obliged to pay another sheep (O: it being as if he owns the (N: next highest) zakat-payable amount of 121 head (dis:h2.5)).

AUTHORISING ANOTHER TO DISTRIBUTE ONE'S ZAKAT

h8.3 It is permissible for the zakat giver to personally distribute his zakat to eligible recipients or to authorise an agent (wakil, def:k17) to do so. It is permissible for the zakat giver to pay his zakat to the imam (A: i.e. the caliph (o25) or his representative), and this is superior unless the imam is unjust, in which case it is better to distribute it oneself.

THE PRAYER OF THE RECIPIENT FOR THE ZAKAT GIVER

h8.4 It is recommended for the poor person (O: receiving zakat when the owner is distributing it) or the agent assigned to deliver the zakat to recipients (N: if the imam has gathered it by means of agents to distribute to the poor) to supplicate for the giver, saying, "May Allah reward you for what you have given, bless you in what you have retained, and purify it for you."

THE INTENTION OF ZAKAT

h8.5 Making the intention of zakat is a necessary condition for the validity of giving it. The intention is made when zakat is paid to the poor person or the one being authorized to distribute it, and one must intend giving it as the zakat of one's property. (O: It is permissible to make the intention before paying the money.) When the owner has made this intention, it is not necessary that the agent distributing it also make an intention before giving it(O: because the owner's intention is sufficient, whether the agent is an ordinary individual or is the ruler. It is also permissible for the owner to authorize an agent to both make the intention and distribute the zakat).

h8.6 It is recommended that the imam dispatch a zakat worker, (O: to collect zakat funds from those obliged to pay, to make this easier for them. Such an agent must be) an upright Muslim (def: o24.4) who knows the rulings of zakat, and who is not of the Hashimi or Muttalibi clans of Quraysh.

THE EIGHT CATEGORIES OF RECIPIENTS

h8.7 It is obligatory to distribute one's zakat among eight categories of recipients (O: meaning that zakat goes to none besides them), one-eighth of the zakat to each category. (n: In the Hanafi school, it is valid for the giver to distribute his zakat to all of the categories, some of them, or to confine himself to just one of them (al-Lubab fi sharh al-Kitab(y88), 1.155).)

THE POOR

h8.8 The first category is the poor, meaning someone who:

(a) doe not have enough to suffice himself (O: such as not having any wealth at all, or having some, but (N: he is unable to earn any, and) what he has is insufficient to sustain him to the end of his probable life expectancy if it were distributed over the probable amount of remaining time; insufficient meaning it is less than half of what he needs. If he requires ten dirhams a day, for example but the amount he has when divided by the time left in his probable life expectancy is four dirhams a day or less, not paying for his food, clothing, housing, and whatever he cannot do without, to a degree suitable (dis:f4.5) to someone of his standing without extravagance or penury, then he is poor - all of which applies as well to the needs of those he must support (def;m12.1).) (N: A mechanic's tools or scholar's books are not sold or considered part of his money, since he needs them to earn a living);

(b) and is either:

(1) unable to earn his living by work suitable to him (O: such as a noble profession befitting him (N: given his health and social position), as opposed to work unbefitting him, which is considered the same as not having any. If such an individual were an important personage unaccustomed to earning a living by physical labor, he would be considered "poor". This also includes being able to do work suitable to one, but not finding someone to employ one);

(2) or is able to earn his living, but to do so would keep him too busy to engage in attaining knowledge of Sacred Law. (n: Nawawi notes, "If able to earn a living at work befitting him except that he is engaged in attaining knowledge of some subject in Sacred Law such that turning to earning a living would prevent the acquisition of this knowledge (dis: w36). then it is permissible for him to take zakat because the attainment of knowledge is a communal obligation, though zakat is not lawful for someone able to earn a living who cannot acquire knowledge, even if he lives at a school. What we have just mentioned is the most correct and well known position. Darami mentions three positions concerning someone engaged in attaining religious knowledge: -that he deserves charity even when able to earn a living; -that he does not deserve it; and that if he is an outstanding student who can be expected to develop a good comprehension of the Sacred Law and benefit the Muslims thereby, then he deserves charity, but if not, then he does not. "Darami mentioned this in the chapter of "Voluntary Charity" (al-Majmu' (y108), 6, 190-91).) But if one's religious devotions are what keeps one too busy to earn a living one is not considered poor.

h8.9 Someone separated from his money by at least 81 km/50 mi is eligible for zakat. (N: This was in the past. In our day it is fitter to say that he must be far from his money in terms of common acknowledgement (def: f4.5).) (O: Such a person's absent property is as if nonexistent, and his "poverty" continues until the money is present. Likewise, someone owed money on a debt not yet due who does not have any other money is given zakat when it is distributed (N: to suffice him) until the debt becomes due.)

h8.10 People whose needs are met by the expenditures of those who are obliged to support them such as their husbands or families are not given zakat (N: for poverty) (O: though it is permissible for a third party to give zakat to such a dependent by virtue of the dependent's belonging to some category other than the poor or those short of money (def: below), as when the person belongs to a category such as travellers needing money (h8.18) or those whose hearts are to be reconciled (h8.141).

THOSE SHORT OF MONEY

h8.11 The second category is people short of money, meaning someone who has something to spend for his needs but it is not enough, as when he needs five dirhams, but he only has three or four. The considerations applicable to the poor person also apply to someone short of money (O: namely, that he is given zakat if he cannot earn a living by work befitting him (def: h8.8(b)), or if he can earn a living but attainment of knowledge of Sacred Law prevents his doing so; though if he is able to earn a living but extra devotions prevent him from doing so, then he may not take zakat).

HOW MUCH THE POOR ARE GIVEN

h8.12 A person who is poor or short of money is given as much as needed of tools and materials (O: if he has a trade, such as the tools of a carpenter) with which he can earn a

living, or property with which he can engage in trade (O: if a merchant), each according to the demands of his profession. This amount varies, depending on whether, for example, he is a jeweller, clothier, grocer, or other. If the recipient has no trade (O: i.e. is unable to do any work, whether for wages, by trading, or other), then he is given enough zakat to fulfill his needs from the present till the end of his probable life expectancy (O: based on (N: the average lifespan for someone like him in) that locality). Another position is that such a person is given enough for just one year. These measures are obligatory when abundant zakat funds are available ,whether the imam distributes them or a property owner. But if there is not much zakat available (O: meaning if the owner or imam distribtes funds that are too little to last the poor person for his probable life expectancy or for even one year), it is distributed as is, an eighth to each category.

ZAKAT WORKERS

categories of recipients.

h8.13 The third category consists of zakat workers, the above-mentioned agents (h8.6) dispatched by the imam. These include the person collecting it, the clerk (O: recording what the owners give), the person who matches the payees to recipients, and the one who distributes it to recipients. The zakat workers receive an eighth of the zakat funds. If this amount is more than it would cost to hire someone to do their job, then they return the excess for distribution to the other categories of recipients. But if less (N: than the cost of hiring someone), then enough is taken from the zakat funds to make up the difference. All of this applies only if the imam (A: caliph) is distributing the zakat (O: and has not alloted a fee to the zakat workers from the Muslim common fund (bayt almal)). If the property owner is distributing the zakat (O: or if the imam has alloted the workers a fee from the common fund) then the zakat funds are divided solely among the other

THOSE WHOSE HEARTS ARE TO BE RECONCILED

h8.14 The fourth category is those whose hearts are to be reconciled. If they are non-Muslims, they are not given zakat, but if Muslims, then they may be given it (O: so that their certainly may increase, or if they are recent converts to Islam and are alienated from their kin). Those to be reconciled include:

- (1) the chief personages of a people (O: with weak Islamic intentions) whose Islam may be expected to improve, or whose peers may be expected to enter Islam;
- (2) or the heads of a people who collect zakat for us from Muslims living near them who refuse to pay it, or who fight an enemy for us at considerable expense and trouble to themselves

THOSE PURCHASING THEIR FREEDOM

h8.15 The fifth category is slaves who are purchasing their freedom from their owners. They are given enough to do so if they do not have the means.

THOSE IN DEBT

h8.16 The sixth category is those who have debts (O: and they are of three types):

- (1) A person who incurs debts in order to settle trouble (O: between two people, parties, or tribes) involving bloodshed (O: as when there has been a killing but it is not known who the killer is, and trouble has arisen between the two sides) or to settle trouble concerning property (O: such as bearing the expense when trouble occurs over it) is given zakat even if he is
- (2) A person who incurs debts to support himself or his dependents is given zakat if he is poor, but not if affluent. If he incurs a debt (O: for something lawful) but spends it on something unlawful, and then repents (O: and is felt to be sincere in this, and the original reason is known to have been something lawful), then he is given zakat.
- (3) (O: And a third type, not mentioned by the author, which (n: given persons P,Q, and R) is when R incurs a debt by guaranteeing (daman, def; k15) to P that Q will pay P (n: what Q owes him). If R finds that neither he nor Q can pay, then R is given zakat (n: because he has gone into debt in order to guarantee Q's debt), even if the reason R agreed to guarantee Q was not charity (N: but was rather that Q would pay him back).)

THOSE FIGHTING FOR ALLAH

h8.17 The seventh category is those fighting for Allah, meaning people engaged in Islamic military operations for whom no salary has been allotted in the army roster (O: but who are volunteers for jihad without remuneration). They are given enough to suffice them for the operation, even if affluent; of weapons, mounts, clothing, and expenses (O: for the duration of the journey, round trip, and the time they spend there, even if prolonged. Though nothing has been mentioned here of the expense involved in supporting such people's families during this period, it seems clear that they should also be given it).

TRAVELLERS NEEDING MONEY

h8.18 The eighth category is the traveller in need of money, meaning one who is passing among us (O: i.e. through a town in Muslim lands where zakat is collected), or whose journey was not undertaken for the purpose of disobeying Allah. If such a person is in need, he is given enough to cover his personal expenses and transportation, even if he possesses money back home.

PAYING ZAKAT TO RECIPIENTS

h8.19 A person who qualifies as a member of two or more of the above categories is only given zakat for one of them

h8.20 When the (N: eight) categories of recipients exist in the town where zakat is collected, it is unlawful and invalid to give it to recipients elsewhere (O: as it must be paid to those present if the property owner is distributing his own zakat. The other schools of jurisprudence permit giving it elsewhere). But if the imam (A: caliph) is distributing the zakat, he may give it to recipients in a different place. If the zakat giver's property is in the desert, or none of the eight categories of eligible zakat recipients exist in his own town, then the zakat should be distributed in the nearest town.

h8.21 Each category of recipients must receive an equal share, one-eighth of the total (dis:h8.7(n:)) (A: though one may give various individuals within a particular category more or less), except for zakat workers, who receive only their due wage (def:h8.13). If one of the categories does not exist in one's town, their eighth is distributed over the other categories such that each of them gets oneseventh. If two categories of recipients do not exist in the town, then each of the remaining categories receive a sixth of the zakat, and so on (O: such that if there were only one category in town, all the zakat would be paid to it). It is obligatory to give zakat to every individual member of a category if the owner is distributing zakat and the individuals are of a limited, known number, or if the imam is distributing zakat and it is possible to give it out person by person and include them all because of the abundance of funds. If the owner is distributing zakat and the recipients in each category are not of a limited, known number, then the fewest permissible for him to give to in one category of zakat workers, in which a single person is enough.

h8.22 It is recommended to give one's zakat to relatives other than those one is obliged to support (def: m12.1).

h8.23 It is recommended to distribute zakat to recipients in proportion to their needs, giving someone who needs 100 dirhams, for example, half of what one gives to someone who needs 200. h8.24 It is not permissible to give zakat to a non-Muslim, or to someone whom one is obliged to support (def: m12.1), such as a wife or family member.

- h8.25 It is not valid for one to give zakat to a poor person on condition that he return it to one to pay off a debt he owes, or to tell the recipient, "O hereby make the money you owe me zakat, so keep it for yourself." But it is permissible:
- (1) for the giver to pay his zakat (O: to a poor person who owes him money) when the giver's
- intention is that the recipient should pay him back with it; (2) for the zakat giver to tell the poor person,"Pay me the money you owe me so that I can give it to you as zakat";
- (3) or for the poor person to tell his creditor, "Give me (O: zakat) so that I can pay it back to you (O: for the debt I owe you)";though it is not obligatory to fulfill these promises (O: meaning the outcomes alluded to in (2) and (3) above).

h8.26 All of the above rulings concerning zakat (h8.2-25) apply to the zakat of 'Eid al-Fitr (def; h7) (O: in details, in giving it to deserving recipients (N: the eight categories described in this section), and in giving it in advance). It is permissible for a group of people to pool their zakat of Eid al-Fitr.mix it. and collectively distribute it, or for one of them to distribute it with the others permission. (O: The author mentions this to inform people that anyone can distribute their zakat of Eid al-Fitr to all categories of recipients, no matter how little it is.)

h9.0 VOLUNTARY CHARITY

h9.1 Giving voluntary charity is recommended at all times; especially during Ramadan, before praying for something one needs, (O: when there is an eclipse, illness, or journey,) and at all noble times and places (O: e.g. times such as the first ten days of Dhul Hijja or the days of Eid and places such as Mecca or Medina).

h9.2 It is superior to give charity to righteous people (O: meaning those who give Allah and His slaves their due), to one's relatives (A: which is better than giving to the righteous), even those of them who are one's enemies (A: and this is better than giving to one's friends among them), and to give from the best of one's wealth (O: meaning that which is lawful, which is better than giving what is from a doubtful source, or giving what is of poor quality, either of which are offensive to give as charity. It is unlawful to give property that has been unlawfully obtained (N: if one knows its rightful owner. If not, one must give it as charity (A: or taxes (def: p32)) to remove it from one's possession)).

h9.3 It is unlawful to give as charity money needed to support one's dependents or needed to pay a debt that is currently due (O: because supporting one's dependents or paying a current debt are obligatory, and obligatory acts take precedence over recommended ones).

h9.4 It is recommended to give away in charity everything one owns that is in excess (O: of personal expenses and the expenses of those one is obliged to support), provided one can be patient with the resultant poverty. (O: But if one cannot be patient, it is offensive to give away what is in excess of one's

h9.5 It is offensive to ask for anything besides paradise with the words "For the sake [lit. "By the countenance (0: i.e. entity)"] of Allah," though if someone does, it is offensive not to give to him.

h9.6 It is unlawful to remind a recipient of charity that one has given him (mann, dis:p36), and it eliminates the reward.

.7 (O: It is permissible to give charity to a person not in need, or to a relative of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace). It is offensive for a person not in need to accept charity and preferable that he avoid it. It is unlawful for such a person to accept it if he pretends to be needy, and is unlawful for him to ask for charity. It is permissible to give charity to a non-Muslim (n: but not zakat, as above at h8.24).)

BOOK I - FASTING (SIYAM) (by al-Misri)

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i1.0 FASTING RAMADAN

(O: The month of the fast is the best of months, and it is one of the distinctive features of this

Community (Umma); that is, as now practiced, a fact not contradicted by the word of Allah Most High, "Fasting is prescribed for you, as it was prescribed for those before you" (Koran2:183), the resemblance interpreted as referring to fasting without other qualification, not to its amount and time. Fasting Ramadan is one of the pillars of Islam (def: u2) by scholarly consensus (ijma'). Bukhari and Muslim relate that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Islam is built upon five: testifying there is no god but Allah and that Mohammed is the messenger of Allah, performing the prayer, giving zakat, making the pilgrimage to the House [Kaaba], and fasting Ramadan."

WHO MUST FAST RAMADAN i1.1 Fasting Ramadan is obligatory for: (a) every Muslim (O: male or female) who:

- (b) has reached puberty;
- (c) is sane:
- (d) is capable of bearing the fast;
- (e) and if female, is not in the period of menstruation or postnatal bleeding (nifas).

THOSE NOT OBLIGED TO EAST RAMADAN

i1.2 The following are not required to fast:

- (1) (non-(a) above) a non-Muslim (O: meaning that we do not ask him to, nor would it be valid if he did (N: though he is punished in the next life for not doing so));
 - (2) (non-(b)) a child;
 - (3) (non-(c)) someone insane;
- (4) or (non-(d)) someone whom fasting exhausts because of advanced years or having an illness from which he is unlikely to recover. None of the above-mentioned is obliged to fast or to make up missed fast-days, though someone who misses a fast because of (4) above must give 0.51 liters of food (defi h7.6 (A)) for each fast-day he misses.
- il.3 The following are not required to fast, though they are obliged to make up fast-days missed (A:making up, according to our school, meaning that one fasts a single day for each obligatory fast-day missed):
- (1) those who are ill (N: the illness that permits not fasting being that which fasting would worsen, delay recovery from, or cause one considerable harm with; the same dispensation applying to someone who needs to take medicine during the day that breaks the fast and that he can not delay taking until night):
 - (2) those who are travelling (def:i1.7);
 - (3) a person who has left Islam (murtadd, def:08);
- (4) or a woman who is in her menses or period of postnatal
- bleeding.

 If the ill person or traveller take it upon themselves to fast, it is valid, though a fast by someone who has left Islam, or a woman in menstruation or period of postnatal bleeding is not valid. When not fasting on a day of Ramadan, if a non-Muslim becomes a Muslim, an insane person regains his sanity, or a child reaches puberty, it is recommended but not obligatory that they fast the rest of that day and make up the fast later. A child who reaches puberty while fasting on a day of Ramadan is obliged to fast the rest of the day, and is recommended to make it up. A woman whose period ends during a day of Ramadan is recommended to fast the rest of the day is obliged to make up the fast (O: and the fast-days prior to it missed during her period or postnatal bleeding).
- i1.4 If the testimony of a witness (O: that the new moon has been seen during the previous night) is made during a day (N: that was initially) uncertain as to whether it was the first of Ramadan, then it is obligatory (O: for people) to fast the rest of the day and to make it up later.
- i1.5 A child of seven is ordered to fast, and at ten is beaten for not fasting (N: with the reservations mentioned at f1.2).
- i1.6 Excessive hunger or thirst, meaning likely to cause death or illness, are legitimate excuses not to fast, even when they occur on a day one has already begun to fast, as soon as the fast becomes a hardship.
- i1.7 It is permissible not to fast when travelling, even when the intention to fast has been made the night before, provided that the journey is at least 81 km / 50 mi one way, and that one leaves town (def:f15.6) before dawn. If one leaves after dawn, one is not entitled to omit the fast. It is preferable for travellers not to fast if fasting would harm them, though if not, then fasting is better.
- il.8 A woman who is breast-feeding a baby or is pregnant and apprehends harm to herself or her child may omit the fast and make it up later, though if she omits it because of fear (A: of harm) for the child alone (O: not for herself) then she must give 0.51 liters of food (def:h7.6(A:)) in charity for each day missed, as an expiation (A: in addition to making up each day).

SIGHTING THE NEW MOON

i1.9 Fasting Ramadan is only obligatory when the new moon of Ramadan is sighted (O: i.e in respect to the person who sees it, though for those who do not see it, it only becomes obligatory when the sighting is established by the testimony of an upright witness (def:o24.4)). If it is too overcast to be seen, then (n:the preceding lunar month of) Sha'ban is presumed to last for thirty days, after which people

begin fasting Ramadan. If the new moon is sighted during the day (O: before noon on the last of the thirty days), it is considered as belonging to the following night (O: and the ruling for that day does not change). If the moon is seen in one city but not another, then if the two are close (O: i.e. in the same region), the ruling (n: that the new month has come) holds for both. But if the two are not close, then not (O: i.e. the people far from the place where it was seen are not obliged to fast), not close meaning in different regions, such as the Hijaz, Iraq, and Egypt.

i1.10 The testimony of a single witness (N: that the new moon has been seen) is sufficient to establish that the month of Ramadan has come, provided the witness is upright (Def o24.4), male, and responsible for the duties of Islam (O: which excludes boys who have reached the age of discernment but not puberty).

- i1.11 If a person knows by calculations of lunar movements or the positions of the stars that the next day is Ramadan, fasting is nevertheless not obligatory (O: for him or the public), though it is permissible for him alone.
- i1.12 If it is difficult to learn which month it is, for someone imprisoned or the like (O: such as someone being held in a dark place who cannot tell night from day, or someone who does not know when Ramadan has come because of being in a land without habitations or people who know when it is), then such a person is obliged to reckon Ramadan as best he can and to fast it. Such a fast is valid if it remains unknown as to whether the month fasted actually coincided with Ramadan, or if it did coincide withit, or if the month fasted occurred after it, though if the month fasted was before Ramadan, it is

THE CONDITIONS OF A VALID FAST

- i1.13 The conditions of a valid fast are:
- (a) the intention:
- (b) and refraining from things which break the fast.

THE INTENTION

- i1.14 One must make the intention to fast for each day one fasts. If the intended fast is obligatory, then the intention
- (a) be specific (O: as to the fast being for Ramadan, a vow, an expiation, or whatever):
- (b) and be made in the night prior to dawn. (n: For Hanafis, the intention for a day of Ramadan (but not a makeup) is valid if made before midway between true dawn and sunset of the day itself (al-Hadiyya al-Ala'iyya (y4), 171).) The optimal way is to intend (O: in one's heart) to fast the following day as a current performance of the obligation of Ramadan in the present year for Allah Most High (O: fast and of Ramadan being unanimously considered as integeral to the intention, though scholars differ concerning the obligatoriness of intending it as a current performance, an obligation, or for Allah Most High).
- i1.15 One's intention is valid if on the night before a day of uncertainty (N: as to whether it will be the first day of Ramadan), someone one trusts but who does not have all the qualifications of an acceptable witness (def:i1.10) informs one of having seen the new moon, and relying on this information one intends to fast the next day to fulfill the obligation of Ramadan. and the next day turns out to be Ramadan. But one's fast is not valid if one makes the intention without anyone having informed one of sighting the new moon, no matter whether if one's intention is firm or whether undecided, as when one intends that if the following day is Ramadan, one will fast, but if not, one will not.
- i1.16 One's fast is valid if on the night before 30 Ramadan, one intends that if the following day is of Ramadan, one will fast, but if not, one will not, and then the next day is of Ramadan (O: since it already is Ramadan and the initial presumption is that it will remain so (dis:e7.6(A:))).
- i1.17 Nonobligatory fasts are valid by merely making the intention to fast before noon (O: without needing to specify the type of fast).

THINGS WHICH INVALIDATE THE FAST

- i1.18 Each of the following things invalidates the day's fast when one knows they are unlawful (A: during an obligatory fast) and remembers one is fasting (A: but does them deliberately anyway); and they obligate one to both make up the fast-day later and fast the remainder of that day:
- (1) eating;
- (2) drinking (N: and smoking (A: though not if there is some smoke in the air that one unintentionally inhales));
- (3) taking snuff (O: up the nose that reaches the sinuses, a ruling likewise applicable to oil or water preparation);
- (4) suppositories(O: vaginal or anal);
- (5) pouring (O: water, oil, or other) into the ears until it reaches the eardrum:
- (6) inserting a finger or something else into the anus or vagina further than the area disclosed when one squats(O: to relieve oneself):
- (7) anything that enters the body cavity, whether stabbed into it (O: such as a knife or spear thrust which penetrates it) or whether medicine (N: though intramuscular or intravenous injections of medicine do not break one's fast):
- (8) vomiting (N: if it is deliberate and one is able to prevent it, though if nausea overcomes one, vomiting does not break
- (9) sexual intercourse (O: if deliberate, even if there is no orgasm), or orgasm from stroking a
- nongenital region or from masturbation (O: no matter whether such orgasm is produced by unlawful means, like one's own hand (dis:w37), or whether by lawful means, such as the hand of one's wife):
- (10) using so much water to rinse out the nose and mouth that some reaches the stomach (O: i.e. if any reaches the body cavity because of using an abundance of water, it breaks the

- fast, though if some water slips down when an abundance has not been used, it does not break it. Nor does it harm to swallow one's saliva after rinsing the mouth out, even if able to expectorate it);
- (11) swallowing saliva that has left the mouth, such as when threading a needle and one moistens the end of the thread, and then remoistens it, swallowing some of the saliva that the thread had been previously wetted with;
- (12) swallowing saliva that has been qualitatively altered, such as when threading a needle and one wets the end, and some dye from the thread remains in the mouth and is swallowed (A: so people who use toothpaste should take care to eliminate it from the mouth before dawn on fastdays);
- (13) swallowing saliva that has been made impure by contact with filth (najasa), such as when one's mouth is bloodied and one spits out the saliva until it is clear and colorless, but neglects to wash one's mouth out (O: before swallowing the saliva, which breaks the fast because the mouth is still affected by impurity (n: and water is necessary to purify it, as at e14.10));
- (14) allowing phlegm or mucus at the back of the mouth to be swallowed when one could have spit them out (n: though in the Hanafi school this does not break the fast, even if intentional (al-Hadiyya al-Ala'yya (y4), 180));
- (15) or to continue making love, even for a moment, after dawn has arrived.

THE CRITERION FOR THINGS WHICH INVALIDATE THE FAST

- i1.19 The criterion as to whether something invalidates the fast is (N: whether it comes under any one of three headings):
- (1) a substance, even if not much, that reaches the body cavity through an open passageway (O: substance excluding odors, and open excluding anything else, such as absorption through pores). (N: The deliberate introduction of anything besides air or saliva into the body cavity breaks the fast, though if the person fasting does so absentmindedly or under compulsion, it does not break it);
- (2) sexual intercourse (O: meaning inserting the head of the penis into the vagina);
- (3) or orgasm, whether as the result of touching (O: such as kissing, contact, lying between the thighs, or something else), or because of masturbation; -provided that one is aware that these acts are unlawful and that one remembers one is fasting (N: and provided they are done deliberately and voluntarily).

THE EXPIATION FOR VITIATING A FAST-DAY BY SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

i1.20 In addition to making up the fast, an expiation is obligatory for fast-days of Ramadan that are (A: deliberately) vitiated by sexual intercourse. (O: The legal occasion of the offense is the particular day of fasting, so that if it were committed on two separate days, two separate expiations would be necessary, though if it were committed twice in one day there would be only one expiation.) The expiation consists of freeing a sound Muslim slave (dis:k32), or if not possible, then to fast the days of two consecutive months. (A: In our school the expiation is only for sexual intercourse, though the Hanafis hold it is obligatory for vitiating the fast for other reasons as well.) If this is not possible, then the expiation is to feed sixty unfortunates (N:0.51 liters of food (def: h7.6 (A:)) to each unfortunate). If one is unable to do this, the expiation remains as an unperformed obligation upon the person concerned. The woman who is made love to is not obliged to expiate it.

THINGS THAT DO NOT BREAK THE FAST

- i1.21 The fast remains valid if any of the things which break it are done absentmindedly (O: not remembering the fast), out of ignorance (O: that doing the things which break the fast are unlawful, whether this is due to being a new Muslim, or to being born and raised far from Islamic scholars), or under compulsion. Not is it broken by:
 - (1) involuntary vomiting;
- (2) having a wet dream, or orgasm as a result of thinking or looking at something (A: unless the latter two usually cause orgasm, in which case one has broken one's fast by not avoiding them);
- (3) some water reaching the body cavity as a result of rinsing out the mouth or nose, provided not much (def: f4.5) water was used:
- (4) saliva carrying down some food particles from between one's teeth, provided this is after having cleaned between them (O: after eating, by using a toothpick or the like between them), if one is unable to spit them out;
- (5) gathering saliva in the mouth and swallowing it, bringing saliva as far forward as the tongue (O: but not to the lips) and then swallowing it, or coughing up phlegm from the throat and spitting it out;
- (6) the arrival of dawn when there is food in one's mouth which one spits out;
- (7) the arrival of dawn when one is lovemaking and one immediately disengages;

(8) or when sleeps all day or has lost consciousness, provided one regains consciousness for at least a moment of the day.

EATING OR DRINKING WHEN UNCERTAIN OF THE TIME OF DAWN OR SUNSET

i1.22 Making up the fast-day is obligatory if one eats, thinking it is night, but then finds that it is day; or eats, presuming (N: but uncertain) that the sun has set, and the question (O: as to whether one ate before sunset or after) continues and remains unresolved (dis:e7.6 (A:)).

It is not obligatory to make up a fast-day on which one ate on the presumption that dawn had not yet come, and the question (O: as to what the case was) remains unresolved (A: since the initial certainty was that it was night).

INVOLUNTARY ACTS WHICH INVALIDATE THE FAST

- i1.23 A fast-day is invalidated by;
- (1) insanity, even for a moment;
- (2) being unconscious the entire day:
- (3) or the appearance of menstrual or postnatal flow.
- (N: The insane person is not obliged to make up such a day's fast, while the others are.)

RECOMMENDED MEASURES WHILE FASTING

- i1.24 A predawn meal is recommended, even if it is slight or consists of water alone (O: and the time for it begins from the middle of the night onwards). It is best to delay it to just before dawn, as long as one does not apprehend dawn's arrival while still eating (O: though when one does not know when dawn is, it is not the sunna to thus delay it).
- i1.25 It is best to hasten breaking the fast when one is certain that the sun has set. One should break it with an odd number of dates, though if one has none, water is best. It is recommended to say after doing so, "O Allah, for You I fasted, and upon Your bounty I have broken the fast."
- i1.26 It is recommended in Ramadan:
- (1) to be especially generous (O: in giving charity);
- (2) to improve one's relations with family and relatives;
- (3) to recite the Koran much;
- (4) to spend periods of spiritual retreat (i'tikaf, def:13) in the mosque, especially during the last ten days of Ramadan;
- (5) to break the fast of others after sunset, even if only with water (O: because of the hadith related by Tirmidhi that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "He who breaks another's fast earns the same reward as the one who fasted without diminishing the latter's reward in the slightest"):
- (6) and if in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba), to perform the purificatory bath (ghusl) before dawn.
- i1.27 It is recommended to avoid:
- (1) slander (def: r2.2), lying, and foul language (N: which are always unlawful, but even worse when fasting):
- (2) the pleasure of the senses (O: i.e. those that do not break the fast, such as smelling fragrant plants or looking at them, because of the gratification therein which is incompatible with the wisdom of the fast, even though they are permissible when not fasting) (A: and while it is recommended not to use perfume during a fastday, it does not hurt to use it on the night before);
- (3) and medicinal bloodletting (N: or blood donating) or cupping (O: as these, like the fast, weaken a person and could have a synergistic debiliating effect). If someone abuses one while fasting; one should say tohim,"I am fasting"

THINGS THAT ARE UNLAWFUL OR OFFENSIVE WHILE FASTING

- i1.28 It is unlawful to kiss (O: or embrace, or pet with the hand) on fast-days for those it sexually arouses.
- i1.29 It is unlawful not to eat or drink anything (wisal) between fast-days, though it is not unlawful if one has some water, even a mouthful, before dawn.
- i1.30 It is offensive during the fast to taste food, or to use a toothstick (def: e3) after noon.
- $i1.31\,It$ is offensive during the fast to line the eyes with kohl (def:e4.1(4)) or to bathe.
- i1.32 It is offensive (dis:w38) for anyone (O: whether fasting or not) to keep silent all day until night (O: when there is no need to) (A: need including the necessity of restraining the tongue from useless talking (dis:r1.1)).

MAKING UP MISSED FAST-DAYS

i1.33 Someone obliged to make up some fastdays of Ramadan is recommended to do so consecutively and immediately. It is not permissible for a person with some unperformed fast-days of Ramadan to delay making them up until the next Ramadan unless there is an excuse (N: for delaying). If one delays until the next Ramadan, one must pay 0.51 liters of food (def: h7.6(A:)) (N: to the poor) for each fast-day missed, in addition to making it up If making up a fast-day is delayed until a second Ramadan comes, then one must pay double this amount for each day. And so forth; every year that passes upon an unfulfilled fast day adds 0.51 liters to

be paid for that day. (O: But if one's excuse for not performing them persists, such as travel or illness, then it is permissible for one to delay making them up as long as the excuse is present, even it is lasts for years. One is not obliged to pay the penalty fee for this delay even if several Ramadans go by, but is merely obliged to make up the missed fastdays). If someone dies with unperformed fast-days which he could have fasted but did not, then each fastday is paid for (N: by the responsible family member) with 0.51 liters of food (N: or he can fast for him (A: in place of paying for each day)). (O: As for someone who dies after two Ramadans elapse upon his missed fast-days, each fast is paid for with 1.02 liters (n: double the above) of food (N: or the family member can both fast a day and pay 0.51 liters for each day (A:i.e the family member may fast in the deceased's stead for the initial nonperformance of the fast-day, though he cannot fast in place of paying the 0.51 liters of food for each year that making up a fast-day was delayed before the deceased's death, because this is the legal expiation for the delay). As for someone who died before his excuse (n: for not fasting) ceased to exist, nothing at all is obligatory for him).)

i2.0 VOLUNTARY FASTING

DAYS ON WHICH FASTING IS RECOMMENDED

i2.1 It is recommended to fast:

(1) on six days of the month of Shawwal, and that they be the six consecutive days immediately following Eid al-Fitr(O: their being consecutive and their immediately following the 'Eid are two separate sunnas), though it is permissible to fast them nonconsecutively:

- (2) on 9 and 10 Muharram:
- (3) on the full moon (lit. "white") days of every lunar month, which are the thirteenth and the two days that follow it:
- (4) on Mondays and Thursdays;
- (5) on the first nine days of Dhul Hijja;
- (6) during the inviolable months, which are four: Dhul Qa'da, Dhul Hijja, Muharram, and Rajab;
- (7) (n: and on every other day, a fast described by the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) as "the most beloved fast to Allah" (Riyad al-salihin (y107), 466)). The best fast-days, after Ramadan, are those of Muharram, then Rajab, then Sha'ban. (O: In general, the best month for fasting, after Ramadan and the inviolable months, is Sha'ban (A: there being no objection to fasting an entire month or just part of one). It is recommended to fast on the Day of Arafa (O: 9 Dhul Hijja), unless one is a pilgrim present at Arafa (def; j8), when it is better not to fast. It is not offensive for such a person to fast, though it is better for him not to.

FASTS THAT ARE OFFENSIVE OR UNLAWFUL

- i2.2 It is offensive to fast every day of the year (O: besides the two Eids and the three days following Eid al-Adha (n: these being unlawful to fast (dis: below) rather than offensive)) if this harms one (O: in body or mind) or causes one not to do something one should do (O: for oneself or others, even if merely recommended). If not, then it is not offensive.
- i2.3 It is unlawful and not valid to fast (O: whether voluntarily, as a vow, or as a makeup) on the two Eids or the three days following Eid al-Adha.
- i2.4 It is also unlawful and invalid to fast on a day of uncertainty (N: as to whether it is the first day of Ramadan), meaning that on 30 Sha'ban, someone who does not have the necessary qualifications of a witness (def:i1.10) mentions having seen the new moon of Ramadan. Otherwise (O: when no one has mentioned seeing it, or when an acceptable witness has), then it is not considered a day of uncertainty. Fasting on a day of uncertainty is not valid as a day of Ramadan, though it can validly fulfill a vow or a makeup fast. Voluntary fasting on such a day is only valid when one would have fasted anyway because it falls on a day one habitually fasts, or when one has been fasting each day since before mid-Sha'ban. If neither of these is the case, then it is unlawful and invalid to fast on it. It is unlawful to fast during the days after mid Sha'ban unless one would have fasted anyway because they fall on days one habitually fasts, or unless one has been fasting each day since before mid-Sha'ban.
- i2.5 (Nawawi: (n: with commentary by Mohammed Shirbini Khatib)) It is offensive to single out Fridays or Saturdays ((Shirbini:) or Sundays for fasting, i.e. to single out one of the above-mentioned days when they do not coincide with days one normally fasts. The fast of someone who usually fasts every other day and whose fast coincides with one of these days or with a day of uncertainty is not offensive, because of the hadith related by Muslim, "Do not single out Friday for fasting unless it happens to coincide with a fast one of you performs," similar days being analogous to Fridays in this respect) (Mughni al-muhtaj ila ma'rifa ma'ani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73), 1.447)). i2.6 Once begun, it is unlawful to interrupt either an obligatory fast-day or an obligatory prayer, whether it is current, a makeup, or vowed; though if it is nonobligatory (O: whether wholly

supereogatory or linked with a particular event or time), then one may interrupt it (O: but it is offensive to do so if there is no excuse)

i3.0 SPIRITUAL RETREAT (I'TIKAF)

i3.1 It is sunna, at any time, to make spiritual retreat (i'tikaf) in the mosque.

LAYLAT AL-QADR

i3.2 Spiritual retreat (i'tikaf) is especially recommended in Ramadan, particularly in the last ten days of it, seeking Laylat al-Qadr (lit. "the Night of the Divine Decree") (O: which is, as Allah Most High says, "better than a thousand months" (Koran 97:3). meaning that spiritual works therein are better than works of a thousand months lacking Laylat al-Qadr. Indicating its excellence, the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)said, "He who prays on Laylat al-Qadr in faith and expectation of its reward will be forgiven his previous sins"). Laylat al-Qadr could be on any night of Ramadan (n: or any other month of the year, according to some (dis:w39)). It probably occurs within the last ten nights, more likely on the odd numbered ones (N: remembering that the night of an Islamic date comes before the day of that date), the twenty first and twenty third of which are the likeliest(n:though most scholars hold it to be the twentyseventh (Mughni al-Muhtaj ila ma'rifa ma'ani alfaz al-Minhaj (y730, 1.450)). On Laylat al-Qadr it is recommended to frequently repeat, "O Allah, You are oft-relenting and love to forgive, so forgive me.'

HOW TO PERFORM SPIRITUAL RETREAT

- i3.3 At minimum, spiritual retreat (i'tikaf) consists of:
- (a) staying, with the intention of spiritual retreat, for more than the least amount of time that can be considered repose (A: i.e. a moment);
- (b) while being Muslim, sane, conscious, and free of major ritual impurity (O: i.e. of menstruation, postnatal bleeding, and major impurity (janaba));
- (c) in a mosque, even when this stay is no more than entering the periphery and then leaving by the same entrance (taraddud), though to merely pass through is insufficient. Optimally, the spiritual retreat (i'tikaf) should be accompanied by fasting, take place in the Friday congregational mosque (O: because of the size of the group prayer therein, and so as not to have to leave to attend the Friday prayer), and be no less than a day.

VOWING SPIRITUAL RETREAT IN PARTICULAR MOSQUES

- i3.4 If one vows (def: j18) to make spiritual retreat (i'tikaf) in:
- (1) al-Masiid al-Haram (n: in Mecca):
- (2) al-Masjid al-Aqsa (n:in Jerusalem);
- (3) or Masjid al-Medina; then the vow cannot be fulfilled elsewhere. Spiritual retreat (i'tikaf) in al-Masjid al-Haram fulfills a vow to make spiritual retreat in either of the other two (n: al-Aqsa or Medina), but not vice versa (N: they do not fulfill a vow to make a spiritual retreat in al-Masjid al-Haram). Spiritual retreat in Masjid al-Medina fulfills a vow to do so in al-Masjid al-Aqsa, but not vice versa. If one vows to make a spiritual retreat in any mosque besides these three, the vow can be fulfilled in any mosque whatever (O: since none besides these three is superior to any other).
- i3.5 Spiritual retreat (i'tikaf) is invalidated by lovemaking and by orgasm as a result of touching.

VOWS TO SPEND A CERTAIN CONSECUTIVE PERIOD IN SPIRITUAL RETREAT

- i3.6 If one vows to make spiritual retreat for a consecutive period, then one is obligated to do so. The consecutiveness of such a period is not nullified by leaving the mosque for something necessary such as eating (even when it is possible to do so in the mosque), drinking (provided it is not possible to do so in the mosque), using the lavatory, attending to an illness, the onset of a menstrual period, or similar things; though one's spiritual retreat is interrupted by leaving the mosque to visit a sick person, perform a funeral prayer (janaza), or attend the Friday prayer (jumu'a).
- i3.8 Touching another with sexual desire is unlawful for someone in spiritual retreat (i'tikaf).
- i3.9 It is not permissible for a wife to make spiritual retreat without her husband's permission.

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(O: Hajj and umra are obligiory because of the word of Allah Most High: "People owe Allah to make pilgrimage to the House, whoever is able to find a way" (Koran 3:97), and, "Complete the hajj and 'umra for Allah" (Koran 2:196), meaning, "Perform both of them completely.")

j1.1 (n: This section uses the following special vocabulary in addition to some of the terms previously mentioned at f8.1: 'Arafa: (syn.'Arafat) the name of a plain about thirteen miles to the eastsoutheast of Mecca. Hajj: the pilgrimage to Mecca. Ihram: the state of consecration that pilgrims enter for hajj and 'Umra. Labbayk: a litany meaning, "Ever at Your service, O Allah, ever at Your service." al-Masjid al-Haram: the Holy Mosque in Mecca that encompasses the Kaaba. Safa and Marwa: two hillocks connected by a course adjoining al-Masjid al-Haram. Umra: the lesser pilgrimage or visit to Mecca that may be performed at any time of the year.)

j1.2 Both hajj and 'umra are obligatory, though neither is obligatory more than once in a person's lifetime unless one vows (def:j18) more than that.

j1.3 They are only obligatory for someone who:

(a) is Muslim;

(b) has reached puberty;

(c) is sane:

(d) and is able (def:j1.6-10) to make them.

j1.4 The hajj or umra of someone considered unable (non-(d) above) is valid (O: i.e. if he undertakes the hardship, travels, and stands at 'Arafa (def;j8), it fulfills the obligation), though not that of a non-Muslim, or a child below the age of discrimination (f1.2) who is unaccompanied by a guardian. It is valid for a child of the age of discrimination to enter the state of ihram with his guardian's permission (O: guardian meaning the person with lawful disposal over the child's property). It is also valid for the guardian to enter ihram on behalf of an insane person or a child below the age of discrimination, in which case the guardian has his charge do as much as he is able, by having him (O: telling him to) perform the purificatory bath (ghusl), remove clothing that has seams, and put on hajj garments; and forbidding him the things prohibited while in the state of ihram, such as perfumes and the like (def; j3.5), after which he takes him to the various places of the hajj rites (0: it being insufficient for the guardian togo alone), and performs the acts that the charge cannot do himself, such as entering into ihram (n: which the charge, lacking discrimination, is unable to make a legally valid intention for), the two rak'as after circumambulating the Kaaba, and stoning at Mina. (N: But the hajj of someone who has not reached puberty does not fulfill the obligation Islam imposes, since even though itis valid, it is supererogatory.)

WHO IS CONSIDERED ABLE TO PERFORM THE HAJJ j1.5 Those able to perform the hajj are of two types: those able to perform the hajj in person, and those able to fulfill the hajj by sending someone in their stead.

THOSE ABLE TO PERFORM THE HAJJ IN PERSON

j1.6 The conditions for being considered able to perform the hajj in person are:

(a) to be healthy (O: enough to ride there without serious harm);

(b) to be able to obtain provisions for the trip;

(c) to have enough money to afford water at the going price at the places people travel through because of the water there;

(d) to have transportation suitable to someone like oneself (O: though if one cannot find any, or if it is more than the usual price (A: usual meaning that the fare to the hajj is no more than the fare to another destination of comparable distance). then one is not obliged to perform the hajj); (all of the above (O: (b), (c) and (d)) apply equally to the journey there and back)

(e) to be able to pay for (b), (c), and (d), round trip, with money one has that is in excess of the amount one requires to support the members of one's family and clothe them while one is travelling there and back, and obtain leadings for oneself; and that is in excess of any money one owes for debts, even those not yet due (O: scholars concur that a debtor is not obliged to perform the hajj even when his creditor does not mind postponing the debt until after the hajj, and that a person is not obliged to perform the hajj when someone is willing to loan him the money to do so (N: though such a person's hajj would be valid, as previously discussed (j1.4)));

(f) and that a route exist that is safe for one's person and property from predators and enemies,

whether the latter be non-Muslims or whether highwaymen wanting money, even when the amount is inconsiderable (A: including so called hajj fees, which are not countenanced by Sacred Law). If there is no route except by sea, then one must take it if it is usually safe, but if not, then it is not obligatory. (N: These are the conditions for the obligatoriness of the hajj orumra, meaning that if one of them is lacking, the hajj and umra are not obligatory for that year, though if one performs them anyway, one's performance validly fulfills the rites which Islam imposes, as mentioned above at j1.4)

j1.7 The above conditions apply equally to a woman, who in addition requires someone to accompany her to protect her, such as a husband, an unmarriageable male relative (mahram, def: m6.2), or some (O: two or more) reliable women, even if they are not accompanied by any of their unmarriageable male relatives.

j1.8 If the above conditions are met, but there is no longer time to reach Mecca, then the hajj is not obligatory. But if time remains, it is obligatory.

j1.9 It is recommended to perform hajj as soon as possible (N: i.e. to perform it the first year that one is able to, and likewise for umra). One is entitled to delay it, but if one dies without performing it after having been able to, one dies in disobedience, and it is obligatory to take out the cost for it from the deceased's estate (n: just as debts are, as at L4.3(1)) to pay for someone to make it up (A: in the deceased's place (dis:below)).

THOSE ABLE TO PERFORM THE HAJJ BY SENDING SOMEONE IN THEIR STEAD

- i1.10 The second type of being able to perform hajj is when one may fulfill it by sending another in one's place, the necessary conditions for which are:
- (a) that one is unable to ride there (O: at all, or is able, but with great difficulty) because of chronic illness or old age;
- (b) and that one either has the money (n: to hire someone to go in one's place) or (N: if lacking the money) has someone to obey one (O: by agreeing to perform the rites of hajj for one (N: at their own expense, as a charitable donation)), even if not a family member- in which case one is obliged to either hire someone (N: in the former instance) or give permission to someone (N: in the latter instance) to perform hajj in one's place. One may also have someone perform a nonobligatory hajj for one under such conditions.

THE PRIORITY OF THE OBLIGATORY HAJJ OVER ANY OTHER

- j1.11 It is not permissible for someone who has not yet performed his own obligatory hajj:
- (1) to perform the haji for someone else;
- (2) to perform a nonobligatory hajj;
- (3) or to perform hajj in fulfillment of a vow or as a makeup. (N: If he does any of these, it counts instead as his own obligatory hajj).
- j1.12 The order of performing hajj (O: or umra) must be:
- (1) the obligatory hajj first;
- (2) then a makeup haji (def:j3.14:(c)) if any is due;
- (3) then a hajj in fullfillment of a vow, if any has been made;
- (4) and then a supererogatory hajj, or one in another person's place. If one tries to change this order, for example, by commencing a hajj with the intention for a supererogatory performance or a vow when one has not yet made the obligatory hajj, the intention is invalid, and the hajj counts instead as fulfilling the obligatory one. Te same is true for the other types (A:i.e if one extends any of the types in the order just mentioned when a prior type exists unperformed, then one's hajj counts as fulfilling the prior one, regardless of the intention).

WAYS OF PERFORMING THE HAJJ

- j1.13 It is permissible to enter ihram with the intention for any of four ways of performing the hajj, which are, in order of superiority:
- (1) hajj before umra (ifrad);
- (2) umra first (tamattu');
- (3) hajj and umra simultaneously (qiran):
- (4) and the unconditional intention to perform hajj and umra (itlag).

HAJJ BEFORE UMRA (IFRAD)

j1.14 Hajj before umra (ifrad) means to perform hajj (O: i.e enter ihram for hajj) first (O: before subsequently entering ihram for umra) at the ihram site for people from one's country (def: j2), then (O: after having completed one's hajj) to go outside the Sacred Precinct (Haram) and enter ihram for umra. (O: There is no special place for the second ihram: if one went to the closest place outside of the Sacred Precinct, it would suffice for this ihram of umra.) (N: People generally go to the Mosques of Aisha (Allah be well pleased with her) al-Tan'im because it is close.)

UMRA FIRST (TAMATTU')

- j1.15 'Umra first (tamattu') (N: perhaps the easiest and most practical way to perform hajj in our times, since one does not have to remain in a state of ihram throughout the week or more that one is generally there between the initial umra and subsequent hajj) means to perform the umra first (O: before the haii) by:
- (a) entering ihram for it from the ihram site for people of one's own country;
- (b) during the hajj months (def:j1.19);
- (c) and then (O: after finishing the umra) performing hajj within the same year from Mecca (O: meaning to intend hajj from Mecca (n: by entering ihram there), if one wants to have to slaughter (n: in expiation, as at j12.6(I)), which relives one of the necessity to return to the ihram site of people of one's country, though if one returns to that site to enter ihram for hajj, then one is no longer obliged to slaughter and one's ihram is valid). It is recommended to enter ihram for hajj on 8 Dhul Hijja if one is performing umra first (tamattu) and has an animal to slaughter. But if one does not have an animal, (O: one eners ihram) on 6 Dhul Hijja (O: so that one's (N: three day expiatory) fast (N: in place of slaughtering (def: j12.6(I)) takes place before standing at Arafa (A: since in the Shafi'i school, being in ihram for hajj is obligatory during these three days of fasting though for the Hanafi school, these days may be fasted before entering ihram for hajj, after one's umra), thus fasting on the sixth, seventh, and eighth, and not on the Day of Arafa (N:the ninth) if one was able to fast on the sixth, though if not then fasting the day of Arafa is mandatory because of the previous inability. If one does not fast it, it is a sin and the delayed fast day is a makeup, as its obligatory time

is before the Day of Arafa). One enters ihram for hajj in Mecca from the door of one's lodgings. Then one proceeds in a state of ihram to al-Masjid al-Haram as a Meccan would (O: to perform a farewell circumambulation (tawaf al-wada'. def: j11.2) of the Kaaba, which is desirable (mustahabb) for non-Mecans who are leaving Meca to go to Arafa. For Meccans, the farewell circumambulation is obligatory when leaving Mecca, even for a short distance).

HAJJ AND UMRA SIMULTANEOUSLY (QIRAN)

j1.16 Hajj and umra simultaneously (qiran) means to enter ihram intending both (O: hajj and 'umra) at the ihram site for people of one's country, and then perform only the rites of hajj (O: Such that one does not perform an additional circumambulation or a second going between Safa and Marwa (def:j6), but rather once is sufficient to fulfill the obligation of both hajj and umra, because the actions of the umra have been incorporated into the actions of the hajj. The author mentions a second way of performing hajj and umra simultaneously (qiran) by saying:) Or the person may enter ihram first for umra, and then before beginning his circumambulation (O: even if only by a single step), incorporate into his intention for umra the intention to perform haji, this taking place in the months of hajj.

THE OBLIGATION TO SLAUGHTER OR FAST FOR THOSE PERFORMING THE LIMRA

(TAMATTU') OR HAJJ AND UMRA SIMULTANEOUSLY (QIRAN)

- i1.17 A Person performing umra first (tamattu') or performing hajj and 'umra simultaneously (qiran) is obliged to slaughter (N: a shah (def:h2.5) or to fast, as mentioned below), though if the person performing hajj and umra simultaneously (qiran) lives within the Sacred Precinct (Haram) or within 81 km / 50 ml. of it, or if the person performing umra first (tamattu') returns to the ihram site for people of his country(N:after his umra) to enter ihram for hajj, orlives within 81 km./50mi. of the Sacred Precinct - in any of these cases he is not obliged to slaughter. If one (O: performing umra first (tamattu') or hajj and umra simultaneously (qiran)) is obliged to slaughter but:
- (1) lacks an animal there (O: i.e. in the Sacred Precinct (Haram), which is the place of the obligation to slaughter, lacks meaning absolutely, as when there is not an animal available that meets slaughter specifications (def:j14.2));
- (2) or (O: there is an animal, but one lacks) its price (O: or has the price but needs the money for expenses and the like):
- (3) or finds that it is being sold for more than the normal price for that locality and time; -then one must fast three days of the hajj (O: For our school it is insufficient to fast them before the hajj, as opposed to the school of Abu Hanifa, in which it is permissible to fast them before the hajj (A: i.e. when performing the umra first (tamattu'), fasting them after having finished the initial umra and before entering ihram for hajj).) It is recommended that these days be before the Day of 'Arafa (O: time permitting, as when one fasts from 1 Dhul Hijja after having entered ihram for hajj. It is unlawful to delay these fast-days till after the Day of Arafa), and one must fast seven additional days after returning home (n: making a total of ten fast-days). The time for current performance of the three fast-days ends after the Day of Arafa (O: and it is not permissible to fast any of them on Eid-al-Adha or on the three days following Eid), and if one thus delays them, it is obligatory to make them up before the other seven fast-days, by an interval between the three and seven fast-days equal to the interval that would have separated them had they been a current performance, namely the time taken by the trip (O: from Mecca to home) plus four days (O: equal to the Eid and the three days that follow it).

THE UNCONDITIONAL INTENTION TO PERFORM HAJJ AND UMRA (ITLAQ)

j1.18 The unconditional intention to perform hajj and umra (itlaq) means to merely intend entering into the performance of rites, without specifying at the time of ihram that it is for hajj, umra, or hajj and umra simultaneously (qiran). After this, one may use it (O: the ihram, made unconditional by the intention) as one wishes (O: meaning to perform hajj only, umra only, or hajj and umra simultaneously (qiran) (A:though one may not use the unconditional intention as a way to perform umra first (tamattu') without having to either return to the ihram site to enter ihram for hajj, or to slaughter or fast (def:1.17))).

THE TIME OF YEAR TO ENTER IHRAM FOR HAJJ OR UMRA

j1.19 It is not permissible to enter ihram for hajj other than during its months, namely, Shawwal, Dhul Qa'da, and the first ten nights of Dhul Hijja (A: with their days). If one enters ihram for hajj during non-hajj months, one's ihram counts for umra. Entering ihram for umra is valid at any time of the year except for a person on hajj encamped at Mina for stoning (def:j10).

12.0 SITES FOR ENTERING IHRAM

- J2.1 The sites for entering ihram for hajj or umra are as follows:
- (1) (N: people going to hajj from the West by plane must enter ihram before boarding it, or during the flight before it passes the airspace that is even (def:j2.3) with the city of Rabigh, on the western coast of the Arabian Peninsula, this generally being announced on the plane);
- (2) Medina residents (N: or those travelling through Medina to Mecca) enter ihram at Dhul Hulayfa;
- (3) residents of the Syria-Palestine region, Egypt, and North Africa enter ihram at al-Juhfa;
- (4) residents of al-Tihama in Yemen enter ihram at Yalamlam:
- (5) residents of Najd of Yemen and the Najd of the Hijaz enter ihram at Oarn;
- (6) and residents of Iraq and Khurasan enter ihram at Dhat Iraq, preferably at al-Aqiq.
- j2.2 Someone at Mecca, even if merely passing through, enters ihram for hajj in Mecca, and for umra must go (N: at least) to the nearest place outside of the Sacred Precinct (Haram), of which the best is al-Ji'rana, then al-Tan'im, and then al-Hudaybiya. Someone residing closer to Mecca than the ihram site is to Mecca should enter ihram (O: for hajj or umra) at his residence.
- j2.3 When coming by a route lacking an ihram site, one enters ihram when even with (O: on the left or right) the ihram site that is nearest.
- j2.4 For someone residing farther from Mecca than the ihram site is, to enter ihram at the ihram site is superior (A: than for him to enter ihram at his own residence).

THE EXPLATION FOR NEGLECTING TO ENTER IHRAM AT THE PROPER SITE:

j2.5 Someone intending hajj, umra,or both, who passes the ihram site (O: intentionally, absentmindedly,or in ignorance of it) and enters ihram somewhere closer to Mecca, is obliged to slaughter (def:j12.6(I)),though if he returns to the proper site and enters ihram there before having performed a single rite, he is no longer obliged to slaughter.

j3.0 IHRAM (THE STATE OF PILGRIM SANCTITY) MEASURES RECOMMENDED PRIOR TO IHRAM

j3.1 When one wishes to enter ihram, it is recommended (even for a woman in menstruation) to perform the purificatory bath (ghusl), intending bathing for ihram. If there is not much water, one merely performs ablution (wudu).It is also recommended to shave pubic hair, pluck the underarms, clip the mustache. (O: trim the nails,) clean oneself of dirt, and wash the head

OBLIGATORY MEASURES BEFORE IHRAM

j3.2 Then (O: if male) one:

(a) sheds any garments that have sewing in them (O: taking them off being obligatory for ihram, which is incomplete if one does not remove them before entering it);

(b) puts on a clean white mantle (Ar. rida', the rectangular piece of cloth worn over the shoulders that covers the upper body of a man in ihram) and wraparound (izar, the cloth worn around the lower body), and sandals (O: that do not enclose the foot, but rather reveal the toes and heels, as opposed to sandals that cover the toes, for wearing such sandals obliges one to slaughter (def: j12.6(II)));

(c) and it is recommended to perfume the body, though not one's clothes. The above measures (j3.1) apply equally to women, although women do not divest themselves of sewn garments (O: a woman being obliged to cover all of her body except the face and hands, which, in ihram as well as in prayer, are not considered nakedness). It is recommended that she dye her hands and face with henna (O: a measure that is desirable, and whose nonperformance is without consequence). (A: But women do not use perfume.) All of the foregoing are done before entering ihram

ENTERING IHRAM

j3.3 One then prays two rak'as, provided it is not a time when the prayer is forbidden (def:f13), intending the sunna of ihram. (O: It is sunna to recite al-Kafirun (Koran 109) in the first rak'a and al-Ikhlas (Koran 112) in the second.)\Then one rises to start travelling to Mecca. As soon as one begins travelling to Mecca, one has entered ihram, Ihram (O: which is an integral of hajj and 'umra) is the intention to enter into the performance of the rites (O: of hajj, umra, or both (qiran)). One intends in one's heart to perform the hajj for Allah Most High, if one wants to perform hajj; or to perform umra if one wants to; or both together if one wants to perform them simultaneously (giran). It is recommended that one also pronounce this intention with the tongue.

CHANTING "LABBAYK"

j3.4 Then one chants "Labbayk" (n: as described below), raising the voice (O:enough to (N: at least) hear oneself, the raising being relative. For the duration of the time one is in

ihram one raises it enough for those nearby to hear), though a woman should lower her voice when saying it (O: as raising the voice is offensive for a woman) saying: "Ever at Your service, O Allah, ever at Your service. Every at our service, You have no partner, ever at Your service. Verily, all praise, blessings, and domination are Yours. You have no partner' (O: saving this three times). Then (O: after chanting the above) one recites the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) in a softer voice, asking Allah Most High for paradise (O: saying, "O Allah, I ask You for paradise and its blessings," and asking for His good pleasure and acceptance (ridwan)) and seeking refuge in Him from hell (O: saying, "I take refuge in You from Your wrath, and hell," and asking Him for whatever one wishes of the good of this world and the next). It is desirable to chant "Labbayk" for the duration of one's ihram, whether standing, sitting, riding, walking, lying down, and even in a state of major ritual impurity (janaba), or for a woman in menstruation. It is particularly desirable when:

- (1) changing from one state, time, or place to another, such as when going uphill or down, or getting on or off a vehicle;
- (2) meeting groups of people;
- (3) at the approach of dawn, night, or daytime;
- (4) after prayer;
- (5) and in all mosques.

One does not chant "Labbayk" while circumambulating the Kaabba or going between Safa and Marwa (O: as these have their own particular invocations). It is undesirable to stop chanting it in order to speak, though if someone greets one with "as-Salamu 'alaykum," it is recommended (O: but not obligatory) to return his greeting. When one sees something pleasing (O: or displeasing) during ihram, it is recommended to say, "Ever at Your service, truly, the real life is the life of the hereafter" (O: and if one sees the like while not in ihram, one says, "O Allah, truly, the real life is the life of the hereafter," without saying "Labbayk."

THINGS UNLAWFUL WHILE IN IHRAM

- j3.5 Five things are unlawful (dis:j12.6) when one has entered ihram. (n: Namely:
 - (1) Sewn garments on men (dis: j3.6);
 - (2) using perfume (i3.7);
 - (3) removing hair or nails (j3.8);
 - (4) sexual intercourse or foreplay (j3.13);
 - (5) and hunting (j3.21).)

SEWN GARMENTS ON MEN

j3.6 The first thing unlawful in ihram is wearing sewn clothing such as shirts, trousers, moccasins (khuff, def: e6), anything else sewn (N: sewn meaning that which is for wearing, not just any sewaring, as a patched mantle or wraparound are permissible), and anything that encircles the body as sewn garments do, such as (N: those seamed) by being woven or felted together and the like. It is unlawful to cover the head with anything, sewn or unsewn, that is generally considered a headcover (O: such as a hat, cloth, bandage (N: or blanket while sleeping)). It is permissible while in ihram to carry a (N: sewn) bag or the like, or to tote a basket (O: on one's head, though it is unlawful if one intends it as a headcover). (A: It is permissible to carry an umberella held in the hand for protection against the sun.)It is not permissible of fasten one's mantle by tucking part of it through a hole, tying it together, passing a string though one end and then the other, or by tying a string to each of the two ends (N: though it is permissible to fasten it together with safety pins). It is permissible to tie one's wraparound (O: one end to the other) or tie a string over it (O: so that it holds it fast, like a drawstring, and one may likewise use a waistband) (N: the reason for the permissibility (n: of tying the wraparound but not the mantle) being that if the wraparound but not the mantle) being that if the wraparound were to fall it wound reveal one's nakedness, unlike the mentle). (n: Safety pins are permissible to fasten the wraparound, and are useful to make pleats at the waistline by safety-pinning two or three tucks of cloth there to gather the wraparound at the waist and leave more freedom of movement for the legs below.) (A: A belt may also be used to hold one's wraparound at the waist.)

PERFUME

- j3.7 The second thing that is unlawful after enterinmg ihram is using perfume, such as musk, camphor, or saffron on one's clothing, body, or bedding. It is also unlawful to smell roses, or bedding. It is also unlawful to smell roses, violets, or anything fragrant; to sprinkle rose water or flowr water about; or to use scented oils (N: or scented bar soap), whether to smell them or to apply them to any part of the body.It is also unlawful:
- (i) to apply unscented oils like olive, sesame, and so on to the beard or scalp, unless one is bald (A: in which case it can be used on the skin of the head), though it is permissible to smell them or apply them to any of the body (O: except the hair of the head and face):
- (2) to eat food in which the use of a cosmetic is manifest, whether in taste, color, or scent, such as the scent of rose

water, the color of saffron or its taste, or the taste of ambergris in cooked grain and the like:

ambergris in cooked grain and the like;
(3) or to use scented perspiration deodorant or eyeliner.

REMOVING HAIR OR NAILS

- j3.8 The third thing that is unlawful while in ihram (O: for both men and women, but only if one does so deliberately, knowing that it is unlawful, voluntarily, and remembering that one is in ihram) is:
- (1) cutting or plucking hair (O: i.e. removing it by any means whatever), even if only part of a single hair (by shorterning it), and whether from the head, underarms, pubes, mustache, or any other part of the body (A: the obligatory expiation for one hair is to give 0.51 litres of food to the poor in Mecca, and for two hairs, twice that amount. For three or more, a full expiation (def: j12.6(ii)) is obligatory);
- (2) or clipping fingernails or toenails, even if only part of one (A: my above remark on expiations also applies to nails).

THE EXPIATION FOR VIOLATING THE CONDITIONS OF IHRAM

- j3.9 It is necessary to slaughter a shah (def: h2.5) (n: or perform one of the other alternatives
- mentioned below at j12.6(II)) when one is in ihram and one:
- (1) uses perfume;
- (2) wears a prohibited garment (def: j3.6):
- (3) removes three or more hairs, fingernails, or toenails (def: j12.6(II(1-2)));
- (4) touches another person with desire in a nongential area; (5) or applies unscented oil to one's hair (dis; j3.7).
- j3.10 A person obliged to perform such an expiation may fulfill it (A: any time thereafter) in any of the following ways:
- (1) by slaughtering a shah (def: h2.5) (O: and distributing its meat to the poor and those short of money is the Sacred Precinct);
- (2) by distributing 6.09 liters of food (def: h7.6) to the poor in charity, giving 1.015 liters to each person;
- (3) or by fasting three days (O: even if unconsecutive).

ACCIDENTALLY REMOVING A HAIR

- j3.11 It is unlawful during ihram to comb one's beard (N: or hair) or run one's fingers through it if one knows that hair will be pulled out. When one runs the fingers through one's beard or washes the face and then notices hair in one's hand, then if one knows one pulled it out while doing this, and expiation (def:j12.6(II)) must be paid, though if one knows that it came out by itself, or does not know whether it did or not, then one is not obliged to expiate.
- j3.12 The following things necessitate the expiation (def: j12.6(II)), but when done out of need, are not unlawful:
- (1) having to cut one's hair because of illness, heat, or lice;
- (2) having to wear something sewn because of intense heat or cold;
- (3) or having to cover one's head.

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE OR FOREPLAY

- j3.13 The fourth thing unlawful while in ihram is sexual intercourse or touching a nongenital area with sexual desire, such as kissing, hugging, or touching lustfully.
- j3.14 If one intentionally has sexual intercouse before finishing one's 'umra, or while on hajj before partial release from ihram (def: j9.13), then:
- (a) this nullifies the hajj or umra;
- (b) it is nonetheless obligatory to complete the hajj or 'umra from the point at which it was spoiled to the end;
- (c) it is obligatory to make it up as soon as possible, even if the spoiled hajj or 'umra was merely supererogatory;
- (d) and it is obligatory to pay the expiation (def:below) (O: for the male, not the female, who need not do any thing, though it is a sin if she participated willingly) (A: the more reliable position is that if the woman was unwilling, none of the above ((a), (b), (c), or (d)) apply to her, though if willing, (a), (b), and (c) apply to her but not (d)).
- j3.15 The expiation for the above (j3.14) is to slaughter (A: and distribute to the poor of the Sacred Precinct, immediately):
- (1) a camel (0: i.e. a male or female that meets slaughter specifications (def: j14.2)), but if this is not possible (N: within the days of that hajj), then one must slaughter:
 - (2) a cow, but if not possible, then:
 - (3) seven shahs (def: h2.5), but if not possible, then: (4) one estimates the cost of a camel and how must food (def:
- h76) this would buy, and then gives that much food (N: to the poor in Mecca), but if not possible, then:
- (5) one fasts one day for every 0.51 liters of food, that would have been given had (4) been done (N: One may fast anywhere, but it is not permissible to delay it without an excuse.)
- j3.16 A person making up a hajj or 'umra nullified by sexual intercourse must enter ihram for the makeup hajj or 'umra at the same ihram site as the original (n: nullified) hajj or 'umra, though if one entered ihram for it at a location closer to Mecca (N: than the ihram site (dis: j2.5)), one must enter

ihram for the makeup at the (O: prescribed) site (N: for those of one's country).

- j3.17 When someone (O: in ihram who intends to make up a nullified hajj) is accompanied on the makeup hajj by the wife he made love to, he is recommended to separate himself from her while they are at the place where they had intercourse. (N: Such a makeup counts as the original hajj or 'umra would have counted: if it was obligatory, it counts as the obligatory one; if supererogatory, as supererogatory; and if vowed, as yowed.)
- j3.18 If a man has sexual intercourse after partial release from ihram (def: j9.13), it does not nullify his hajj (n: i.e does not entail j3.14 (a,b,c,d)), though he must pay an expiation (O: of the type discussed at

i12.6(II)).

j3.19 If one has sexual intercourse absentmindedly (O: forgetting one is in ihram or out of ignorance of its prohibition or because of being forced), then one is not obliged to do anything (A: i.e. none of j3.14(a,b,c,d)).

THE PROHIBITION OF MARRYING WHILE IN IHRAM

j3.20 It is unlawful while in ihram to marry, or to marry someone to another (zawwaja, def: m3.2(a)) (O: whether one does so oneself or through an agent). If one does so, the marriage contract is invalid. It is offensive while in ihram to get engaged to marry, or to serve as a witness for a marriage contract.

HUNTING

j3.21 The fifth thing that is unlawful while in ihram is:

(1) to kill any wild game that may be eaten by Muslims;

(2) or to kill the offspring of matings between game animals that may be eaten by Muslims and game animals that may not be eaten by Muslims. Someone in ihram is obliged to pay the expiation (def:below) whenever such an animal dies at his hands, is destroyed by an act of his, or is injured, in which case one must expiate in proportion to the part damaged.

THE EXPIATION FOR HUNTING

j3.22 If the animal killed has a domestic counterpart, one may fulfill the expiation in any of the following ways:

- (1) to slaughter a head of domestic livestock that is like the wild animal which was killed (O: like meaning an approximation, not actual resemblance. The criteration is the condition of the animal, not its value. One expiates a game animal that was, for example, large, small, healthy, diseased, fat, thin, or defective, with a head of livestock of the same descripation, heeding the correspondences. It is a necessary condition that the wild animal and the head of livestock share, if the animal was defective, the same type of defect, such as blindness (N: though it is permissible, indeed superior, to pay a healthy one for a defective one or a whole one for one that is lacking some part);
- (2) to estimate the value of the like head of livestock, and distribute an equal value of food (def: h7.6) to the poor;
- (3) or to fast one day for every 0.51 liters of food (N: that would have been bought had (2) been done).
- j3.23 If the animal killed does not have a domestic counterpart, then one may fulfill the expiation in any of the following ways:
- (1) to distribute funds to the poor which equal the value of the game animal, although if the animal was a pigeon, one is obliged to slaughter a shah (def: h2.5) (O: which is obligatory for killing even a single pigeon);
- (2) to buy food equal to the animal's value and distribute it as charity;
- (3) or to fast one day for each 0.51 liters of food (N: that would have been bought had (2) been done).
- j3.24 The prohibition of all things unlawful while in ihram applies to both men and women, except for not wearing sewn clothing (def: j3.6) and not covering the head, which are restricted to men. A woman, however, may not veil her face in ihram (dis: (j12.6(II(3))). If she wants to conceal it from people, she may drape something in front provided it does not touch her face (N: such as a veil worn over a cap's visor), though if it touches it without her intention, it is of no consequence.
- j3.25 It is permissible when in ihram to scratch one's head or body with one's fingernails as long as this does not remove any hair. It is also permissible in ihram to kill lice (N: or other insects harmful to humans), though if one kills a louse, it is recommended to expiate its death by giving charity, even if only a single bite of food.

j4.0 ENTERING MECCA

- i4.1 It is recommended when one wants to enter Mecca:
- (1) to perform the purificatory bath (ghusl) outside of the city with the intention of entering Mecca;
- (2) to enter in the daytime, and from the Mu'alla gate of Thaniyyat Kada' (N: a pass from the

direction of Jedda);

- (3) to walk barefoot, provided one does not apprehend something unclean (najasa);
- (4) not to annoy anyone by jostling;
- (5) and after entering, to proceed to al-Masjid al-Haram.

WHEN ON FIRST SEES THE KAABA

j4.2 When one first sees the Kaaba, it is recommended to lift the hands and say: "O Allah, increase this house in nobility, honor, reverence, and dignity. Increase those going on hajj or 'umra who honor and reverence it in honor, reverence, and piety. O Allah, You are Peace, the Source of Peace: O Lord, raise us after death in peace." And then one asks Allah for whatever one wishes of religious matters or those of this world.

j5.0 CIRCUMAMBULATING THE KAABA (TAWAF)

j5.1 Then one enters al-Masjid al-Haram from the Bani Shayba door (O: even if it is out of one's way, as it is sunna) prior to getting one's luggage down or finding a place to stay and so forth (O: such as deciding to rest or to eat; all this should be put off until after circumambulating the Kaaba). Rather (n: by turns), some of one's party should stay with the luggage while others go to the mosque (O: to circumambulate), and after they finish, they return to watch the luggage so the rest can go. O: The arrival circumambulation (tawaf alqudum) is desirable for anyone who enters al-Masjid al-Haram, whether in ihram or not.)

HOW TO CIRCUMAMBULATE THE KAABA

- j5.2 Prior to circumambulating the Kaaba one proceeds to the Black Stone (diagram: 1) (O: next to the Kaaba's door, on the east corner), drawing near to it, if one can do so without hurting others by justling. One faces the Black Stone, places the hand on it, and without a word, kisses the stone thrice and touches the forehead upon it thrice. (O: Touching, kissing, and placing the forehead on the stone are only sunna for women when the circumambulation area is vacant, whether in the night or day.)
- j5.3 One cease to chant "Labbayk" at this point, not to resume until after having finished both
- circumambulating the Kaaba and going between Safa and Marwa (def: j6). One puts the center (N: of the top edge) of one's mantle under the right arm and its two ends over the left shoulder so that the right shoulder is left bare (dis: j5.13, second par.). One begins circumambulating by first standing facing the Kaaba with the Black Stock on one's right and the Yamani corner (diagram: 8) on one's left, standing back from the stone a little towards the

Yamani corner (n: i.e. behind the black stripe in the marble pavement, extending out from the stone, that marks the beginning of one's circumambulation). One should intend performing the circumambulation for Allah Most High (0: though this intention is only necessary for a supererogatory or a departure circumambulation, not for an obligatory or an arrival circumambulation, since the intention to perform the rites of hajj or 'umra (def: j3.3) includes the intention for the latter two types of circumambulation). Then one:

- (1) places the hand on the Black Stone, and then kisses it and places the forehead one it thrice, as mentioned above (A: i.e. it is done again here to begin the circumambulation, just as it was done before circumambulation (i5.2)):
 - (2) says "Allahu akbar" three times;
- (3) and adds, "O Allah, out of faith in You and to affirm Your book, fulfill Your covenant, and follow the sunna of your prophet Mohammed (allah bless and give him peace).
- j5.4 Then one moves sideways (A: as is recommended) to the right, passing in front of all of the Black Stone with all of the body, while facing it. When past the stone, one turns (O: from facing it) so that the Kaaba is on one's left and then proceeds to circumambulate it. (O: If one did this (N: kept the Kaaba on one's let while passing the stone) from the beginning and neglected to face the stone, it would likewise be permissible.)
- j5.5 At the Kaaba's door (diagram: 2) one says, "O Allah, verily this house is Your house, the sanctuary Your sanctuary, the safety Your safety, and this is the station of him who took refuge in You from fire" (N: i.e. the Station of Ibrahim (diagram: 3), though some hold the words mean "him who takes refuge," alluding to oneself).
- j5.6 When one reaches the corner (diagram: 4) by the opening of the Hijr (n: a semicircular wall that stands apart from the Kaaba (diagram: 5)), one says, "O Allah, I take refuge in You from doubt, from ascribing partners to You, from discord, hypocrisy, evil traits, and from bad turns of fortune in money, spouse, and children."
- j5.7 When even with the rainspout (N: called the Spout of Mercy (Mizab al-Rahma), at the top of the Kaaba (diagram: 6)), one says: "O Allah, shade me in Your shade on a day when there is no shade but Yours, Give me to drink from the cup of Your prophet Mohammed (Allah bless him and give him peace), a wholesome drink after which I will never thirst."
- j5.8 Between the third corner (diagram:7) and the Yamani corner (diagram:8), one should say, "O Allah, make this a pious hajj, a rewarded effort, an accepted work, and a

transaction that will never perish, O All-powerful and Oft forgiving one."

- j5.9 When one reaches the Yamani corner, one does not kiss it, but touches it and then kisses one's hand.
- j5.10 One does not kiss any of the Kaaba (O: meaning that it is not required, though if one kisses any of its parts, it is not offensive, but rather is good) except the Black Stone. Nor does one touch any of it except the Yamani corner, which is the one before the Black Stone.
- j5.11 When one reaches the Black Stone, one has completed a single round (O: provided its conditions (def: j5.16) have been met).
- j5.12 One goes around the Kaaba seven times (O: the seventh ending where one began, at the Black Stone. One's circumambulation is incomplete as long as even a span remains between oneself and the place even with the stone).

TROTTING FOR THE FIRST THREE ROUNDS

- j5.13 It is sunna in the first three rounds of circumambulation to hasten one's gait (N: if one can do so without harming others) (O: taking close steps, without running) which is termed trotting (ramal) (O: and which is desirable for men only, not women). Both trotting and baring the right shoulder (def:j5.3) are only called for in circumambulations that are followed by going between Safa and Marwa (def:j6). If one wishes to go between Safa and Marwa after one's arrive circumambulation, then one does the two sunnas (O: both trotting and baring the shoulder at this point, but when one later performs one's going-forth circumambulation (tawaf al-ifada, def: j9.10), one does not do these two sunnas because that circumambulation is not followed by going between Safa and Marwa (N: if one has already gone between them before)). But if one wishes to go between Safa and Marwa after the going-forth circumambulation (O:which is superior), one postpones the two (O: sunnas of trotting and baring the shoulder) until then. While trotting, one says, "O Allah, make this a pious hajj, a rewarded effort, and forgive my sins." In the last four rounds of one's circumambulation, it is sunna to proceed at one's normal pace, while saying: "My Lord, forgive me, show me mercy, and pardon that which You know. Verily You are the All-powerful and the Most Generous, Our Lord, give us what is good in this world and the next, and keep us from the torment of hell." This supplication is particularly recommended in the odd-numbered rounds of the circumambulation (O: as they are superior. Reciting the Koran while circumambulating is better than making supplications that have not reached us through prophetic hadith, though supplications from hadith are superior to reciting the Koran during it).
- j5.14 It is recommended to kiss the Black Stone in each round (O: and to place the forehead on it, each three times) and to touch the Yamani corner, particularly in the odd-numbered rounds. If it is not possible to kiss the Black Stone because of crowds or because one fears to hurt people (O: or be hurt) by jostling, one may touch it with one's hand and then kiss the hand. If this is not possible, one may touch it with a stick (O: or the like, such as a scarf) and kiss the stick. If this too is impossible, then one points to it (O: or the Yamani corner) with the hand (O: and it is sunna to kiss one's hand)
- j5.15 A noteworthy detail here is that there is a buttress at the base of the Kaaba that resembles a ledge and slide. It is part of the Kaaba, and when one kisses the stone, one's head is in the space above the buttress. So one is obliged to keep one's feet motionless until one finishes kissing the stone and straightens up, after which one continues circumambulating (N: One may not move one's feet as part of the circumambulation while one's head is within the space above the buttress, as it nullifices that particular round because of the condition (dis: j5.16(j)) that circumambulation be done around the Kaaba, and not within its confines.) If, when leaning over to kiss the stone, one's feet move even a finger's width towards the Kaaba's door, and after this, one continues circumambulating, then that particular round does not count (O: nor do the others that come after it, if one limits oneself to just those seven, considering the spoiled one as a valid round. But if one adds an extra round (N: to make up for the invalid one), then one's circumambulation is valid). It is more precautionary when one has straightened up from kissing the stone, to step back to the left towards the Yamani corner (i5.2) diagram: 8) enough to ensure that one is where one was before kissing the stone. (N: The same is true of touching the Yamani corner with one's hand.)

THE CONDITIONS OF A VALID CIRCUMAMBULATION

j5.16 The conditions of a valid circumambulation (O: of any kind, obligatory or nonobligatory) are:

(a) that one's nakedness (def: f5.3) be clothed, because the round is invalid whenever any of one's nakedness shows, even a single hair of a woman's head (O: meaning that the particular round in which it showed is invalid, provided it was done intentionally. If it happened inadvertently and the

woman immediately covered it (A immediately meaning after no more than the time required to say "Subhan Allah"), then it does not invalidate that round, though if she does not cover it until after it is showing, the subsequent round takes the place of the above-mentioned invalid one);

(b) ritual purity (O: from minor (hadath) and major (ianaba) impurity) (n: though for Hanafis,

touching a marriageable member of the opposite sex (N: despite being unlawful) does not nullify one's ablution (Maraqi al-falqh sharh Nural-idah (y126), 17), and considering the difficulty of avoiding it at a contemporary hajj, taking the dispensation seems a virtual necessity);

- (c) to be free from impure substances (najasa) on one's person, clothing, and the place of walking while circumambulating;
 - (d) that it take place within al-Masjid al-Haram;
 - (e) that one's circumambulation comprise seven full rounds;
- (f) that it begin from the Black Stone, as described above, and that one pass by all of the stone with all of one's body, for ifone begins from another part of the Kaaba, then the round does not count until one reaches the stone, from whence it begins;
- (g) that one keep the Kaaba on one's left and move towards the door (j5.2 diagram: 1-2);
- (h) that each round be outside of the Hijr (diagram: 5) such that one does not enter the opening between the Hijr and the Kaaba and then exit though the other opening;
- (i) and that all of the body of the person circumambulating be exterior to all parts of the Kaaba, such that while walking around it, one does not put one's hand in the space above the buttress previously mentioned (j5.15), which violates the condition of being wholly outside all of the Kaaba while making one's rounds.
- j5.17 Everything besides the above conditions is sunna (N: not obligatory), such as trotting in the first three rounds, the various supplications, and the other things previously mentioned

TWO RAK'AS AFTER CIRCUMAMBULATION

i5.18 When one has finished circumambulating, and after putting one's mantle over both shoulders, it is recommended to pray two rak'as for the sunna of circumambulation (O: and it is best to perform them) behind the Station of Ibrahim (j5.2 diagram: 3), In the first rak'a, one recites al-Kafirun (Koran 109), and in the second, al-Ikhals (Koran 112). After this, one supplicates Allah from behind the station (O: if one prays there. Otherwise, one may perform the two rak'as (N: in order of superiority) in the Hijr (diagram: 5), al-Masjid al-Haram, the Sacred Precint, or whenever and whereever one wishes to pray them, and they remain a current performance until the day one dies. It is sunna to recite the suras aloud in these two rak'as if performed at night, and to recite them to oneself if performed during the day. It is desirable to make the supplication related by Jabir, who said that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) prayed two rak'as behind the station (N: of Ibrahim) and then said: "O Allah, this is Your city, and al-Masjid al-Haram, and Your inviolable house, and I am Your slave, the son of Your slave and bondwoman. It have come to You with many sins, mistakes, and wicked acts, and this is the station of him who took refuge in You from the fire; so forgive me, verily You are the All-forgiving and Compassionate. O Allah, You have called Your servants to Your inviolable house, and I have come, asking for Your mercy and seeking what pleases You, and You are the Rewarder, so forgive me and have mercy on me, verily You have power over everything"). Then one returns to the Black Stone and touches it (O: kisses it, and bows one's head upon it).

j6.0 GOING BETWEEN SAFA AND MARWA (SA'Y)

j6.1 Then it is recommended to exit through the Safa door of al-Masjid al-Haram if one wishes to go between Safa and Marwa immediately. (O: It is necessary for the validity of going between Safa and Marwa (N: for hajj) prior to the Day of 'Arafa that one do so after one's arrival cicumambulation (tawaf al-qudum) (N: though one may not do so on an 'umra first (tamattu') hajj, for which the initial circumambulation and going between Safa and Marwa are part of one's 'umra (dis: J12.2(c))), nor do so after a supererogatory or farewell circumambulation.) One may postpone it until after the going-forth circumambulation (tawaf al-ifada, def: j9.10) (O: which is superior).

HOW TO GO BETWEEN SAFA AND MARWA

j6.2 One begins from Safa. It is recommended:

(1) for men (O: not women) to climb upon Safa the height of a person, so that one can see the

Kaaba through the mosque's door, and to face the Kaaba;

(2) to say: "La ilaha illa Llah, Allahu akbar," and "There is no god but Allah alone, without partner. His is the dominion, His the praise, He gives life and causes to die, all good is in His hand, and He has power over everything. There is no god but Allah alone, without partner. He kept His promise, give

His slave the victory, and routed the Confederates alone. There is no god but Allah. We worship none but Him making our religion sincerely for Him, though unbelievers be averse";

(3) to supplicate for whatever one wishes (O: which is called for here because it is one of the places where prayers are answered. 'Umar (Allah be well pleased with him) used to supplicate lengthily here):

(4) and to repeat (2) and (3) a second and third time.

jó.3 Then one descends from Safa and walks (O: towards Marwa) at one's normal pace until within three meters of the first green marker suspended from the left wall. Here one runs (N: women walk) until midway to the second green marker, at which midpoint one resumes one's usual pace until one reaches Marwa. One claims Marwa and says the same invocation as was said at Safa. This is once. Then one descends from Marwa and returns, walking and running at the proper places, until one reaches Safa. This is twice. At Safa one says the same invocation and supplication, and then goes back to Marwa, which is three times. One repeats the process until one has completed seven times, finishing at Marwa.

THE OBLIGATORY ELEMENTS OF GOING BETWEEN SAFA AND MARWA

j6.4 The obligatory elements (O: i.e. conditions for the validity) of going between Safa and Marwa are four:

(a) to begin at Safa. If one begins at Marwa and walks to Safa, this does not count and one's going between them is not considered to have begun until one reaches Safa;

(b) to traverse the entire distance. It would be invalid if one neglected even a single span or less of the distance. One must begin by putting one's heel against the wall at Safa, and finish at Marwa by putting the toes against the wall there (N: the course has now been enlarged and paved so that one's going between them is complete without having to reach the walls that are currently there. Rather, between the two sides of the paved track (n: the lanes for going and coming) there is a smaller track for wheelchair patients, and the ends of this smaller track currently represent the minimal distance); (c) to complete seven times: from Safa to Marwa equals one, from Marwa to Safa is another one, and so on, as mentinoed above. If doubts arise while going between them as to how many times it has been-or while circumambulating the Kaaba, how many rounds have been done-then one assumes one has done the least number one is sure of and completes the rest (O: though if the doubts arise after finishing, one need not do anything);

(d) and that going bewteen Safa and Marwa take place after the going-forth circumambulation (tawaf al-ifada, def: j9.10) or else after one's arrival circumambulation, provided that standing at 'Arafa does not intervene between the arrival circumambulation and going between Safa and Marwa (dis: j6.1).

THE SUNNAS OF GOING BETWEEN SAFA AND MARWA

j6.5 The sunnas of going between Safa and Marwa are those previously mentioned (j6.2-3), to have ablution (wudu), that one's nakedness (def: f5.3) be clothed, and to say while between Safa and Marwa: "My Lord, forgive, show mercy, and overlook that which Your know. Virify Your are the Most Powerful and Generous. O Allah, our Lord, give us what is good in this world and the next, and protect us from the torment of hell." If one recites the Koran (A: while going between them) it is better (O: than anything besides the invocations that have reached us in hadith (A: i.e. the above), which are better here than reciting the Koran).

j6.6 It is not recommended to repeat going between Safa and Marwa.

j7.0 THE WAY TO 'ARFA

j7.1 On 7 Dhul Hijja it is recommended for the imam (A:i.e. the caliph or his representative) to give a sermon after the noon prayer (zuhr) in Mecca (O: at the Kaaba), instructing the pilgrims about the rites they will soon perform, and ordering them to go forth on the following day (O: the morning of the eighth) to Mina.

j7.2 The imam goes forth with them after the dawn prayer (subh) on 8 Dhul Hijja. He prays the noon, midafternoon, sunset, and nightfall prayers with them at Mina, and they spend the night and pray the following dawn prayer there. When the sun rises over the mountain at Mina that is called Thabir, they proceed to 'Arafa. Spending the night and staying at Mina during this time are a sunna (O: and not part of the hajj rites. If one does not spend the night at Mina at all, or go there, it does not entail any consequences) that many people no longer do, but come to 'Arafa at the end of the night with lighted candles. The lighting of candles is a disgraceful innovation (O: as is their coming there a day or two before of Dhul Hijja, a mistake that contravenes the sunna, and through which they miss many other sunnas).

j7.3 It is sunna on the way to 'Arafa to say: "O Allah, to You I betake myself, seeking Your noble countenance. Forgive me my sins, make my hajj a pious one, show me mercy,

and do not disappoint me"; and to do much of chanting "Labbayk," invocation (dhikr), supplication, and Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace).

j7.4 When the pilgrims reach a place called Namira (N: the site of a large mosque) just before 'Arafa, they stop, and do not immediately enter 'Arafa. When the time for the noon prayer comes, it is sunna for the imam to give two sermons before the prayer, and then they pray, joining the noon and midafternoon prayers together. This too is a sunna that few follow.

i8.0 STANDING AT 'ARAFA

j8.1 Then they enter 'Arafa after the sunna bath (ghusl) for standing at 'Afra, chanting "LabbayK" in lowliness and humility

THE SUNNAS OF STANDING TO 'ARAFA

j8.2 It is recommended to stand exposed to the sun (O: and not take shade beneath a tent, umberella, or other, unless there is an excuse such as harm from exposure) facing the direction of prayer (qibla) with one's heart fully attentive and not occupied with this-Worldly matters, and to do much of chanting "Labbayk," reciting the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), asking Allah's forgiveness, supplicating, and weeping, for here tears are shed and mistakes annulled. The greater part of one's words would be: "There is no god but Allah alone, without partner. His is the dominion, His the praise, and He has power over everything." And one should pray for one's family, friends, and all Muslims.

j8.3 It is recommended to stand (O: if possible without hurting anyone) by the large round boulders that lie at base of the hill called Jabal al-Rahma (lit... "Mount of Mercy"). As for climbing Jabal al-Rahma, which lies in the middle of 'Arafa, there is no merit in doing so (O: above the merit of standing in other parts of 'Arafa). Standing is valid any where in the whole expansive plain, and this bluff is merely a part of it, the same as any other, though standing by the boulders below is better (A: as the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) did so). It is better to be mounted, and not fasting. It is best for women to sit at the edge of the crowd (O: not in the middle of if, because men should not randomly mix with women).

THE OBLIGATORY ELEMENTS OF STANDING AT

j8.4 The obligatory elements of standing at 'Arafa are:
(a) to be present (O: while in ihram) in some portion of

'Arafa; (b) while sane and in full possession of one's faculties;

(c) at some point between the noon prayer (zuhr) on 9 Dhul Hijja and dawn of the following day.

(O: It is sunna to remain at 'Arafa until sunset so as to include both night and day.) Anyone who is present and sane during any of this time, even if merely passing though for a moment, has accomplished the hajj (O: as the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "The pilgrimage is 'Arafa, "meaning that most of it is 'Arafa). Someone who misses standing at 'Arafa or who spends it unconscious has missed the hajj and he releases himself from ihram by performing the rites of 'umra; that is, by circumambulating, going between Safa and Marwa, and cutting his hair, and he is thus released from his ihram. Such a person is obliged to make up the hajj and to slaughter as do those who perform an'umra first (tamattu') hajj def: j12.6(I)).

j9.0 MUZDELIFA, MINA, AND THE GOING-FORTH CIRCUMAMBULATION MUZDELIFA

j9.1 When the sun sets on 9 Dhul Hijja, those on hajj go forth to Muzdelifa, occupied with invocation (dhikr), chanting "Labbayk," proceeding with tranquility and dignity, not jostling or injuring others (though if the way is clear it is desirable to hurry), and they join the sunset and nightfall prayers in the time of the nightfall prayer ('isha) at Muzdelifa. (O: It is necessary to have made the intention to join the prayers while in the time of the sunset prayer.) When they reach Muzdelifa, they stop, pray, and spend the night their (O: which is best, and optimal. If one cannot spend the night, then the obligation to be present to Muzdelifa can be met by coming there, even for a brief moment, during the second half of the night, for spending the night merely means to be present there during the second half of the night, not actually staying overnight, as opposed to spending the night at Mina (dis: j10.4), which must be for the greater part of the night. If someone misses spending the night at Muzdelifa in the abovementioned sense, does not return there before dawn, and has no excuse (N: of those given below), then he is obliged to slaughter as one does for an umra first (tamattu') hajja (def:L j12.6(I)). But if he misses spending the night there for one of the same reasons which justify not spending the night at Mina

(def: j10.10), then he is not obliged to slaughter. Other valid excuses for not spending the night at Muzdelifa include:

(1) being occupied with standing at 'Arafa because of not having arrived there until after sunset, since it is more important than Muzdelifa;

(2) or going forth from 'Arafa after the middle of the night to Mecca in order to perform the (A: obligatory) going-forth circumambulation (tawaf al-ifada), missing Muzdelifa because of being occupied with it, since it too is more important than Muzdelifa. In either of these two cases, one does not have to slaughter (A: for having missed Muzdelifa)). In the morning, the pilgrims pray the dawn prayer at the first of its time. The also pick up seven pebbles not one stone broken into seven (O: which is offensive), to throw at the stoning site (Ar. jamra, the enclosed round space with a pillar in the middle of it) at Mina, and it is best that these be the size of a broadbean (N: i.e. about the size of a thumbprint).

STOPPING AT AL-MASH'AR AL-HARAM

j9.2 After the dawn prayer, it is sunna to stop by a hill at the last of Muzdelifa (O: in the direction of Mina) called al-Mash'ar al-Haram (lit. "the Sanctuary Landmark"), which it is recommended to climb if possible. (A: Others hold that al-Mash'ar al-Haram refers to all of Muzdelifa.) It is desirable to face the direction of prayer (qibla), to do much of chanting "Labbayk," supplication, and invocation (dhikr), and to say, "O Allah, as You have brought us to stand in it and shown us to it, so too, give us success in Your remembrance, as You have guided us. Forgive us, and show us the mercy You have promised us by saying (and Your word is the truth): when you move on from 'Arafa, remember Allah at al-Mash'ar al-Haram. Remember Him, for He has guided you though you were astray. And then go forth from where the people go forth, and seek Allah's forgiveness. Truely Allah is Oftrelenting and Most Compassionate' (Koran 2:198-99). "Our Lord, give us what is good in this world and the next, and keep us from the torment of hell."

j9.3 When the day lightens considerably, the pilgrims proceed to Mina with gravity and tranquility before the sun rises.

RELEASE FROM IHRAM: THE INITIAL STONING AT MINA

j9.4 When the pilgrims, reach the valley of Muhassir near Mina, it is sunna to quicken their step for a distance of a stone's throw. Then they take the middle way which leads to (N: one of the three stoning sites called) Jamrat al-'Aqaba. They stone it as they are when they arrive (O: i.e. if mounted, they stone it mounted, and if on foot, they stone it on foot) with the seven stones picked up from Muzdelifa. These may be picked up from anywhere, not necessarily Muzdelifa, though it is offensive to take them from the stoning sites themselves, laterines (O: or other unclean places), or around mosques (O: which is not merely offensive but rather unlawful if they are taken from grounds included in the endowment (waqf, def: k30) for the mosque).

j9.5 When one begins to stone Jamrat al-'Aqaba, one ceases chanting "Labbayk," and does not resume it thereafter (O: as its time is over, which was the period, of ihram, and stoning Jamrat al-'Aqaba is the first step to release from ihram). The (O: optimal way to stone Jamrat al-'Aqaba is to stand in the middle of the valley after the sun is up so that 'Arafa lies to the right, Mecca to the left, and the stoning-site before one, and to throw the pebbles, one by one (O: as throwing them two at a time or all at once counts as having thrown one pebble) with the right hand, saying "Allahu akbar" with each pebble, lifting the arms high enough when throwing (O: if male, though not if female) that the underarm shows, and to actually throw the pebbles (O: meaning hard enough to be considered throwing), not merely flick them off the thumb with the forefinger. (n: The minimal conditions for the validity of stoning are given at j10.8)

j9.6 When finished stoning (N: Jamrat al-'Aqaba), one slaughters a voluntary sacrifice animal (hady) driven to hajj or one due by reason of hajj (dis: j12.6); or other sacrifice animal (udhiya, def: j12).

RELEASE FROM IHRAM: CUTTING THE HAIR

j9.7 Then men have their entire head shaved, which is optimal, though one may confine oneself to (O: removing (A: by any means)) three hairs thereof (O:i.e. from the head, not something else such as the beard or mustache), or many merely shorten it, for which the optimal is to clip a little less than two centimeters from all the hair. As for women, it is optimal for them to shorten their hair in the latter way (O: it being offensive for a woman to shave her head).

j9.8 While having one's hair cut it is best:

(1) to face the direction of prayer (qibla);

(2) to say "Allahu Akbar" (O: that is, "Allahu akbar, Allahu akbar, Allahu akbar, walillahil-hamd");

(3) for the person shaving to start from the right;

(4) and to bury the hair afterwards (O: a measure recommended for any parts separated from a living being).

j9.9 Cutting the hair is an integral without which the hajj remains unfinished (O: and which may not be compensated for by merely slaughtering), and a person remains in ihram until it is done. Someone without hair can simply pass a razor over his head (O: which is recommended, not obligatory, because it is a rite whose condition is the existence of a particular site, as it also the case with washing a hand (n: for ablution) when the hand has been amputated (A:i.e. it need not be done if the site does not exist). After one's hair, has been cut, it is sunna to say, "O Allah, for each hair reckon for me a good deed, annul abad one, and raise me a degree. Forgive me, those who shave their hair, those who shorten it, and all the Muslims").

RELEASE FROM IHRAM: THE GOING-FORTH CIRCUMAMBULATION (TAWAF AL-IFADA)

j9.10 On the same day (A: 10 Dhul Hijja) one enters Mecca and performs the going-forth circumambulation (tawaf alifada), which is an integral without which the hajj remains unfinished (O: the author's expression "without which the hajj remains unfinished" meaning that it may not be compensated for by merely slaughtering, though the time it may be performed is anytime thereafter, according to our school. The Hanafis hold it must be done by sunset on 12 Dhul Hijja, and if the sun sets and one has not performed it, this obliges one to slaughter), and one remains in ihram until one does it. Its obligatory features are as described above (dis: j5.16). After it, one prays two rak'as (O: intending the sunna of circumambulation (def: j5.18)).

j9.11 Then, if one has already gone between Safa and Marwa after the arrival circumambulation (dis: j6.1), one does not repeat it, though it he has not yet done it, one must do so, since going between Safa and Marwa is also an integral without which the hajj is unfinished, and one remains in intram (O: legally, regarding one's relations with women (dis: j9.13)) until it is performed.

RELEASE FROM IHRAM: GENERAL PROVISIONS

- j9.12 The best order in which to perform:
- (1) stoning Jamrat al-'Aqaba;
- (2) cutting the hair;
- (3) and the going-forth circumambulation (tawaf al-ifada); is (1), (2) and (3) (O: and the sunna is to do all three on this day), though it is valid to do them in some other order. The time for these three begins at the middle of the night (A: between sunset of 9 Dhul Hijja and dawn of the tenth) on 'Eid al-Adha (O: though it is best for the stoning to take place after sunrise). The (O: preferred) time for stoning Jamrat al-'Aqaba ends at the end of the day of the 'Eid (O: at sunset. As for the permissible time, it lasts until the end of the three days after the 'Eid. The best time to stone on 'Eid al-Adha finishes at noon. Thus, the stoning has three times: the best, the preferred, and the merely permissible), while the time for cutting one's hair and the going-forth circumambulation lasts indefinately, even if years.

j9.13 The release from ihram in hajj is in two stages, partial (lit. "first") and full ("second").

Partial release from ihram occurs when any two of the three rites of stoning, cutting the hair, and the going-forth circumambulation are performed, whether cutting the hair and stoning, cutting the hair and circumambulation, or stoning and circumambulation. Doing any two of them accomplishes partial release from ihram, rendering permissible all the things that were made unlawful by ihram (def: j3.5) except those relating to women, such as sexual intercourse, getting married, or touching with desire. Full release from ihram occurs when all three rites have been performed, and it renders permissible everything made unlawful by ihram (O: though one still has to stone at the three stoning sites and stay overnight at Mina during the days following the Eid (Ayam al-Tashriq)).

j
10.0 ENCAMPMENT AND STONING AT MINA ON THE DAYS AFTER 'EID

j10.1 finished When with the going-forth circumambulation (tawaf al-ifada) and going between Safa and Marwa (O:i.e. doing the latter if one had not previously performed it after the arrival circumambulation (dis: j6.1)), one is obliged to return to Mina (O: to stay overnight there and stone on the days following the 'Eid (Ayam al-Tashriq). It is desirable to arrive before noon to perform the noon prayer there as the Prophet did (Allah bless him and give him peace)), and one spends the night there. One picks up twenty-one pebbles from Mina on the days after the 'Eid (the first of which is the second day of the 'Eid), taking care to shun the three places mentioned above (dis: j9.4 (end)).

j10.2 After the time for the noon prayer has come (O: on 11 Dhul Hijja, the first day after the 'Eid) one stones with the pebbles before performing the noon prayer. (N: It is well to mention some ruling about stoning that enable one to avoid the crowding at Mina on a contemporary hajj. The time for stoning on each of the three days that follow the 'Eid (Ayam al-Tashriq) begins at noon of that day and all of one's stoning until the afternoon of the third day, having remained to Mina

until then. But in such a case, the correct order is still Obligatory: one must begin by stoning with the intention of performing it for the first day, standing at the first the third (Jamrat al-Kubra). then the second site (Jamrat al-Wusta), and then the third (Jamrat al-Aqaba) Then one stones with the intention of performing it for the second day, the first stoning site first, then the second, then the third. And then one stones for the third day, observing the same order.)

THE PROPER SEOUENCE FOR STONING

j10.3 The first site one stones (O: called Jamrat al-Kubra) is the one closest to al-Khayf mosque. One (A: optimally) walks up to it, keeping it on one's left and facing the direction of prayer (qibla), stones it pebble by pebble as mentioned above (i9.5), and turns from the direction of prayer to avoid others' pebbles, after which one puts the stoning site behind one and again turns to the direction of prayer, to supplicate and invoke Allah humbly and imploringly for as much time as it takes to recite al-Baqara (Koran 2) (N: about an hour). One then proceeds to the second site (O: called Jamrat al-Wusta), repeats the stoning procedure, and when finished, supplicates (O: and invokes Allah Most High) for as long as it takes to recite al-Baqara. Then one goes to the third site, which is Jamrat al- Aqaba that was previously stoned with seven pebbles on Eid al-Adha, and stones it as one did at that time (dis: j9.5), facing it with the direction of prayer (qibla) to the left, though when finished, one does not stand there.

THE SECOND DAY AFTER THE EID

j10.4 One is obliged to spend the night at Mina (A: that evening, after sunset on 11 Dhul Hijja). The following day, the second day after the Eid (A: i.e. 12 Dhul Hijja), one picks up twenty-one pebbles, and after the noon prayer's time has come, one stones the three stoning sites as described above, seven pebbles at each site. It is not permissible to stone for each of the days after the Eid until after the noon prayer's time arrives. The correct sequence of stoning the sites is obligatory: the one closest to al-Khayf mosque first, the middle one second, and Jamrat al-Aqaba third.

j10.5 It is recommended to take a bath (ghusl) each day for stoning.

THE PERMISSIBILITY OF LEAVING MINA ON THE SECOND DAY

j10.6 After stoning on the second day after the Eid, it is recommended for the imam to give a sermon informing people about the permissibility of leaving early (A: on the second day rather than the third)

(O: which is permissible provided:

(a) that one's departure takes place after the noon prayer's time has come;

(b) after having stoned the three stoning sites;

(c) that one 's departure is from Mina itself, as it is not permissible to leave directly from Jamrat al-Aqaba, in view of the position that it is not part of Mina;

(d) that one intends leaving while within the boundaries of Mina:

(e) and that one leaves before sunset). Then the imam bids them farewell.

j10.7 One then has a choice between leaving early on the second day after the Eid, or waiting (A: until having stoned on the third day). If one wishes to leave early, one may do so, provided the departure from Mina occurs before sunset. If the sun sets and one is still at Mina, it is not permissible to leave early, and one is obliged to spend the night there and stone the sites the next day. If one does not wish to leave early, one stays overnight at Mina, picking up twenty-one pebbles and stoning the sites on the following day after the time of the noon prayer has begun, as previously mentioned.

CONDITIONS FOR THE VALIDITY OF STONING

j10.8 (O: Having mentioned the conditions for stoning in various rulings above, it is well enumerate all seven together:
(a) that seven pebbles be used;

(b) that they be thrown one by one;

- (c) that one's action may be termed throwing, not merely putting the pebbles into the throwing place;
- (d) that what is thrown be some form of stone;
- (e) that it be done with the hand, as a bow or foot would be inadequate;

(f) that one aim at the throwing place;

- (g) that one be certain that the pebble reaches it, even if it falls out again, for if one doubts that the stone reached it, then that stone does not count; (the above seven conditions hold for both Eid al-Adha (dis: j9.5) and for the days following the Eid, though the days following the Eid require two additional conditions:)
- (h) that the stoning be done after the time for the noon prayer arrives;
- (i) and that one stone the three sites in the proper sequence (dis: j10.3).)

j10.9 Then one (O: who has (n: remained at Mina and) stoned on the third day after the Eid) leaves (O: after stoning.

None of the conditions for leaving early (def: j10.6) are necessary to leave at this point).

VALID EXCUSES FOR NOT SPENDING THE NIGHT AT MINA

j10.10 (O: If there is an acceptable excuse for not spending the night at Mina, then not doing so does not entail any consequences. Excuses include:

- (1) having property one fears to lose were one to stay overnight;
- (2) fearing for one's person or the funds with one;
- (3) having a sick person with one who requires care;
- (4) having an illness that makes spending the night a hardship;

(5) or a similar excuse.

People in such circumstances do not have to spend the night, and may leave on the second day after the Eid, even after sunset. These excuses, which permit one to not spend the night at Mina, likewise permit not spending the night at Muzdelifa, in connection with which some other excuses have been previously mentioned (dis: j9.1(1-2)).)

j10.11 It is recommended (N: after leaving Mina) to spend the night at al-Muhassab, which is by the mountain near the cemetery of Mecca, one's hajj now being finished.

j11.0 THE FAREWELL CIRCUMAMBULATION AND FINAL MEASURES

j11.1 If one wishes to perform the umra, one may do so (O: i.e. enter ihram for it) from any point outside of the Sacred Precinct (Haram), as mentioned below in the description of umra (def: j12).

THE FAREWELL CIRCUMBULATION

ill.2 When one wants to return home, one comes to Mecca and performs the farewell circumambulation (tawaf al-wada) (O: as is obligatory. It is disobedience to Allah to leave without the farewell circumambulation, and one must return to Mecca to perform it if still within 81 km./ 50mi. of it. If farther than this, one is not obliged to return, but must slaughter (def: j12.6(I) (N: i.e. if one goes by the position that the farewell circumambulation is obligatory, though slaughtering is sunna if one goes by the position (A: the weaker position in the Shafii school) that the farewell circumambulation is merely sunna). The integrals and conditions of the farewell circumambulation are the same as the obligatory circumambulation (def: j5.16). The farewell circumambulation is not only for those performing haij or umra, but is required from (A: i.e. obligatory for) anyone leaving Mecca a considerable distance, no matter whether intending to return or not).

j11.3 After the farewell circumambulation, one prays two rakas (O: a sunna in our school) and stands at the place between the Black Stone and the door of the Kaaba, and supplicates: "O Allah, the house is Your house, the servant Your servant and son of Your two servants. You have carried me on a creature You have made submissive to me, bringing me to Your city and showing me Your grace that I might fulfill Your rites. If You are pleased with me then be the more so, and if not, then bless me now before my residence and the place where I am visited grow far from Your house. Now is the time I depart if You permit me, who seek none but You and no other than Your house, and am not averse to You or Your house. O Allah, give me good health in body and protect me in my religion. Make my affairs turn out well and give me the sustenance of obedience to You as long as You let me live. Give me the best of this world and the next, for truly, You have power over everything. "One blesses the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), and then walks away normally (O: turning one's back on the Kaaba) without backing away from it (O: while facing it, as many people do, which is offensive because it is a reprehensible innovation (bid'a, def: w29.3)).

j11.4 One then immediately prepares for departure. If one stops to stand (O: lengthily), or becomes involved in something unconnected with travel (O: like shopping, paying a debt, visiting a friend or sick person, and so forth), then one's farewell circumambulation is invalid (A: though such things do not nullify it in the Hanafi school) and it is obligatory to repeat it. But if one's activity concerns travelling, such as making one's baggage fast or buying travel provisions and the like (O: such as a rope with which to tie up one's baggage) then it is permissible.

j11.5 A woman in her monthly period may depart without a farewell circumambulation, and need not slaughter in expiation (O: though it is sunna for her to come to the door of the mosque and say the supplication mentioned above (j11.3)).

RECOMMENDED MEASURES FOR THOSE STAYING IN MECCA

- j11.6 It is recommended to do much of:
- (1) performing umra (O: the whole time one is in Mecca, especially in Ramadan);

- (2) looking at the Kaaba (O: as it is said that Allah Most High sends down one hundred and twenty mercies day and night upon the Noble House, sixty for those circumambulation, forty for those praying there, and twenty for those looking at it);
- (3) drinking the water of the Well of Zamzam for whatever intention one wishes, religious or this-Worldly (0: as the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "The water of Zamzam is for whatever it is drunk for." It is sunna to face the Kaaba while drinking, to breathe three times, and say "al-Hamdu lillah" and "Bismillah" each time one drinks), drinking one's fill of it;
- (4) and visiting the noble places of Mecca (O: which are many, such as the birthplace of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) and that of Ali (Allah be well pleased with him).
- j11.7 It is unlawful to take the slightest bit of the earth of the Sacred Precinct or its stones, or take cups or jugs made from the clay of the Sacred Precinct of Medina.

j12.0 THE OBLIGATORY FEATURES OF HAJJ AND UMRA

A DESCRIPTION OF UMRA

J12.1 The umra consists of entering ihram as one does for hajj (def:j3) (o: resembling the hajj in the Obligatoriness of the intention when one enters ihram, in the sunna of bathing (ghusl) for it, and in the necessity of divesting oneself of sewn clothing before or after the intention). If one is a Meccan (N: or a temporary resident (dis: j2.2)), one must go to (n: enter ihram from at least as far as) the nearest place outside of the Sacred Precinct. If one is from outside (O: meaning a stranger travelling towards Mecca), then one enters ihram at the ihram site (O: which one passes, meaning the hajj ihram sites (def: (2.1)), as previously mentioned. All of the things unlawful while in ihram for hajj (def: j3.5) are unlawful while in haram for umra. Then one enters Mecca and performs the circumambulation (def: j5.16) of 'umra, though the arrival circumambulation (tawaf al-qudum) is not called for by Sacred Law (O: at all, since one is performing an Obligatory circumambulation). One then goes between Safa and Marwa (i6), and finally shaves the head or shortens the hair (def: i9.7) (O: the former being preferable for men and the latter for women). When this has been done, one is released from the ihram of 'umra.

THE INTEGRALS OF HAJJ AND 'UMRA

- j12.2 The integrals of 'umra are:
- (a) ihram (def: j3);
- (b) circumambulation (def: j5.16);
- (c) going between Safa and Marwa (def: j6.4);
- (d) shaving or shortening the hair (def:j9.7);
- (O: and performing them in the order given which is a fifth Integral).
- j12.3 The integrals of hajj are these four (n: (a), (b), (c), and (d) above) plus standing at 'Arafa (def: j8.4). The hajj's other requisites (wajibat, dis: c2.1(A:)) are:
 - (a) that one enter ihram at the proper site (def: j2.1-2);
- (b) stoning the stoning sites at Mina (def: j9.4,j10);
- (c) staying the nightt at Muzdelifa (def.j9.1) (N:another position is that this is sunna and not obligatory);
- (d) staying the nights following the Eid at Mina (def:j10.1,4,7);
- (e) and the farewell circumambulation (def:j11.2). Everything besides the above is sunna.

THE NONPERFORMANCE OF AN OBLIGATORY FEATURE OF HAJJ OR 'UMRA

- j12.4 Someone who does not perform an integral (N: of hajj or 'unra) remains in ihram until he performs it. Someone who does not perform some other obligatory feature of them must slaughter in expiation (def.j12.6(1)) (O:if he does not return and perform it before its time is finished, as in such cases as:
- (1) returning to enter ihram at the proper site before one starts circumambulating (dis: j2.5), though if one returns after having begun circumambulating, it does not lift the obligation to slaughter;
- (2) not spending the night at Muzdelifa (j9.1), which necessitates slaughtering if one does not return before sunrise, though to do so after sunrise does not lift the obligation to slaughter;
- (3) or not spending most of the night at Mina, if one does not return to it before most of the time has passed, though if one does (n:return while most of it remains), then one need not slaugther. And similarly for the other requisites). Someone who does not perform a sunna is not obliged to do anything.

BEING PREVENTED BY OTHERS FROM COMPLETING THE INTEGRALS OF HAJJ OR UMRA AFTER HAVING ENTERED IHRAM

j12.5 Someone prevented by an enemy (O: nonMuslim or Muslim) from entering Mecca (O: and fulfilling the integrals (A: of hajj or 'umra, including being barred from performing

the obligatory circumambulation (tawaf al-ifada) or going between Safa and Marwa) when there is no alternative route. releases himself from ihram by intending release from it, shaving his head, and slaughtering a sacrifice animal at the place he has been prevented, if an animal is available. If not (O: such as when unable to find an animal at all, or finding one for more than the going price of similar animals at that place and time), one gives the animal's value in food (A: wheat) (O: as charity to the poor and those short of money is the Sacred Precint (N: or place one is prevented)); or if unable (O: to give food), one fasts a single day for each 0.51 liters of food (A: wheat) that would have been given had the latter been done (O: fasting the days wherever one wishes. When fasting is the only option possible, one is immediately released from ihram after shaving one's head with the intention of releasing oneself). If such a hajj or 'umra was to have been supererogatory, one is not obliged to make it up.

A FULL SUMMARY OF THE EXPIATIONS CONNECTED WITH HAJJ AND 'UMRA

j12.6 (n: Mohammed 'Abdullah Jurdani distinguishes between four categories of expiations relating to hajj and 'umra. (I) The first category consists of alternatives in a fixed precedence order and predetermined amount (dam tartib wa taqdir), meaning that one must either slaughter a shah (def: meeting sacrifice specifications (def: j14.2), distributiing its meat to the poor and those short of money (def: h8.11) in the Sacred Precinct; or if unable to slaughter (N: lack of money (def i1.17.2) while on the haii, even if one has enough money back home), then one must fast three days during the hajj and seven more at home, making ten days. (N: If this expiation is for something that should have been performed after standing at 'Arafa (n: (4), (5), (6) or (9) below), the three days "during the hajj" may be fasted after one's release from ihram while still in Mecca, or if one fails to do so while three (A: as is obligatory), they become a makeup fast that must be performed before the other seven fasted at home (A: by an interval equal to the days of one's journey home).) There are nine things which necessitate this type of expiation:

- (1) performing an 'umra first (tamattu') hajj (def: j1.15,17); (2) performing hajj and 'umra simultaneously (qiran, def: j1.16,17);
 - (3) not standing at 'Arafa (def: j8.4);
- (4) to miss stoning (def: j10.8) at the stoning sites of Mina on the three days after the 'Eid, the time for which ends at sunset on the third day (dis: j10.2 (N:)) if one does not leave early (def: j10.6);
- (5) to miss all three nights at Mina after the 'Eid (def. j10.1,4,7), though if one only misses a single night, one distributes 0.51 liters of wheat to the poor of the Sacred Precinct, and if two nights, then double this amount;
- (6) to miss spending the night at Muzdelifa (def: j9.1, second par.):
- (7) not entering ihram at the proper site (dis: j2.5);
- (8) breaking one's vow (def: j18.5);
- (9) or not performing the farewell circumambulation (tawaf al-wada', def: j11.2). (II) The second category consists of expiations in which one is free to choose one of three predetermined alternatives (dam takhyir wa taqdir), namely: to slaughter and distribute a shah as described above (I); to fast three days, even if unconsecutive, wherever one wishes; or to give 1.015 litres of wheat to each of six of the poor or those short of money at the Sacred Precinct. There are eight things which necessitate this type of expiation:
- (1) removal of three hairs (dis: j3.8) at one time and place, meaning that the interval between
- removing each is not considered long (dis: f4.5), and one has remained at the same place, though if their removal does not occur at a single time and place, one must pay 0.51 liters of wheat to the poor or fast one day for each hair, even if their number exceeds three;
- (2) trimming three nails at one time and place, with the same rules and restrictions as just mentioned;
- (3) men wearing sewn garments or covering their head (dis: j3.6), or women covering their faces (dis: j3.24);
 - (4) using oil (def: j3.7(1));
 - (5) using scent (j3.7);
- (6) sexual foreplay (n: other than intercourse) (dis: j3.13);
- (7) having sexual intercourse a second time after having spoiled one's hajj (dis: j3.14) by an initial sexual intercourse;
- (8) or having sexual intercourse between partial and full release (def: j9.13) from ihram. (III) The third category consists of expiations in a fixed precedence order of alternatives involving
- estimate-based substitutes (dam tartib wa ta'dil). It is necessitated by two things.
- (1) The first is being prevented by another from completing all the integrals of the hajj or 'umra (def: j12.5), in which case one must release oneself from ihram by slaughtering and distributing a shah as described above (I); or if unable to slaughter, one estimates its value, buys food for that amount, and distributes it to the poor of the Sacred Precinct (N: or place one is prevented); or if unable to give food, one fasts one

day for each 0.51 liters of wheat that would have been given if one had been able to.

- (2) The second is having spoiled one's hajj or 'umra by sexual intercourse (def: j3.14), in which case one must slaughter a camel, or if unable to, one must perform the alternative one is capable of, of those mentioned at j3.15. (IV) The fourth category involves choosing between alternatives consisting of estimate-based substitutes (dam takhyir wa ta'dil). It is necessitated by two things.
- (1) The first is killing a game animal while in ihram, where if there is a domestic animal of similar value (lit. "like"), one has a choice between the alternatives mentioned at j3.22, though if there is not, then those mentioned at j3.23.
- (2) The second is destroying a tree of the Sacred Precinct, where, if it is large in relation to other trees of its kind, one slaughters and distributes a cow, and if small, one slaughters a sheep. In either case, one has a choice between slaughtering it and distributing its meat to the poor of the Sacred Precinct, estimating its cost and buying wheat to distribute to the poor of the Sacred Precinct, or fasting a day for each 0.51 liters of wheat that would have been bought had the latter been done. (Mufid' awam al-Muslimin ma yajibu' alayhim min ahkam aldin (y67), 230-38)) (N: Throughout the above, whenever one is obliged to slaughter an animal, it is permissible to commission (wakala, def: k17) another person to do so by means of the written contracts readily available at a modern hajj, simply paying an amount of money and signing the agreement. They then slaughter for one is the early morning of the 'Eid and distribute the meat to deserving recipients. Secondly, giving food or wheat to the poor, whereever it is mentioned in connection with expiations, means giving them the type of food that is valid for the zakat of 'Eid al-Fitr (def: h7.6), and the remarks

made in that section about the Hanafi school permitting other than wheat apply equally here.) (n: In the Hanafi school, slaughtering must take place in the Sacred Precinct, though one may distribute both the meat and other expiations anywhere (al-Lubab fi sharh al-Kitab (y88), 1.212, 1.224).)

j13.0 VISITING THE TOMB OF THE PROPHET (ALLAH BLESS HIM AND GIVE HIM PEACE)

j13.1 It is recommended when one has finished the hajj to visit the tomb of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) (n: in Medina). (O: One should enter his mosque with the right foot first, as in any mosque, and say the well-known supplication: "It the name of Allah, praise be to Allah. O Allah, bless our liegelord Mohammed, his folk and his Companions, and give them peace. O Allah, open unto me the gates of Your mercy.")

HOW TO VISIT THE PROPHET'S TOMB

j13.2 It is recommended to pray two rak'as to greet his mosque, and then approach the noble and honuored tombe and stand at the head of it with one's back to the direction of prayer (qibla). One bows one's head and summons to mind reverent awe and humility, then greets the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) and blesses him in a normal voice (O: saying: "Peace be upon you, O Messenger of Allah. Peace be upon you, O Prophet of Allah. Peace be upon you, O Chosen One of Allah. Peace be upon you, O Best of Allah's Creation, Peace be upon you, O Beloved of Allah"), after which one supplicates Allah for whatever one wishes. The one steps half a meter to the right to greet Abu Bakr, and again to the right to greet' Umar (Allah be well pleased with them). Then it is recommended to return to one's original place and do much of supplicating Allah, turning to Allah through the Prophet (tawassul, def: w40) (O: concerning one's aims and goals, since he is the greatest intermediary, in intercession and other things), and invoking blessings upon him (Allah bless him and give him peace), after which one supplicates beside the pulpit (minbar) and in the Rawda (N: which is the space designated by the white pillars between the chamber containing the noble tomb and the pulpit).

j13.3 It is unlawful to circumambulate the tomb. It is offensive to nudge the wall around the tomb with one's back or front, to kiss it, or touch it (O: with one's hand. Proper conduct here is to stand back from it as one would if present during his life (Allah bless him and give him peace). This is what is right, and what scholars have said and are agreed upon. One should not be deceived by what some common people do in their ignorance of proper manners, for it is reprehensible innovation (bid'a, def: w29.3)). One of the most disgraceful innovations is the entering of dates in the Rawda.

j 3.4 It is recommended to visit al-Baqi' (O: the cementery of Medina. It is desirable to go to it every day, for buried their are the wives of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), some of his children, his father's brother 'Abbas, ur liegelord 'Uthman ibn 'Affan the successor of the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace), a number of his Companions (Sahaba), and Imam Malik, founder of the Maliki school of jurisprudence, the bliss and benefaction of Allah be upon them all).

j13.5 When one desires to travel, one bids farewell to the mosque by praying two rak'as, and to the noble tomb with a visit and supplication. And Allah knows best.

i14.0 SACRIFICES ON 'EID AL-ADHA

(O: Sacrifices are the livestock slaughtered in worship of Allah Most High between 'Eid al-Adha and the last of the three days that follow it. They are a general hospitality from Allah to believers (A: to whom the meat is distributed. It is unlawful to give any of it to non-Muslims).)

j14.1 'Eid al-Adha sacrifices are a confirmed sunna (def: c4.1) (N: which is considered Obligatory in the Hanafi school) (O: being sunna for those able to slaughter, though uncalledfor from the poor person who is unable). It is recommended for someone who intends to sacrifice not to cut his hair or trim his nails on 10 Dhul Hijja until he slaughters (O: these being offensive until he does). The times for slaughtering begins when it is long enough after sunrise to have performed the 'Eid prayer (def: f19) with its two sermons (A:i.e. about forty minutes) (O: even if one does not attend it) and it ends at (A: sunset on) the last of the three days following the Eid.

SACRIFICE ANIMAL SPECIFICATIONS

j14.2 Only camels, cattle, sheep, or goats may be slaughtered. At the youngest, camels must be over five full years, cattle and goats over two full years, and sheep over one full year. A single camel or cow fulfills the sunna for seven (A: men and their families), though a shah (def: h2.5) only fulfills it for one. It is superior to slaughter a single shah than to have a share in slaughtering a camel. The best animal to sacrifice is a camel, then a cow, then a sheep, and then a goat. The best kind of shah (h2.5) to slaughter is white, then tawnycolored, then black and white, and then a black one. It is a necessary condition that a sacrifice animal be free of defects that diminish (A: the quality of) its meat. It is invalid to slaughter:

- (1) a lame animal (O: that has an obvious walking problem that hinders its going to pasture and thus weakness it);
- (2) a blind or one-eyed animal (O: whose defect is manifest, as this diminishes its ability to graze);
- (3) a sick animal (O: whose infirmity is plain); (though if these defects are slight, the animal will suffice. It is likewise invalid to sacrifice an animal that is:)
 - (4) deranged by malnutrition or insane:
 - (5) mangy or scabrous (O: even when it is not obvious);
- (6) with an ear that has been cut off of a piece of its separated, even if not much (O: or one born without an ear);
- (7) or missing a considerable part of the haunch or similar meat-bearing portion (O: though not if it is a slight amount). It is permissible to sacrifice an animal with a slit in its ear (O: a measure for identification that does not diminish the meat) or open with part or all of a horn broken off.

HAVING ANOTHER SLAUGHTER FOR ONE

j14.3 It is best to slaughter (def:j17.4) the animal oneself (O: if one can slaughter well. If not, then it is obligatory to have someone who can slaughter properly do it for one). If unable to slaughter well, it is recommended to be present when it is done.

THE INTENTION

j14.4 The intention to sacrifice must be made at the time of slaughtering. (O: It suffices the person who is having another slaughter for him to make the intention when he authorizes the other to do so.)

DISTRIBUTING THE MEAT

j14.5 It is recommended that a third of the animal sacrificed be eaten, a third be given away (O: even f to wealthy Muslims, and a third be given as charity (O: raw, not cooked). It is obligatory to give away some of the (O: raw) meat as charity, even if it is not much (O: it suffices to give it to one Muslim), and the hide is given in charity or used at home. It is not permissible to sell the hide or meat (O: all of the above applying to sunna or voluntary sacrifices). It is not permissible for a person who has vowed (def;j18) a sacrifice to eat any of the animal slaughtered.

j
15.0 SACRIFICE FOR A NEWBORN ('AQIQA) AND NAME GIVING

(O: Lexically, 'aqiqa means the hair on a baby's head at birth. In Sacred Law, it means the animal sacrificed when the baby's hair is cut, which is a confirmed sunna (def: c4.1).)

SUNNAS AFTER BIRTH

j15.1 It is recommended for anyone to whom a child is born to shave its hair on the seventh day thereafter (O: meaning any newborn, whether male or female; a baby girl should also have her hair shaved) and give away in charity gold or silver equal to the weight of the hair. It is also recommended (N: when the baby is first born) to give the call to prayer (adhan, def: f3.6) in its right ear and the call to commence (iqama) in its left.

THE SACRIFICE

j15.2 If the baby is male, it is recommended to slaughter two shahs (def:h2.5) that meet 'Eid Sacrifice specifications (def:j14.2), while if the baby is female, it is recommended to slaughter one. (O: The person called-upon to slaughter for a newborn is the one obliged to support the child (dis: m12.1).) After slaughtering, the shah is cooked (O: as at any feast) in sweet sauce, but none of its bones are broken (A: it is cut at the joints), and it is recommended to distribute the meat to the poor.

NAME-GIVING

j15.3 It is sunna to give the child a good name such as Mohammed or 'Abd al-Rahman. (O: It is desirable to name a child even if it dies before being named.) (A: It is sunna for a new Muslim to take a good name like the above, or one of the names of the prophets (def:u3.5) (Allah bless them and give them peace).)

i16.0 FOODS

(O: This section is an explanation of what is lawful (halal) and unlawful (haram), the knowledge of which is among the most important concerns of the religion, since knowing it is personally obligatory for every Muslim.)

AVOIDING DOUBTFUL FOODS

j16.1 (n: The following hadith and its commentary have been added here by the translator.) Anas (Allah be well pleased with him) relates that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) found a date in his path, and said, "But for fear that it was charity, I would have eaten it."(Riyad alsalihin (Y107), 277) (Mohammed ibn 'Allah Bakri:) The hadith shows that when a person doubts that something is permissible, he should not do it. The question arises, Is refraining from it in such a case obligatory or recommended? to which our Imams explicitly reply that it is the latter, because a thing is initially assumed to be permissible and fundamentally not blameworthy, as long as some prior reason for considering it unlawful is not known about it that one doubts has been removed. For example, when one doubts that one of the conditions for valid slaughtering (def: i17.2-4) has been met, conditions which make (N: a particular piece of meat) lawful, the assumption is that it remains unlawful (N: since initially the animal was alive, a state in which it is unlawful to eat, while it only becomes lawful by a specific procedure, i.e. Islamic slaughtering), so that the meat does not become lawful except through certainty (A: that it has been slaughtered. The case of meats is exceptional in this. since most other foods are initially permissible, and one assumes they remain so unless one is certain something has occurred which has made them unlawful). In cases of doubt, only likely possibilities are taken into consideration, since it appears probable (N: in the above hadith) that dates for charity were present at the time. As for remote possibilities, taking them into consideration only leads to a blameworthy extremism and departure from how the early Muslims were, for the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) was given some cheese and a cloak (A: by members of a non-Muslim Arab tribe) and he ate the one and wore the other without considering whether they might have mixed the former with pork, or whether the wool came from a slaughtered or unslaughtered animal. Were one to take such possibilities into consideration, one would not find anything lawful on the face of the earth. This is why our colleagues say, "Complete certainty that something is lawful is only conceivable about rainwater falling from the sky into one's hand: (Dalil alfalihin li turuq Riyad al-salihin (y25), 5.37-38).

ANIMALS LAWFUL AND UNLAWFUL TO EAT

j16.2 It is permissible to eat the oryx, zebra, hyena, fox, rabbet, porcupine, daman (n: a Syrian rock badger), deer, ostrich, or horse.

i16.3 It is unlawful to eat:

(1) (N: any form of pork products);

- (2) cats or disgusting small animals that creep or walk on the ground such as ants, flies, and the like (O: disgusting being used here to exclude inoffensive ones such as the jerboa, locust, and hedgehog, which are small creeping animals, but are recognized as wholesome, and are pure);
- (3) predatory animals that prey with fangs or tusks, such as the lion, lynx, leopard, wolf, bear,
- simians, and so forth (O: including the elephant and weasal);
 (4) those which hunt with talons, such as the falcon, hawok, kite, or crow, except for the barnyard crow, which may be eaten:
- (5) or the offspring of an animal permissible to eat and one not permissible to eat, such as a mule (0: which is a cross between one eaten, the horse, and one not eaten, the donkey). j16.4 It is permissible to eat any aquatic game (sayd al-bahr) except frogs and crocodiles.

OTHER SUBSTANCES UNLAWFUL TO EAT

j16.5 It is unlawful to eat anything harmful, such as poison, glass, or earth. (A: If something has been proven harmful, it is

unlawful to consume, while if suspected to be harmful, it is offensive to.) (n: w41 discusses cigarette smoking.)

j16.6 It is unlawful to eat anything impure (najasa, def: e14.1) (O: whether impure in itself, or because of being affected with something impure, as is the case with (N: befouled) milk, vinegar, or honey). It is also unlawful to eat substances which are pure, but generally considered repulsive, such as saliva or sperm.

j 16.7 If forced to eat from a unslaughtered dead animal (O: out of fear of losing one's life or fear of an illness growing worse), then one may eat enough (O: the necessary minimum) to avert destruction (O: meaning enough to keep life from ending. One may not eat to repletion from a dead animal unless one believes that confining oneself to the survival minimum entails dangerous consequences, in which case it is obligatory to take the edge off one's hunger). If circumstances force one to choose between a dead animal and some permissible food belonging to someone else (O: who is not present), one is obliged to eat of the dead animal.

j17.0 HUNTING AND SLAUGHTERING

j17.1 It is not permissible to eat any animal (O: that Muslims are permitted to eat) until it has been properly slaughtered, the only exceptions to which are fish (def: j16.4) and locusts, which are permissible to eat even when they die unslaughtered.

j17.2 It is unlawful to eat meat slaughtered by a Zoroastrian, someone who has left Islam (murtadd, def:08), or an idol worshipper, (O: included with whom are those (zanadiqa) with corrupt convictions about tenets of faith that are well-known as essential parts of Islam (def: books u and v),) or a Christian of the desert Arab tribes (O: the upshort of which is that it is a necessary condition that the slaughterer be of a people whose women we are permitted to marry, whether Muslims, Jews, or Christians).

j17.3 It is permissible to slaughter with anything that has a cutting edge; but not a tooth, bone, or claw, whether human or otherwise, attached to the body or not.

j17.4 The necessary condition for slaughtering any animal which is within one's capacity to slaughter (O: domesticated or wild) is to cut both the windpipe and the gullet (O: windpipe meaning the channel of breath, and gullet meaning the channel of food and drink which lies beneath the windpipe. It is not necessary for the validity of slaughtering to cut the carotid arteries, which are two blood vessels on the sides of the neck encompassing the windpipe. If the slaughterer neglects to cut any part of either the windpipe or gullet and the animal dies, it is considered an unslaughtered dead animal, as is an animal with nothing but purely reflexive movement left when one finishes cutting a part of the windpipe or gullet previously missed. If the slaughterer cuts from the back of the neck until he severs the windpipe and gullet, it is a sin because of the excess pain caused (A: though it is valid as slaughtering. Chopping off heads of chickens with a hatchet is offensive. though the meat is lawful). The slaughterer should cut swiftly and not take his time such that he has to cut two or more times. If he does, ad there is no life remaining in the animal on the second swipe, then the animal (A: has died unslaughtered and) is impermissible to eat. The determining factor is whether life remains in the animal when the knife is applied at the beginning of the last stroke (A: the one which successfully severs both the windpipe and gullet), no matter whether this is the second or third).

j17.5 It is recommended when slaughtering:

(1) to turn the animal towards the direction of prayer (qibla);

(2) to sharpen the knife;

(3) to cut rapidly (O: even faster than is obligatory, such that it does not take two or more swipes, as mentioned above);

(4) to mention Allah's name (O: for the spiritual grace therein, saying "Bismillah," as is sunna) (A:this is obligatory in the Hanafi school);

(5) to bless the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace);

(6) and to cut the large blood vessels (O: on either side of the neck).

j17.6 It is recommended to slaughter camels by thrusting the knife (O: into the hollow at the base of the neck (A: between the two collarbones) above the chest so that one severs them (A: the windpipe and gullet) in this concavity, since it is easier than cutting the throat, for it seeds the exit of the spirit from the body by bypassing the length of the neck, being the preferable way to slaughter any animal with a long neck, such as a duck, goose, ostrich, or giraffe), with the camel left standing, one foreleg bound up.

j17.7 It is recommended to slaughter other than camels (O: such as cattle, sheep, goats, or horses (A: by drawing the knife) across the throat at the top of neck) after laying them on their left side. (O: Slaughtering them this way is only called for to easily enable the slaughterer to hold the knife in his right hand and the animal head with is left. It is also sunna for the animal's legs to be bound, except the right hind leg, so the animal will not jerk during slaughtering and cause the

slaughterer to miss his mark. The right hind leg is left free in order to pacify the animal by giving it something to move). j17.8 It is a necessary condition that the slaughterer not

raise his knife-hand while slaughtering (O: while drawing it across the neck). It if lefts it before completely severing both the windpipe and gullect,t and then returns to cut them, the animal is not lawful to eat.

HUNTING

j17.9 As for hunting, a game animal is lawful to eat whenever on hits it with an arrow (A: or according to the Maliki school, shoots it with a rifle or shotgun) or brings it down with a trained hunting animal (A: such as a falcon or dog) (O: but only if trained), and it dies before one can slaughter it (O: that is, provided that one did not reach it when there was any life let in it besides reflexive motion. If one reaches it while it is alive or any life remains, then one must properly slaughter it), provided that the hunter is not blind, is of a people whose slaughtered food Muslims may eat (def: j17.2), and provided that the animal does not die from being struck by the mere weighting of the arrow, but rather dies by its edge weighting that it hits the animal point-first, wounding it). If the game was brought down by a trained hunting animal, it is a necessary condition that the animal ate nothing of the game. If the game animal dies from being struck by the weight of the trained hunting animal (A: as in falconing), then the game is lawful to eat.

j17.10 A game animal is not lawful to eat if:

(1) an arrow hits it and it then drips into water (O: because of the likelihood that it died from

drawing (N: if that is probable) rather than from being short);

(2) it is brought down on a peak which it then falls from (O: because of the likelihood that it died from the fall);

(3) or if it disappears after having been wounded and is found dead (O: because it might have died for some other reason than being wounded (N: though if it is obvious that it dies from the wound, it is lawful to eat)).

j17.11 A camel or other (O: domestic animal such as a cow, sheep, goat, or horse) that strays and cannot be retrieved, or that falls into a well and cannot be gotten out may be made lawful to eat by shooting it (O: because of the impossibility of slaughtering it), no matter where one hits its body (N: provided one mortally wounds it). And Allah knows best.

i18.0 VOWS (NADHAR)

(O: Lexically, the word yow means any promise. It is legally defined as making obligatory some act of worship that was not originally obligatory in Sacred Law, such as a supererogatary or fast, and like. There is a difference of opinion among scholars whether a vow in itself is an act of worship or whether it is offensive. The strongest position is that it is an act of worship when made to perform a pious act (A: since Allah Most High describes the pious as "fulfilling their vows" (Koran 76:7)), for it is an intimate discourse with Allah Most High; though it is offensive in the head of an argument.) (A: The advantage of a vow is that one may obtain the reward of an obligatory act by fulfilling it. Its drawback is that unlike broken oaths, which may be expiated (dis: o20), there is no way to lift the vowed action: it remains obligatory unless one is physically unable (N: in which case one performs an alternative (n:e.g. giving food in place of fasting if there is one in Sacred Law). For this reason, many pious and learned Muslims avoid making vows.)

THE CONDITIONS FOR THE LEGAL VALIDITY OF A VOW

j18.1 A vow (O: to perform some pious act) is only valid: (a) if made by a Muslim who is legally responsible (mukallaf, def: c8.1);

(b) when it concerns some act of worship (A: meaning, for the Shafi'is, any recommended act,

though for the Hanafi school it can only be an act that is similar in kind to an obligatory form of worship

(n: such as prayer, fasting, or hajj)); (c) and is stated in words such as "I hereby owe Allah to perform such and such," or "I am hereby obliged to do such and such.'

(O: A vow to do something that is merely permissible, such as standing, sitting, eating, or sleeping, is not legally valid because these are not acts of worship; the reason being the hadith related by Bukhari that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) passed a man standing in the sun without seeking shade, whom he inquired about and was told that it was Abu Isra'il, who had vowed to stand while fasting without sitting, taking shade, or speaking; to which he replied, "Pass by him and have him sit in the shade and speak, but let him finish fasting." By act of worship, our author means acts that are supererogatory and not obligatory, since an oath to undertake an obligatory act is invalid whether it involves performance of something, such as an obligatory prayer or fast, or nonperformance of something, such as vowing to abstain from wine or fornication and the like. Such

vows are not valid to begin with, as Allah has made these obligatory and "obligating oneself to do them" is meaningless. The obligatory acts which are not valid to vow are restricted to the personally obligatory. As for the communally obligatory (def: c3.2), a vow to do such an act obliges one to fulfill it, because it is an act of worship not originally obligatory in the law, meaning not initially called for from any particular person.)

GENERAL PROVISIONS REGARDING VOWS

j18.2 A valid vow to do an act of worship makes the act obligatory.

j18.3 One must fulfill a vow that one has made conditional upon the occurrence of some event, such as by saying, "If Allah heals my sick friend, I am obliged to do such and such" (O: of fasting, praying, or charity), which becomes obligatory if the sick person regains his heath.

j18.4 If someone makes a vow by way of argument and in anger, saying, for example, "If I speak to Zayd, I am obliged to do such and such," then if he speaks to Zayd, he has a choice between doing what he has vowed, or else paying the expiation form a broken oath (def: 020).

j18.5 If one vows to perform the hajj riding but instead does so on foot, or vows to perform it on foot but then does so riding, this accomplishes the vow, though one is obliged to slaughter (O: as one does for an 'umra first (tamattu') hajj (def: j12.6(I)). (N: Because the vowed walking or riding has become one of the obligatory elements of one's hajj, the expiation for its nonperformance is as other unperformed obligatory acts of haji, and if such a person lacks a shah (def: h2.5) or lacks the money for it, he may fast. As for a person who vows to do something unconnected with the hajj and finds he cannot fulfill it, he performs a valid alternative if one exists in Sacred Law (dis: j18.0 (A:)). If there is no valid alternative in Sacred Law, he remains responsible for performing the vowed act.) (O: If one does not fulfill a vow because of being unable to or because of forgetfulness, it is not a sin, but one must slaughter, an obligation that incapacity or forgetfulness does not lift. To summarise, the sin (A: of not fulfilling one's vow) only exists when one is capable of fulfilling it, not when one is incapable, though someone who does not fulfill a vow because of incapacity must slaughter a shah meeting sacrifice specifications (def: j14.2).)

j18.6 If one vows to go to the Kaaba, Masjid alMedina, or al-Masjid al-Aqsa (n: in Jerusalem), then one is obliged to. If one vows to go to the Kaaba, then one must perform hajj or 'umra (O: because hajj and 'umra are what is fundamentally intended in Sacred Law by going to the Sacred Precinct, and the vow is interpreted according to this convention of the Law as a vow to perform either hajj or 'umra). If one vows to go to Masjid al-Medina or al-Masjid al-Aqsa, then one must either perform the prayer or else spend a period of spiritual retreat (i'tikaf, def:i3) in the mosque (O: i.e. one is entitled to choose between prayer or spiritual retreat). If one vows to go to some other mosque, the vow does not oblige one to do so (dis: i3.4(end)) (O: since travelling to other mosques is not an act of worship (N: that is, if intended for itself, though if one intends it in order to perform the prayer or (for spritual retreat there in, it is an act of worship)).

j18.7 If one vows to fast for the whole of a particular year, one does not have to make up days not fasted on the two 'Eids or the three days following 'Eid al-Adha (dis:i2.3), or the days fasted during Ramadan, or the days a woman misses during her monthly period or postnatal bleeding.

j18.8 Someone who vows to perform the prayer (A: but does not specify how much) must pray two rak'as.

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k1.0 SALE

(O:The legal basis for sale, prior to scholarly consensus (ijma'), is such Koranic verses as the word of Allah Most High, "Allah has made sale lawful..." (Koran 2:275). The more reliable of the two positions reported from our Imam (Allah Most High be well pleased with him) is that this verse is general in meaning, excluded by other evidence. For the Prophet (referring to all sales except those specifically). (Allah bless him and give him peace) forbade various sales butdid not explain the permissible ones, his not doing so proving that the initial presumption for the validity of a sale is that it is lawful. This is also borne out by hadiths such as the one is which the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) was asked what type of earning was best, and he answered. "The work of a man's own hand, and every pious sale." Meaning sales free of cheating and deceit. Hakim related this hadith, which he classified as rigorously authenticated (sahih). Lexically, sale means to transact something for something else. In Sacred Law it means to exchange an article of property for other property in a particular way. Its integrals are six:

(a) the seller;

(b) the buyer:

(c) the price:

(d) the article purchased;

(e) the spoken offer;

(f) and the spoken acceptance.) (N: Sale (bay'), whereever it is used in the ruling below, refers to both exchanging goods for money and exchanging them for other goods (n: i.e.

THE SPOKEN OFFER AND ACCEPTANCE

k1.1 A sale is not valid unless there is a spoken offer (O: by the seller) and spoken acceptance (O: by the buyer(. Offer means the statement of the seller or his agent (wakil, def: k17) "I sell it to you" or "I make it yours." Acceptance means the statement of the buyer or his agent "I buy it" or "I take possession of it" or "I accept," (A: Regarding mujatah, which is giving the seller the price and taking the merchandise without speaking, as when buying something whose cost is well known, Bajuri notes, "Nawawi and a group of scholars have adopted the position that sales conducted by it (A: mu'atah) are valid for all transactions that people consider sales, since the determining factor therein is that acceptance of both parties, and there is no decisivelly authenticated primary text stipulating that it be spoken, so common acknowledgement ('urf, def: f4.5) is the final criterion (A: as to what legally constitutes acceptance)" (Hashiya al-Shaykh

Ibrahim al-Bajuri (y5), 1.355).) (N: The category of mu'atah also includes sales conducted by means of vending machines (A: provided it is clear what one is buying before one puts the money in the machine).) It is permissible for the buyer's acceptance to precede the offer, such as his saying, "I buy it for so-and-so much," and for the seller to reply, "I sell it to you," It is also permissible to say, "Sell it to me for so-and-so much," and for the seller to reply, "I sell it to you." All of these are unequivocal expressions. Sales can likewise be effected, if the intention exists, by equivocal expressions such as "Take it for so-and-so much," or "I consider it yours for soand-so much," thereby intending a transaction with the buyer, who then accepts. If one does not intend a transaction by such expressions, then the sale is nothing (O:but empty words, and the buys is obliged to return the merchandise to its owner if it still exists, or replace it if used up while in his possession). It is obligatory (O: for the validity or the sale agreement that other conditions be met, among them):

(a) that the interval between the offer and its acceptance not be longer than what is customary (O: the criterion being whether it gives the impression that one is averse to accepting, not merely a brief interval. Other conditions include:

(b) that conversation extraneous to the agreement by either of the two parties not intervene between the offer and acceptance, even if inconsiderable, since, it gives the impression of nonacceptance;

(c) that the offer and its acceptance correspond, for if the offered price is one thousand, and the buyer "accepts" for five hundred, the transaction is invalid;

(d) that neither the offer nor acceptance be made conditional (ta'liq) upon an event extraneous to the agreement, such as saying, "I sell it to you, should my father

(e) and that the sale not be subject to time stipulations (ta'qit) such as saying, "I sell it to you for a period of one month"; -because both (d) and (e) vitiate the necessary intention). A mute's gesture is as binding as a speaker's words.

THE BUYER AND SELLER

k1.2. The conditions that must exist in the buyer and seller

(a) having reached puberty (A: Imam Ahmad permits the buying and selling of minor items by children, even before they have reached the age of discrimination (def:f1.2) and without their guardian's permission);

(b) sanity:

(c) that one's disposal over one's property not be suspended (def·k13):

(d) and that one not be unjustly forced to make the sale. (O: The agreement of someone unjustly forced to sell his property is invalid because of lack of consent, though it is valid if he is justly forced, as when he is ordered to sell his property to repay a debt.)

(e) If a Koran is being purchased for someone, it is obligatory that the person be Muslim. (O: The same is true of books of hadith and books containing the words and deeds of the early Muslim, "Koran" in this context means any aork that contains some of the Koran, even a slight amount.) (A: This ruling holds for any religious books, even the Tabaqat of Sha'rani (n: a collection of biographical sketches of Muslims), though the Hanafi school permits non-Muslims to buy or be given the Koran and other Islamic books.)

(f) It is a condition that someone buying weapons be of a people who are not at war with Muslims.

THE OPTION TO CANCEL A SALE AT THE TIME OF THE AGREEMENT

k1.3 When a sale is effected, both buyer and seller have the option to cancel at the time of the

agreement (khiyar al-majlis), meaning the right to nullify the agreement at any time before they (O: physically) part company, or both waive the right to cancel, or until one of them cancels the sale. (O: The option to cancel at the time of the agreement exists at every sale, and for its duration, the ownership of the articles exchanged is suspended (def:k1.5)

STIPULATING AN OPTION TO CANCEL PERIOD

k1.4 Both the buyer and seller have the right to stipulate an option to cancel period, an interval during which either party may cancel the agreement, of up to three days (O: provided the days are consecutive. The option to cancel period is not period, is not valid if the two parties stipulate an indeterminate period or leave it open-ended by merely stipulating "an option to cancel" (A: though the buyer has the right to return the article because of defects (dis:k5) regardless of what they stipulate), or when the period is determinately known, but exceeds three days). The option to cancel may be given (A: depending on what the buyer and seller agree upon) to both parties, or just one of them (O: and not the other, or they may give the option to a third party, since the need for this might arise. In any case, both buyer and seller must agree t the conditions). But such a period may not be stipulated for transactions in which it is unlawful to part company before taking possession of the commodities

exchanged (O: by one or both parties) as is the case in exchanging the kinds of foodstuffs and moneys in which usurious gain (riba, dis: k3.1-2) is present, or in buying in advance (salam, dis:k9.2(a)).

k1.5 If the option to cancel is given to the seller alone, then the merchandise is considered his property during this period (O: meaning that he owns the proceeds earned by the property, and its increments such as its milk, eggs, or fruit, and he is obliged to cover its maintenance and other expenses). If the option to cancel is given to the buyer alone, then the merchandise is considered his property during this period (O: and the above increments and expenses are his). If the option to cancel is gives to both buyer and seller, then the ownership of the merchandise during this period is suspended, meaning that if the transaction is finalized, it is established that it belonged to the buyer (O: from the time the agreement was first made, together with its increments and expenses), but if the transaction is cancelled, it is established that it belonged to the seller (O: meaning that it never left his ownership).

k2.0 THE THINGS EXCHANGED IN A TRANSACTION

(N: Things here refers to both the merchandise and its price.) k2.1 Five conditions must exist in any article transacted. It nust:

(a) be pure (O: in itself, or if affected with filth, it must be capable of being purified by washing);

(b) be useful:

(c) be deliverable (O: by the seller to the buyer, meaning that the buyer is able to take possession of it);

(d) be the property of the seller or the person whom the seller has been authorized to represent;

(e) and be determinately known (ma'lum) (O: to the buyer and seller, as to which particular thing it is, how much it is, and what kind it is, in order to protect against chance or risk (gharar), because of the hadith related by Muslim that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) forbade the transaction of whatever involves chance or risk) (n: w42 discusses buying and selling insurence policies.)

PURITY

k2.2 It is invalid to transact something that is impure in itself (najasa, def: e14.1) such as a dog, or something affected with filth that cannot be purified (O: by washing), like milk or shortening, though it it can be, like a garment, then it may be transacted.

USEFULNESS

k2.3 It is invalid to transact something which is not useful (O: whether the reason for invalidity is the article's baseness or the smallness of the amount being dealt with,) such as vermin, a single grain of wheat, or unlawful musical instruments (dis: r40) (O: such as the mandolin or flute, since there is no lawful benefit in them)

DELIVERABILITY

k2.4 It is invalid to transact something undeliverable, such as a bird on the wing or something that a third party has wrongfully taken from one, though if one sells the latter to a buyer who is able to take it back from the third party, the sale is valid; while if the buyer is unable to take it from him, then the buyer has the option to either declare the sale binding or cancel it. It is invalid to transact a particular half of a whole object such as a vessel, sword, or garment (O: since the buyer cannot take possession of that part without breaking or cutting the article, involving the lessening and loss of property), or part of anything whose value is diminished by cutting or breaking, though if it does not diminish its value, as with a bolt of heavy cloth, such portions may be sold.

LAWFUL DISPOSAL OVER THE PROPERTY

 $k2.5\ It$ is not valid for the owner of an article that has been put up as collateral (def:k11) to sell it without the permission of the person to whom the collateral has been given. Nor is it valid to sell property belonging to another, unless the seller is the owner's guardian (def: k13.2) or authorized representative (def: k17).

BEING DETERMINATELY KNOWN

k2.6 It is not valid to sell property not determinately identified such as "one of these two garments" (O: since "one of them" is not an identification. Likewise with saying, "I sell you one of these sheep." It makes no difference whether all the objects are of equal or unequal value). It is not valid to transact a particular thing that is not in view (O: meaning that it has not been seen by both buyer and seller or by one of them) such as saying, "I sell you the Mervian robe I have up my sleeve," or "the black horse that is in my stable." But if the buyer has seen it before and the article is something that does not generally change within the time that has elapsed since it was last seen, then such sales are valid. It is permissible to sell something like a pile of wheat that is in plain view when its weight is unknown, or to sell something for a heap of silver that is visible when the silver's weight is unknown, for seeing

is sufficient. The selling and buying of a blind person are not valid. He must commission another to buy and sell for him (A: though the Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanabali schools permit him to buy and sell for himself). It is valid for a blind person to buy in advance (def:k9) or for another to buy in advance from him, provided the payment is forwarded to and held by the person being bought from in advance.

k3.0 USURIOUS GAIN (RIBA)

(O: The word riba lexically means increment. In Sacred Law it is (N: of two types, the first being usurious gain (riba) in selling, which is) an agreement for a specific recompense whose equivalence to the merchandise is unknown (def: k3.1 (a)) according to the standards of the Law at the time of the transaction, or in which the exchange of the two properties transacted is delayed, or one of them is delayed. (N: The second type concerns loans, and consists of any loan by which the lender obtains some benefit (dis: k10.5).) The basis for its unlawfulness, prior to scholarly consensus (ijma', def:b7), is such Koranic verses as: "Allah permits trade but forbids usurious gain:" (Koran 2:275), and, "Fear Allah and relinquish what remains of usury, if you are believers" (Koran 2:278), and such hadiths as that related by Muslim, "The Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace) cursed whoever eats of usurious gain (riba), feeds another with it, writes an agreement involving it, or acts as a witness to it." Another hadith, in al-Mustadrak (n:by Hakim), relates that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, 'Usurious gain is of seventy kinds, the least of which is as bad as a man marrying his mother.") (n:w43 discusses taking interest in enemy lands (dar al-harb).)

USURIOUS GAIN IN SALES OF FOODSTUFFS, GOLD, AND SILVER

k3.1 Gain is not unlawful except in certain exchanges involving (O:human) foodstuffs, gold, and silver (A: or other money) (N: which is the ruling for usurious gain in sales. As for usurious gain or interest from loans, it is unlawful for any type of property whatever). The determining factor in the prohibition of usurious gain in foodstuffs is their being edible, and in gold and silver, their being the value of things. When a foodstuff is sold for a foodstuff of the same kind, such as wheat exchanged for wheat (O: or the gold is traded for gold). three conditions are obligatory:

(a) exact equivalence in amount (def: k3.5) (O: which must be made certain of, this stipulation precluding exchanges of foodstuffs, gold, or silver in which the amounts are not known, for such sales are not valid even if the two quantities transacted subsequently turn out to be equal, because of the ignorance of their equivalence at the time of the transaction, since ignorance of it is the same as actual nonequivalence);

(b) that the properties transacted be in the respective possession of buyer and seller before they part company;

(c) and immediacy (N: such that the agreement does not mention any delay in the exchange, even if brief).

k3.2 When foodstuffs are sold for foodstuffs of a different kind, such as wheat for barely (O: or when gold is sold for silver), only two conditions are obligatory:

(a) that the exchange be immediate;

(b) and that the properties exchanged be in the respective possession of buyer and seller before they part company. If these two conditions are met, the two commodities exchanged may differ in amount.

TRANSACTING GOLD AND SILVER

k3.3 When gold is exchanged for gold, or silver for silver, conditions k3.1 (a,b,c) are obligatory. If gold is exchanged for silver, their amounts may differ, but conditions k3.2(a.b) are obligatory.

k3.4 When foodstuffs are sold for gold or silver, the transaction is unconditionally valid (O: meaning none of the above conditions are necessary).

k3.5 Equivalence in amount for commodities customarily sold by volume is reckoned according to volume (O: even if weights differ), and for articles customarily sold by weight according to weight. Thus, it is invalid to sell a pound of wheat for a pound of wheat when there is a difference between the two's volume, though it is valid to sell a bushel of wheat for a bushel of wheat even when their weights differ. Customarily transacted by weight or volume means according to the prevalent custom in the Hijaz during the time of the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace). If this is unknown, then according to the custom of the town where the transaction takes place. If the foodstuff is of a kind not customarily exchanged by either weight or volume, and it has no dried strong state, such as cucumbers, quinces, or citrons, then it may not be traded for its own sort. Equivalence in amount is not applicable to foodstuffs until they are completed, meaning, for fruits, in the dried storage state. It is invalid to trade fresh dates for fresh dates for dried dates, fresh grapes for fresh dates, fresh dates for dried or fresh grapes for raisins. Types of dates and grapes not sold as dried dates and raisins may not be exchanged for their own

sort. it is also invalid A: because of ignorance of their equivalence) to exchange:

- (1) flour for flour (O: when they are of the same type);
- (2) flour for wheat;
- (3) bread for bread (O: when of the same type);
- (4) a pure foodstuff for a mixed one;
- (5) cooked food for uncooked, or cooked food for other cooked food, unless the cooking is very slight, such as separating honey (O: from the comb) or milkfat (O: from milk). It is not permissible to exchange (N: for example) a measure of dates plus one dirham for two dirhams, or for two measures of dates, or for a measure of dates and a dirham. Nor is it permissible toexchange a measure of dates and a garment for two measures, nor a dirham and a garment for two dirhams. It is invalid to transact meat for a live animal (O: even when the two are not of the same kind of animal).

k4.0 SOME PROHIBITED KINDS OF TRANSACTIONS

(O: Prohibited transactions may be invalid, as is usually the case with the prohibited, for prohibition generally entails invalidity; or not, such that the transaction is valid despite being prohibited (dis:c5.2).)

SELLING THE OFFSPRING OF EXPECTED OFFSPRING

k4.1 It is invalid to sell the offspring of (A: expected) offspring, such as saying, "When my she-camel gives birth, and her offspring in turn gives birth to a camel, I hereby sell you that camel" (O: i.e. the offspring of the offspring. The reason for invalidity is that it is a transaction of an article that is not owned, known, or deliverable). Nor is it valid to sell something for a price whose payment is deferred to a time similar to the above (O: that is, till the time the offspring of an offspring is born, because the date of payment is not known).

EITHER-OR SALES

k4.2 It is invalid to make a transaction whose terms include two different possible deals (A: without specifying which has been agreed upon) such as saying, "I sell you this for either one thousand in case or two thousand in deferred payment" (O: which is invalid because the price is not known), or such as saying, "I sell you my robe for a thousand, provided you sell me your sword for five hundred" (O: which is invalid because of the invalid stipulation (dis: below)).

SALES WITH EXTRANEOUS STIPULATIONS

k4.3 It is not valid to make a transaction that includes an invalid stipulation (A: such as a condition that is extraneous to the original agreement which adds to its price) (O: because the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) forbade transactions with such conditions, like stipulating a loan or a second transaction), saying for example, "I hereby sell it to you (n: for a thousand) provided you loan me a hundred" (O: or "provided you sell me your house for such and such a price" (A: or "Provided you do not sell it to So-and-so"). It invalidity is due to considering both as the price. Stipulating this invalidates the transaction, and paying this "price" is void, it not being determinately known (def: k2.1(e))). (A: The invalidating factor is stipulating a second transaction, not the mere fact that it accompanies the first transaction, for it is permissible to join two transactions, as discussed at k4.12 below.)

SALES WITH VALID STIPULATIONS

k4.4 The following types of conditions do not invalidate transactions that stipulate them:

(1) a condition to postpone payment, though this requires that the date of payment be specified;

(2) a condition that collateral (def: k11) be put up as security (N: for payment of the price or for delivery of the merchandise);

(3) a condition that a particular individual will guarantee (def: k15) payment;

(4) or other conditions (O: from the seller, the buyer, or both) that the deal requires, such as an option to return the merchandise if defective, and so forth. It is valid for the seller to stipulate that he is free of responsibility for defects in the merchandise. By doing so, he is not held responsible for an animal's internal defects which he does not know of, though he remains responsible for all other kinds of defects. (O: The conditions for this ruling are that the defect be internal, be found in an animal, be unknown to the seller, and that it exist at the time of the agreement.)

PAYING NONREFUNDABLE DEPOSITS

k4.5 It is not valid to pay a nonrefundable deposit towards the price of an article, such as paying a dirham for piece of merchandise on the basis that if the buyer decides to keep it, the dirham is part of the price, but if he does not, then the seller keeps the dirham for free. (A: The school of Imam Ahmad permits non refundable deposits.)

UNDERCUTTING ANOTHER'S DEAL

k4.7 It is unlawful to undercut a brother's deal (A: or a non-Muslim's, since there is no difference between Muslims and non-Muslims in rulings concerning commercial dealings) that he has made with a customer, after they have settled on the price excludes someone going around taking bids from those who are increasing them, as auctioneers do, which is not unlawful). It is also unlawful to undercut a brother's price (O: that is, during the option to cancel at the time of the agreement (def: k1.3), or during a stipulated option to cancel period (def: k1.4)) by telling the buyer, "Cancel the deal and I'll sell you one cheaper." (O: This also hols for other contracts, such as renting or lending the use of something.)

BIDDING UP MERCHANDISE

k4.8 It is unlawful to bid up the price of a piece of merchandise that one is not really interested in, to fool another bidder.

SELLING GRAPES TO A WINEMAKER

k4.9 It is unlawful to sell grapes to someone who will make wine from them. (O: Like grapes in this is the sale of dates, bread, wheat, or barley, whenever one knows that this (A: i.e. alcoholic drink) will result, or thinks it will. If there is doubt or if one merely imagines it, then the transaction is merely offensive. (N: Think (zann) means to believe it probable, doubt (shakk) means one is undecided, and imagine (wahm) means to merely consider it possible.) Selling in such cases is unlawful or offensive because it is a means to disobedience. whether certain or suspected (A: means meaning an instrumental cause, as opposed to something which is not instrumental, such as renting a house to a drunkard, which is not unlawful because it is not a cause, though it is unlawful to rent a building to someone who intends to open a bar, for example). Tirmidhi relates that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) cursed whoever drinks wine, gives it to others to drink, sells it, buys it, presses it for another, transports it, receives it, or eats its price.)

k4.10 If one makes any of the above unlawful transactions (k4.6-9), the agreement is valid (dis: c5.2)

A VALID SALE COMBINED WITH AN INVALID SALE

k4.11 If one combines something valid to sell with something invalid to sell in one transaction, such as selling one's own garment together with someone else's without his permission, or such as selling wine and vinegar, then the transaction is valid for the portion of the price that covers the valid sale (O: no matter whether the person knew what the case was, or whether he did not and believed the sale permissible, thinking at the time, e.g. that the wine was vinegar) and is invalid for the portion of the price that was not valid (A: and the portion must be refunded to the buyer). The buyer has the option to cancel the whole agreement if, at the time the deal was made, he did not know it included something impermissible.

JOINING TWO TYPES OF TRANSACTIONS IN ONE CONTRACT

k4.12 It is valid to join two contracts of different kinds (O: for example, a sale with a rent agreement) such as saying, "I sell you my horse and rent you my house for a year for such and such an amount" (O: though it is not necessary that they be different kinds, for the ruling also applies to two contracts of the same type, such as a partnership (def: k16) linked with financing a profitsharing venture (qirad, def: k22)), or such as saying, "I marry you my daughter and sell you her house (N: as her proxy, the proceeds being hers) for so-and-so much," and the price is considered as proportionately distributed over the two transactions.

k5.0 THE RETURN OF MERCHANDISE BECAUSE OF A DEFECT

(O: The criterion for defect is based on something that is expected to exist (n in merchandise),

whether this expectation results from:

- (1) stipulations agreed upon (dis: k4.4(4));
- (2) the customary level of quality (dis: f4.5) for merchandise of its type;
- (3) or outright deception by the seller. The author does not mention (1) in this section, but confines himself to (2) and (3).)

INFORMING A PROSPECTIVE BUYER OF DEFECTS IN MERCHANDISE

k5.1 Whoever knows of a defect in the article (O: he is selling) is obliged to disclose it. If he does not, he has cheated (O: the buyer, which is prohibited by the Prophet's statement (Allah bless him and give him peace), "He who cheats us is not one of us"), though the transaction is valid (A: provided the buyer accepts it, as discussed below).

RETURNING DEFECTIVE MERCHANDISE

k5.2 When a buyer notices a defect in the merchandise that existed when the seller had it, he is entitled to return it (O:

though if he is content to accept the defect, he does not have to return it. He may also return it when the defect occurred after the sale but before the merchandise was delivered, since the merchandise is the seller's responsibility during this period).

k5.3 The criterion (O: of defectiveness) is:

(a) any flaw that diminishes the article or its value to a degree that hinders a valid purpose;

(b) provided that such an imperfection does not usually exist in similar merchandise. (O: The former restriction excludes such things as amputation of a surplus digit or a minor nick from the animal's thigh or hock that is inconsequential and does not obviate its purpose, in which case there is not option to return it. The latter restriction excludes defects not generally absent in similar merchandise, such as missing teeth in older animals. There is no option to return such merchandise, even if the value is diminished.)

k5.4 If the buyer notices a defect in the merchandise after it has been destroyed (O: whether physically, such as an animal being killed, a garment worn out, or food eaten; or whether legally finished, by being no longer permissible to transfer from person to person, as when a site has been made an endowment (waqf, def: k30))- then a compensation (A: from the seller to the buyer) is obligatory. (O: The buyer is entitled to it because of the impossibility of returning the article due to its no longer exiting. Compensation means a part of the article's price whose relation to the whole price is the same as the relation of the value which the defect diminished to the full value of the article if it had been without defect. (N: The difference between price and value is that the value is how much money an article is worth in the marketplace, while the price is whatever the sale agreement specifies, whether this be more or less than the value.) The value in such a case is fixed at the lowest value (A: for articles of its type current in the marketplace) between the time the deal was made and the time the buyer took possession of it.) The buyer is no longer entitled to seek compensation for such a defect it (O: he notices the defect after) he no longer owns the article because of having sold it or otherwise disposed of it. But if such an article returns to the buyer's possesion after this (O: i.e. after having left his ownership, whether as a gift, or returned (A: from a subsequent buyer) because it was defective, or because of a cancelled deal, or he buys it back), then he is entitled to return it (A: to the person who originally sold it to him).

k5.5 If an additional defect occurs in an article (O: other than the above-mentioned defect (A: that existed before the buyer received the article)) while it is in the buyer's possession, then the buyer is only entitled to take a compensation (O: from the seller, to compensator for the original defect) and is not entitled to (A: insist that the seller accept) return (A: of the article for a full refund). But if the original seller is willing to accept it back with the (O: new) defect, (A: refunding the original price,) then the buyers is not entitled to (A: keep the article and) demand compensation (O: for the original defect. Rather, the buyer is told, "Either return it, or else be content with it as it is and you get nothing,"; for the harm to the original seller which is what prevents (A: it being obligatory for him to accept) its return no longer exists if the seller is content to take it back, and the merchandise is as if the additional defect never occurred. Their agreement is implemented if buyer and seller agree upon:

(1) the seller taking it back with (A: the seller refunding the original price, and the buyer giving him) compensation for the new additional defect:

(2) or the buyer keeping the merchandise, and the seller paying him compensation for the original defect; since either of these options might satisfy the interests of the two parties. If the buyer and seller disagree about which of these two options should be implemented, the decision goes to whichever of them requests option, whether this person is the buyer or the seller, since it confirms the original contract).

k5.6 If the new defect which occurs while the article is in the buyer's possession is the sole means of disclosing the old defect, such as breaking open a (A: spoiled) watermelon or eggs, and so forth, then the new defect does not prevent (A: the obligation of the seller to accept) its return. But if the new damage exceeds the extent that was necessary to reveal the original defect, then the seller is no longer compelled to accept it back.

k5.7 It is a necessary condition for (A: cases where the buyer seeks a refund for something he is) returning (O: because of a defect) that the buyer return it immediately upon noticing the defect (O: and his option to return it is cancelled if he delays without an excuse). On his way back to the seller, he should have two witnesses affirm that he is cancelling the agreement (A: so if the seller is unavailable at the time, the buyer is nevertheless able to prove that he went to return it mmediately). If the defect is noticed while one is praying, eating, using the lavatory, or at night (A: if the night presents a problem in returning it), then one is entitled to delay returning it until the hindrance preventing one from doing so is no longer present, provided one stops using and benefiting from it. If the buyer delays returning it when capable of doing so, then the seller is no longer obliged to accept the article

back for a refund, or no longer obliged (A: in cases like k5.5 above) to compensate the buyer for the original defect (O: because the delay gives the impression that the buyer is satisfied with the defect).

k5.9 (A: The term murabaha applies to sales where the seller states the price in terms of "the original price plus such and such an amount as profit," whether by original price he means the amount he originally paid for the whole lot, or whether he means the proportion of that price represented by the percentage of the lot which he is now selling.) The seller in murabaha (O: meaning an agreement where the price consists of the original price plus increment) is obliged to inform the buyer of any defect that occurred in the merchandise while in his possession, such as by saying, "I bought it for ten (O: or "bought it for one hundred and sell it to you at what I bought it for, plus one dirham's profit on every ten") but such and such a defect happened to it while I had it." (O: He is likewise obliged to say, for example, "Such and such a defect appeared in it that was from the previous owner, and I accepted this.") The seller in murabaha is also obliged to explain how much time he was given to pay the original price (A: since deferring payment generally raises the price, and merely stating such a raised price without mentioning that it was deferred would give the new buyer a false impression). (O: The author should have mentioned (A: that telling the prospective buyer the above information is also obligatory in sales of) discount (A: on a lot of goods or portion thereof), as when the seller tells someone, "I sell it to you for what I bought it for, minus one from every eleven." These relings likewise apply to agreements stated in terms of, "I sell you it at the same price the original deal was made for.")

k6.0 SELLING FRUIT AND CROPS

k6.1 It is not permissible (O: or valid) to sell the fruit alone from a tree (A: without the tree, while still on it) before it is ripe, unless the agreement stipulates immediate picking of the fruit. But such a sale is valid without restriction if made after the fruit is ripe, meaning, for fruits that do not change color, to become fit to eat; and for fruits whose color changes, to start to turn the color of ripeness. If both the tree and the fruit are sold together, the sale is permissible without stipulating that the fruit be picked.

k6.2 Grain, when green, is subject to the same rulings as fruit before it is ripe: it may not be sold (O: nor would the sale be valid) unless the agreement stipulates immediate harvest, though there are no restrictions on sales made after the grain is sold and firm

k6.3 It is not permissible to sell grain when still in the husk, or to sell unripe nuts, almonds, or broadeans when these are in the shell. (A: When the latter three are dried, they may be sold in the shell.)

k7.0 MERCHANDISE BEFORE THE BUYER TAKES POSSESSION OF IT

k7.1 Merchandise is the responsibility of the seller before the buyer has taken possession (def: k7.3) of it. If such merchandise is destroyed (Ar. talifa, to be finished off or used up) by itself or through an act of the seller, then the agreement is cancelled and no payment is due for it. If the buyer destroyes such merchandise, he must pay it sprice, and his destroying it is considered as having taken possession of it. If a third party destroys such merchandise, the deal is not cancelled but rather the buyer is given a choice to either:

(1) cancel the agreement and make the value (def: k5.4(N:)) (O: of what the third party destroyed) a debt that the third party owes to the seller:

(2) or effect the deal, paying the seller the price (O: if he agrees to effect the deal) and making the third party liable to pay the value (O: to the buyer).

k7.2 When one buys something, it is not permissible (O: or valid) to sell it until one has taken

possession of it. (O: The invalidity of selling it likewise applies to all transactions disposing of it (A: such as renting it, giving it away, and so forth). It is also invalid for the seller to dispose of the price in any way before it has been received from the buyer, unless the new transaction is with the same buyer and involves the very same (A: article that is the) price.) But if the price is a financial obligation (N: that is, an amount of money, unspecified as to which particular pieces of money it is), the seller may ask for a different sort of payment, provided he has not already accepted the payment, as when he sells something for dirhams, but then accepts gold, a garment, or something else instead of them.

k7.3 Taking possession means:

(1) for transportable things such as wheat or barley, that they be transported (N: by the buyer or his representative) (O: that is, when he moves the merchandise to a place not belonging to the seller, such as the street or the buyer's house);

(2) for things dealt with by hand, such as a garment or book, that they be taken in hand;

(3) and for other things, such as a house or land, that they be given over (O: i.e. the seller give the buyer control over

them, such as by handing the key to him or moving others' belongings off the property).

k8.0 DISPUTES OVER WHAT THE TERMS OF A TRANSACTION WERE

- k8.1 When two parties agree on the validity of a transaction but disagree on its terms, and there is no proof, then they each swear an oath (dis: k8.2) affirming their side of the story. Such a disagreement could be:
- (1) the seller saying that he sold it for immediate payment, while the buyer asserts that payment was to be deferred;
- (2) the seller stating that he sold for ten, while the buyer maintains it was five;
- (3) the seller saying he sold it to the buyer on condition that there be an option to cancel period (def:
- k1.4), while the buyer asserts that no such option was stipulated: or similar disputes.
- k8.2 (N: Swearing an oath (def:o18) is a means for urging one's case when there is no proof, meaning no witnesses. When rulings mention, for example, that "So-and-so's word is believed," or "So-and-so's word is accepted," it means that his word is accepted when he swears an oath in cases where there is no proof presented by either of the two pairs. If there is proof, whether from the plaintiff or defendant, it is given precedence over an oath.)
- k8.3 In the oath for such cases, the seller swears first, saying, for example, "By Allah, I did not sell it to you for such and such an amount, but rather for such and such an amount." Then the buyer swears, "By Allah, I did not buy it for such and such, but rather bought it for such and such." It consists of one oath (A: from each party) which joins the denial of the other's claim with the affirmation of one's own claim, and in which the dential is recommended to precede the affirmation.
- k8.4 When the buyer and seller have sworn, but subsequently reach a solution that both accept, the agreement is not cancelled. But if they cannot reach an accord, they cancel the agreement, or one of them cancels, it, or the Islamic magistrate does (O: to end the trouble between them. When the agreement is cancelled, each returns whatever he has accepted from the other).
- k8.5 If either the buyer or seller testifies that a particular agreement is invalid, but the other party says it is valid, then the word of whichever of them asserts it is valid is accepted if he swears an oath (dis: k8.2).

It the buyer comes to the seller with a piece of merchandise, that he wants to return because of a defect, but the seller says that it is not the one he sold him, then the seller's word is accepted (O: when he swears). If the buyers and seller disagree about a defect in an article that could have occurred while it was in the buyer's possession, but each party asserts that the defect occurred while in the other's possession, then the seller's word is accepted (O: when he swears).

k9.0 BUYING IN ADVANCE (SALAM)

k9.1 Buying in advance means the sale of described merchandise which is under (A: the seller's) obligation (A: to deliver to the buyer at a certain time).

THE CONDITIONS FOR THE VALIDITY OF BUYING IN ADVANCE

- k9.2 In addition to the conditions for valid sales (def: k1.1-2, k2.1), other conditions (O: seven of them) must be met for buying in advance to be valid:
- (a) that the price of the merchandise be received when the agreement is first made. It is sufficient to merely see the price that is being accepted, even when its exact amount is unknown;
- (b) that the merchandise bought in advance be a financial obligation (dayn) (O: owed by the seller (N: meaning that buying in advance is not valid for particular individual articles ('ayn) (A: i.e "this one" and no other)) which the seller will deliver when its time comes). Its delivery may be due from the present onwards, or may be due later through deferment (O: by clearly stating whether it is to be due immediately or deferred) to a specific date (O: which specificity is a necessary condition for the validity of differing payment). It is not permissible to say, "I advance you these dirhams for that particular horse" (O: which is invalid because of the condition that the merchandise bought in advance be a financial obligation (dayn), which the abovementioned horse is not, but is rather a particular individual article ('ayn)):
- (c) that the location to which the merchandise is to be delivered be clearly stipulated (A: though this is only a condition) in cases in which the buyer pays for it at a place where it cannot be delivered, such as the wilderness; or to which the merchandise can be delivered, but transporting it there involves considerable difficulty;
- (d) that the merchandise bought in advance be determinately known by volume, weight, quantity, or yardage in terms of a familiar measure. It is not valid for someone to say "the weight of this stone," or "the capacity of

this basket," if the (O: stone's) weight or basket's capacity is not known:

- (e) that the merchandise be within the seller's power to deliver (def: k2.4) when the time for delivery arrives;
- (f) that the merchandise not be generally subject to unavailability. If it is something rare (O: such as a great quantity of the season's first fruits of a particular kind of produce) or something not typically safe from unavailability, such as "the fruit of this particular date palm," then its sale in advance is not permissible;
- (g) that those characteristics of the merchandise over which the buyer and seller might be at crosspurposes be expressly delineated by clear specifications. It is not permissible (O: to buy things in advance which cannot be defined by clear criteria, such as) for jewels or composites like meat pastry (O: composed of wheat, meat, and water, all of which are expected but not delineable in terms of minimal or maximal amounts), ghaliya perfume (O: composed of musk, ambergris, aloes, and comphor), or slippers (O: composed of outer and inner layers and padding), nor articles whose top randomly differs from their bottom, like a lamp or pitcher (O: the top of which is sometimes wider than the bottom, or vice versa) (N: though the Hanafi school permits such agreements, calling them made to order (istisna'), which they hold includes whatever is customarily bought in this way. They affirm the buyer's option to cancel the agreement when he see the merchandise, and it is obligatory that the article be described very precisely), nor something substantially processed and altered by fire (A: meaning heart), such as bread or roast meat, since describing it (A: i.e how much cooking it takes) is impossible in a precise way.
- k9.3 It is not permissible for the buyer to sell something he has bought in advance until he has received it.
- k9.4 It is not permissible to take some other type of merchandise in place of the article bought in advance (A: that is, when the buyer demands the substitute before the delivery of the original is due, though they may agree on it after that). If the seller delivers the merchandise specified, or better (O: than what was specified), the buyer must accept it (O: since it is apparent that the seller could not find a way to fulfill his obligation save through this means. If the seller delivers merchandise that is inferior to what was specified, then the buyer may accept it, as this is voluntarily refraining from demanding his due, but he is not obliged to, because of the loss therein).

k10.0 PERSONAL LOANS (QARD)

- (A: A Loan means repayable financial aid. It does not refer to lending a particular article ('ayn) for someone to use and then return after use, which is termed an 'ariyya (def: k19).)
- k10.1 Loaning (O: meaning to give something to the borrower on the basis that he will return its equal) is recommended.
- k10.2 A loan is effected through a spoken offer and acceptance (def:k1.1), such as saying, "I loan you this," or, "I advance you it."
- k10.3 It is permissible to give as a personal loan any article that may be brought in advance (def. k9.2 (b,d,e,f,g)) and nothing else (A: though this restriction does not apply to lending for use ('ariyya, dis: k10.0 (A:))).
- k10.4 It is not permissible for the lender to impose as a condition that the loan be repaid on a certain date (N: though for the Maliki school, to stipulate that repayment is obligatory on a certain date is valid and legally binding).
- k10.5 It is not permissible for the lender to impose some condition that will enable him to benefit from the loan, such as a condition that the borrower must return superior to what was loaned, or such as saying, "on condition that you sell me your horse for such and such an amount," for these are usurious gain (riba). But it is permissible for the borrowers to return superior to what was loaned without this having been stipulated.
- k10.6 It is permissible for the loan agreement to include the condition of collateral (O: meaning for the recipient to give the lender something as collateral (def: k11) for what he borrows) or the condition of a guarantor (O: such that the recipient brings someone to guarantee that the loan will be repaid (def: k15)).
- k10.7 The recipient of a loan is obliged to repay the equal of what was lent, though it is permissible for the lender to accept something other than the (A: type of) thing loaned. If the lender gives the recipient a loan and later meets him in another town and asks for it back, the recipient must repay it if it was gold or silver and the like, though if the loaned commodity was something troublesome to carry, such as wheat or barley, then the recipient is not obliged to pay it back (A: in kind) but is merely obliged to pay back its value.

k11.0 PUTTING UP COLLATERAL (RAHN)

(O: In Sacred Law collateral is a piece of saleable property put up as security for a financial

obligation to cover the amount if it should prove impossible to repay.)

CONDITIONS FOR THE VALIDITY OF PUTTING UP COLLATERAL

k11.1 Putting up collateral is only valid when done by someone with full disposal over his own property, as security for a financial obligation (dayn, dis: k9.2(b)) that is currently due, such as the price (O: due for merchandise after its delivery), or a personal loan, or for a financial obligation that is currently becoming due (N: such as something's price) during the option to cancel period (def: k1.4). (O: The collateral's being security for a financial obligation is one restriction on its validity, and for one that is currently due is another. It is not valid to put up collateral for a particular individual article ('ayn) or the use of an article, since (A: the obligation to deliver) a particular article is not a financial obligation (dayn), as the selfsame article cannot be obtained by selling the collateral.) Putting up collateral is not valid in cases in which the financial obligation is not yet due, such as collateral accepted (O: by a lender) as security for a loan that he will make (O: in the further). It is necessary (O: for the validity of putting up collateral) that there be a spoken offer (O: by the person putting up the collateral) and spoken acceptance (O: from the person accepting it, just as it is necessary for sales, the conditions mentioned in connection with sales (k1.1) applying equally here). The agreement is not legally binding until the collateral has been taken possession of with the permission of the person putting it up, who is entitled to cancel the agreement (A: at any point) before the collateral has been taken possession of (def: k7.3). When the agreement has been effected, if the two parties (A: the collateral's giver and receiver) agree that the collateral should be dept with either of them, or with a third party, this is done. If not (O: if they do not agree), the Islamic magistrate has it kept with an upright person (def: o24.4) (O: to end the disagreement. But the magistrate is not entitled to place it with either of the two parties without the other's permission).

GENERAL PROVISIONS CONCERNING COLLATERAL

k11.2 The collateral must be an article that is permissible to sell (def: k2.1). None of the collateral may be separated from the rest of it until the financial obligation has been entirely paid off. The person who put up the collateral is not entitled to dispose of it in any way which

infringes upon the right of the person who has received it as collateral (O: such as transferring its ownership to another) by selling it or giving it away (O: or putting it up as collateral for another person), or to dispose of it in any way that diminishes its value, such as wearing (O: a garment put up that would depreciate by being worn), though he may use it in ways that do not harm (O: the interests of the person who has received it) such as riding it, or living (O: in a house that has been out up as collateral).

k11.3 An article put up as collateral for a financial obligation may not (A: at the same time) be put up as collateral for a second financial obligation, even when the second obligation is with the same person who has accepted the article (A: for the first one).

k11.4 The expenses for maintaining an article put up as collateral (0: such as fodder for livestock, or the wages of a person watering trees) are the responsibility of the person who put it up, and he may be compelled to pay them to protect the rights of the person receiving it (O: lest it be destroyed). The person who put it up is entitled to the increments produced by it (O: that are separable from it) such as milk or fruit.

k11.5 If the article is destroyed while in the possession of the person who received it as collateral without negligence on his part (A: meaning he took the precautions normal for similar articles), then he is not obliged to pay anything for its loss. But if destroyed because of his negligence, then he is obliged to pay the article's value to the person who put it up though its destruction does not eliminate any of the original financial obligation for which the destroyed collateral was put up. (O: When the collateral has been destroyed and the two parties are at a disagreement,) the final word as to how the article was worth (A: when there is no proof (dis; k8.2)) belongs to the person who received it as collateral (O: provided he swears an oath as to how uchit was). But the final word as to whether the collateral has been returned (A: to its owner after his financial obligation has been paid) belongs to the person who put it up (A: when there is no proof, and he

k11.6 The benefit of collateral is that the article is sold (A: by the person who put it up) when there is need to pay the amount which is due. If the person who put it up refuses (O: to sell the article when the person who has received it as collateral asks him to), then the Islamic magistrate has him either pay the original obligation or else sell the article. (O: He is given a choice between the two alternatives.) If he continues to refuse (O: to sell), then the Islamic magistrate sells it for him. (O: If the person who put it up is absent, then

this is established by proof to the magistrate, who sells it for him and gives the person who accepted the collateral his due. If there is no Islamic magistrate and no proof (A: that there is a financial obligation for which the collateral has been put up), then the person who accepted it as collateral is entitled to sell it himself.)

k12.0 BANKRUPTCY (TAFLIS)

(O: Bankruptcy occurs when the Islamic magistrate makes a debtor bankrupt by (N: declaring him so and) forbidding him to dispose of his property (N: such that if he disposes of is, his disposition is not effected).)

k12.1 When someone obliged to pay a current debt is being asked to pay it, and he claims that he is unable to (O: while his creditors deny this), then if it is known that he has saleable property, he is kept under arrest until he provides evidence that he cannot pay. If no (O: i.e if it is not known that he has saleable property), then he swears an oath (O: that there is no property), and (O: when it is established that he is unable to pay, whether through evidence, or though his oath) he is released (O: and given time) until his circumstances allow him to pay (O: and his creditors may not keep after him, because of Allah's word, "If there be someone in difficulties, let him have respote until things are easier" (Koran 2:280)).

k12.2 But if he has saleable property (O: such as real estate, home furnishings, or livestock) and refuses to pay his debt, then the Islamic magistrate sells it for him and pays his debt. If the proceeds of the sale are insufficeient to cover the debt. and he or his creditor asks the magistrate that he be suspended from dealing in his property, then this is done (O: obligatorily, if requested). When the person is suspended, his disposal over his own saleable property is not legally binding or effective, and the magistrate pays the person's expenses and those of his family (O: whom he is obliged to support (def: m12.1)) out of this (O: suspended) property if he is unable to earn enough to pay his expenses. Then (O: after the person has been suspended) the magistrate sells the property in the most profitable manner and divides the proceeds according to the percentage of the total debt which is owed to each creditor.

k12.3 If one of the creditors is owed money on a debt which is not yet due, he is not entitled to be paid from the proceeds. (N: Rather, if the bankrupt does not agree to pay the person immediately, the magistrate keeps this person's share until the debt is due (A: and then pays him).)

k12.4 If one of the creditors has accepted an article of the bankrupt's property as collateral from him for a debt, he is paid the amount owed to him from the sale of the collateral (O: and if there is money from its sale in excess of what was owed to him, it is distributed among the other creditors).

k12.5 If one of the creditors finds the very piece of merchandise he sold to the bankrupt person, he may choose between selling it and dividing the profits with the other creditors, or cancelling the deal and taking back the piece of merchandise, provided there is nothing to prevent taking it back such as it being subject to preemption by a part owner (shuf'a, def: k21), or the bankrupt person having made it collateral to another person, or the merchandise's being mixed with merchandise better than it, or some similar objection.

k12.6 The bankrupt person is permitted to keep a suitable set of clothes and enough food for himself and his dependents to suffice for the day on which his saleable property is divided up. (N: If the bankrupt is then earning enough to suffice himself and his dependents, he is left as is. If not, then he is supported by the Muslim common fund (bayt al-mal), like all poor people. If there is no common fund, he must be supported by all the Muslims.)

k13.0 THE SUSPENSION OF CHILDREN AND THE INSANE FROM DEALINGS

(O: Suspension is of two types

(1) The first has been established in Sacred Law for the interests of others, such as the suspension of a bankrupt person in the interests of his creditors, or the suspension of the person putting up collateral from dealing in it, in the interests of the person who has accepted it.

(2) The second has been established in Sacred Law in the interests of the suspended person, which is the type of suspension our author refers to in the following.)

k13.1 It is not permissible for a child or insane person to dispose of their own property (N: and their doing so is considered legally invalid) (O: to protect them from loss. The fact that a person is a child, male or female, even if at the age of discrimination (def:f1.2), negates the legal efficacy of whatever he says, as well as his legal authority over others, both in respect to transactions such as sale, and in respect to religion, such as Islam. His Islam is not valid, since it requires full capacity for legal responsibility (taklif, dis: c8.1). And this state continues until he reaches puberty. Insanity similarly negates the legal efficacy of whatever the insane person says, as well as his legal authority over others. His Islam is not valid, nor his leaving Islam (def: 08), nor are his dealings, as previously mentioned). (A: Also suspended from commercial dealings is the foolhardy person (safih), meaning a spendthrfit who is chronically careless with his money. In

the schools of Shafi'i and Ahmad, this class also includes those who are careless about their religious obligations, as they too are considered too foolish to deal in their own property.)

k13.2 A guardian conducts such a charge's affairs, the guardian being:

(1) the charge's father;

(2) the father's father, if the father is deceased; (0: it is a necessary condition that they be upright (def: o24.4), at least outwardly, though they need not be Muslim unless the child is Muslim)

(3) if neither of them is alive, then the person designated by the guardian's will (wasiyya, def: L3) to take custody of the

(4) or if no one has been designated by the will. then the Islamic magistrate or his representative.

THE GUARDIAN'S DISPOSAL OF HIS CHARGE'S PROPERTY

k13.3 The guardian deals with the charge's property to the charge's best financial advantage (O: and is entitled to sell it for needs that arise, such as when he does not have enough to cover his charge's expenses and clothing).

k13.4 If the guardian claims to have spent his charge's property to cover the charge's expenses, or claims that the property has been destroyed (O: by an act of God (A: and not through his negligence)), then his word is accepted (O: about it without having to swear an oath). But if the guardian claims to have given the property to the charge (O: i.e. to the child who has reached maturity or the insane person who has regained his sanity), then his word is not accepted (O: because of the ease with which he could have legally established that he gave the property to his charge at the time of doing so. if he did not obtain witnesses to observe the property being handed over, he is guilty of remissness for neglecting to have it witnessed).

k13.5 Suspension from dealings ends (O: without a ruling from the judge) when a child reaches puberty and mental maturity, meaning that he:

(a) is physically mature;

(b) shows religious sincerity;

(c) and is competent to handle his own property. (O: For an insane person, suspension ends when he regains his sanity, shows religious sincerity, and displays competence in handling his property. Religious sincerity means that a person performs acts of obedience and avoids disobedience and the unlawful. Competence in handling one's property means that one does not waste it by losing it, for example, in buying something outrageously overpriced. Both of these traits ((b) and (c)) are the criteria for maturity according to Imam Shafi'i, as opposed at Abu Hanifa and Malik, who hold that competence in handling property is sufficient.)

k13.6 A charge is not give his property until his competence in handling it has been tested before puberty in a manner appropriate to him. (O: Thus a merchant's son is tried at striking a bargain in dealings, having been given money to do this, though not actually concluding the deal, which is done by the guardian. A farmer's son is tested at agriculture and managing the expenditures connected with it. An examination is also made of the charge's religion, by observing whether he performs acts of worship, avoids acts of disobedience, shuns the unlawful, and is wary of things that are doubtful (dis: i16.1). It is necessary that this testing be repeated one or more times)

k13.7 It the suspended person reaches puberty or regains his sanity but is corrupt in his religion or incompetent in financial dealings, then his suspension continues and he is not permitted to deal in his property by selling or anything else, with or without his guardian's permission, though if the guardian permits him to marry, the marriage is valid. If the suspended person reaches puberty with religious sincerity and financial competence, but subsequently squanders his wealth, then he is resuspended by the Islamic magistrate not the guardian. But if the person becomes morally corrupt (A: after having reached puberty), he is not resuspended (N: provided his corruption does not involve spending money on what is unlawful, though if it does, he is suspended from dealing).

k13.8 Puberty applies to a person after the first wet dream, or upon becoming fifteen (O: lunar) years old, or when a girl has her first menstrual period or pregnancy.

k14.0 TRANSFERRING THE RIGHT TO COLLECT A DEBT (HAWALA)

(O: In Sacred Law, a transfer is an agreement that moves a debt from one person's responsibility to another's.) (n: Given three persons, X (al-muhtal), Y (al-Muhil), and Z (al-muhal alayhi) (A: where X loans Y a dirham, and Z already owes Y a dirham, so Y transfers the right to collect the old debt (that Z owes him) to X, instead of repaying X for the new debt. Such transfers have six integrals:

(a) Y; (b) X;

(c) Z;

(d) Y's debt to X;

(e) Z's debt to Y:

(f) Y's spoken offer and X's spoken acceptance).)

k14.1 It is a necessary condition for the validity of transferring a debt that Y wishes to do so, and that X accepts. It is not necessary that Z wishes it. (O: The agreement also requires a form, which is the spoken offer and acceptance (def:k1.1), meaning Y's offer and X's acceptance.)

k14.2 Such a transfer is not valid unless z owes Y a debt and Y owes X a debt. A transfer is valid respecting a legally binding debt(O: owed to X) for another legally binding debt (O: Z owes to Y), provided:

(a) that X and Y know what is being transferred (A:gold, silver, or wheat, for example) for what;

(b) that X and Y know that the two debts are homogeneous in type (A: such as money for money, or wheat for wheat) and in amount (O: though if Y owes X five, and Z owes Y ten, and Y transfers (A: the right to collect) five of it to X, then this is

(c) and that X and Y know whether the debts are currently due or payable in the future (A: the two debts may differ in this respect if both parties agree).

k14.3 (O: The validity of a transfer is not affected by the existence of collateral (def: k11) or of a guarantor (def; k15) as security for one of the debts, but the occurence of the transfer eliminates (A: either form of) security, the guarantor being relieved of any responsibility and the collateral no longer being collateral.)

k14.4 Through a valid transfer, Y no longer owes X a debt, Z no longer owes Y a debt, and the debt owed to X becomes the responsibility of Z. If X is unable to collect the debt from Z because Z is bankrupt or denies the existence of the debt or for some other reason (O: such as Z's death), then X is not entitled to go back to Y (A: to collect it) (N: but rather it is as though X has accepted for the debt a remuneration which was subsequently destroyed in his possession).

k15.0 GUARANTEEING PAYMENT (DAMAN)

(O: Guarantee lexically means ensuring implementation, and in Sacred Law means to ensure a financial obligation which is another's or ensure the appearance of a particular person whose presence is required.) (n: Given three persons, P (al-madmunlahu), Q (al-madmum 'anhu), and R (al-damin) (A: where P loans Q a dirham, and R guarantees to P that either Q will repay it or else he, R, will repay it. Such guarantees have five integrals:

(a) R:

(b) P:

(c) O

(d) the debt covered;

(e) and the form of the agreement).)

GUARANTEEING ANOTHER'S FINANCIAL OBLIGATION

k15.1 It is necessary condition for the validity of guaranteeing payment that R have full right to manage his own property. It is not valid from a child, someone insane, or a foolhardy person (def: k13.1(A:)), though it is valid from

someone suspended for bankruptcy. k15.2 It is a condition for the validity of a guarantee that R know P, though it is not necessary that P agree to it. It is not necessary that Q agree, or that R know Q.

k15.3 It is necessary that the guaranteed debt be a financial obligation (dayn, dis: k9.2(b)) that is existent (O: since it is not valid to guarantee a debt before it exists, such as "tomorrow's expenses") and is determinately known (O: in terms of amount, type, and description).

k15.4 It is necessary that R make the guarantee in words (O: or their written equivalent, with the intention) that imply he is effecting it, such as "I guarantee your debt [O: that So-and-so owes you], "I will cover it," or the like. (O: These are explicit expressions in that they mention the guaranteed financial obligation. When it is not mentioned, the expression is allusive, which is valid provided the financial obligation is what is intended, and the speaker knows how much it is Otherwise, allusive expressions are not valid.) It is not valid to base the implementation of a guarantee on a condition, such as saying, "When Ramadan comes, I hereby guarantee it." (O: Nor is it valid to make it subject to time stipulations, such as saying, "I guarantee what So-and-so owes for one month, after which I no longer guarantee it.")

k15.5 When a seller has accepted the price of something, it is valid (O: for someone) to guarantee the buyer his money back if the merchandise should prove to belong to another or to be defective. (O: It is likewise valid for someone to guarantee to the seller that the merchandise will be returned if the price paid for it should turn out to belong to someone other than the buyer.)

k15.6 P is entitled to collect the guaranteed debt from R and Q (O: by asking both of them or either for the full amount, or one of them for part of it and the other for the rest of it). If another guaranter guarantees the debt for R (O: by saying (A: to P), "I guarantee Q's debt [A: to you] for R"), then P is entitled to collect it from all (A: from Q,R, and the new guarantor).

k15.7 If P asks for payment from R, then R is entitled to ask O to pay the debt, provided that O had given his permission to R before R guaranteed it.

k15.8 If P cancels the debt Q owes him, then R is also free of the obligation to pay P. But if P cancels R's obligation to cover Q's debt, then Q is not thereby free of the debt he owes P.

k15.9 If R pays O's debt to P, then R can collect it from Q. provided that q had given his permission to R before R guaranteed it. But if Q had not (O: given his permission to R to guarantee), then R is not now entitled to collect it from Q, no matter whether R paid if off with Q's leave or without it. k15.10 It is not valid to guarantee delivery of particular articles (ayn) (A: as they are not financial obligations (dis: k9.2(b)), such as something wrongfully taken, or articles loaned for use (O: i.e. "guaranteeing" they will be returned to their owner).

GUARANTEEING ANOTHER'S APPEARANCE

k15.11 It is permissible for R to guarantee that Q will appear in person (O: in court) provided:

(a) that Q owes someone something or is liable to punishment for a crime against another person, such as when the other is entitled to retaliate (def: O1-03) against Q, or when Q has charged someone with adultery without evidence

(b) and that Q gives R permission to guarantee his appearance. It is not valid to gurantee Q's appearance if (non-(a) above) O's crime is against Allah Most High (O: such as drinking.adultery, or theft).

k15.12 If R guarantees Q's appearance but does not specify when, he is required to produce Q at once. But if R stipules a certain time, then he is required to do so at that time. If Q disappears and his where abouts is unknown, R is not required to produce Q until he knows where Q is. (A: When R knows where Q is, then) R is given time to travel to where Q is and return. If R does not bring Q, then R is under arrest, though he is not responsible for Q's (A:unfulfilled) financial obligations. If Q dies, the guarantee is nullified, though if R is asked to produce Q's body before burial to verify its identity, he is obliged to if able.

k16.0 PARTNERSHIPS (SHARIKA)

k16.1 Partnership is valid with anyone having full right to dispose of his own property.

COOPERATIVE PARTNERSHIP

k16.2 There are four kind of partnership (dis:k16.9) of which one alone, cooperative partnership, is valid. It consists of each of the two (A: or more) partners putting up capital, which must be either money or a fungible commodity typically transacted measure for measure (mithli, def:k20.3(1)) (O: as opposed to goods appraised and sold as particular pieces of merchandise (mutaqawwim), which cannot form the basis of a partnership because it is impossible to mix each partner's share with the other's (dis:below)).

k16.3 It is a condition for the validity of a cooperative partnership that the two shares of capital put up by the partners be inter mixed such that it is impossible to tell them apart.

k16.5 It is a necessary condition that each partner give the other his permission to handle the capital (O: that they have put in common). Each partner must deal in a a way that realizes their common capital's best advantage and maximal safety. Thus, neither partner may travel with it (O: i.e. the shared capital, because of the danger in travelling) or sell for postponed payment (N: unless the other partner gives him permission, in which case (A:either of) these are permissible).

k16.6 It is not necessary that the two shares of capital put up by the partners be equal in amount. Both profits and losses are divided between the two partners in proportion to the percentage of the shared capital each of them put up (O: even if there is a difference in the amount of work that each does). If they stipulate otherwise, the partner who put up one hundred, for example gets two-thirds, while the partner who put up two hundred gets one-third; or stipulating that each gets an equal share, despite having put up unequal amounts). (N: This is in the Shafi'i school. The Hanafis and Hanbalis hold that it is permissible for the distribution of profits to be disproportionate (A: to the amount of capital each invests0, corresponding to the disproportionate amount of work each puts into the venture (A: or any other division of the profits which they both agree upon).)

k16.7 If partner A forbids partner B handle the shared capital, then B is not entitled to handle it, though A is still entitled to (O: handle both shares, one of which is his by ownership, and the other by permission of his partner) until B forbids him to handle it

k16.8 Each partner is entitled to cancel the partnership whenever he wants (O: and it is also cancelled by the death or instanity of either or both partners).

k16.9 The following types of partnerships are not valid:

(1) manual partnership (sharika al-abdan), such as the partnership of two porters or other workers agreeing to divide their earnings between them (N: though this type of partnership is valid in the Maliki, Hanbali schools);

(2) well-known partner partnership (sharika al-wujuh) (n: such as of two individuals who put up no capital, but have good reputations among people which create confidence and enable them to purchase trade goods for deferred payment, the profits from the sale of which they agree to divide between them (Mughni al-muhtaj ila ma'rifa ma'ani alfaz al-Minhaj (v73), 2.212)).

(3) and comprehensive partnership (sharika al-mufawada) (n: an agreement by which the partners share whatever they each earn from their respective (A: separate) funds and labor, mutually covering the financial liabilities incurred by either (ibid.,2.212)).

k17.0 COMMISSIONING ANOTHER TO SOMETHING (WAKALA)

(n: Given persons X (al-muwakkil) and Y (al-wakil) (A: where X and Y article to sell for him. This section deals with commissioning others to carry out such requests, which have four integrals:

(a) X;

(c) the act that is being commissioned (al-muwakkal fihi);

(d) and the words by which X commissions Y to do it).) k17.1 It is a necessary condition that both X and Y have full right to perform the act being commissioned, though it is permissible to commission a child to let people into one's house or take a gift to someone.

THINGS ONE MAY COMMISSION OTHERS TO DO k17.2 X may commission Y:

(1) to conclude contracts on X's behalf (O: such as a sale. gift, putting up collateral, conducting a marriage contract, guaranteeing payment, or transferring a debt):

(2) to cancel contracts on X's behalf (O: such as cancelling a sale or returning defective merchandise);

(3) to conduct X's divorce;

(4) to make claims (A: by lawsuit against others, as lawyers do):

(5) to ensure fulfillment of established claims (O: from whoever owes them to X, after they have been established by proof);

(6) or to take possession of something that is free to take, such as wild game, pasturage, or water (O: by Y conveying it from land which X is permitted to take it from, since this is a way of gaining property just as sale is).

k17.3 It is not permissible for Y to undertake obligations of worship that X owes Allah Most High, except for:

(1) distributing zakat to deserving recipients (O: or giving food or alms as an expiation, or voluntary charity);

(2) performing hajj (O: or 'umra, which another may perform on the behalf of an invalid or a deceased person):

(3) and slaughtering sacrifices (dis: j12.6 (end), j14.3).

k17.4 It is permissible to commission Y to perform an obligation (O: to Allah) that consists of inflicting a prescribed legal penalty (hadd) (O: such as the penalties for the crimes of accusing another of adultery without proof (def:o13), adultery, or drinking), but is not permissible to commission Y to establish that such an obligation exists (O: such as by X telling Y, "I commission you to affirm [A: in court, by Y submitting X's testimony] that So-and-so has committed adultery," or "that So-and-so has drunk wine").

k17.5 It is a necessary condition for the validity of X's commissioning Y that there be:

(a) a spoken proposal (O: indicating X's wish for Y to handle some matter for him) that does not restrict the (A fact of there being a) commission by giving conditions under which the commission takes effect (O such as saying, "If Soand-so come, I hereby commission must be) such as saying, "I commission you, " or "Sell this garment for me";

(b) and an acceptance (O:by \bar{Y} , whether this be) in word or deed, i.e. by Y simply doing what he has been asked to, it is not necessary that his acceptance take place immediately.

k17.6 When X validity commissions Y to do something, X may include stipulations about how it is to be carried out, such as saying, "I commission you, but don't sell it sell it till after a month." (A: The previous ruling prohibits stipulations restricting the fact of Y being commissioned Y and his stipulations merely govern how Y is to do it.) (O: A temporary commission, such as saying, "I commission you for one month," is also valid.)

k17.7 Y may not commission another to perform what X has commissioned Y to do unless X either gives Y permission to commission another, or Y cannot undertake the task (O: because he is unable to, or it doe not befit him) or it incapable of it because it is too much (A: for a single person to perform).

THE AGENTS DISCRETIONARY POWERS

k17.8 Y is not entitled to sell an article (A: he has been commissioned to sell) to himself or his underage son, nor (O: is it valid) to sell it:

(1) for less than the current price of similar articles;

(2) for deferred payment;

(3) or for other than the type of money used locally; though Y may do these (O: (1), (2), or (3) if X grants him permission

k17.9 Y's sale of the commissioned article is not valid when X specifies the type of funds he wants as its price, but Y sells it for a different type, such a when X says, "Sell it for a thousand dirhams," but Y sells it for a thousand dinars. But Y's selling it is valid if X specifies the amount he wants and Y sells it for more, provided the type of funds is the same, as when X says, Sell it for a thousand, "but Y sells it for two thousand-unless X has specifically prohibited this (O: in which case the sale would not be valid, as it contravenes X's commission).

k17.10 If X commissions Y to "buy such and such a thing for a hundred, "but Y buys one worth a hundred for less than a hundred, then the purchase is valid. But if Y buys one for two hundred that is worth two hundred (A: when X has commissioned him to buy one for a hundred), then the purchase is not valid. If X tells Y, "Buy a sheep with this dinar, (O: and describes it in type and so forth, since without such a description, the commission would not be valid), but Y buys two sheep (A: with that dinar) of which each one is worth a dinar, then the purchase is valid and both sheep belong to X, though if the sheep are not each worth a dinar, then the purchase is not valid.

k17.11 When X commissions Y to sell something to a particular person, it is not permissible (O: or valid) for Y to sell it to another.

k17.12 When X tells Y, "Buy this [A: particular] garment," and y buys it and X finds it is defective, then Y may return it for a refund (O: and so may X, since he is its owner). But when X merely tells Y to "buy a garment" (O: without further restriction), then it is not permissible for Y to buy a defective one (O: because the lack of further restrictions is understood to mean being free of defects, and if Y buys a defective one, the purchase is invalid).

k17.13 It is a necessary condition that the thing Y is being commissioned to do is determinately known (O: to X and Y) in some respects. Thus, if X says, "I commission you to sell my property and conduct the divorce of my wives," his commission is valid, though if he merely commission Y to "handle everything large or small," or " all of my affairs, " it is not valid

k17.14 Y's responsibility in a commission is that of someone who has been given a trust (O: since he represents X, and his possession of the article is like X's). meaning that if (O: X's) property is destroyed without negligence while in Y's possession, Y does not have to pay for it. (O: But when Y is to blame and negligent, a when he uses the article himself or keeps it in a place lacking the normal precautions for safeguarding similar articles, then he must pay for its loss, as with any trust.)

k17.15 Y's word (dis: k8.2) is accepted over X's when there is a dispute:

(1) concerning the commissioned article's destruction;

(2) as to whether the article was or was not returned to X:

(3) or whether Y betrayed his trust.

k17.16 Either X and Y may cancel the commission at any time. If X relieves Y of his commission, but Y does not learn of this and performs it, then what he has done is not legally binding or effective (O: because he did not have the right to handle the matter).

k17.17 The commission is cancelled when X and Y dies. loses his sanity, or loses consciousness (Ar. ughmiya 'alayhi, i.e. through other than falling asleep).

k18.0 DEPOSITS FOR SAFEKEEPING (WADI'A)

(n: Given persons P (al-mudi') and Q (al-wadi') (A: where P deposits an article with Q for

safekeeping until such time as P should want it back. Such deposits have four integrals:

(a) the article (al-wadi'a);

(b) the verbal agreement;

(c) P;

(d) and Q).) (O: The appropriateness of mentioning deposits for safekeeping after having discussed commissioning others is plain, namely that both the person commissioned and the person with whom something is deposited are bearers of a trust, and do not pay for the loss or destruction is the result of their wrongdoing (A: or remissness in taking normal precautions).)

k18.1 Deposits for safekeeping are only valid when both P and O full right to handle their own property. Thus, if a child or a foolhardy person (def: k13.1 (A:)) deposits something for safekeeping with an adult, he should not accept it. If he does, then he is responsible for it (O: and must cover the cost if it destroyed) and is not free of the responsibility until he returns it to the child's guardian. He is not free of the responsibility if

he merely returns it to the child. If an adult deposits something for safekeeping with a child (A: or other person without full disposal over their affairs), then the child is not responsible if the article is destroyed through negligence or otherwise (O: as when an act of God befalls it), though if the child destroys the article, he is financially responsible for it.

k18.2 It is unlawful for Q to accept a deposit for safekeeping when he is not able to protect it. It is offensive for him to accept it if he is able to protect it but cannot trust himself and fears he may betray the responsibility. But if he can trust himself, it is desirable and praiseworthy for him to accept it.

k18.3 If Q accepts a deposit for safekeeping, he is obliged to keep it in a place meeting the normal specifications for safeguarding similar articles (A: for his town and times) (O: which varies according to the nature of the article deposited, as each thing has precautions proper to safeguarding it (dis:o14.3)).

k18.4 If Q plans to travel or fears he may die, he must return the deposited article to P. If Q cannot find P or someone commissioned by P (A: to manage P's affairs), then he must deliver it to the Islamic magistrate (A: to keep for P). If there is none, Q leaves it with a trustworthy person (O: and he is not obliged to delay his trip), though if he deposits the article with a trustworthy person when there is an Islamic magistrate, he is still financially responsible for it. If Q fails to take the above measures (A: of returning it to the owner or next most appropriate person available) and he dies without having provided in his will for returning the article, or he travels with it, then he is financially responsible for it, unless he dies suddenly, or looting or fire breaks out in the city, and he travels with it because of being unable to give it to any of the above persons.

k18.5 Whenever P asks for the deposited article, Q is obliged to return it by allowing P to take it (O: i.e. by relinquishing possession of it, though this does not mean he has to transport it to P).

k18.6 Q is financially responsible for the deposited article if: (1) without excuse, he delays allowing P to take it;

(2) he deposits the article or safekeeping with a third party, without having had to travel and when there was no need;

(3) he mixes the deposited property with his own property or with some of P's other property such that the deposited property is no longer distinguishable from what it has been mixed with (O: as opposed to when the deposited property can be easily distinguished and has not depreciated as a result of being mixed);

(4) he takes the article out of the place of safekeeping to use, even if he did not use it (0: because merely taking it out with such an intention is a betrayal of his trust);

(5) he does not keep it in a place meeting the normal specifications for safeguarding similar articles; or if P has told him, "Keep it in such and such a particular place for safeguarding, "but he instead puts it in a different place less protected (O: than the one P indicated), even when this second place meets the normal specifications for safeguarding similar articles (O: though if Q puts it in a different place with protection equal or superior to the place P has indicated, Q is not responsible for it).

k18.7 Either party may cancel the deposit for safekeeping agreement at any time. The agreement is also annulled when either party dies, loses his sanity, or loses consciousness (Ar. ughmiya alayhi, i.e. through other than falling asleep).

k18.8 Qs responsibility in accepting a deposit for safekeeping is that of someone who has been given a trust (O: meaning that his claims when he swears an oath (N: and neither side has proof (dis:k8.2)) are accepted, a he is a trustee). His word is accepted over P's when there are disputes about:

(1) whether the deposit for safekeeping was actually made (O: When P claims that it was);

(2) whether the article was returned to P;

(3) or whether and how the article was destroyed (0: when Q claims it was). Thus if Q says, "You did not deposit anything with me," or "I returned it to you," or :It was destroyed without negligence on my part," then his word is accepted when he swears.

k18.9 It is a necessary condition for the validity of a deposit for safekeeping that P states it in words such as "I entrust it to you to keep," or "I entrust it to you to protect." It is not necessary that Q give a spoken reply to this, but is sufficient for him to simply accept the article.

k19.0 LENDING SOMETHING FOR USE (ARIYYA)

(n: Given persons A (al-mu'ir) and B (al-musta'ir) (A: where A lends B an article to use and return after use. This section discusses such loans, which have four integrals:

(a) the article (al-ariyya);

(b) the verbal agreement;

(c) A;

(d) and B)

k19.1 A's lending an article for B to use is valid if A possesses full disposal over his own property and has the

lawful right to the article's use, even if he is only renting (n: though not if someone else has lent him the article without giving him permission to relend it, as at k19.8).

k19.2 It is permissible to lend anything that can be benefited from while the article itself still remains (O: such that B gets some use out the article, as is usually the case, or else he materially gains from it, as when he borrows a sheep for its milk or its expected offspring, or borrows a tree for its fruit. It is not valid to lend something of no lawful benefit such as a musical instrument (dis: r40), or such things as edibles, which do not themselves exist after use, since their use consists solely in their consumption). (A: The latter would be a loan (qard, def:k10) repayable in kind, and hence not included in lending for use.)

k19.3 It is necessary for the validity of lending something for use that either A or B state the agreement in words. (O: The loan is not valid except by either A or B stating it, such as by B telling A, "Loan me such and such." and then A giving it to him. The action alone, between A and B, is insufficient.)

k19.4 B may then use the article according to the permission given. He may:

(1) do what A has given him permission to;

(2) or do the equivalent (O: in respect to the wear and tear on the article involved) or something less, though not if A has forbidden B to do other than what he has specifically given him permission to do. If A tells B, "Plant wheat," (A: on land lent), then it is permissible for B to plant barley, though not vice versa (O: since wheat is harder on the soil than barley), while if A merely permits B to plant, without further restriction, then B may plant whatever he wishes.

k19.5 When A permits B to plant an orchard or build buildings on property he lends B, but later wants the land back then:

(1) if A had stipulated that B would have to remove the trees or buildings, then B removes them (O: obligatorily, performing what was stipulated, for if B will not, then A may remove them):

(2) but if A had not stipulated this, then if B whether, he may remove them, though if B does not (O: but rather chooses to keep them there), then A has a choice between leaving them on the land for rent (O: from B for the land), or else removing them (O: the trees or buildings) and being obliged to pay B a compensation for the loss of value (O: to the trees (A: or buildings)) caused by removal. A is entitled to take back the article lent at any time he wishes.

k19.6 B is financially liable for the article lent (N: even if it is destroyed by an act of God). If it is destroyed while B is using it for other than what A gave him permission to do with it, even if not through B's negligence, then B is responsible to A for the article's value (A: at the market price current for similar articles on) the day of its destruction (O: and he may either replace it or pay A for it). But if the loaned article wears out through being used in the way that A gave permission to use it; then B is not financially responsible for it (N: as when B borrows a garment to wear which becomes worn out through use alone).

k19.7 B is responsible for the measures entailed in returning the article to A.

k19.8 B may not loan (O: the article lent to him) to a third party (O: without permission).

k20.0 THE RETURN OF WRONGFULLY TAKEN PROPERTY (GHASB)

(O: Taking another's property is an enormaity (dis:p20), the scriptural basis for its prohibition being Koranic verses such as the word of Allah Most High, "Do not consume each other's property through falsehood"(KOran 2:188).) (n: Given persons X and Y (A: where X takes an article belonging to Y. This section presents the details of X's obligation (dis: p77.3) to restore Y his property).)

k20.1 Wrongfully taking (ghasb) means to appropriate what is another's right (O: even if this consists of the right to use something, such as forcing someone sitting in a mosque or marketplace to get up from his place) unjustly.

marketplace to get up from his place) unjustly. k20.2 When X wrongfully takes anything of value from Y, even if the value is inconsiderable, he is obliged to return it unless this involves destruction to life or lawful property, as when X takes a plant and nails it over a leak in the hull of a ship at sea that is bearing others' property or worthy people or animals (N: meaning those not obligatory to kill (defe12.8(0:))).

k20.3 If the article taken is destroyed while in X's possession or X himself destroys it, then:

(1) if it was fungible (mithli, a homogeneous commodity transacted by weight or measure, an equal amount of which precisely supplies the place of another), then X is financially responsible for replacing it with an equal amount, fungible meaning that which is measured by volume or weight, and which can be validly sold in advance (def; k9.2 (b,d,f,g)) such as grain, gold or silver, and so forth, while nonfungible (mutaqawwim, commodities appraised and transacted as particular pieces of merchandise) means everything else, such

as livestock and articles of heterogeneous composition, like meat pastry, and so forth;

(2) if the article was fungible (mithli) but it is no longer possible for X to obtain an equal amount to return to Y, then X owes Y its value, which is reckoned at its highest market value between the time X seized it and the time of its subsequent unavailability;

(3) but if the article was nonfungible (mutaqawwim), X owes Y its highest market value during the interval between X's taking it and the time of its destruction.

(N: The foregoing apply to when X has appropriated a physical article or commodity (ayn). As for when he has wrongfully appropriated the use of something, the obligation consists of repaying Y the cost of renting a similar article for a similar amount of time.)

k20.4 X's word (O: provided he swears an oath (N: and neither side has proof (dis:k8.2))) is accepted over Y's when there is a dispute about the destroyed article's value (O: when both agree that it has been destroyed) or about its destruction (A: as to when it occurred, for example). But Y's word is accepted over X's when there is a dispute about whether or not X returned the article to Y.

k20.5 If the property returned by X is materially diminished or has depreciated in value because of some new defect, or both, then X is obliged to pay Y compensation for the loss of value (O: while still being obliged to return the rest). But if the article has diminished in value solely because its market price is now less, then X is not required to pay anything.

k20.6 If the article possesses a utility (O: meaning a rentable utility, as a house does), then X owes Y its rent for the period that X had it, no matter whether he used it or not.

k20.7 Anyone who obtains the wrongfully appropriated article from X, or subsequently obtains it from the person who got it from X, and so forth, on down, is financially responsible (def: k20.2-6) to Y for it, no matter whether such a person knows of its having been wrongfully appropriated or not

k20.8 (N: Given persons X,Y, and Z, where X has wrongfully taken something from Y, and then Z obtains it from X. This ruling describes the compensation due to Y when the article has been damaged or destroyed in Z's possession.) Y is entitled to demand restoration or payment for the loss or depreciation of the article from either X or Z. The obligation to cover this becomes Z's own financial liability-meaning that if Y asks Z for compensation, Z may not in turn demand it from X; though if Y asks X for it, X may it turn demand it from Z-in the following cases:

(1) when Z obtained it knowing that it had been wrongfully appropriated:

(2) when Z obtained it not knowing that it had been wrongfully appropriated, but the means by which Z obtained it would have made him financially responsible for its destruction anyway, as when Z himself wrongfully appropriated it or borrowed it for use (def: k19) from X. (O: Z is also financially liable if he bought it from X):

(3) or when Z obtained it not knowing it had been wrongfully taken, and the means by which he got it from X would not otherwise have made him responsible for its destruction except for the fact that he himself precipitated its destruction (A: as when X deposits it with Z for safekeeping and Z destroys it).

$k21.0\,$ PRE-EMPTING THE SALE OF A CO-OWNER'S SHARE TO ANOTHER (SHUF'A)

(n: Given P, Q, and R (A: where P and Q each own part of some dividable piece of real estate, and P sells his part to R, a third party. In such a case, Q can legally force R to sell the part to him by right of pre-emption (N: whose purpose is to prevent the harm to Q that would result if R were to subsequently go to the Islamic magistrate and demand that the property be divided to distinguish his property from Q's)).)

k21.1 Preemption is only legally binding:

(a) on a portion of real estate (A: that belonged to P and Q) which can be divided without loss of value;

(b) when P has sold his part (A: to R) for recompense.

In such a case, Q may preempt its being sold to R by buying R's share for the price that P and R agreed on. If there are several co-owners in place of Q, they each buy a part of the share proportionate to the percentage of the whole property they respectively own. (A: If there is disagreement between the parties as to how much P sold it to R for, and there is no proof, then) R is the one to say (A: when he swears(def:k8.2)) how much the price of the part was.

k21.2 It is a necessary condition for the pre-emptive sale that Q effect it with words such as "I hereby appropriate this property by preemption." It is also necessary that Q give R the price, that R agree to let Q pay it later, or that the Islamic magistrate rule that Q may buy the property by preemption; in any of which cases Q takes possession of it. If R paid P with something fungible (mithli, def. k20.3(1)), then Q must pay R an equal amount. If R paid with something nonfungible, then

Q must pay its value (A: in the marketplace on) the day of the

k21.3 There is no preemption if:

- (1) the property is divided (N: already, by boundary markers or similar);
- (2) the building and trees on the land are sold separately from it:
- (3) the property cannot be divided without eliminating its usefulness (non-k21.1(a)), such as a cistern or a narrow walkway;
- (4) R acquired it without paying a price for it, as when it has been given to him as a gift;
- (5) or if R bought it with a price whose amount was not known(A: such as "for this pile of silver you see").
- k21.4 It the building and trees have been sold with the land (A: for one price), then Q also takes them as part of the land he preempts.
- k21.5 Preemption must occur immediately (A:upon Q's learning of P's having sold the property to R). When Q learns of it, he must preempt at once (def:f4.5). If he delays without excuse, he no longer has the right to preempt, unless R bought the property from P for postponed payment, in which case Q has a choice between buying it at once, or waiting until payment is due and then buying it. If Q learns of the sale while ill, or being denied, he must commission someone (def:k17) to preempt for him. If he does not, he loses the right to preempt, unless he was unable to commission someone, or the person who informed him of the sale was a child or someone unreliable, or he was informed of itwhile travelling and then started returning in order to preempt; in all of which cases he may still preempt.
- k21.6 If R has built, or planted trees (A: before Q could preempt), then Q has a choice between paying R the value of the new buildings (A: or trees) and taking possession of them, or else removing them and paying R for the loss of value (A: to them as a result of being removed). If R has given away the part of the property (A: that he bought from P), made it a charitable endowment (waqf,def,k30), sold it, or returned it to P because of a defect, then Q may annul any of these transactions that R has effected. Q also has the right to take the property from the person who bought it from R, by paying this person who bought it from R, by paying this person the amount for which he bought it.
- k21.7 If Q dies (A: before he is able to preempt), his heirs can preempt. If some of them decline to do so, the rest of the heirs may still preempt the entire portion, or may relinquish the right to preempt any of it.

k22.0 FINANCIAL A PROFIT SHARING VENTURE (OIRAD)

(n: Given persons X (al-malik) and y (al-amil) (A: where X and Y a sum of money for Y to do business with, on the basis that X will take a percentage of the profits. Such ventures have six integrals:

(a) X;

(b) Y;

- (c) the work performed by Y;
- (d) the profit (n: divided between them at a given percentage);
 - (e) the spoken form;
- (f) and the venture's capital (n: which is put up by X)).)
- k22.1 Financing a profit-sharing venture (qirad) means for X to give Y money with which to trade, the profits to be shared between them. (O: It is not valid to finance such a venture on the basis that a third party gets any of the profit.) It is only valid when both parties have full right to manage their own property. It also requires that there be:
- (a) a spoken proposal (O: by X, such as "I finance you," or "I engage you, "or "Take these dirhams [N: as a trade loan]");
- (b) an acceptance (O: by Y in words. It is insufficient for him to begin working without saying anything); and that the invested capital be:
- (c) money (lit. "gold or silver" (A: money taking their place in these rulings));
- (d) of known amount;
- (e) physically existent (A: i.e. it can be seen and handled, not merely a debt or financial obligation to be collected);
- (f) delivered to Y (O: it is not valid to finance a profitsharing venture on condition that the funds be held by someone other than Y, such as X holding them and paying for what Y buys, since y might not find X he needs him);
- (g) (A: and that Y be given the funds) in return for (A: X's receiving) a known fraction of the entire profit, such as a half or a third. Financing a profit-sharing venture is not valid when:
- (1) (non-(c) above) the capital put up consists of commodities;
- (2) (non-(f)) X holds the funds;
- (3) (non-(g)) it is stipulated that either X or y be specifically entitled to the profits from a certain part of the business (O: such as saying, "You get the profits from the clothing, and I get the profits from the livestock");

(4) (non-(g)) either X or Y is guaranteed (N: for example) ten dirhams of the profit (O: since they might not

make more than ten, in which case the second partner would get nothing) (A: rather, they must specify the percentage that each will take);

- (5) (non-(g)) it is stipulated that one of them be entitled to all of the profit;
- (6) or (non-(f)) it is stipulated that X work with Y in the business.
- k22.2 Y's role is to conduct business and related matters with consideration for their best financial advantage and with circumspection. Y may not sell at a loss, sell for deferred payment, or travel with the capital, and so forth, without X's permission.
- k22.3 The agreement between X and Y is nullified whenever X stipulates (O: something that is not obligatory for Y in such ventures, such as) that Y buy wheat, mill it, and bake it; that Y buy yarn, weave it, and sell it; that Y not deal except in such and such a rare commmodity; or that Y deal exclusively with So-and-so.
- k22.4 When such an agreement is invalid, the transactions Y has conducted are valid, and Y is paid the wages that are usual for such work, unless X had stipulated, "I get all the profits, "in which case he takes all of it and Y gets nothing (O: since he worked without expecting anything).
- k22.5 When either X or Y cancels the agreement, loses his sanity, or loses consciousness (Ar. ughmiya alayhi, i.e. through other than falling asleep), then the agreement is annulled and Y is obliged to liquidate the holdings (A: by changing them back into funds).
- k22.6 (A: When neither party has proof.) Y's word (O: if he swears (dis:k8.2)) is accepted over X's when there are disputes:
- (1) concerning the amount of capital originally put up:
- (2) as to whether or not the capital was restored to X; (3) concerning the destruction of the holdings;
- (4) or as to whether Y betrayed his trust.
- k22.7 ff X and Y dispute as to how much of the profit was stipulated half for me," and X replies, "To the contrary, it was onethird"), then each party swears an oath supporting his own claim (O: and when they have sworn, X gets all the profit, and Y receives the wages customary for the work he did).
- k22.8 Y does not own his share of the profit until the venture's final division. (O: His possession of it is only finalised by dividing the profits when the holdings ae liquidated and the agreement is terminated.)

${\tt k23.0}$ WATERING GRAPES OR DATES FOR PART OF THE CROP

k24.0 SHARECROPPING (MUZARA'A)

- (n: Sharecropping means to farm someone's land for a share of the harvest. In the Shafi'i school, it is not permissible or valid except on strips of land between date groves under certain conditions, such as:
 - (a) that the landowner provide the seed;
- (b) that it be unfeasible to separate working the trees from working the ground;
- (c) and that the sharecropper be currently working the trees also, under the above 9k23) arrangement. This section has been left in Arabic below, and rulings from the Hanafi school, which permits sharecropping, have been added by the translator.)
- k24.2 (Ahmad Quduri:) Abu Hanifa (Allah have mercy on him) holds that sharecropping, for one-third or one-fourth of the harvest (or anything less or more), is invalid, though Abu Yusuf and Mohammed (A: the colleagues of Abu Hanifa) hold it to be valid. Sharecropping, in the view of the latter two, is of four types (A: three of them valid and one invalid). (n: Given persons X and Y, and the four agricultural variables: land, seed, labor, and oxen (i.e. the means of plowing):)
- X provides the land and seed, and y provides the labor and oxen; and seed; which is permissible;
- (2) X provides the land, and Y provides the labor, oxen, and seed; which is permissible;
- (3) X provides the land, oxen, and seed and Y provides the labor, which is permissible;
- (4) or X provides the land and oxen, and Y provides the seed and labor; which is not valid. A sharecropping agreement is only valid if the period of the agreement is determinately specified (lit. "known"), and it requires that the total produce be divided between the partners (A: not a specific number of bushels to one, for example, or on condition that the produce from ne part of the land belong to one of them and the produce from another part belong to the other) (al-Lubab fi sharh al-kitab (y88), 2.228-30).

k25.0 RENTING THINGS AND HIRING PEOPLE'S SERVICES (IJARA)

(n: Given persons P and Q, where Q rents a pack animal from P, or hires P as a guide. The title of this section, Ijara, has the dual significance of renting an article and hiring a person's services.) (O: Lexically, rent is a name for the rental

fee. In Sacred Law it means to take possession of a utility or service for payment under certain conditions, It has four integrals:

(a) the spoken form;

(b) the fee;

- (c) the utility or service;
- (d) and the persons making the agreement.)
- k25.1 A rental agreement is only valid between two persons entitled to conduct sales (def; k1.2) It requires both a spoken offer, such as "I rent this to you." or "the use of it"; and a spoken acceptance. (O: The agreement must also specify how much the rental fee is.)
 - k25.2 There are two types of rental agreements:
- (1) renting anticipated utilities or services described in advance and under obligation to deliver (ijara dhimma);
- (2) or renting the use or services of an identified thing or individual who is present (ijara 'ayn). Rental of something anticipated (ijara dhimma) consists of Q saying, for example, "I am renting from you a pack animal of such and such a description," or "I am hiring you to tailor a garment for me, "or "to provide me with transportation to Mecca." Rental of something identified and present (ijra'ayn) consists of Q saying, for example, "I rent this animal from you," or I hire you to sew this particular garment for me."
- k25.3 It is a necessary condition for a valid rental of something anticipated (ijara dhimma) that P accepts the fee for it at the time the agreement is made.
- k25.4 The necessary conditions for a valid rental of something identified and present (ijara 'ayn) are:
- (a) that the article (or person whose services are) being rented be a particular individual (O: meaning visible to the eve, as in sales):
- (b) that the article (or person's service) be within P's power to deliver such that Q can utilize it as intended (O: within one's power to deliver including both the actual ownership of an article and the possession of the right to use it, such that if Q is renting it from P, Q may in turn rent it out to a third party):
- (c) that Q have the right to utilize the article (or services of the person hired) as soon as the deal is made;
- (d) that the utility for which the article is being rented not entail the article's destruction:
- (e) and that the agreement specify a rental period that the rented article will probably outlast, even if it be a hundred years, as in the case of land. Thus, rental of something identified and present (ijara'ayn) is invalid when it consists of:
- (1) (non-(a) above) hiring the services of "one of these two servants":
- (2) (non-(a)) hiring someone absent (A: from the place where the agreement is made);
- (3) (non-(b)) renting land for agricultural use when the land is without water and the area's rainfall is insufficient for crops;
- (4) (non-(c)) P renting out something (A: that he is already renting to Q) to a third party for the year following the current one, though Q may rent it for the following year (O: since his rental period is unexpired and the two periods are contiguous);
 - (5) (non-(d)) wax for fuel;
- (6) (non-(e)) or renting out an article unlikely to last, for example, more than a year, for a period longer than that.
- k25.5 (O: Additional) conditions for rental of something identified and present (ijara 'ayn) (O: relating to its use or service) are that its utility be:
 - (a) permissible in Sacred Law;
- (b) of some value;
- (c) determinately known (O: as to which one it is, its amount, and its utility, meaning that both P and Q know these things), such as saying, "I rent you this land to raise crops on," or "[A: I rent you this pack animal] to carry such and such a quantity of iron, "or" of cotton";
- (d) for a period known (O: to both P and Q);
- (e) and for a fee known 90; to both P and Q, in type and amount), even when it is merely seen in bulk, or when it consists of the use of some other utility or service. Thus, rental of something identified and present (ijara'ayn) is not valid when the utility for which it is being hired or rented consists of:
 - (1) (non-(a) above) playing a flute;
 - (2) (non-(a)) transporting wine, other than to pour it out;
- (3) (non-(b)) a hawker's cry that does not require any effort, even if it increases the demand for the merchandise;
- (4) (non-(c)) carrying such and such a quantity (0: on a pack animal) when the nature of the load is unspecified;
- (5) (non-(d)) being rented for "one dirham per month" when the total period (A: of occupancy, for example) is unspecified (A: though one may renew a valid rent agreement each month, and in such a case the landlord has the right to ask for it in advance):
- (6) or (non-(e)) hiring someone for the "fee" of providing him with food and clothing.
- k25.6 The particulars of the utility (N: such as its precise duration) might not become determinately known except through the passage of time, as when renting a house or

hiring a wet nurse in such cases the time must be preestimated (A; when the agreement is made, as a condition for its validity). Similarly, the utility or service might not become determinately known except through the work itself, such as when hiring someone to perform hajj in one's place (dis: j1.10) or the like, in which case the amount of work involved must be preestimated. If the utility requires both time and work to become determinately known, as is the case with tailoring, building, or teaching someone the Koran, then the utilityis preestimated (A: i.e. stated in the rental agreement) with regard to one of these two variables alone. It is not valid to estimate the utility with regard to both, such as Q saying, "[O: I hire you to] tailor this garment for today's daylight hours" (O: since the work involved might take more or less time than that).

k25.7 The necessary things required by Q in order to utilize, such as the key (A: to a house), or the reins, girth, or saddle(A: of a mount), are P's responsibility to provide. Things that merely enhance or improve the utility for which Q has rented the article are Q's responsibility.

k25.8 Q is entitled to normal use of the article in obtaining the utility for which he has rented it of an equivalent utility (A: riding it in a different direction, for example, the same distance as the agreed upon and under the same conditions). If Q travels farther than the agreed upon destination, then he is obligated to pay the rental fee agreed upon, plus the amount customarily paid for a distance comparable to the excess.

k25.9 It is permissible (O: only when renting something identified and present (ijara 'ayn)) for Q to pay in advance or to defer payment to the future. If neither party states whether it is to be paid in advance or whether in the future, then it is payable in advance. When renting anticipated utilities or services (ijara dimma), it is permissible to let Q use the utility prior to the agreed upon period, or to delay use until after the period.

k25.10 (O: When renting something identified and present (ijara 'ayn)), if the article being rented is destroyed, the agreement is thereafter cancelled (O: with respect to the future, since the article to be utilised is no longer available then, as opposed to the period that has transpired after the article's delivery, for which Q must pay an appropriate proportion of the agreed upon fee, based on the current market value of similar utilities or services). (O: When renting an identified and present utility or service (ijara 'ayn),) if a defect occurs (O: in the article being rented, and the defect obviously entails a discrepancy in the rental fee), then Q has the option to cancel the agreement (O: unless P immediately undertakes to correct or repair the defect for if he does O is not entitled to cancel it). But if the rental agreement concerns an anticipated utility or service (ijara dhimma0 (O: and the rented article has been destroyed after its delivery), then the agreement is not nullified and Q may not cancel it, but is only entitled to ask P to replace the article so that Q can obtain the utility anticipated.

k25.11 If the material Q has hired P to work on (A: e.g. when Q hires P to tailor a garment from material Q has given him) is destroyed in P's possession without his negligence, then P is not obliged to pay for its loss. If Q has rented an article from P and it is ruined in Q's possession without his negligence, then Q is not obliged to pay for its loss.

k25.12 If P and Q dies while the rental agreement is in effect, it is not cancelled. (O: Rather, if P has died, Q finishes using the article, while if Q has died, then Q's heirs finish utilizing it. Neither party has the right to cancel the agreement in such a case when the article itself still exists.) (A; The death of either party is considered by the Hanifi school to nullify the agreement.)

k25.13 When the rental period is over, Q must return the article rented and is responsible for the measures (A: and the expenses) entailed in returning it.

k25.14 When P or Q stipulates a particular rental period or a specific use for the article, then when P has delivered the article to Q and the period stipulated elapses, or a period elapses that is sufficient for the utility stipulated to have been obtained from the article (O: even if it has not in fact been obtained), then the rental fee is due (O: from Q, who rented the article under such stipulations), and the article must be returned. (O: This ruling holds for both renting something identified and present (ijara 'ayn) and renting something anticipated (ijara dhimma).)

k25.15 In an invalid agreement, Q owes P the amount typically paid for renting similar utilities, due whenever he would have owed P the fee agreed upon had the agreement been valid.

k26.0 JOB WAGES (JA'ALA)

(n: Given persons X and Y, where X offers Y a dirham to do a certain job.)

k26.1 When X says, "I owe whoever builds me a wall a dirham" (A: or makes a similar offer), this is termed job wages. It is permissible that (A: the particulars of) such a job be unknown, though not the amount of the wage. Whoever then

builds the wall for X is entitled to the amount stated, even if they are a group of people.

k26.2 Whoever works when no wage has been stipulated does not deserve anything. If X and Y a garment to clean, saying "Wash it, "but does not mention a wage, and Y washes it, then Y deserves nothing (N: unless it is a well known customary usage that Y should receive a fee, as when Y is a barber or presses clothes and the like). If Y says, "You stipulated a wage for me, "but X denies it, then X's word is accepted (A: when there is no proof (dis:k8.2)) (O: if he swears an eath)

k26.3 Both X and y are entitled to cancel their agreement (O: before the job is finished), but if X cancels it after Y has begun work, then X is obliged to pay Y an appropriate portion of the wage agreed upon (O: such that if the job is half done, then X owes Y half the amount, and so forth). Otherwise (O: if X cancels it before Y has begun, or if Y cancels it himself after having begun), Y gets nothing.

k27 0 LOST AND FOUND (LUOTA)

(n: Given Z, who finds an article lying on the ground and picks it up.)

k27.1 When a responsible adult finds a lost and found article it is permissible for him to take (O: or leave)it.

k27.2 If he can trust himself to take the proper measures for such articles (dis:below), it is recommended that he pick it up, though if he cannot depend on himself not to betray the trust (A: by simply appropriating the article without telling anyone), then it is offensive for him to take it.

k27.3 It is recommended that the finder determine the type, description, and amount of the article he has found, its container, and the string with which it was tied (O: it being preferable that he record this in writing so as not to forget), and for him to have witnesses attest to his having found it.

k27.4 The following two kinds of articles are permissible to pick up for safekeeping (def:k27.5) but unlawful to pick up as lost and found (A: to be advertised and then appropriated (def:k27.6)). and should he do the latter, Z is financially responsible for the article:

(1) something lost and found within the Meccan Sacred Precinct (Haram):

(2) or an animal unmenaced by small predators, such as a camel or a horse lost and found on open range. In other than these two cases it is permissible for Z to pick up the article, either for safekeeping or to be advertised and then appropriated.

k27.5 If Z picks up the article for safekeeping, he is not obliged to advertise having found it, and it remains in his care as a trust (def.k17.14) which he is never entitled to dispose of in any way until he finds its owner, in which case he gives it to him. If Z wishes to deliver it to the Islamic magistrate, the latter must accept it. If Z picks up the article within the Meccan Sacred Precinct (Haram) for safekeeping, he is obliged to advertise his having found it (n: as below).

k27.6 If Z picks up an article intending to appropriate it if he cannot find the owner, then he is obliged to advertise its having been found for a (O: full) year on the doors of mosques, in the marketplaces, and the vicinity where he found it, in the manner customary for advertising such things. At the first of the period he should publicize it morning and evening, then subsequently once a day, then once a week, then once a month. such that the first advertisement is not forgotten and that it is realized that the subsequent notices are repetitions of it (O: and this is what is meant by the customary matter mentioned above). Z should mention some of the article's characteristics in the advertisement, but not all of them (A: so that a wouldbe claimant is able to prove ownership by describing it in detail)(O: for if Z divulges them all (A: and a pretender takes it), then Z is financially responsible for its loss (A: if the real owner should appear and the pretender cannot be found)). If the lost and found item is not something major, meaning something unlikely to cause much regret and which will probably be unsought after its loss, then it is not obligatory to advertise it for a whole year, though one must advertise it long enough that its owner will probably have ceased to be concerned about it (N: and this latter is the criterion for advertising most lost and found things, which need not be advertised for a whole year).

k27.7 When Z advertises a lost and found article for a year, it does not enter his possession until he chooses to appropriate it with a formal statement to that effect (O: and not by the mere intention. The statement consists of saying, "I take possession of it," or the like). Z takes possession of it when he chooses to do so (O: by uttering the above words). If it is destroyed before he chooses to appropriate it, Z is not financially responsible for its loss.

k27.8 If Z has appropriated the article (N: which thus enters his financial liability), and the owner one day appears, then the owners is entitled to take:

(1) the article itself, if it still exists;

(2) an equal quantity (O: if it was fungible (Mithli, def:k20.3(1)));

(3) its market value (O: if it was nonfungible (mutaqawwim), where market value refers to the going price for similar articles on the day Z formally appropriated it);

(4) or, if the article still exists but some defect has occurred in it, then the owner takes it back with an appropriate compensation (def:k5.4) (O: for the new defect that occurred while Z had it).

k27.9 It is offensive for a corrupt person (def: o24.3) to pick up a lost and found article. If he does, the article is taken from him and deposited with someone trustworthy, and a reliable person is dispatched to oversee the corrupt person's advertising (def:k27.6) of the find, after which the corrupt person may appropriate it.

k27.10 In cases where safekeeping the article is not practicable as when it is a watermelon or similar Z may choose to either eat it or sell it (A: in either case covering the cost if the owner subsequently appears), after which he advertises finding it for a year (O: if it something major, or less than a year (dis:k27.6 second par.) if minor). If it is possible to preserve the article, as when it consists of dates (A: which are conserved by drying), then if it is to the owner's advantage to sell it. Z sells it, while if it is to the owner's advantage to dry it. then Z dries it. (O: In such a case, if Z wants to simply donate the cost of drying it to the owner, he does so, Otherwise, he sells part of the lot to cover the cost of drying the rest, in the owner's interests. The difference between this and an animal found, of which all is sold, is that an animal's maintenance requires repeated expenditures that may add up to more than it is worth).

k28.0 A FOUNDLING CHILD (LAQIT)

(O: Meaning a child found abandoned without anyone to care for it. The scriptural basis for these rulings is Allah's word: "And do what is good" (Koran 22:77), and, "Cooperate with one another in [works of] piety and godfearingness" (Koran 5:2.)

k28.1 To pick up a foundling is a communal obligation (def: c3.2). A child that is found (N: in a Muslim town) is considered a Muslim, and likewise if found in a non-Muslim town if there is a single Muslim therein, even if he denies the child is his (N: because the religion of someone whose religion is unknown is considered to be that of the people of his own city, and in this case there are two religions, with Islam given precedence, as it always surpasses and is never surpassed. Moreover, considering the child a Muslim is a cause for his own happiness and salvation, as he will be raised in Islam).

k28.2 If money is found with the child or under his head, it belongs to him.

k28.3 If the finder is a resident, trustworthy, and Muslim, then the child remains with him, and he is obliged to have witnesses attest to his having found the child and whatever was found with him (O: such as clothing or money). The finder spends the money found with the child for its own expenses with the permission of the Islamic magistrate. If there is no Islamic magistrate, then the finder spends it anyway, but has witnesses attest to the amount of the expenditures. If no money was found with the child, then its expenses are paid for by the Muslim common fund. If there is no money in the Muslim common fund (N: or no Muslim common fund), then the finder may borrow money to cover its expenses as a financial obligation to be later repaid by the child. If the finder is a corrupt person (def: o24.3 (A:)) or a non-Muslim, then if the child is considered a Muslim (dis:k28.1), he is taken from the finder. If two people find the child and disagree about whom the child should remain with, then the one who is a resident and wealthy is given preference.

k28.4 (A: Adoption is unlawful in Islam when it means giving a child one's own name, a share of one's estate division (irth,def:L1.0), and so on. But when it merely means giving the child a home and other advantages provided by family life until it grows up, then it is a charitable act rewarded by Allah. And Allah knows best.)

k29.0 GAMES, CONTESTS, AND PRIZES

(O: The scriptural basis for competitions and races entailing prize money is the word of Allah Most High. "And make ready against them whatever force and lines of horses you can" (Koran 8:60). Muslim relates from 'Uqba ibn 'Amir that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Force means marksmanship," repeating this three times.)

RACES FOR PRIZE MONEY

k29.1 Races with prize money for the winner are permissible between horses, mules, donkeys, camels, or elephants, provided that the animals competing are of the same species, though it is not, for example, permissible to have such a race between a camel and a horse. It is a necessary condition for such a race that the participants know which animals will be ridden, the amount of the prize, and the distance to be run.

k29.2 The prize money may be put up by both contestants, either one, or by a third party. If the prize money is put up by either contestant or by a third party, then the race is

unconditionally permissible, and the winner takes all (N: regardless whether he was the one who put up the money or whether it was the other person). But if the prize money is put up by both contestants, then it is a necessary condition that a third rider enter the contest with a mount equal to theirs (A: in speed, stamina, and so forth.) who puts up no money (N: so that it may be distinguished from gambling. If all three put up the money, then it is necessary that there be a fourth contestant with them who does not pay, and so on). (A: Similarly, bets from one side alone, such as saying, "I will give you ten dinars if what you have said proves to be correct," are lawful when the other party bets nothing.) Here, the winner takes all. If two riders finish together, they divide the prize.

COMPETITIONS IN MARKSMANSHIP FOR PRIZE MONEY

k29.3 It is also permissible to compete for prize money in competitions of skill at archery, spear throwing, or other military weaponry, when the prize is put up by both contestants, either one, or a third party, though if put up by both, it is necessary that a third marksman enter the contest, as mentioned above (A: meaning one comparable to the others in marksmanship, who puts up nothing). It is a necessary condition for the validity of such a competition that the following details be specified before the contest:

(a) who will be shooting;

(b) the number of shots per bout, how many shots are needed to win, and the criterion for a hit (A: that is. in archery, whether the arrow must stick or whether it need merely leave a mark);

(c) the distance to the target;

(d) and which of the contestants is to begin.

k29.4 It is not permissible to conduct contests for prize money that involve birds, footracing, or wrestling (O: since they are not military weaponry or equipment).

RULING CONCERNING GAMES

k29.5 (N: As for games:

(1) every game played by two or more people that relies on luck, conjecture, and guessing is

unlawful, no matter whether money is stipulated or not;

- (2) paying prize money in every game that encourages and assists fighting for Allah (jihad, def:o9) is permissible if the terms of the competition conform to the rulings discussed above in this section (k29.1-4);
- (3) every game not of the preceding two types is permissible if no money is paid therein;
- (4) and any of the above mentioned things which are permissible become unlawful if they prevent one from performing a religious or this worldly duty.)

30.0 ESTABLISHING AN ENDOWMENT (WAQF)

(O: Lexically, waqf means to be retained. In Sacred Law, it refers to the retention of any property that can be benefited from while the property itself still remains, by suspending disposal of it; with the financial proceeds of it going to some permissible expenditure. The scriptural basis for it is the hadith related by Muslim that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said. "When a human being dies, his work comes to an end, except for three things: ongoing charity, knowledge benefited from, or a pious son who prays for him, from which scholars understand ongoing charity as meaning an endowment (waqf).) (n: Given persons P (al-waqif) and Q (almawquf alayhi) (A:where P owns, for example, an apartment building that he makes an endowment (waqf), the rent of which will henceforth go to Q, and P stipulates that Q must supervise the upkeep of the building. This section deals with such endowments).)

k30.1 Establishing an endowment is an act of worship.

k30.2 Establishing an endowment is not valid unless the following conditions are met:

(a) that P have full right to manager his own property (O: full right to manage his own property including the non-Muslim, whose endowment is legally valid, even if it is for a mosque):

(b) that the endowment concern a particular identified article (ayn) (O: it being invalid to make the mere "right to use something" an endowment, because it is not a particular article);

(c) that the article have a (O: lawful) use;

(d) that it remain existent (O: for a period in which it would be feasible to rent or hire it out), such as real estate or an animal (O: or clothing, weapons, Korans, or books. It is not permissible to make an endowment of something that cannot be utilized except by using it up, such as food);

(e) that the beneficiary be some particular party (O:such as the poor, for example) besides P himself, whether the endowment is an act of worship, as when the beneficiary is mosques (O: or Islamic schools), one's relatives, or the general good; or whether it is merely permissible, such as an endowment that benefits the wealthy, or Jewish and Christian subjects of the Islamic state;

(f) and that the endowment be formally established by words that effect it such as "I make it an endowment," or "I restrict [O: such and such a thing to benefit So-and-so]," or "I give [A:such and such] as nonsaleable charity.

k30.3 When the endowment has been made, the ownership of the article belongs to Allah Most High (O: not P or Q) (N: meaning that even though everything is the property of Allah, the article is now dissevered from its metaphorical human ownership), while O owns the proceeds from it and its utilities (O: and all the benefits that come from it after the endowment has been made, such as rent, the fruit of trees, or offspring, Q may dispose of these as an owner would, as this is the purpose of the endowment. He may utilize the endowment either personally, or through another by loaning it for use or renting it out).

k30.4 The interests of the endowment (O: i.e. its concerns, condition, upkeep (N: and supervision)) are looked after by whoever P stipulates, whether himself or Q or a third party. If P does not stipulate (O: that anyone in particular look after it), then the responsibility belongs to the Islamic authority (N: by himself, or though the person he appoints to do so).
k30.5 The proceeds of the endowment (O: such as the

produce of an acreage endowment, or the rent of a property endowment, are disposed of as P stipulates, in terms of (A: for

- (1) proportionality of shares (O: between recipients as to the amount each receives, such as having stipulated twice as much for males as females, or vice versa, or equal shares for each):
- (2) precedence (O: in some receiving the proceeds before others when they are a group, through a condition that determines who deserves to receive it);
- (3) inclusiveness (O: of (A:all) recipients, as by saying, "I make this an endowment for my children and their children,"where the word and implies that each person must be given a share):
- (4) priority (O: such as saying, "I make this an endowment for the benefit of Islamic scholars, without restriction, and after that [A:if there are no more to be given a share] to the poor," or "I make this an endowment for the benefit of Zayd, and then Amr,"where if one dies, the next one receives his
- (5) or other conditions (O: such as the proceeds going to those most closely related to P (N: of his offspring), and then the less closely related).

k30.6 (n: The following are examples of invalidity of establishing an endowment due to lack of one of the conditions mentioned at k30.2 above.) An endowment is not valid when it consists of:

- (1) (non-k30.2(b)) a debt (N: that someone owes to P);
- (2) (non-(b)) "One of these two houses";

(3) (non-(d)) food;

- (4) (non-(d)) sweet basil (A: which used to be spread on floors as an air freshener) (O: since it quickly deteriorates) (N:i.e. if it is uprooted, though if it is growing, it is valid to make it an endowment);
- (5) (non-(e)) when its beneficiary is unidentified by P, or unknown (O: since the endowment cannot be implemented. It is thus invalid if P stipulates "whoever Zayd says" as the beneficiary), or is P himself (O: including P stipulating that the proceeds of the endowment be used to pay off his debts, or when P eats of its produce, or utilizes the endowment for his own benefit, any of which invalidates the endowment);
- (6) (non-(c)) when the proceeds are directed to an unlawful use, such as building a church (dis:011.5(7)) (O: or purchasing lamps for a church, or building walls around it, since this assists disobedience to Allah. Rafi'i says, "The same is true of an endowment for printing the Torah or New Testament, which is invalid because the Jews and Christians have altered the texts and interpolated spurious material, it not being permissible to occupy oneself with printing their scriptures because doing so is to participate in their disobedience to Allah");

(7) (non-(f)) when the beginning or end of the endowment's being in effect are subject to conditions such as saying, "I make it an endowment starting from the first of next month. 'or 'for one year, " or "provided that I am entitled to sell it" (O: or "condition that I may take it back whenever I wish");

(8) or (non-(e)) when (n: I stipulates, as a priority order of beneficiaries, "Q, then R, "and) Q is not an eligible recipient such as P stipulating himself as the first beneficiary but R is an eligible recipient, as when P stipulates (A: after himself) "and then the poor.'

k30.7 If P designates a particular recipient (O: or group of recipients), it is a necessary condition for the validly of the endowment that the recipient accept it. If he refuses it, this invalidates the endowment.

k30.8 If P designates a particular person (lit. "Zayd") as an endowment's beneficiary, but does not stipulate anyone after him, then the endowment is valid, and after the particular person is gone, its beneficiaries are the poor of P's relatives.

k31.0 GIFT GIVING (HIBA) (n: As when X gives Y a gift.)

k31.1 Gift giving is recommended, It is superior to give gifts to one's relatives than to nonrelatives. When giving gifts to one's children, it is recommended to give each child the equal of what the others are given.

k31.2 Gift giving is only valid under the following conditions:

(a) that X have full right to manage his own property;

(b) that the gift be something permissible to sell (def:k2.1);

(c) that X give it with spoken words that effect it: (d) and that Y accept it with a spoken reply.

k31.3 Y does not own the gift until he takes possession(def:k7.3) of it, before which X may take it back. It is not valid for Y to take possession of the gift without X's permission. In cases where X gives Y an article that is already being kept with Y (O: as when Y has it as a trust for safekeeping, or has borrowed it), or X has put up the article as collateral for Y, and now simply gives Y the article, then it is necessary that Y obtain X's permission to take possession of the gift, and that enough time elapse for Y to reach the gift, (O: if it is distant) and take possession of it. Once Y has taken possession of the gift, X is no longer entitled to take it back. An exception to this is when one gives a gift to one's child, or their descendant, in which case one may take the gift back, unless such a receiver has sold it in the meantime, and the article has subsequently returned to him (O: by sale or gift), in which case one may no longer take it back.

k31.4 If X and Y something and stipulates that Y give him something determinately known in return, this is valid, but is a sale (A: not a gift). If X stipulates that Y give him something in return that is not determinately known, then the gift is invalid. If X does not stipulate that anything be given him in return, then Y is under no obligation to him.

k32.0 MANUMISSION (ITO)

(n: This section, which begins, "To free a slave is an act of worship, "deals with a system of

ownership that Islam did not invent but found fully established and not possible to instantly abolish, so it rather encouraged its elimination in steps, with incentives. It closed all avenues for obtaining new slaves except the capture of war prisoners, the soldiers of whom the caliph had the option to enslave or not; it encouraged the freeing of slaves by the tremendous reward from Allah Most High; and it materially helped slaves to purchase their freedom by providing them the money to do so from zakat funds (dis: h8.15). Like previous references to slaves, the following four sections have been left untranslated because the issue is no longer current, unlike the times of our author Ibn Nagib whose rulers, the Mamelukes of Egypt, were themselves slaves who legally belonged to the Islamic state, a fact sufficient to show the fallacy of understanding slavery in the Islamic milieu in terms of the institution that existed in nineteenth-century America and elsewhere in the West (dis: w13).)

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L1.0 BEQUESTS (WASIYYA) (n: Sections L1, L2, and L3 have been moved here from their original place at the end of last book. They deal with bequests, meaning testamentary disposition of one's property (wasiyya) such as to say,"I bequeath such and such to So-andso", while sections L4 through L10 form the original content of book L, and deal with estate division (irth).) (A: The difference between bequests (wasiyya) and estate division (irth) is that a bequest is the act of a living person disposing of his own property, even if it is to be implemented after his death, while estate division occurs after his death according to the Koranic rules of inheritance. Because a bequest is the act of a living person with his own money, it is legally valid for a Muslim to bequeath up to a third of his property to a non-Muslim (dis:13.13(1)) and similarly valid for a non-Muslim to bequeath his property to a Muslim, Nawawi says: "A bequest is legally valid from any legally responsible free person, even if non-Muslim (Mughni almuhtaj ila ma'rifa ma'ani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73),3.39). But it is invalid and unlawful for a non-Muslim to inherit property through estate division from a Muslim (dis: L5.2), or vice versa. The determining factor in the permissibility of a Muslim and non-Muslim inheriting from each other is whether the property comes by way of a bequest (wasiyya) made by the deceased before his death, in which case it is permissible, or whether it comes by way of estate division (irth) made after the deceased's death according to the Koranic rules of inheritance, in which case the difference between their respective religions prevents it.) (O: Our author only mentions bequests at this point (n:at the end of book k, as mentioned above) before estate division because of the fact that a person first makes bequests, then dies, and then the estate is divided. The scriptural basis for the validity of bequests, prior to the consensus of scholars is the word of Allah Most High, "....after any bequest which has

been made, and after any debts" (Koran 4:12).) (n: Given persons X (al-musi), Y (al-wasiyy), and Z (al-musa lahu) (A:where X has made provision in his will for Z to receive a bequest (wasiyya) of a sum of money, and X appoint Y as his executor to make sure this is done).)

L1.1 A bequest made by X is valid if he is legally responsible (mukallaf,def:c8.1), even if he is a spendthrift.

L1.2 The discussion is in two parts (n: namely, section L2, on X's appointing Y as the executor, and Section L3, on the bequest itself).

L2.0 THE BEOUESTS EXECUTOR

(O: Appointing an executor means for X to put Y in charge of his property and young children, bequests, paying his debts, or collecting his property from others. The verbal form is, "I appoint So-and-so to execute such and such a bequest.")

L2.1 The necessary conditions for the validity of X appointing Y as the executor of his bequest are that Y be:

(a) legally responsible (mukallaf, def:c8.1);

(b) upright (def: o24.4) (O: meaning the uprightness of Islam, as it is not valid under any circumstances for Y to be a non-Muslim if X us a Muslim);

(c) and that Y have the knowledge and capacity to properly undertake the bequest.

L2.2 The following examples of X appointing Y as the executor of his bequest are legally valid:

(1) when X appoints Y as his executor at a time when Y is not legally eligible to be it, but by the time of X's death, Y is eligible (O: by fulfilling all the above (L2.1)conditions);

(2) when X appoints a group of two or more people as his executors (O: and if he does so, then if he does not stipulate that each of them must manager their respective role, but rather says that they are to manage the legacy collectively, or does not say anything, then they must cooperate and not manager the work, maintenance, and dealings as separate individuals. Cooperate in such a case means that their acts proceed from the decision of the group, and does not mean, for example, that when they buy something they must all conduct the transaction together. Rather, if all agree to permit something, it is sufficient for one of them to take the matter in hand and carry it out):

(3) when X appoints (n: for example,) W, and then after him, Y(N: or vice versa) (O: saying, "I appoint W as executor until Y comes, but when Y arrives, he is the executor," or "I make W executor for one year, and when it has passed, then Y is the executor"); (4) or when X appoints Y as executor, authorizing him to appoint in turn whomever he chooses as executor of the bequest (O: if the person fulfills the conditions (L2.1)).

L2.3 X's appointing Y as the executor of his bequest is not legally effective until Y accepts this responsibility after X's death, even if this acceptance is not immediately thereafter. Both X and Y are entitled to cancel the appointment of Y as executor of the bequest whenever they

wish (O: unless (A: after X's death) Y feels it almost certain that the property will be lost through a wrongdoer appropriating it, in which case Y may not withdraw as executor, meaning it is unlawful for him to do so. In such a case, if Y withdraws of his own choice, he is not thereby free of having to execute the bequest, though he is not obliged to continue therein without remuneration, but does so for a fee).

L2.4 It is not legally valid to appoint an executor unless the bequest consists of some good work or pious act such as paying off a debt, making up a hajj (dis:j1.9), looking after the welfare of one's children, and so forth (O: excluding actions that are not dispositions of property, such as marrying off the children) (A: and excluding acts of disobedience such as those mentioned above at k30.6(6)).

L2.5 When X's father is still alive and fit for guardianship (def:m13.2), X may not appoint y to look after the welfare of

L3.0 THE BEOUEST

L3.1 X may devote one-third or less of his financial resources to bequests, but not more than this, onethird meaning a third of his property as it stands at the time of his death (O: not before or afterwards). (A: If there are no Muslim heirs, or if the existent Muslim heirs do not deserve the whole estate, such as when the sole eligible estate division heir is a husband or wife (dis:L6.3-4), then the Hanafi school permits disposing of more than a third of one's property in bequests (dis:w44), more than a third meaning everything in excess what one's eligible heirs deserve by estate division (irth).) (n: The ruling in the Shafi'i school is that such an excess may not be disposed of in bequests, but rather is given to the Muslim common fund (Bayt al-mal) if it exists, as mentioned below (L3 3(O:) and L9 1))

L3.2 If X's heirs (def: L4.4 are not poor, it is recommended for X to devote a full one-third to bequests, but if not (O: i.e. if his heirs are not well off, as when they do not have any money at all, or have some, but not enough for their expenses, and the other two-thirds (A: of the estate that constitutes

their obligatory shares) which they deserve is insufficient), then it is not recommended for X to devote a full one-third to bequests.

L3.3 If X wills more than one-third in bequests, then his dispositions are not valid regarding the portion in excess of one-third when he has no one (O: in particular) to lawfully inherit the rest (A: who, if they existed, could give permission for the excess, as discussed below). (O: In cases where there are no heirs, the Muslim people have better right to X's property. and no one may waive this right.) Nor are X's bequests in excess of one-third valid when he has an heir, but the heir refuses to authorise the excess, though if the heir (N: or group of heirs unanimously) permits it, such a bequest is valid. It is not valid for the heir to authorise the excess or refuse to do so until after X's death.

L3.4 Charitable expenditures made by X in his will (O: such as an endowment (waqf, def:k30), gift, and so forth) are considered as part of the bequeathable one-third.

L3.5 Bequests concerning obligatory expenditures are also considered from the bequeathable onethird, provided that X has stipulated that they come from it. (O: Though if the bequeathable third does not cover these (A: despite X having stipulated that they come from it), then the excess is paid from the remaining two-thirds. Obligatory expenditures include such things as paying debts making up the hajj(dis:j1.9), paying zakat (A: for any year that the deceased neglected to pay it), expiations, and the fulfillment of vows that would have been binding had X been well.) But if X did not stipulate (O: that these obligatory expenditures come from the bequeathable one-third), then they come directly from the

L3.6 Current charitable dispositions of property made by X during his life, such as establishing an endowment (waqf, k30), giving a gift or others, are considered as personal expenditures of his own money (O: and he could spend it all without any objection) if made while he was in sound health. But if X makes such current dispositions under any of the following circumstances, when these are linked with his death, then the dispositions are considered as having come from the bequeathable one-third:

(1) in the final illness which brought about X's death:

(2) in military combat:

(3) while travelling on rough seas in a storm;

(4) as a final request before being killed;

(5) or (O: if female) X dies while giving birth, or afterwards before separation of the placenta.

If otherwise, (O: meaning if the current charitable disposition was not made under any of the above circumstances, or was, but the circumstance was not linked with X's death) then the disposition is not taken from the bequeathable one-third.

L3.7 (N: We distinguish between the above-mentioned current dispositions (n: such as gifts,

endowments, and donations), and between bequests by noting that current dispositions are effective before X's death, while bequests are effective after. Current dispositions are normally implemented even if X uses up all his money, while bequests-unless X's heirs unanimously agree to allow otherwise-are restricted to one-third of the estate. An exception to permitting current dispositions to amount to as much of X's property as he wishes is when they are effected during his death illness (n: or other L3.6 circumstance), in which case they are limited to one-third of the estate, just as bequests are.) If one-third of the estate does not cover the cost of the (N: current) dispositions which X made during his (N: final) illness, then (O: if these have been given in some order) they are implemented first thing first, then second, then third, and so on. (N: Thus, if during his death illness, X said to his three friends P, Q, and R, "I give P a gift of 100 dinars, Q 100 dinars, and R 100 dinars, "but it turns that X's total estate is only 600 dinars, then his gifts to P and Q are valid, but we take back his gift to R, which is not valid because it exceeds the 200 dinars that is a third of the 600 dinars constituting the whole estate. This is what is meant by implementing them in order.)

L3.8 The bequeathable one-third of the estate is divided (O: proportionally (N: if shares vary)) between all the recipients X designates when:

(1) (N: in cases of death illness current dispositions such as gifts) X did not state them in any particular order (N: such as by saying (n: in a situation like the above example) to P,Q, and R, "I give you each a hundred dinars," in which case the bequeathable one-third is divided between them):

(2) or (N: in cases where X has explicity made bequests) the bequeathable one-third will not cover all the bequests, whether they were made separately or not. (N: All of the above (L3.6-8) only holds if the heirs do not agree to permit more than one-third of the estate for bequests or current dispositions, since if they unanimously agree, it may exceed a third, even if it takes the whole estate.)

L3.9 Bequests made to nonspecific individuals such as the poor are effective when X dies. (O: They own the property without the fact of ownership depending on their accepting it.)

L3.10 When X bequeaths something to Z, a particular individual, the ownership of the article

bequeathed is suspended, meaning that if Z accepts it after X's death, even if after some time has passed, then Z has owned it from the moment X died; but if Z declines to accept it, then X's heirs own it. If Z accepts it, but then refuses it before having taken possession of it (def:k7.3) this cancels his ownership of it, though if he refuses after having taken possession of it, it does not cancel his ownership (O: as his refusal is meaningless in such a case).

L3.11 It is permissible to make the implementation of a bequest subject to a condition, whether the condition is something occurring before X's death (0: such as his saying, "If Z enters So-and-so's house, I bequeath to him such and such of my property,") or after (0: such as his saying, "If Z enters So-andso's house after my death, I bequeath to him such and such of my property").

THINGS WHICH MAY BE BEQUEATHED

- L3.12 It is permissible to bequeath any of the following:
- (1) the right to utilize something (O: while not bequeathing the actual thing);
- (2) particular things;
- (3) something not yet existent, such as "what this tree will bear":
- (4) something not determinately known (O: whether it be an unknown thing (A: such as "the
- contents of this box"), or something unknown in amount);
- (5) something undeliverable (non-k2.4);
- (6) something not currently owned (O:at the time the bequest is made, but which X owns at the time of his death);
- (7) or something impure (najasa, def:e14.1) that has a lawful use, such as a (O: trained hunting) dog, or oil contaminated with impurity; though not something impure that is without lawful use, such as wine or pigs.

THOSE TO WHOM BEQUESTS ARE VALID

- L3.13 It is permissible for X to bequeath something to Z even if Z is:
- (1) a non-Muslim at war with Muslims (A: and with still better right when Z is an ordinary non-Muslim);
- (2) a Jewish or Christian subject of the Islamic state;
- (3) an apostate from Islam;
- (4) the person who kills X;
- (5) X's heir (def: L4.4), provided X's other heirs permit him to receive it (O: though if they do not, then the bequest is not carried out);
- (6) or to a person yet unborn, in which case the bequest is paid to the person (O: i.e. guardian) who knows of the unborn's existence at the time X makes the bequest, provided that the child is either born alive within six months of the time the bequest is made, or is born alive more than six months and less than four years after the bequest is made, during which time the mother has had no husband (O: from whom the pregnancy could have resulted).

CANCELLING ONE'S BEQUESTS

- L3.14 If X makes some article a bequest but then changes his mind, his taking it back is valid, annulling his bequest. X's doing any of the following is also considered taking it back (A: and cancels the bequest):
- (1) X's loss of ownership (O: of the bequeathed article) such as by sale or gift:
- (2) X's subjecting the article to loss of ownership by putting it up as collateral, offering it for sale, or making another bequest that stipulates that it be sold;
- (3) or when the name of the article changes, such as wheat being ground into flour, flour made into dough, yarn woven into fabric, or when X mixes a particular article with other goods.
- L3.15 If Z dies before X, the X's bequest to him is invalid. If Z dies after X but before Z accepts the bequest, then Z's heirs may accept or reject it.

L4.0 ESTATE DIVISION (IRTH)

(O: Estate division refers to the share allotted to each heir by Sacred Law. The scriptural basis for estate division, prior to the consensus of scholars, consists of the Koranic verses on inheritance (Koran 4;11-2,4:176) and hadiths such as the one related by Bukhari and Muslim that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Give the obligatory shares of the estate to those who deserve them, and the rest belongs to the closest male to the deceased." Encouragement to master the knowledge of estate division comes from such hadiths as the one from Ibn Mas'ud (Allah be well pleased with him) that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Learn estate division and teach it to people, for I am someone who will be taken from you, and this knowledge will be taken from you and calamities will ensure, until two men will one day disagree about the obligatory apportionment and will not find anyone to judge between them.")

HOW TO WORK AN ESTATE DIVISION PROBLEM

- L4.1 (n: To work an estate division problem, one should:
- (a) determine the amount of the deceased's estate after deducting the L4.2-3 expenses;
- (b) make a list showing which of the deceased's heirs mentioned at L4.4 exist:
 - (c) eliminate from the list any heirs with preventives L5.1-4;
- (d) on a sheet of paper, copy the parenthesized introductory paragraph ("N: summary of 's share,") for every heir that exists, such as the deceased's:
 - (1) husband (dis: L6.3);
- (2) wife (L6.4);
- (3) father (L6.5);
- (4) mother (L6.6)
- (5) daughter (L6.7); (as mentioned at L6.8, the shares of the above-named family members are not eliminated by anyone, though the shares of those named below may be eliminated by the existence of certain other heirs)
 - (6) son's daughter (L6.9);
 - (7) full sister (L6.10);
 - (8) half sister from the same father (L6.11);
 - (9) grandfather (father's father only) (L6.13);
 - (10) grandmother (L6.18)
- (11) half brother or half sister from the same mother (L6.20);
- (12) and then the others (sons and so forth) mentioned at L6.22;
- (e) read section L7 and cross off the list of heirs those whose shares are eliminated by the other existent heirs:
- (f) if any universal heirs (def: L10.5) exist, see which of them eliminates the shares of the other universal heirs, as at L10.6:
- (g) make a table of the heirs remaining (after (e) and (f) above) like the tables shown at L6.6, where one writes the type of heir, the fraction each deserves (with the universal heir receiving the remainder, if any), and then at the top writes the total shares (this being the common denominator of the fractions), after which one calculates the shares that go to each:
- (h) if the fractions (of those besides the universal heir) add up to more than one(i.e.the total estate), then one must adjust for this as shown at L8.2;
- (i) but if the fractions add up to less than the total estate and there is no universal heir to inherit the rest, then one must redistribute the shares as described at L9.1-2. One may practice and test one's skill at estate division by reading through the present section and doing the problems depicted in the tables, though to do all the problems one must have (or memorize) a full worksheet that contains all the informination mentioned in (d), (h), and (i), above, plus the rules concerning universal heirs discussed at L10.1-4. Finally, ti is best to check one's answers with an Islamic scholar, preferably a teacher from whom to take instruction, since this is a subject that is easier to acquilre from its masters than from books.)

EXPENSES DEDUCTED FROM THE ESTATE PRIOR TO ESTATE DIVISION

- L4.2 The first thing (O: obligatorily) taken from X's property is the expense of preparing his body (O: such as the cost of the water to wash him, the washer's fee, cost of the shroud and perfume placed therein, pallbearers' fees, and so forth) and of burying him. These expenses are deducted before X's debts are paid, his bequests fulfilled, or his estate divided, unless there is a financial obligation due on the property itself, such as:
- (1) when there is zakat (A: due from any year X neglected to pay it before his death);
- (2) when some of the property has been put up as collateral (dis: k11.2);
- (3) or when X dies bankrupt with unpaid-for merchandise among his property (A: which must be returned to the seller before paying other expenses from X's property).
- L4.3 After the above are paid, the following measures are taken (A: and the sequence given is obligatory):

 (1) X's debts are paid (N: though if a government takes
- X's debts are paid (N: though if a government takes non-Islamic estate taxes, these are deducted from the main part of the estate (A: before debts or bequests, as any other loss would be));
- (2) then X's bequests (def: L1-3) are carried out (O: from a third of what remains after debts);
- (3) and then X's remaining property is divided between his estate division heirs.

HEIR

- L4.4 X's male heirs consist of:
- (1) X's son;
- (2) X's son's son, son's son, and on down;
- (3) X's father;
- (4) X's father's father (A: the term grandfather throughout the book of inheritance refers only to this paternal grandfather), father's father's father, and on up;
- (5) X's full brother, or half brother from X's father or

- (6) the son of X's full brother, or son of X's half brother from the same father:
- (7) X's father's full brother, or son of X's half brother from the same father;
- (8) the son of X's father's full brother or father's half brother from the same father;
 - (9) and X's husband.
 - X's female heirs are:
- (1) X's daughter;
- (2) X's son's daughter, son's son's daughter, son's son's daughter, and on down;
 - (3) X's mother;
- (4) X's grandmother (whether she is the mother of X's father or mother), great-grand-mother, and on up:
- father or mother), great-grand-mother, and on up;
 (5) X's full sister, or half sister from the same father or mother;
- (6) and X's wife.

EXTENDED FAMILY MEMBERS WHO DO NOT NORMALLY INHERIT

- L4.5 The following extended family members may no inherit from X's estate (except under the conditions discussed at L10.8):
- (1) X's daughter's children (O: male or female);
- (2) X's mother's brother's sons;
- (3) X's sister's children, the sons or daughters of X's daughter's children, or the sons or daughters of X's sister's children:
- (4) X's brother's (O: whether full brother's from the same father) daughters;
- (5) X's father's brother's (O: whether full brother's or half brother's from the same father) daughters;
- (6) X's father's half brother from the same mother;
- (7) X's mother's father;
- (8) X's mother's brother or sister;
- (9) X's father's sister;
- (10) or anyone related to X through one of the above.

L5.0 THE FOUR PREVENTIVES OF INHERITING AN ESTATE DIVISION SHARE

- (O: Preventive means that if someone is an estate division heir (def:L4.4) but one of the following characteristics exists in him, then he may not inherit.) (A: In calculating the estate division, an heir who is made ineligible by a preventive is considered nonexistent. Such a person is nonheir, and as such is eligible for a bequest (def: L1.0) if X wills him one.)
- L5.1 The first preventive is killing. Whoever kills X may not inherit from him, no matter whether the killing was:
- (1) lawful, as in retaliation (def: o3) or imposing a criminal penalty;
 - (2) without lawful right;
 - (3) accidental;
 - (4) intentional:
- (5) direct (O: such as Z shooting while hunting, and the shot hitting X);
- (6) or when Z is a causal factor in X's death, such as testifying to an act of X's that calls for retaliation against X, or such as digging a well into which X falls. To summarise, whoever has a hand in X's death, no matter how, cannot inherit from him.
- L5.2 The second preventive is being non-Muslim: a Muslim may not inherit from a non-Muslim, and a non-Muslim may not inherit from a Muslim (dis:L1.0).
- L5.3 The third preventive is slavery.
- L5.4 The fourth is uncertainty as to who died first, such as when X and Z both drown or both die in the collapse of a building, and it is not known who died before the other. In such a case neither may inherit from the other.

L6.0 THE ESTATE DIVISION SHARES

- L6.1 The six obligatory shares mentioned in the Koran (Koran 4:11-12) are one-half, one-fourth, one-eighth, two-thirds, one-third and one-sixth.
 - L6.2 They go to ten categories:
 - (1) X's husband;
 - (2) X's wife;
 - (3) X's father;
 - (4) X's mother;
- (5) X's daughters;
 (6) X's son's daughters or the daughters of X's son's son, son's son, and on down;
- (7) X's sister;
- (8) X's father's father;
- (9) X's mother's or father's mother;
- (10) X's half brothers or half sisters from the same mother.
- (10) X's half brothers or half sisters from the L6.3 (N: A summary of X's husband's share:
- -1/2 if there is no inheriting descendant.
- -1/4 if there is an inheriting descendant.
- -The husband's share is not eliminated by anyone.) X's husband:
- (1) receives one-half the estate when X has no child who may inherit (O: even if the child is from a different husband)

(N: the word child (Ar. walad) including both males and females (A: of all ages)), and X's son has no child who may

(2) but receives one-fourth the estate when X has a child who may inherit (O: whether from X by this husband or a different husband, and whether male or female), or when X's son has a child who may inherit.

L6.4 (N:A summary of X's wife's share:

-1/4 if there is no inheriting descendant.

-1/8 if there is an inheriting descendant.

-The wife's share is not eliminated by anyone.)

X's wife:

(1) recieves one-fourth the estate when X has no child to inherit (O:even if by a different wife) and X's son has no child to inherit:

(2) but receives one-eighth the estate when X has a child to inherit, or X's son has a child to inherit (O: whether X's son is from her or from another wife). If there are two, three, or four wives, they jointly receive the one-fourth or one -eighth (O: meaning that the share apportioned to one wife is given to two or more (A: to divide up between them)). L6.5 (N:A summary of X's father's share:

-1/6 if there is an inheriting descendant. Universal heir (def: L10.5) if there is no male inheriting descendant.

-The father's share is not eliminated by anyone.) X's father:

(1) receives one-sixth of the estate when X has a son to inherit, or when X's son has a son to inherit (O:or when X has a daughter or X's son has a daughter, who may inherit (N:though in such a case, the father takes (A:the sixth plus) the remainderr of the estate as universal heir (n:as discussed

(2) but is universal heir (O: by himself, meaning he takes the whole estate if there are no others who have an obligatory share coming; or if there are such others, he receives the remainder of the estate after tehy have received their shares) when X has no son to inherit and X's son has no son to inherit

L6.6 (N: A summary of X's mother's share:

-1/6 if there is an inheriting descendant, or if there are two or more of X's brothers or sisters.

-1/3 of the remainder after deducting the share of X's husband or wife in cases where the heirs include both X's father and the husband ir wife but no inheriting descendant.

-1/3 of the estate when none of the above mentioned heirs exists. The mother's share is not eliminated by anyone.) X's

(1) receives one-third of the estate when all three of the following are the case:

(a) X has no child (male or female) who may inherit nor does X's son:

(b) X does not have two or more brothers or sisters, whether full brothers or sisters or half brothers or sisters from either parent:

(c) and the heirs do not include X's husband and X's two parents, or X's wife and two parents (A: of which X's mother is one).

(2) she receives one-sixth of the estate when (non-(a)above) X has a child who may inherit, or when (non-(b)) X has two or more brothers or sisters;

(3) and she receives one-third of the remainder after deducting the share of X's husband or wife when:

-(non-(c) above) the heirs include X's husband and two parents, in which case she receives one-third of the remainder after X's husband receives his share of one-half, meaning she receives a sixth of the estate, as that is a third of the remainder, and X's father receives the rest:

Share 6 husband 1/2

mother 1/6 father universal heir

-or (non-(c) above) when the heirs include X's wife and two parents in which case the receives one-third of the remainder after X's wife receive her share of one-fourth, meaning that the mother receives onefourth of the estate, as that is a third of the remainder, and the father receives the rest:

Shares 4 wife 1/4 1

mother 1/4 1

father universal heir 2

L6.7 (N: A summary of X's daughter's share:

-1/2 if there are no other of X's sons or daughters (n: whether full or half brothers of sisters to her).

-2/3 for her to share equally (if there are no sons) with other daughters, if any.

-She is co-universal heir (def:L10.3) with X's sons(s) if existent, meaning that they jointly constitute the universal heir, dividing this share so that each male receives twice the amount of each female (A: since men are obliged to support women in Islam (dis:m11) and not vice versa).

-The daughter's share is not eliminated by anyone)

(1) X's sole daughter (O: who is without a co-universal heir such as her brother, and without someone else on her own level, such as her sister) receives half of the estate.

(2) Two or more daughters jointly receive two-thirds

L6.8 (N: It is important to remember for the persons named in the following rulings that the share of any of them who is related to X through an inheriting heir is eliminated by the existence of that heir (dis:L7.4-6), except for X's half brother from the same mother, whose share is not eliminated by the mother's existence.)

L6.9 (N: A summary of the share of X's son's daughter:

-Her share is eliminated if X's son exist (n: an example of the above rule).

-1/2 if X has no daughter son's son or any other daughter of a son.

-2/3 for her to share equally with the other daughters of X's son(s), if X has no daughter(s) or son's

son(s).

-1/6 when there is a sole daughter (def:L6.7(1)).

-She is co-universal heir (def:L10.3) with X's son's son(s) (A: in the absence of X's daughter, dividing this share of each male receives twice the share of each female).

-Her share is eliminated when X has two or more daughters.) When X's sole daughter (def:L6.7(1)) exists, X's son's daughter(s) (A: if there are more than one, they share) receives one-sixth of the estate, which with the sole daughter's share of one-half, makes twothirds (N:which is the maximum that may go to the category of daughters).

L6.10 (N: A summary of the share of X's full sister:

-1/2 if there are no other full brothers or sisters.

-2/3 for her to share equally with other full sisters.

-She is co-universal heir (def:L10.3) with full brother(s) if any, each male receiving twice the share of each female.

She is universal heir through X's daughter(s) (def: L0.4) -Her share is eliminated if X's father or X's son exists.)

(1) X's sole full sister (N: meaning no other full brothers or sisters exist) receives one-half of the estate. (2) Two or more such sisters (N: when there are no full

brothers) jointly receive two-thirds. (n: L6.12 discusses X's full sister(s) with X's daughters.)

L6.11 (N: A summary of the share of X's half sister from the

-1/2 in the absence of X's full brother, full sister, other half sister from the same father, and half brother from the same

-2/3 for her to share equally with other half sister(s) from the same father, when there are no full brothers or sisters, and no half brothers from the same father.

-1/6 when there is X's sole full sister.

-She is universal heir through X's daughters or X's son's daughters (def:L10.4) provided there are no full brothers or sisters or half brothers from the same father

-She is co-universal heir (def:L10.3) with X's half brother(s) from the same father, the male receiving twice the share of

-Her share is eliminated if X's father or son exists.)

(1) X's sole half sister from the same father receives one-half of the estate

(2) Two or more such paternal half sisters iointly receive two-thirds.

(3) When such a half sister, or two or more, exists with X's sole full sister, then the half sister(s) (A: jointly, if more than one) receives one-sixth, which with the half that goes to the full sister, makes two-thirds. L6.12 X's full sister(s) is universal heir through X's daughter(s) (def:L10.4). If X has no full sisters, X's half sisters by the same father are the estate's universal heirs through X's daughter(s) (L10.4). An example of the former is when the heirs are X's daughter and full sister. The daughter receives one-half (dis:L6.7(1)), and the sister receives the rest (A: as universal heir):

shares: 2 daughter 1/2 1

full sister universal heir 1

Another example is when there are X's two daughters, a full sister, and a paternal half sister, in which case the two daughters jointly receive two-thirds (dis: L6.7(2)), and the full sister receives the rest (A: as universal heir), while the paternal half sister's share is eliminated (A: by the full sister's universal heirship):

shares 3

2 daughters 2/3 2

full sister universal heir 1

half sister eliminated 0

L6.13 (N: summary of X's grandfather's (father's father's)share:

-His share is eliminated if X's father exists.

-1/6 if X has an inheriting male descendant.

-He is universal heir in the absence of both X's father and any inheriting male descendant.

-If X's brother(s) or sister(s) exists, then

(1) when there is no other heir who has an obligatory share coming, then the grandfather receives whichever of the following two alternatives yields the maximum:

-1/3 of the estate; or dividing the estate with X's brother(s) or sister(s) as if he were one of them, the male receiving twice the share of the female. If only X's sister(s) exists, then she becomes co-universal heir (def:L10.3) with him;

(2) but when there are one or more other heirs who have no obligatory share coming besides the brother(s) or sister(s), then the grandfather receives whichever of the following three alternatives yields the maximum:

-1/6 of the estate;

-1/3 of the remainder after the (non-brother/sister)heir(s) receives their share; Or dividing the estate with

X's brother(s) or sister(s) as if he were one of them, the male receiving twice the share of the female. If only X's sister(s) exists, then she becomes co-universal heir (L10.3) with him.) As for the grandfather, sometimes X's brothers or sisters exist with him and sometimes they do not. When they do not, then the grandfather receives one-sixth of the estate of X's son or son's son (O: or X's daughters or son's daughters) exist (N: but in such a case he takes the sixth plus the rest as universal heir); while the grandfather is the universal heir (def: L10.5) in the absence of X's son or son's son (N: or daughter or son's daughter). When X's (full or paternal half) brothers or sisters exist, then sometimes there are other inheriting heirs (dis:L6.15) and sometimes not (L6.14).

L6.14 When (Besides X's brother(s) or sister(s)) the grandfather's consurvivors do not include other inheriting heirs, the grandfather divides the estate with the brothers (A: and sisters) as if he were one of them, and (if there are only sisters) is co-universal heir (def: L10.3) with the sisters.But such a division is only effected when it does not result in less than one-third of the estate going to the grandfather. If it would result in less than a third for him, then his obligatory share is one-third of the estate, and the brothers or sisters divide the rest between them, the males receiving the share of two females. This is illustrated by the following examples (A: in each of which the grandfather receives at least a third):

(1) X's grandfather and one sister:

shares: 3 grandfather 2

sister 1 (2) grandfather and two sisters:

shares: 4 grandfather 2 sister 1 sister 1

(3) grandfather and three sisters:

shares: 5 grandfather 2 sister 1 sister 1

(4) grandfather and four sisters:

grandfather 2 sister 1 sister 1 sister 1 sister 1

shares: 6

(5) grandfather and one brother:

shares: 2 grandfather 1 brother 1

(6) grandfather and two brothers:

shares: 3 grandfather 1 brother 1

brother 1 (7) grandfather, brother, and sister:

grandfather 2 brother 2 sister 1

(8) grandfather, brother, and two sisters:

shares: 6 grandfather 2 brother 2 sister 1 sister 1

In each of the above examples, the grandfather divides the estate with them, the male receiving the share of two females.

L6.15 When (besides X's brothers or sisters) the grandfather's cosurvivors include another inheriting heir, then the heir is given his share, and the grandfather receives the maximal amount of three possibilities:

(a) division (A: meaning to divide it with the brothers or sisters as in the above examples):

(b) a third of the remainder (A: taking a third of what remains after the (non-brother/sister) heir has taken his share);

(c) or one-sixth of the estate (A: as the estate stands before the above-mentioned heir has received his share). This ruling may be illustrated by (n: the following four examples):

(1) X's husband, grandfather, and brother, where division is better for the grandfather. (n: To show why division ((a) above) is better, we may compare the three possibilities ((a),(b)and (c)) for this example:

shares: 4

husband 1/2 (dis: L6.3(1)) 2

grandfather 1 brother division 1 (b) third of remainder (after the husband's share); shares: 6 husband 1/2 3 grandfather 1/3 remainder 1 brother universal 2 (c) sixth of estate: shares: 6 husband 1/2 3 grandfather 1/6 estate 1 brother universal 2 The comparison reveals that division, giving the grandfather 1/4, is better than the other alternatives, which only give him 1/6, and so division is the alternative that must be implemented.) (2) X's two daughters, two brothers, and grandfather, where a sixth of the estate is better for him. (n: Comparison: (a) division: shares: 9 daughter 3 daughter 2/3 (dis: L6.7(2)) 3 grandfather 1 brother division 1 brother 1 (b) third of remainder (after the daughters share): shares: 9 daughter 3 daughter 2/3 3 grandfather 1/3 remainder 1 brother Universal 1 brother 1 (c) sixth of estate: shares: 12 daughter 4 daughter 4 grandfather 1/6 estate 2 brother universal 1 brother 1 The comparison reveals that a sixth of the estate is better than the other alternatives, which only give him 1/9, and so the former is the alternative that must be implemented.) (3) X's wife, three brothers, and grandfather, where a third of the remainder is better for him. (n: Comparison: (a) division: shares: 16 wife 1/4 (dis: L6.4(1)) 4 grandfather 3 brother 3 brother division 3 brother 3 (b) third of remainder (after the wife's share): shares: 12 wife 1/4 3 grandfather 1/3 remainder 3 brother 2 brother 2 brother 2 (c) sixth of estate: shares: 36 wife 1/4 9 grandfather 1/6 estate 6 brother 7 brother universal 7 brother 7 The comparison reveals that a third of the remainder, which gives the grandfather 1/4, is better for him than division with the brothers (which gives him 3/16), or a sixth of the estate, so he must receive a third of the remainder.) (4) X's two daughters, mother, grandfather, and brothers, where a sixth of the estate is better for him. (n: Comparison: (a) division: shares: 6 daughter 2 daughter 2/3 (dis: L6.7(2)) 2 mother 1/6 (dis: L6.6(2)) 1 brothers division 1 (b) third of remainder (after the shares of the daughters and mother): shares: 18 daughter 6 daughter 2/3 (dis:L6.7(2)) 6 mother 1/6 (dis:L6.6(2)) 3 grandfather 1/3 remainder 1 brothers universal 2 (c) sixth of estate: shares: 6 daughter 2

daughter 2/3 2

mother 1/6 1 grandfather 1/6 1

THE GRAND BIBLE (In this case, there is no one who can eliminate the shares of the inheriting heirs above, who have used up the estate so that there is nothing left for the universal heir (the brothers) to inherit (dis: L10.5):) brothers eliminated 0 The comparison shows that a sixth of the estate is better for the grandfather than a third of the remainder, which would give him 1/16, or division with the brothers, which would give him 1/12 or less, and so he must receive a sixth of the estate.)

L6.16 If both X's brothers and half brothers from the same father exist with the grandfather, the brothers add the number of the half brothers shares with their own shares in calculating their own versus the grandfather's, but then the brothers receive both their own shares and the half brothers' shares. (A: The latter are eliminated (dis: L7.3) by the brothers, but are initially reckoned in as a dispensation for the brothers.)This may by illustrated by the following example, in which there is X's grandfather, brother, and half brother from the same father. (initial division)

shares: 3 grandfather 1 brother division 1 half brother 1

but then, because the brother eliminates the hal brother's share,

shares: 3 grandfather 1 brother 2

half brother eliminated 0

and this is the actual division. In a second, similar case, if there is a sister, half brother from the same father, and grandfather, then (A: the half brother's share is reckoned with the sister's share versus that of the grandfather, and) her portion of the estate is brought up to one-half (A: which is the maximum she may receive as at

L6.10(1)) from the (n:additive) amount, and the rest goes to the half brother (A:since the grandfather already has his share and she may receive more than her obligatory share of one-half). (n: To illustrate, first we make a plain division, the males receiving the share of two females:

shares: 5 grandfather 2 sister division 1 half brother 2

Then, as in the previous case, we give the half brother's share to the sister, since there is none to eliminate her full share of one-half (dis: L6.10(1)).

shares: 5 grandfather 2 sister 3 half brother 0

But since this gives the sister more than her maximal share of one-half, the surplus is returned to the half brother, and this is the final division. Here, for convenient redivision, we multiply the case's shares by two:

 $(2 \times 5 =)$ shares: 10 grandfather 4 sister 5 half brother 1

which is the actual division.)

L6.17 When there is a sister (O: full sister or half sister from the same father) and grandfather, the sister does not normally receive a particular obligatory share (O: since she is couniversal heir (def: L10.3) with the grandfather), except in the following case (Ar.al-akdariyya lit "the murkiest") in which there is X's husband, mother, grandfather, and sister.

shares: 6 husband 1/2 (dis: L6.3(1)) 3 mother 1/3 (dis: L6.6(1)) 2 grandfather 1/6 (dis: L6.15(c)) 1

But at this point, the estate has been used up, despite the fact that the sister deserves her share of onehalf, and no one can eliminate it: sister 1/2 (dis: L6.10(1)) 3 so we redivide the estate by adding the three shares that the sister deserves to the initial division's six shares, which become nine (A: this procedure being an adjustment (awl, def; L8.1) for not being able to give everyone full shares, one which proportionately distributes the deficit to all recipients).

(6 + 3 =) shares: 9 husband 3 mother 2 grandfather 1 sister 3

But this results in the grandfather receiving less than if he were to divide the remaining estate with the sister (n: which is impermissible because of ruling L6.15), and so the grandfather and sister add their shares to together (equalling four) and divide them, the male receiving the portion of two females (n: Here, for convenient redivision, we multiply the case's shares by three:

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(3 \times 9 =) shares : 27
husband 9
mother 6
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grandfather 8
sister division 4
and this is the actual division.)
L6.18 (N: A summary of the share of X's grandmother
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(whether she is X's father's mother or mother's mother, or, if both exist, they share the portion): -1/6 if X's mother does not exist.

-Her share is eliminated if X's mother exists. -Her share is eliminated by the existence of X's father if X is descended from her through the father.) EOOFOO(III) GOOHOO \/\/\/ **\/\/\/**/ AOBO(II)CODO \/\/ \/\/ \/\/ F (I) O \/ \/ \ / \/ X

O# mother F # father

(1) X's grandmother (or great-grandmother) gets one-sixth of the estate when:

- she is A, E, and so on, up that line (n: on the chart above);

- she is C, G and so on, up that line;

- or when she is H, and so on, up that line.

(2) If there are two grandmothers/great-grandmothers on the same level (A: level II, for example), they jointly get one-sixth to share between them, such as when both C and A exist, or when both G and H exist.

(3) If one of two surviving grandmothers/greatgrandmothers is closer (A: on a closer level) to X, then:(a) if the closer of the two is on X's mother's side (n: the left of the chart) then she eliminates the share of the farther of the two. For example, the existence of A eliminates G's share;

(b) but if the closer of the two is on the father's side (n: the right of the chart), she does not eliminate the share of the one on the mother's side who is farther from X. Rather, both jointly receive the sixth to divide between them. For example, C does not eliminate E.

L6.19 As for great-grandmother F, she does not inherit, as she is an extended family member who may not inherit (A: being related to X through B, who may not inherit (dis: L4.5(7, 10))).

L6.20 (N: A summary of the share of X's half brother or sister from the same mother:

-1/6 if there is just one of them, when none of X's inheriting male ancestors (A: father on up) exists, nor any inheriting descendants.

-1/3 if there are two or more of them, to share between them, but which is divided so that males and females receive equal shares.

- Their share is eliminated by the existence of any of X's inheriting male ancestors or inheriting descendants.)

(1) X's half brother or sister from the same mother receives one-sixth if alone.

(2) When there are two or more of them, they jointly receive one-third. This amount is divided with equal shares going to male and female alike.

L6.21 To summarise all of the foregoing:

(1) One-half of the estate is the obligatory share of five types of heir:

-X's husband, under certain circumstances (dis: L6:3(1))

-X's (sole) daughter (L6.7(1)); -X's son's daughter (L6.9 (N:));

-X's (sole) full sister (L6.10(1));

-and X's (sole) half sister from the same father (L6.11(1)).

(2) One-fourth of the estate is the obligatory share of two types of heir:

-X's husband, under certain circumstances (L6.3(2));

-and X's wife (L6.4(1)).

(3) One-eighth of the estate is the obligatory share of X's wife, under certain circumstances (L6.4(2)).

(4) Two-thirds of the estate is the obligatory share of four types of heir;

-two or more of X's daughters (L6.7(2));

-two or more of X's son's daughters (L6.9(N));

-two or more of X's full sisters (L6.10(2));

-and two or more or X's half sisters from the same father (L6.11(2)).

(5) One-third of the estate is the obligatory share of:

-X's mother, under certain circumstances (L6.6(1));

-two or more of X's half brothers or sisters from the same

-and it may be the share of the grandfather when X's brothers exist (L6.14, second par).

- (6) One-sixth of the estate is the obligatory share of seven types of heir:
- X's father (L6.5(1));
- X's grandfather (L6.13(N:) and L6.15(c));
- X's mother (L6.6(N:));
- X's grandmother (L6.18 (1));
- one or more daughters of X's son when X's daughter also exists (L6.9):

- one or more of X's half sisters from the same father when X's sole full sister also exists (L6.11(3));

- and X's sole half brother from the same mother (L6.20(1)).
- L6.22 (N: A summary of the other heirs'shares:
- (1) X's son is universal heir.
- (2) X's son's son;
- is eliminated by X's son:
- and is universal heir in the absence of X's son.
- (3) X's full brother;
- is eliminated by the existence of an inheriting male descendant;
- is eliminated by X's father;

and is universal heir in the absence of both an inheriting male descendant and father.

- (4) X's half brother by the same father:
- is eliminated by any inheriting male descendant;
- is eliminated by X's father;
- is eliminated by X's full brother;
- and is universal heir in the absence of all these
- (5) The son of X's full brother is the same as X's full brother ((3) above), but eliminated by him.
- (6) The son of X's half brother by the same father is the same as (5) above, but eliminated by him.
- (7) The brother of X's father:
- is eliminated by any of the following: X's father, grandfather, brothers, and their sons;

and is universal heir in the absence of all of these.

(8) The son of the brother of X's father is the same as (7) above, but eliminated by him.)

L7.0 THOSE WHOSE SHARES ARE ELIMINATED BY OTHERS (HAJJ)

- L7.1 The share of X's half brother from the same mother is eliminated by the existence of four types of heir;
 - X's inheriting descendant (male or female);
 - the descendant (male or female) of X's son;
- X's father:

or X's grandfather
L7.2 The share of X's full brother is eliminated by three:

- X's son:
- X's son's son:
- or X's father
- L7.3 The share of X's half brother from the same father is eliminated by four:
- X's son:
- X's son's son
- X's father: - or X's full brother
- L7.4 The share of the son of X's son is eliminated by X's son, and likewise the son of the son of X's son, and on down: each is eliminated by the existence of a son closer to X (A: meaning fewer generations from X, even if the one who is closer is from a different one of X's sons).
- L7.5 X's grandmother or great-grandmother does not inherit if X's mother exists.
- L7.6 Neither X's grandfather (A: i.e. father's father) not grandmother or great-grandmother on the father's side may inherit when X's father exists.
- L7.7 When X's daughters receive a full two thirds of the estate (dis: L6.7(2)), then the daughters of X's son do not inherit, unless they are made co-universal heirs (def: L10.3) by the existence of a male who is at the same distance (A: number of generations) from X as they are or by one who is farther from X than they when they are co-universal heirs, the male receives the share of two females. For example, if there are two daughters and a daughter of X's son, the two daughters take two thirds and the son's daughter receives nothing. But if there also exists with her X's son's son, or son's son, then she (A: as co-universal heir 9def; L10.3) with him) gets the rest of the estate with him, the male receiving the share of two females (N: and such a male is nicknamed her blessed brother (akh mubarak)).
- L7.8 Similarly, when X's full sisters receive two-thirds of the estate (dis:L6.10(2)), then X's half sisters from the same father do not inherit, unless they have a brother to make them co-universal heirs, the male receiving the share of two females.
- L7.9 Someone who does not inherit to begin with (N: due to the existence of a preventive (def: L5)) cannot eliminate the share of anyone (A: such a person being as if nonexistent in figuring the estate division).
- L7.10 Someone who may inherit, but whose share has been eliminated by another, cannot eliminate the share of anyone, although such a person's existence may diminish the share of someone, as when there exist X's half brothers from the same mother, and X's father and mother. In such a case, the half

brothers do not inherit (dis: L6.20(N:)), but their existence diminishes the mother's share from a third to a sixth (dis:L6.6(2)).

L8.0 ADJUSTMENT WHEN THE SHARES EXCEED THE TOTAL ESTATE (AWL)

L8.1 (A: Adjustment (awl) is used in cases where the estate is not enough to give everyone their full shares, and proportionately distributes the deficit to all the heirs in an equitable way.)

L8.2 Whenever the shares deserved by heirs exceed the number of available shares, the number of shares is additively increased to the number needed. An example is the case (almubahala) in which there are X's husband, mother, and full sister:

husband 1/2 (dis: L6.3(1)) 3

sister 1/2 (dis: L6.10(1)) 3

but at this point, the estate has been used up despite the fact that the mother deserves her share of onethird, and no one can eliminate it: mother 1/3 (dis: L6.6(1)) 2 so we redivide the estate by adding the mother's portion (n: two shares) as an adjustment:

(6 + 2 =) shares: 8

husband 3

sister 3

mother 2 and this is the actual division. (n: L6.17 furnishes another example of adjustment.)

L9.0 REDISTRIBUTION WHEN THE SHARES ARE LESS THAN THE ESTATE (RADD)

(n: This section has been moved here from its original place after L10.7 below.)

L9.1 If X has no (A: universal heir) relatives (def; L10.5) then (A: the remainder of) his estate goes to the Muslim common fund (bayt al-mal) as an inheritance to the Muslims, provided the Islamic ruler is just. If the Islamic ruler is not just (A: or not existent), then it (A: the excess) is redistributed among the inheriting heirs in proportion to their relative shares, except for X's husband or wife, who may not receive any of the redistributed amount.

L9.2 (N: Three illustrations of redistribution follow:

(1) X's sister and grandmother:

shares: 6

sister 1/2 (dis: L6.10(1)) 3

grandmother 1/6 (dis: L6.18(1)) 1

But at this point, the obligatory shares are less than the estate, so we redistribute the excess estate in proportion to the heirs' respective shares by reducing the shares of the case to four, which is the number of the existing heirs' shares:

(3 + 1 =) shares: 4

sister 3

grandmother 1

and this is the solution, and is how we redistribute in cases that require it, when there is neither a husband nor wife among the heirs. As for when there is a husband or wife, the examples below furnish illustrations of the division.

(2) X's wife, half brother from the same mother, and grandmother:

shares: 12

wife 1/4 (dis: L6.4(1)) 3

half brother 1/6 (dis: L6.20(1)) 2

grandmother 1/6 (dis: L6.18(1)) 2

But here, the obligatory shares are still less than the estate, in which there are five remaining shares:

excess 5

So, excluding the wife as mentioned above (L9.1(end)), we divide the excess between the half brother and grandmother in proportion to their respective shares, namely two-to-two, which means a half-andhalf division of the excess five shares. For convenient division of these five shares, we first multiply the case's total

 $(12 \times 2 =)$ shares: 24

wife 6

half brother 4 grandmother 4

excess 10

and then we divide the ten excess shares between the half brother and grandmother, while the wife gets only her original share (dis:19.1 (end)):

shares: 24

wife 6

half brother (5 + 4 =) 9

grandmother (5 + 4 =) 9

and this is the solution.

(3) X's wife, mother, and half brother from the same mother: shares: 12

wife 1/4 (dis: L6.4(1)) 3

mother 1/3 (dis: L6.6(1)) 4

half brother 1/6 (dis: L6.20(1)) 2

But the obligatory shares are still less than the estate, in which there are three remaining shares:

excess 3

So, excluding the wife, as before, we divide the excess between the mother and half brother in proportion to their respective shares, namely four-to-two, which means a two-toone division of the three excess shares:

shares: 12

wife 3

mother (2 + 4 =) 6half brother (1 + 2 =)3

and this is the solution.)

L10.0 UNIVERSAL HEIR (ASABA)

- L10.1 (A: A universal heir (asaba) is someone who takes the remaining estate, if any, after heirs deserving obligatory shares have taken them. When there are no such heirs, the universal heir takes all. There are three types of universal heir:
 - (1) universal heir by oneself (asaba bi nafsihi):
- (2) co-universal heir (asaba bi ghayrithi);
- (3) and universal heir through the existence of another (asaba ma'a ghayrithi).)
 (n: The following three definitional entries have been added
- to this section by the translator.)

UNIVERSAL HEIR BY ONESELF

L10.2 (Hasanaya Mohammed Makhluf:) The universal heir by oneself is X's male relative who is not related to X through a female, whether this be because:

(1) there is no one between him and X, as is the case with X's father or son;

(2) or whether because there is someone between him and X, but not a female, such as X's grandfather (the father of X's father) X's son's son, X's full brother, or X's half brother from the same father.

CO-UNIVERSAL HEIR

L10.3 The co-universal heir is any female deserving an obligatory share who requires someone else in order to become a universal heir, and with whom she participates in this universal share. It is a class confined to four type of women, those whose share if alone is one-half, and if there are more than one is two thirds. They are;

- (1) X's daughter;
- (2) X's son's daughter;
- (3) X's full sister;
- (4) and X's half sister from the same father.

Whenever a male exists with one of these four who is universal heir by himself (def: L10.2) of the same generation as her and of the same strength (N:ie both we full or half siblings). she becomes co-universal heir with him and inherits by the universal share, not her obligatory share. They divide the universal share so the male receives the portion of two females.

UNIVERSAL HEIR THROUGH THE EXISTENCE OF

L10.4 The universal heir through the existence of another is any female deserving an obligatory share who requires someone else to become a universal heir, but with whom she does not share this universal share. These are only two people from among those who deserve obligatory shares:

(1) X's full sister;(2) and X's half sister from the same father;

provided that X's brother who would form a co-universal heir (def: L10.3) with them (A: in which case they would not be a universal heir through another) does not exist, and provided that either of the above two females exists with X's daughter(s) or son's daughter(s), and on down (A: these being the someone else needed to make them a universal heir through another) (al-Mawarith fi al-shari'a al-Islamiyya (y80), 99, 102, 103).

L10.5 The universal heir is a person who takes the whole estate if there is no other heir, or takes any of it that is in excess of the obligatory portions which are given to heirs, when they also exist. If there is nothing in excess of the heirs' obligatory shares, then the universal heir does not receive anything.

L10.6 Their order (A: these being the universal heirs by themselves (def: L10.2)) in closeness to X (A: such that the existence of someone at the first of the list eliminates the universal heirship of anyone following him) is:

- (1) X's son:
- (2) X's son's son;
- (3) X's son's son's son, and on down, no matter how many generations;
- (4) X's father;
- (5) X's father's father;
- (6) X's father's father, and on up, no matter how many generations:
- (7) X's full brother;
- (8) X's half brother from the same father; (9) the son of X's full brother;
- (10) the son of X's half brother from the same father; (11) the brother of X's father:

- (12) the son of the brother of X's father this son's son, and on down:
- (13) the brother of X's father's father;

(14) and then (13)'s son, this son's son, and on down.

L10.8 When there is no universal heir, and no heir inheriting an obligatory portion that the excess estate could be redistributed to (dis: L9.1), then the estate is divided between the extended family members (def:L4.5) such that each of them takes the place of the person through whom they are related to X For example:

(1) X's daughter's child takes the share of X's daughter;

(2) X's sister's child takes the share of X's sister;

(3) X's brothers' daughters take the share of the brothers;

(4) the daughters of X's father's brother take the latter's share:

(5) X's mother's father takes her share;

(6) X's mother's brother or sister takes her share;

(7) and X's father's half brother or sister from the same mother takes the father's share.

L10.9 No universal heir may inherit (A: a universal share) when there is a universal heir who is closer to X than he is

L10.10 No one constitutes a co-universal heir (def: L10.3) with his sister except:

(1) X's son (N: with X's daughter);

(2) X's son's son (N: with X's son's daughter);

(3) and X's brother (A: with X's sister)

Each of them constitutes a co-universal heir with his sister, the male receiving the portion of two females.

L10.11 (N: In addition to being co-universal heir with X's son's daughter ((2)above),) X's son's son (N:

or son's son's son, and on down) is (n: also) co-universal heir with the daughters of his father's brother who are of the same generation as he, and those of his father's sisters and the daughters of his father's father's brother(s) who are above him (N: of a closer generations to X), provided they (A: those closer to X than he) have no obligatory shares coming. (N: Because if they do, then they take their share and are not co-universal heirs with him. This may be illustrated by the following example:

1) X's husband, daughter, son's daughter, son's daughter, son's son's daughter, and son's son's son:

Shares: 12

husband 1/4 (dis: L6.3(2)) 3

daughter 1/2 (dis:L6.7(1)) 6

son's daughter 1/6 (dis: L6.9) 2

son's son's daughter

son's son's son universal 1

But if there were two of X's daughters in the above case, we would have to divide the estate as follows:

shares: 12

husband 3

2 daughters 2/3 (dis: L6.7(2)) 8

Here, the son's daughter does not have an obligatory share coming, since the two daughters have taken the full twothirds, and so the son's daughter (dis: text above) is couniversal heir with the son's son's daughter and son's son's son: son's daughter

son's son's daughter universal 1

son's son's son

L10.12 A person who is a universal heir does not participate in the share of someone who has an obligatory share coming, except in the following case (al-musharraka): Given X's husband, mother (or grandmother, for the result is the same), two half brothers from the same mother, and a full brother:

shares: 6

husband 1/2 (dis: L6.3(1)) 3

mother 1/6 (dis: L6.6(2)) 1

2 half brothers 1/3 (dis: L6.20(2)) 2 in which case the estate has been used up and nothing remains for the brother: (N: But the full brother is closer to X than the half brothers, and should not be eliminated by their share, so an exception is made and the half brothers and full brother are made couniversal heirs:)

shares: 6

husband 3

mother 1 2 half brothers 0

full brother universal 2

(N: It is important to remember in such cases that the universal share is divided so the males and females receive equal shares (dis: L6.20(2)).)

L10.13 When a person both deserves an obligatory share and is a universal heir, then he inherits both of these. An example is when the son of X's father's brother (A: who is universal heir (dis: L6.22(8))) is also X's husband (A: deserving a husband's share (dis: L6.3)); or when the son of X's father's brother is also X's half brother from the same mother

BOOK M - MARRIAGE (by al-Misri)

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m1.0 WHO SHOULD MARRY

(O: The legal basis for marriage, prior to scholarly consensus (ijma') is such Koranic verses as

"Marry such women as seen good to you" (Koran 4:3), and hadiths such as,"Marry one another, that you may increase," which was related by Shafi'i.)

m1.1 A man who needs to marry (O: because of desire for sexual intercourse) and has enough money (O: for the bride's marriage payment (mahr def;m8), for clothing for the season of the year in which he marries, and the expenditures of one day) is recommended to do so (O: to protect his religion, no matter whether he is occupied with religious devotions or not). One who needs to marry but does not have enough to pay for these expenses is recommended not to marry. but rather to suppress his sexual desire by fasting (O: and if it is not suppressed by fasting, then he should marry, borrowing the money to pay the bride's marriage payment if she will not accept his owing it to her).

m1.2 It is offensive for someone who does not need marriage (O: being undesirous of it because of a physical defect or other reason) to marry when he does not have enough money to cover the expenses. Marriage is not offensive for a man who has enough money, even when there is something that might prevent him from doing so such as old age or a chronic illness, though it is superior for him to devote himself to worship instead (O: being occupied with enjoyments and not thinking of worship at all) then marriage is better (O: since someone whose lack of sexual desire is not due to a physical defect may later have such desire, as opposed to someone whose lack of desire is because of such a defect, to whom this will not

m1.3 As for a woman, if she needs to marry, it is recommended for her to do so, though if she does not, (O: not feeling any sexual desire within herself, and she is engaged in worship,) then it is offensive for her to do so. (N: Though such a woman needs a husband or unmarriageable relative to travel and so forth (dis:m10.3).)

DESIRABLE CHARACTERISTICS IN A BRIDE

m1.4 It is recommended for a man to marry a virgin (O: unless there is a reason not to, such as sexual incapacity or needing someone to take care of his children) (A: though it is permissible to marry a nonvirgin even if she has not previously married (dis: p12.1(3(n:)))) who is fertile (O: which in a virgin is inferable from her relatives), attractive, intelligent, religious, of a good family, and not a close relative. (O: In Sharh al-Minhaj, Ibn Hajar notes that when one must choose between the above characteristics, the order of preference should be:

- (1) religiousness, which takes precedence over anything else;
- (2) intelligence;
- (3) a good character and disposition;

- (4) fertility;
- (5) a good family;
- (6) virginity:
- (7) beauty;
- (8) and then that which fulfills some other relevant interest.)

m2.0 ENGAGEMENT AND LOOKING AT THE OPPOSITE SEX

SUNNAS OF ENGAGEMENT

- m2.1 (O: It is recommended for a guardian to offer his marriageable female charges in marriage to righteous men. It
- (1) to intend by one's marriage to fulfill the sunna and protect one's religion, since one is only

rewarded for it if one intends some form of obedience to

- Allah, such as remaining chaste or having a pious son; (2) for the marriage contract to be made in a mosque;
- (3) and for it to take place on Friday, at the first of the day, and in the month of Shawwal.)

LOOKING AT ONES PROSPECTIVE BRIDE

m2.2 The sunna when one wants to marry a woman is to look at her face and hands (O: as the face indicates her beauty, and the hands her robustness of body. Tirmidhi reports from al-Mughira that when he got engaged to a woman, the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said. "Look at her, for it is likelier to last between you." meaning that love is likelier to last, and tenderness) before getting engaged to her, even if the woman does not give her permission to do so (O: since the Lawgiver's permission is sufficient). Such a person is entitled to repeat looking at her (A: as many times as he wishes) (O: when he needs to make sure of how she looks, so he does not come to have regrets after getting married. And she is entitled to do the same) but he may not look at other than her face and hands. (O: If unable to go see her, he should send a reliable woman to go see he for him, as such a woman would be likely to notice more than he, and she may describe her to him, this being an exception to the unlawfulness of describing a woman to a man who is not one of her unmarriageable kin.)

LOOKING AT MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITE SEX

- m2.3 It is unlawful for a man to look at a woman who is not his wife or one of his unmarriageable kin (def: m6.1) (O: there being no difference in this between the face and hands or some other part of a woman (N: if it is uncovered), though part excludes her voice, which is not unlawful to listen to as long as temptation is unlikely. Allah Most High says, "Tell believers to lower their gaze" (Koran 24:30). A majority of scholars (n: with the exception of some Hanafis, as at m2.8 below) have been recorded as holding that it is unlawful for women to leave the house with faces unveiled, whether or not there is likelihood of temptation. When there is likelihood of temptation, scholars unanimously concur that it is unlawful. temptation meaning anything that leads to sexual intercourse or its usual preliminaries. As for when there is real need (dis: m2.11), looking is not unlawful, provided temptation is unlikely). (A: Being alone with a woman who is not one's wife or unmarriageable kin is absolutely unlawful, though if there are two women and a man, the man and the woman are no longer considered alone.)
- m2.4 A man may look at his wife (N: or vice versa) including her nakedness (def: f5.3), though it is offensive for either husband or wife to look at the other's genitals.
- m2.5 A man may look at his unmarriageable female relatives (def: m6.1), and a woman look at her unmarriageable male relatives (m6.2), viewing any part of the body (n: that shows e.g. while they are working) except what is between the naval and knees.
- m2.6 As for a woman looking at (O: a man) other than her husband or unmarriageable male relatives, it is unlawful, just as a man's looking at her is.
- m2.7 It is unlawful for a woman to show any part of her body to an adolescent boy or a non-Muslim woman (n: unless the latter is her kinswoman (def: m6.1 (1-12)), in which case it is permissible (Mughni al-muhtaj ila marifa maani alfazal-Minhaj (y73), 3.132)).
- m2.8 (n: The following rulings from the Hanafi school have been added here as a dispensation (dis: c6.3).)(Ahmad Quduri:)
- (1) It is not permissible for a man to look at a woman who is not his wife or unmarriageable relative except for her face and hands ((Maydani:) because of the necessity of her need to deal with men in giving and taking and the like). If a man is not safe from lust, he may not look at her face except when it is demanded by necessity.
- (2) A man may look at the whole body of another man except for what is between the navel and (A: including) the knees (A: as the knees are considered nakedness by Hanafis. though not by Shafiis).
- (3) A woman may look at the parts of a man that another man is permitted to look at.

- (4) A woman may look at the parts of another woman that a man is permitted to look at of another man.(al-Lubab fi sharh al-kitab (y88), 4.162-63)
- m2.9 Whenever looking is unlawful, so is touching (O:whenever meaning the part; i.e. whatever is unlawful to look at is also unlawful to touch). (N: And any permissible looking that leads to temptation is unlawful.) (A: Ordinary people sometimes mistakenly assume that the Hanafi position that touching a woman does not nullify one's ablution (wudu) means they permit men shaking hands with women who are not wives or unmarriageable relatives, something which is unlawful, and which neither the Hanafi school nor any other holds to be permissible.)

DOCTORS TREATING PATIENTS OF THE OPPOSITE SEX

m2.10 Both (O: looking and touching) are permissible for medicinal bloodletting, cupping, and medical treatment (Na when there is real need. A Muslim woman needing medical attention must be treated by a Muslim woman doctor, or if there is none, then by a non-Muslim woman doctor. If there is none, then a male Muslim doctor may treat her, while if non of the above are available, then a male non-Muslim doctor. If the doctor is of the opposite sex, her husband or an unmarriageable male relative (def: m6.2) must be present. It is obligatory to observe this order in selecting a doctor). (A: The same rules apply to Muslim men with regard to having a doctor of the same sex and religion: the same sex takes precedence over the same religion.) (O:Necessary treatment of her face or hands permits looking at either. As for other parts of the body, the criterion for permissibility is the severity of the need for treatment, meaning that there must be an ailment as severe as those permitting dry ablution (def: e12.9), and if the part concerned is the genitals, the need must be even more acute (N: though it includes gynecological examinations for women with fertility problems, which are permissible).

PERMISSIBLE LOOKING AT A MARRIAGEABLE MEMBER OF THE OPPOSITE SEX

m2.11 Looking at a woman is permissible for testimony in court, for commercial dealings (O: with a marriageable man, or noncommercial dealings, as when he wishes to marry her), and so forth (O: such as obligatory or recommended learning (def: a4, a6)), in which cases looking is permissible to the degree required. (O: It is not permissible to exceed the degree required, as when looking at part of the face is sufficient, in which case looking at the rest of it is not permissible, as it exceeds the amount required.)

PROPOSING MARRIAGE ACCEPTING A PROPOSAL

m2.12 It is unlawful to propose marriage, openly or allusively, to another's wife when she is in the waiting period of an unfinalized (A: i.e. less than threefold (dis: n9.0 (N:))) divorce (O: because she is still considered as a wife is)

m.2.13 As for a woman who is in any of the following types of waiting period (def: n9), it is unlawful for a suitor to propose openly to her, though not for him to hint at it:

- (1) the waiting period of a finalized (threefold) divorce
- (2) the waiting period after having had her husband release her for payment (def: n5):
- (3) or the waiting period to remarry after her husband's death (def: n9.11). (O: Proposing allusively is only permissible in such cases because of the husband's lack of authority over her. To propose openly means to decisively indicate one's desire to wed, such as by saying, "I want to marry you," while to propose allusively means to employ words that could indicate a desire to marry or something else, such as "I am desirous of you," or "Your are beautiful," for these do not necessarily imply a desire for marriage.)
- m2.14 (O: The rulings regarding the lawfulness or unlawfulness of a woman's accepting a marriage proposal are the same as those for proposing to her (def: m2.12-13).)
- m2.15 It is unlawful to propose marriage to a woman to whom another has already done so, if the first proposal has been openly accepted, unless the first suitor gives his permission. (O: And like his permission in the legality of another proposing to her is when the first suitor has shown himself disinclined, such as by having given up, or when enough time has elapsed to give others the impression that he no longer wants to marry, or when the woman's guardian (def: m3.4) becomes averse to him.) But if the first suitor's proposal was not openly accepted, then a second suitor may propose to her. (O: It is also permissible for one to take the initiative and propose to a woman when one does not know whether or not she is engaged, or whether the first proposal was plainly accepted or not.)
- m.2.16 Whoever is asked about what kind of person a prospective groom is should truthfully mention his failings (O: meaning his defects and mistakes. This is obligatory (N: but only to the degree necessary (A: to protect the person who is asking)), as Nawawi has stated in al-Adhkar (dis: r2120(2))).

m2.17 It is recommended to give a short address when (O: i.e. before) making a marriage proposal (O: address meaning words begun by praising Allah and concluded with a supplication and moral exhortation. If one wants to be brief. one may simply say, Praise be to Allah, and blessings and peace upon the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace). I enjoin you to fear Allah . I have come to you to engage your noblest [A: mentioning her name]." Then her guardian gives a similar address).

m2.17 It is also recommended to give another brief address when (O: i.e. just before) the marriage contract is made, saying (O: i.e. it is recommended for the guardian to say, before the contract is formally effect), I marry her to your according to the command of Allah Most High, to kindly retain or graciously release."

m3.0 THE INTEGRALS OF A MARRIAGE AGREEMENT

- m3.1 Marriage has integrals (A: which are five in number:
- (a) the spoken form;
- (b) the witnesses;
- (c) the bride's guardian;
- (d) the groom:
- (e) and the bride).

THE SPOKEN FORM

- m3.2 The first integral is the explicitly stated spoken form (O: comprising a spoken offer by the guardian and its acceptance by the groom, like other, nonmarital transactions. Its necessary conditions are the same as those of valid sale (def: k1.1(a,b,c,d,e))), the form being valid in languages other than Arabic even when one is able to speak Arabic. The spoken form is not valid if allusive. Nor is it valid without:
- (a) a statement (N: from the guardian) that effects it, namely I marry you" (n: i.e. to her, the Arabic zawwaja meaning to marry someone to another);
- (b) and an immediate spoken acceptance (A: by the groom). namely I marry her," or I accept her marriage.
- (N: The spoken form, when the other integrals exist, is what is meant by the term marriage contract, not an actual written document, though it is sunna to write it. Extraneous conditions added to the marriage contract, such as that the husband observe monogamy or the like, are not binding, being meaningless, though they do not invalidate the marriage agreement, which remains effective.)

THE WITNESSES

- m3.3 The second integral is that the marriage have witnesses, it not being valid unless two witnesses are present who are:
- (a) male (O: since a marriage witnessed by a man and two women would not be valid (A: though it would be valid in the Hanafi school));
- (b) sound of hearing
- (c) sound of eyesight
- (d) familiar with the language of the two contracting parties;
 - (e) Muslims;
- (f) and upright (def:o24.4) witnesses, even if their uprightness is merely apparent (O: since marriages

take place among average, common people, and if they were made responsible to know the inward uprightness of witnesses, it would cause delays and difficulties. Apparent uprightness means the person is outwardly known to be upright, even if he is inwardly unknown).

THE BRIDE'S GUARDIAN

m3.4 The third integral is the (A: bride's guardian (O: since a woman may not conduct her own marriage. Ibn Majah relates that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) "Let no woman marry a woman to another or marry herself to another." Daraqutni related this hadith with a chain of transmission meeting the standards of Bukhari and Muslim). The marriage agreement is not valid without a guardian who is:

- (a) male:
- (b) legally responsible (mukallaf, def: c8.1);
- (c) Muslim;
- (d) upright (def: o24.4);
- (e) and of sound judgement. The following may not be a bride's guardian:
- (1) (non-(a) above) a woman;
- (2) (non-(b)) a child or insane person:
- (3) (non-(c)) a non-Muslim;
- (4) (non-(d)) a corrupt person (def: o24.3) (O: though the opinion of most later scholars is that a corrupt person may be a guardian);
- (5) or (non-(e)) someone whose judgement is unsound because of old age or weakmindedness (O: whether innate or acquired. Old age includes someone with severe pain or illnesses which distract him from realizing what is most advantageous for his charge and her interests, since such a person would be incapable of learning how suitors really are and whether they are an appropriate match (def: m4) for the bride). It is of no consequence if the guardian is blind. A non-

Muslim responsible for a non-Muslim bride may be her guardian (O: provided he does not violate the rules of his own religion), though a Muslim may not.

m3.6 (n: If the bride has no Muslim guardian and there is no Islamic magistrate to act as one, she may authorise a male Muslim who has the qualifications of an Islamic judge (def: o22.1)-or if there is none, then a male Muslim who is legally upright (def: o24.4)-to act as her guardian in marrying her to the groom (Mughni al-muhtaj ila marifa maani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73), 3.147).)

THE ORDER OF LAWFUL GUARDIANSHIP AMONG THE BRIDE'S RELATIVES

m3.7 The male relatives of a free woman are the ones who may marry her to another, and the order (O: as to who has the right to be her guardian) is her:

- (1) father;
- (2) father's father (O: and on up);
- (3) brother;
- (4) brother's son;
- (5) father's brother
- (6) her father's brother's son (O: and so on, in the same order as the universal heirs in estate division (def: 110.6(12-14))
- (7) and then the Islamic magistrate (A: i.e. the judge (qadi)). None of the above may marry her to someone when a family member higher on the list exists. If there are two of equal standing (A: two brothers, for example) and one is related to her through two parents while the other is related to her through the father alone, then the one related to her through both parents is the guardian. If both are equal in this respect, precedence is given to the oldest, most learned in Sacred Law, and most god-fearing. But if the other (A: less deserving of two would-be guardians who are of equal affiliation to her) marries her to the groom, the marriage is valid. If both insist on being the one, they draw lots to see who will do it, though if the loser marries her to the groom, the marriage is also legally valid.
- m3.8 If a guardian does not have the right to be a guardian because of the existence of one of the abovementioned preventives (dis: m3.4 (1-5)), the guardianship devolves to the mext family member in the m3.7 order of lawful guardians.

THE BRIDE'S RIGHT TO MARRY A SUITABLE MATCH OF HER CHOICE

- m3.9 Whenever a free woman asks to marry a suitor who is a suitable match (def m4) (O: by telling her guardian, Marry me to him"), the guardian must marry her to him (O: whether she is a virgin or nonvirgin, and whether prepubescent or not). The Islamic magistrate (A: i.e. judge marries her to such a groom if the guardian:
- (1) in the presence of the magistrate refuses to marry her to the groom;
 - (2) is on a journey farther than 81 km./50 mi. from home;
- (3) or is in a state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram) (O: for hajj, umra', or both) (dis: j3.20). In such cases, the guardianship does not devolve to the next most eligible in the m3.7 order of lawful guardians, If (non-(2) above) the guardian is on a journey of less than 81 km./50 mi, from home, the bride may not be married to someone without the guardian's leave.

COMMISSIONING ANOTHER TO EFFECT THE MARRIAGE AGREEMENT

- m3.10 The guardian may commission another (def: k17.5-6) to marry his charge to someone, though it is not permissible to commission someone who himself lacks the requisite conditions (m3.4(a,b,c,d,e)) to be a guardian. The groom too may commission someone to accept the marriage agreement on his behalf, provided the person commissioned is someone who would be legally entitled to accept such a marriage for himself. (O: A child, for example, may not accept a marriage for himself, let alone someone else, nor may a woman be commissioned for this, nor someone in a state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram).) m3.11 Neither the guardian of the bride nor his agent may state the marriage offer (def: m3.2(a)) for the guardian's own marriage (A:to her). If her guardian wants to marry her, as when, for example, he is the son of her father's brother, then he lets a different son of the father's brother stand in as guardian. If there is no one in his own degree (A: of relation to her), then the Islamic judge stands in as guardian.
- m3.12 No one may state both the proposal and its acceptance (def: m3.2(a,b)) for one marriage, except the bride's grandfather when marrying his son's daughter to his (A: other) son's son.

GUARDIANS WHO MAY MARRY A VIRGIN TO A MAN WITHOUT HER CONSENT

- m3.13 Guardians are of two types, those who may compel their female charges to marry someone, and those who may not.
- (1) The only guardians who may compel their charge to marry are a virgin bride's father or father's father, compel

meaning to marry her to a suitable match (def: m4) without her consent.

- (2) Those who may not compel her are not entitled to marry her to someone unless she accepts and gives her permission. Whenever the bride is a virgin, the father or father's father may marry her to someone without her permission, though it is recommended to ask her permission if she has reached puberty. A virgin's silence is considered as permission. As for the nonvirgin of sound mind, no one may marry her to another after she has reached puberty without her express permission, no matter whether the guardian is the father, father's father, or someone else.
- m3.15 No guardian may marry a woman to someone who is not a suitable match (def: m4) without her acceptance and the acceptance of all who can be guardians (def: m3.7). If the Islamic magistrate is her guardian, he may not under any circumstances marry her to someone who is not a suitable match for her. If the bride selects a suitor who is not a suitable match for her, the guardian is not obliged to marry her to him. If she selects a suitable match but her guardian chooses a different suitor who is also a suitable match, then the man chosen by the guardian takes precedence if the guardian is one who may lawfully compel her to marry (def: m3.13(1)), while the one she selects takes precedence when the guardian may not lawfully compel her to marry (m3.13(2)).

m4.0 A SUITABLE MATCH (KAFA'A)

- (N: The definition of a suitable match should not be misunderstood as a recommendation for whom to marry. It is merely a legal restriction to protect a woman's interests when the father or grandfather of a virgin marry her to someone without her consent (dis: m3.13, 15). As for when she wishes to marry someone who is not a suitable match, and her guardian has no objection, there is nothing wrong or offensive in her doing so.)
- m4.1 Suitability concerns lineage, religiousness, profession, and being free of defects that permit annulling the marriage contract (def: m7). (N: As for color, it is of no consideration in suitability.)
- m4.2 The following are not suitable matches for one another:
- (1) a non-Arab man for an Arab woman (O: because of the hadith that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Allah has chosen the Arabs above others");
- (2) a corrupt man (def: o24.3) for a virtuous woman (O: though it is sufficient for the would-be husband to have given up his wrongdoing);
- (3) a man of a lowly profession for the daughter of someone with a higher profession, such as a tailor wanting to marry a merchant's daughter (A: though an Islamic scholar is a suitable match for any level whatever);
- (4) or someone with a defect that permits annulling the marriage (def: m7) for someone without such defects. Being wealthy has nothing to do with suitability (O: for money comes and goes, and those with selfrespect and intelligence do not take pride in it), nor does being elderly.
- m4.3 The marriage agreement is invalid whenever a guardian marries his charge to someone who is not a suitable match for her, if done without both her acceptance and the acceptance of all who are eligible as guardians (def. m3.7) and are on the guardian's level of relation to her (A: such as his brothers). But if both these parties agree, then the bride's relatives further from her than the guardian may not object.
- m4.4 When the father or father's father see that the best advantage is to be served by marrying a young boy (or girl) to someone, they may do so, though they are not entitled to marry the child to someone with a physical defect (dis: m7) that legally permits annulment of the marriage.
- m4.5 If a person is foolhardy (safih, def: k13.1(A)) or continuously insane, but needs to marry, then his father, grandfather, or the Islamic magistrate may marry him to someone. If they grant permission to the foolhardy person to marry himself, his marriage is valid, though if he does so without their leave, it is invalid.

m5.0 CONJUGAL RIGHTS

THE WIFE'S MARITAL OBLIGATIONS

m5.1 It is obligatory for a woman to let her husband have sex with her immediately when:

(a) he asks her;

(b) at home (O: home meaning the place in which he is currently staying, even if being lent to him or rented);

(c) and she can physically endure it.

(d) (O: Another condition that should be added is that her marriage payment (mahr, def: m8) has been received or deferred to a term not yet expired. As for when sex with her is not possible, such that having it would entail manifest harm to her, then she is not obliged to comply.) If she asks him to wait, she is awaited, to a maximum of three days (O: She does not ask to wait because of not having finished her period or postnatal bleeding, for there is not physical harm entailed in

her complying as she is, though if she fears that such foreplay with him will lead to actual copulation (A: which is unlawful under such circumstances), then she may refuse, as that is not obligatory). (n: w45 discusses wives' other duties to husbands.)

THE WIFE'S RIGHT TO INTERCOURSE

m5.2 (Imam Ghazali:) One should make love to one's wife every four nights, as is fairest, since the number of wives one may have is four, and one may wait this long to do so, though one should make love to her more or less than this, according to the amount she needs to remain chaste and free of want for it (N: if one is able), since it is obligatory for a husband to enable her to keep chaste (Ihya' ulum aldin (y39), 2.46).

THE WEDDING NIGHT

m5.3 The first time they sleep together, it is recommended for the husband to grasp his bride's forelock and supplicate Allah for an increase in blessings (baraka) (O: such as by saying, May Allah bless each of us in their partner").

THE HUSBAND'S RIGHTS

m5.4 A husband possesses full right to enjoy his wife's person (A: from the top of her head to the bottoms of her feet, though anal intercourse (dis:p75.20) is absolutely unlawfull) in what does not physically harm her. He is entitled to take her with him when he travels.

CONTRACEPTION

m5.5 The husband is permitted to practice coitus interruptus (n: w46 discusses the relation of this to other methods of contraception) in lovemaking with his wife (O: meaning to make love to her until he feels an impending orgasm, when he withdraws to ejaculate outside the vagina) though it is better not to (O: it being considered offensive in our school (dis: w46.2) because it is a means to prevent reproduction).

m5.6 The husband is entitled to insist that his wife undertake both the measures necessary for having sex with her such as the purificatory bath (ghust) after her monthly period, and those necessary to full enjoyment of her such as the purificatory bath after major ritual impurity (janaba), shaving her private parts, and removing filth.

m6.0 UNMARRIAGEABLE KIN (MAHRAM)

- (N: It is unlawful for one to marry one's ancestors, descendants, parents' descendants, or the first generation of one's grandparent's offspring, meaning one's paternal or maternal aunts (n: or uncles, if one is female). One's unmarriageable kin (mahram) are those one is forbidden to marry forever.)
- mó.1 It is unlawful (O: meaning both sinful and legally invalid) for a man to marry his:
- (1) mother;
- (2) grandmothers (O: from his mother's or father's side) and on up;
- (3) daughters;
- (4) daughters of his children, children's children, and on down:
- (5) sisters
- (6) daughters of brothers or sisters, their children's daughters, and on down;
- (7) mother's sisters, grandmother's sisters, and on up;
- (8) father's sisters, father's father's sisters, and on up;
- (9) wife's mother;
- (10) wife's grandmother;
- (11) the wives of his father, father's father, and on up;
- (12) the wives of his children, children's children, and on down; (all of whom (9) through (12)) are unlawful for him to marry by the mere fact of marriage. As for a man's wife's daughter (N: from a different husband), she is not unlawful for him to marry until he has had sexual intercourse with her mother. Were he to divorce the mother before intercourse, it would be permissible for him to marry the daughter)
- (13) (n: and all those considered as unmarriageable kin to him through his having been breast-fed by a particular wet nurse in infancy, as at n12.2).
- $\,$ m6.2 (N: It is unlawful and invalid for a woman to marry her:
- (1) father, grandfather, and on up;
- (2) son, son's son, daughter's son, and on down;
- (3) brother;
- (4) father's brother, meaning the brother of any male ancestor;
- (5) mother's brother, meaning the brother of any female ancestor;
- (6) brother's son, sister's son, or any other descendants of brothers or sisters;
 - (7) the husband of her mother, grandmother, and on up;
- (8) the husband of her daughter or other female descendant; (9) her husband's father, grandfather, and on up, and
- husband's son and descendants; (10) (n: and unmarriageable kin to her through her having been breast-fed by a particular wet nurse in infancy, as at n12.2).

- m6.3 It is unlawful for a man to marry both:
- (1) a woman and her sister;
- (2) a woman and her father's sister;
- (3) or a woman and her mother's sister.
- (N: but if a man is no longer married to one of the above and the waiting period (def: n9) has expired, then he may marry the other.)
- m6.5 The same categories of relatives who are unlawful for one to marry because of one's kinship relation to them are also unlawful to one by foster relationship," through having been breast-fed by a particular wet nurse in infancy (dis: n12.2) (N: since someone nursed in infancy by a woman is prohibited to marry those whom her offspring and her husband's offspring are prohibited to marry).
- m6.7 It is unlawful for a Muslim man to marry:
- (1) a Zoroastrian woman;
- (2) an idol worshipper;
- (3) an apostate from Islam (murtadd, def: 08);
- (4) or a woman with one parent who is Jewish or Christian, while the other is Zoroastrian.
- (5) (N: It is not lawful or valid for a Muslim man to be married to any woman who is not either a Muslim, Christian, or Jew; nor is it lawful or valid for a Muslim woman to be married to anyone besides a Muslim.)
- m6.8 It is unlawful for a man who has divorced his wife by public imprecation (def:n11) to remarry her (N: though she is not considered his unmarriageable kin (mahram), and he may not look at or be alone with her).
- m6.9 It is unlawful to marry a woman who is in a state of pilgrim sanctity (ihram, def: j3) (N: for hajj or umra), or in her waiting period (def: n9) after marriage to another.
- m6.10 It is unlawful for a free man to marry more than four women. It is fitter to confine oneself to just one.
- $m6.12\ The$ following types of marriage are legally invalid:
- (1) to marry by trading daughters [or sisters]" (A: such that the marriage of each by the guardian of the other supposedly takes the place of the woman's marriage payment (mahr));
- (2) to have a temporary marriage" (muta), meaning to marry a woman for a stipulated period (O: whether specified, such as a month, or unknown, such as until So-and-so comes");
- (3) or to marry a woman after her threefold divorce solely to cohabit and thus permit her (dis: n7.7) to remarry her previous husband (A: which is an enormity (dis: p29)), though if the marriage agreement is made for this reason but does not expressly stipulate it, then it is legally valid (dis: c5.2).

m7.0 DEFECTS IN THE SPOUSE PERMITTING ANNULMENT OF MARRIAGE

- m7.1 In any of the following circumstances, the husband or wife has the option to annul the marriage agreement immediately, if this is done in the presence of the Islamic magistrate (O: or a third party chosen to judge between them (dis: o21.4), provided that he is a mujtahid (def: o22.1(d)) and there is no Islamic judge), even when the partner annulling the marriage has the same defect whose existence in the spouse has motivated him or her to annul it (O: as when, for example, both are insane):
- (1) one finds that the spouse is not sane, or has elephantiasis or leprosy;
- (2) the husband finds that the wife's vagina is closed or nearly so because of an abnormal growth of flesh or bone;
- (3) or the wife finds that the husband is impotent, or that his penis has been dissevered.

The agreement may also be annulled when the defect occurs after making the marriage agreement, except when a husband's impotence occurs after he has had sexual intercourse with his wife, in which case annulment is no longer possible. When a husband (N: impotent from the beginning) acknowledges his impotence, the magistrate postpones action on the case for one year from the day it is first submitted to his consideration. If the husband has intercourse with her during the year, then she is not entitled to annul the marriage, though if he does not, then she may annul it. In cases of impotence, her abovementioned prerogative of annulling the marriage immediately" means after this period of one year.

- m7.2 When a marriage is annulled before sexual intercourse, the woman does not receive her marriage payment (mahr) (N: no matter whether the defect is in her or in him (A: as opposed to divorce before sexual intercourse, as discussed at m8.7)). When a marriage is annulled after intercourse because of a defect that occurred after it, the full marriage payment stipulated by their agreement must be paid to her. When a marriage is annulled (N: after sexual intercourse) because of a defect that occurred before intercourse (O: whether simultaneously with the marriage agreement or after it but before intercourse), then the bride is only given the amount typically received as marriage payment by similar brides (def: m8.8).
- m7.4 If any of the following occurs before intercourse has taken place, then the marriage is immediately annulled:
- (1) one of a couple who are idolators becomes a Muslim;
- (2) one of a Zoroastrian couple becomes Muslim;

- (3) the wife of a Jew or Christian becomes a Muslim;
- (4) both husband and wife leave Islam;
- (5) or one of them does.

But when one of the above things happens after intercourse, then a waiting period (def: n9) must intervene before the marriage is annulled. If both husband and wife (A: are, or) become Muslim before the waiting period finishes, then their marriage continues. And if not, then the marriage is considered to have been over since the change of religion first took place.

m7.5 When a (A: non-Muslim) man who has more than four wives becomes Muslim, he is obliged to choose just four of them (A: and the others' marriages are annulled).

m8.0 THE BRIDE'S MARRIAGE PAYMENT (MAHR)

(O: The marriage payment is the money or property a husband must pay a woman to marry her.)

- m8.1 It is sunna to name the amount of the marriage payment in the marriage agreement (O: to prevent discord). If it is not mentioned, it does not hurt (O: the validity of the marriage, though if unmentioned in the agreement, it is considered to be the amount typically received as marriage payment by similar brides (def: m8.8). There is complete scholarly consensus on the validity of a contract that does not mention it, though it is offensive not to).
- m8.2 A guardian may not marry his prepubescent daughter to someone for less than the amount typically received as marriage payment by similar brides, nor marry his prepubescent son to a female who is given more than the amount typically received. If he does either of these, the amount stipulated is void and the amount typically received is paid instead (O: in both these cases, as a necessary condition for the validity of the marriage contract).
- m8.3 Nor may a foolhardy man (def: k13.1(A:)) marry a woman for more than the amount typically received as marriage payment by similar brides.
- m8.4 Anything that may be lawfully used as a price (def: k2) may be given as marriage payment. It may be paid immediately or deferred, and may be an individual article (ayn), a financial obligation (dayn), or the use or benefit of something.
- m8.5 The bride possesses the marriage payment when it has been expressly stipulated (0: in the marriage agreement, whether validly stipulated or invalidly. If valid, she owns the amount stated, while if invalid, she owns the amount typically received as marriage payment by similar brides (def: m8.8). She may dispose of it when she accepts it, and her ownership of it is finalised when her husband has sexual intercourse with her (0: after which none of it is refundable), or when one of them dies before they have had intercourse.
- m8.6 If payable immediately, the bride may refuse to have sexual intercourse until her husband gives her the marriage payment, though if she allows him to have intercourse with her before she accepts the amount, she may no longer refuse to have intercourse (N: but may demand the amount).
- m8.7 If the couple is separated (A: by having annulled the marriage (dis: m7.4)), before intercourse because of an act on the bride's part, as when she becomes a Muslim (O: and the husband remains non-Muslim), or she leaves Islam (O: and the husband remains Muslim), then she is not entitled to any of the marriage payment. But if it is because of an act on the husband's part, as when he becomes Muslim, leaves Islam, or divorces her, then she receives only half of the marriage payment; or the husband may ask for half of it back (O: if she already accepted it), provided the article given as payment still exists. If it does not, he receives half of the lowest market value of similar articles between the time of the marriage agreement and when the article ceased to exist. If the article was diminished while in the bride's possession, the husband has a choice between taking it back in its defective condition, or accepting half of its value.

THE AMOUNT TYPICALLY RECEIVED AS MARRIAGE PAYMENT BY SIMILAR BRIDES

m8.8 The amount typically received as marriage payment by similar brides (mahr al-mithl) means that which would be desirable to a woman like her (O: a woman like the bride, under normal circumstances), like her meaning a woman of her relatives resembling her in such characteristics as age, intelligence, beauty, wealth, being virgin or nonvirgin, and in having the same hometown. (O: her relatives living therein are taken as the standard, and not those living elsewhere, since the amount typically received varies in different towns. Rafi'i holds that if all of them live in another town, they are nevertheless more suitable to be taken as the standard than nonfamily women from the same town.) If the bride is superior to them (O: respecting the above characteristics) or inferior, then this is taken into consideration (O: meaning she deserves a marriage payment that suits how she is). If she has no female relatives related to her through her father, then those like her refers to he maternal relatives (O: i.e. the mother's relatives, such as the bride's grandmother or mother's sister). If none of the above exist, then the standard

for comparison is the marriage payment of those women of the same town who resemble the bride.

WHEN A HUSBAND IS UNABLE TO PAY THE MARRIAGE PAYMENT

m8.9 When a husband proves financially unable to give his wife the marriage payment (A: if it has not been deferred) before the first time they have sexual intercourse, then the bride may annul the marriage, though if he proves unable afterwards, she may not. If husband and wife disagree (A: in court, when neither side has proof[) as to whether he has given her (O: all, or part of) the marriage payment, then the wife's word is accepted over the husband's (dis: k8.2). But if they disagree as to whether they have had sexual intercourse, the husband's word is accepted over the wife's.

m8.10 A man is obliged to pay a woman the amount typically received as marriage payment by similar brides (def m8.8) when the marriage was (N: consummated, but) invalid, or when a man forces a woman to fornicate with him. When a woman voluntarily fornicates with a man, she does not receive any marriage payment.

AMENITY PAYMENT

m8.11 Whenever a woman is divorced (O: before having had intercourse) and the marriage payment is reduced to one-half (dis: m8.7), she does not receive an amenity payment (def: below). But she is entitled to one when the marriage payment is not reduced to one-half, such as when:

- she receives no marriage payment because of having allowed her guardian to choose a spouse for her and then having been divorced before intercourse and before any payment was stipulated;
- (2) or when she receives the full marriage payment, as when she is divorced after intercourse.

An amenity payment is an amount (N: paid by the husband) determined by the Islamic judge through his own personal reasoning (O: it being obligatory that both the husband and wife agree to it, and sunna that it not be less than thirty dirhams (n: 88.94 grams of silver) or something worth that much, and that it amount to less than half the marriage payment), in view of the circumstances of both parties (O: such as how rich or poor the husband is, and the wife's lineage and other characteristics previously discussed).

m9.0 THE WEDDING FEAST

m9.1 The wedding feast is a sunna (A: whose time never expires, though it is recommended to be after intercourse). The sunna is for the meal to consist of a sheep or goat (shah, def: h2.5),though it is permissible to serve whatever food is readily available.

THE OBLIGATION TO ATTEND

m9.2 It is obligatory for whoever is invited to attend (O: and whoever does not respond to the

invitation has disobeyed Allah and His messenger (Allah bless him and give him peace)), whether fasting or not. If one attends, it is recommended to eat, though not obligatory. If one is performing a voluntary fast and attends, and it is not burdensome for the host, then it is best to complete one's fast, though if this would weigh on the host, it is better for one to eat. It is only obligatory to respond to such an invitation if the following conditions are met:

- (a) that the host not have invited the rich to the exclusion of the poor;
- (b) that the invitation be for the first day of the wedding feast, for if the host celebrates if for three days, it is not obligatory to respond if invited on the second day, and offensive to do so on the third:
- (c) that the motive for attending not be fear of the host or desire for the prestige of having attended;
- (d) that no one will be there who will hurt one, or whose company is unsuitable (O: because of their vileness, for example, such as people devoid of morals or character;
- (e) and that there will be nothing blameworthy there such as flutes, wine, silk-covered sitting mats, or pictures of animate life (dis: p44) on the ceiling, walls, upright pillows (O: not those lying flat (dis: below)), or draperies; or clothing inscribed with something blameworthy, and so forth (O: since a person who attends in the presence of such things is as though accepting and acquiescing to what is condemnable). But if the blameworthy thing will be removed through one's attending, or if the abovementioned pictures are on the ground, a carpet, or pillows people lean upon (N: or other humiliated deployment, which is lawful), or if the living figures are decapitated, or there are pictures of (n: Vegetative life such as) trees, then one must attend.
- m9.3 Strewing sweets and the like around at marriage agreements or picking them up is not offensive, but it is better not to

m10.0 RELATIONS BETWEEN A HUSBAND AND WIVES

m10.1 It is obligatory for both husband and wife to treat each other well (O: since Allah Most High says, "Women

deserve the like of what they are obliged to give, in kindness" (Koran 2:228)), and for each to give the other what they must (O: meaning that both spouses are required to, the husband giving her the expenditures he is obliged to (def: m11), and the wife giving herself to him and obeying him concerning his rights therein) without intentional delays or displaying resentment.

m10.2 It is unlawful for a man to house two wives in the same lodgings unless they both agree.

PERMITTING ONE'S WIFE TO LEAVE THE HOUSE

m10.3 (A: A husband may permit his wife to leave the house for a lesson in Sacred Law, for invocation of Allah (dhikr), to see her female friends, or to go to any place in the town. A woman may not leave the city without her husband or a member of her unmarriageable kin (def: m6.2) accompanying her, unless the journey is obligatory, like the hajj. It is unlawful for her to travel otherwise, and unlawful for her husband to allow her to.) (n: In the Hanafi school, it is not unlawful for her to travel beyond city limits without a husband or member of her unmarriageable kin unless the distance to her intended destination exceeds ca. 77 km./48mi. (al-Lubab fi sharh al-Kitab (y88), 1.105).)

m10.4 The husband may forbid his wife to leave the home (O: because of the hadith related by Bayhaqi that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said. "It is not permissible for a woman who believes in Allah and the Last Day to allow someone into her husband's house if he is opposed, or to go out if he is averse"). But if one of her relatives dies, it is preferable to let her leave to visit them.

TAKING TURNS WITH WIVES

m10.5 A husband with more than one wife is not obliged to spend his nights with them in turns but may keep away from them (A: all) without sin. But he may not begin spending the night with one of them unless he chooses her by drawing lots. Whenever he spends the night with one wife, he is obliged to spend nights with the others, giving equal time to each one. When a husband intends to begin staying with his wives (A: after an intermission or absence), the wife whose lot is drawn is the first with whom he spends the night. All are included in taking turns, whether a wife in her period or postnatal bleeding, one who is ill, or one who cannot have intercourse because of a vaginal birth defect. The minimal amount of time for one turn is a night and day, whether the day comes before or after the night; while the maximum is three days (A: and nights. The minimal turn for the Hanafi and Maliki schools is whatever all can agree upon). It may not be more than three days (A: except by their leave). The basic turn of someone who makes their living by day is the night, with the day being an adjunct, while for someone who makes their living at night, such as a watchman, the basic turn is the day. In staying the night, the husband is not obliged to have sexual intercourse with the wife, though it is recommended to have intercourse (and share all other marital enjoyments) with all one's wives on an equal basis.

m10.6 If the husband wants to take one of his wives on a journey with him, he may not do so unless he draws lots to see who it will be. If he draws lots (A: and takes the winner with him), then when he returns, he does not need to make up the turns which the other wives missed while he was on the journey. If he did not draw lots but just chose a wife to travel with him, this is a sin, and on his return he must give equal time to the other wives for the time they missed.

m10.7 It is permissible for one of the wives to give her turn to another wife, if the husband agrees. If one of them gives him her turn, then he may give it to whomever he wants. If the wife later chooses to take her turn back, she returns to her usual place in the order of taking turns as it stand on the day she takes it back.

m10.8 It is not permissible for a husband to enter the quarters of a wife during another wife's turn without business there, though if he stops in during the day because of something he needs, or during the night because of something absolutely necessary (A: such as bringing her supper), then he may enter. Otherwise he may not. If he prolongs such a visit, then he is obliged to make up the turn of the wife whose turn it originally was.

m10.9 If a man marries a new wife when he already has another, he interrupts the succession of turns to spend time with the new wife. If she is a virgin, then he stays with her seven days and need not make them up with the other wives. If she is a non-virgin, then he may choose to either spend seven days with her and make up (0: to the others the number in excess of three days), or spend three days with her and not make up the time with the others. In such cases it is recommended to let the new wife choose the alternative she prefers. If the husband stays with her for seven days at her request, he must make up all seven days with the others, though if he stays seven days without her having requested it, he need only make up four with the others.

m10.10 The husband is entitled to leave home during the day to fulfill his needs and obligations.

DEALING WITH A REBELLIOUS WIFE

m10.11 When a husband notices signs of rebelliousness in his wife (nushuz, dis: p42) (O: whether in words, as when she answers him coldly when she used to do so politely, or he asks her to come to bed and she refuses, contrary to her usual habit; or whether in acts, as when he finds her averse to him when she was previously kind and cheerful), he warns her in words (O: without keeping from her or hitting her, for it may be that she has an excuse. The warning could be to tell her, "Fear Allah concerning the rights you owe to me," or it could be to explain that rebelliousness nullifies his obligation to support her and give her a turn amongst other wives, or it could be to inform her, "Your obeying me [def: (3) below] is religiously obligatory"). If she commits rebelliousness, he keeps from sleeping (O: and having sex) with her without words, and may hit her, but not in a way that injures her, meaning he may not (A: bruise her,) break bones, wound her, or cause blood to flow. (O: It is unlawful to strike another's face). He may hit her wether she is rebellious only once or whether more than once, though a weaker opinion holds that he may not hit her unless there is repeated rebelliousness. (N: To clarify this paragraph, we mention the following rulings:

(1) Both man and wife are obliged to treat each other kindly and graciously.

(2) It is not lawful for a wife to leave the house except by the permission of her husband, though she may do so without permission when there is a pressing necessity. Nor may a wife permit anyone to enter her husband's home unless he agrees, even their unmarriageable kin. Nor may she be alone with a nonfamily-member male, under any circumstances.

(3) It is obligatory for a wife to obey her husband as is customary in allowing him full lawful sexual enjoyment of her person. It is obligatory for the husband to enable her to remain chaste and free of want for sex if he is able. It is not obligatory for the wife to serve her husband (dis: w45.1); if she does so, it is voluntary charity.

(4) If the wife does not fulfill one of the above-mentioned obligations, she is termed "rebellious" (nashiz), and the husband takes the following steps to correct matters:

(a) admonition and advice, by explaining the unlawfulness of rebellion, its harmful effect on married life, and by listening to her viewpoint on the matter:

(b) if admonition is ineffectual, he keeps from her by not sleeping in bed with her, by which both learn the degree to which they need each other;

(c) if keeping from her is ineffectual, it is permissible for him to hit her he believes that hitting her will bring her back to the right path, though if he does not think so, it is not permissible. His hitting her may not be in a way that injures her, and is his last recourse to save the family;

(d) if the disagreement does not end after all this, each partner chooses an arbitrator to solve the dispute by settlement, or divorce.)

m11.0 THE WIFE'S FINANCIAL SUPPORT

(O: Support means the financial rights of a wife.)

m11.1 (A: The rulings of this section are not recommendations for how much to spend, but rather define the minimum permissible, which a stingy husband may not lawfully spend less than. Extra spending on one's wife is charity.)

FOOI

m11.2 The husband is obliged to provide his wife's sustenance day by day. If affluent, he must daily furnish her with one liter of the grain that is the staple food of the town in which they live. (O: By the grain that is the staple food of the town, the author means if people eat it. If not, then whatever they eat, even if it is hardened, dried white cheese. If the wife asks for something other than the staple food of the town, the husband does not have to provide it for her, and if he gives her something besides the staple, she need not accept it. The staple food is what is obligatory.) If he is not affluent, then he is obliged to provide 0.51 liters of grain a day for his wife: while if between affluence and nonaffluence, he must provide 0.77 liters per day. He is also obliged to cover the expenses of grinding it into flour and baking it into bread (O: even when she is used to doing it herself, as there would otherwise be need for this expenditure), and to buy the foods that normally accompany bread to make it savory and agreeable, as much as is customary in the town of meat, oil, and so forth (O: such as dates, vinegar, and cheese. The obligatory measures differ with the seasons, it being necessary in each season to provide that which is proper to it. Fruits might predominate in one season, and thus be obligatory. As for the obligatory amount of meat, one sees how much is customarily consumed in town per week). If husband and wife agree that he give her compensation in place of the abovementioned (O: grain and other things she is entitled to, the compensation being in money or clothing), this is permissible.

ARTICLES FOR PERSONAL HYGIENE

m11.3 The wife in entitled to what she needs of oil for her hair, shampoo (lit. sidr"), and a comb (O: to keep her hair clean, of the kind and amount that is customary in town, in order to prevent harm to herself. If oil scented with rose or violet is the custom of the town, it must be provided, though not things which are merely cosmetic and not for cleanliness, such as eyeliner or henna, which need not be provided, though the husband may provide them if he wishes. It is also obligatory for him to provide deodorant (lit. litharge") or the like to stop underarm odor if water and soap will not suffice), and the price of water for her purificatory bath (ghusl) when the reason for it is sexual intercourse or the end of postnatal bleeding, though not if the reason is the end of her monthly period or something else (dis:m11.1).

COSMETICS AND MEDICINE

m11.4 The husband is not obliged (N: but rather is recommended) to pay for his wife's cosmetics, doctor's fees, the purchase of medicine for her, and similar expenses (A: though he must pay for expenditures connected with childbirth).

CLOTHING

m11.5 A wife is entitled to the kind of clothing that is customary in town for dressing oneself (O: and not just anything termed clothing will suffice. What is obligatory is the amount necessary for the woman, which varies according to whether she is tall or short, thin or fat, and with the hot or cold climate of various towns. In the summertime, it is obligatory to provide her with a head covering, shift, underdrawers, shoes, and a shawl, because of her need to go out; and the same in the wintertime, plus a cloak quilted with cotton to protect her against the cold. If she needs tow cloaks because of the extreme cold, it is obligatory to provide them. If she needs fuel because of the severity of the winter, it is obligatory to buy the necessary wood and coal) and (O: he must also provide the amount customary in town of the) bedding, blankets, and pillows that are suitable for someone of his income. (O: She also

deserves cooking implements, and utensils for eating and drinking).

m11.6 It is obligatory for the husband to give his wife the expenditures for her support at the first of each day, and to provide her clothing at the first of each season (O: meaning the beginning of winter and summer).

m11.7 If he gives her clothing for a season, and it wears out before the end of the season, he is not obliged to furnish new clothing, though if it lasts beyond the season, he is nevertheless obliged to provided new clothing for each new season. The wife is entitled to dispose of the clothing as she wishes, whether by selling it or other (O: means of disposal, such as giving it away, the reason being that it is her own property).

HOUSING AND SERVANTS

m11.8 The wife is entitled to housing of the same quality as that of similar women. (O: The standard of housing depends on the wife herself, while the standard for her clothing and support takes the state of the husband into consideration. The difference is because the expenditures for her support and clothing become her own property and are not merely for her use, while housing is solely for use (N: meaning that while she can take compensation in place of food or clothing and buy some other kind, she cannot rent a different house). In any case, she is obliged to stay in the lodgings her husband arranges for her.) If she had servants in her father's house, the husband is obliged to provide servants for her.

THE CONDITIONS THAT ENTITLE A WIFE TO SUPPORT

m11.9 The husband is only obliged to support his wife when she gives herself to him or offers to, meaning she allows him full enjoyment of her person and does not refuse him sex at any time of the night or day. She is not entitled to support from her husband when:

- (1) she is rebellious (nashiz, def: m10.12(N:)) (O: meaning when she does not obey him) even if for a moment;
- (2) she travels without his permission, or with his permission but for one of her own needs;
 - (3) she assumes ihram for hajj of umra (def: j3);
- (4) or when she performs a voluntary fast without her husband's permission (O: though if he allows her to fast and does not ask her to break it, he must provide her support)>

SUPPORT FOR A WOMAN IN HER POSTMARITAL WAITING PERIOD

m11.10 As for a woman in her postmarital waiting period (def: n9), she is entitled to housing during it no matter if it is because of her husband's death, a divorce in which the husband may take her back, or a threefold, finalized divorce. As for her support (A: in terms of food) and clothing:

- (1) it is not obligatory to provide her with it during the waiting period after (N: a threefold divorce, a release for payment (def: n5), or) her husband's death;;
- (2) it must be provided in the waiting period of a (A: not yet threefold) divorce in which her husband may take her back;
- (3) and if a woman in the waiting period of a threefold divorce is pregnant, she is given support each day (A: until the child is born, after which she is entitled to support and wages for taking care of it), but of not pregnant, she is not entitled to support
- m11.11 If the husband and wife disagree (A: in court, when neither has proof (dis: k8.2)) about whether she received her support from him, her word is accepted over his. If they disagree as to whether she allowed him full eniovment of her person, then his word is accepted over hers unless he admits that she first made herself available to him, but claims she then refuses, in which case her word is accepted over his.
- m11.2 Whenever the husband neglects to provide his wife's support for a period of time, the amount he should have paid remains a debt he owes to her.
- m11.3 The wife is entitled to annul their marriage whenever the husband is unable to provide her with the support obligatory for a nonaffluent person to pay (def: m11.2) and provide clothing or housing for her. If she wishes, she may choose to bear with him (O: supporting herself with her own money), and it (O: the amount the husband is unable to pay) remains a financial obligation that he owes her (O: If she does not wish to tolerate his financial incapacity, she cannot annul the marriage by herself, but must establish her husband's inability to support her before the Islamic judge, who annuls the marriage or allows her to do so, since he is the one who judges the matter (A: and if there is no judge, she has two persons (Def: o21.4) decide)).)
- m11.14 The wife is not entitled to annul the marriage when the husband is unable to provide foods besides the staple food, support her servant, or provide the support that must be provided by an affluent person or person between affluence and nonaffluence (def: m11.2).
- m12.0 SUPPORT OF ONE'S PARENTS AND CHILDREN
- m12.1 It is obligatory for one to support the persons listed below, whether one is male or female, when one has money in excess of one's own living expenses and (n: if male,) those of one's wife (O: meaning enough for a day and night, oneself taking priority over others, followed by one's wife, who takes precedence over other family members):
- (1) one's father father's father and on up:
- (2) one's mother, grandmothers (from either parent's side) and on up (O: it making no difference what their religion is (A: since the religion of the family members is of no consequence in any of the rulings of this section)):
- (3) and one's children, male and female, their children, and on down. (O: Money in excess of one's own living expenses and those of one's wife means one is obliged to sell (A: if necessary to fulfill the obligation to support the above-mentioned persons) whatever must be sold when one has to pay debts, including real estate and other property.) But supporting the above-mentioned persons is only obligatory when:
- (a) there is poverty (O: a restriction applicable to both support of one's ancestors and one's descendants, meaning that it is necessary in order for it to be obligatory to support one's ancestor that the ancestor be poor, since if he has enough money, one need not support him);
- (b) an incapacity (O: to earn a living) due to chronic illness, being a child, or to mental illness. (O: This condition is only applicable to support of one's offspring, not of one's ancestors. If an (A: impoverished) ancestor (A: such as one's father) were able to earn a living from a job suitable to him, it would nevertheless be obligatory for one to support him, and he would not be called upon to gain livelihood, because of the extreme respect due to him, as opposed to one's descendant, whom one need not support if the descendant is able to earn his own living, but who rather is called upon to do so himself. The upshot is that the support of whoever has enough money for their own support is not obligatory upon another family member, no matter whether the former is mentally ill or sane, a child or adult, chronically ill or well; because he does not deserve charity in such a condition-while a descendant able to earn an adequate living does not deserve support from his ancestors.)
- m12.2 A child is obliged to support his father's wife (A: if the father cannot).
- m12.3 When a person has both ancestors and children (A: deserving support) but does not have enough for all, then (O: after himself and then his wife) he gives precedence (A: in order) to:
- (1) his mother
- (2) his father
- (3) his young son (O: or daughter)
- (4) and then to his adult children (A: if they are unable to
- m12.4 The amount of such support must be enough to suffice, though (N: if this much is not paid) it does not become

a debt owed by the person who should have given it. (O: It is no longer obligatory after its time has passed (A: but if the deserving person borrows money to support himself during this period, the person who should have supported him is obliged to pay the debt), even though the person who was obliged to give it has committed a sin by thus allowing the

time to pass.
m12.5 When a father who is poor needs to marry, then a son who is financially able must provide him with the means to keep chaste by finding him a wife (O: i.e by giving her the marriage payment (mahr, def: m8). It is not permissible to marry him to a deformed or aged women).

m12.6 Whoever owns an animal is obliged to pay for its maintenance. (O: The restoration and maintenance of property without a living spirit, such as a canal or house, is not obligatory for its owner. Mutawalli explains this by the fact that such maintenance is an augmentation to the property and as such is not mandatory, as opposed to livestock, whose owner must feed them, since to neglect to do so would entail harm for them. Other scholars explain the difference in terms of the sacredness of animate life, which the author of al-Istigsa' (n: Uthman ibn Isa Marani) says is the reason that it is wrong for someone to prevent living things from drinking surplus water (dis: p69), while it is not a sin to neglect watering crops.)

m13.0 CHILD CARE AND CUSTODY

- (O: The meaning of child care in Sacred Law is the protection of someone who does not possess discernment and cannot manage for himself, whether a child or a mentally ill adult, by seeing to his interests through such things as bathing him, washing his clothes, or grooming him; or securing an infant in the cradle, turning him over to sleep, and protecting him from death or harm. It entails a kind of authority and control and may be possessed by either men or women, though women have a better right to it, since they are tenderer towards children, more patient in carrying out the demands of the task, more discerning in raising children, and more steadfast in staying with them. The following discussion first centers on who best deserves the custody of a child, in order of precedence, and then treats the characteristics of the guardian and ward.)
- m13.1 The person with best right to custody of a child (A: in order) (O: when there is a dispute concerning who should
 - (1) the mother;
- (2) the mother's mother, mother's mother, and on up, such that the one of the generation closest to the child takes precedence:
- (3) the father;
- (4) the father's mother, father's mother's mother, and on up. where again, the one of the generation closest to the child takes precedence;
 - (5) the father's father:
- (6) the father's father's mother her mother and on un where the one of the generation that is closest takes precedence:
- (7) full sister:
- (8) full brother (O: though when the siblings are all male or all female and there is a disagreement over who should have custody, they draw lots to see who will get it. When both males and females exist, females take precedence);
- (9) the child's half brothers or sisters from the same father;
- (10) the half brothers or sisters from the same mother;
- (11) the mother's sister;
- (12) the daughters of the full brothers;
- (13) the sons of the full brothers:
- (14) the daughters of the half brothers from the same father;
- (15) the sons of the half brothers from the same father:
- (16) the daughters of the half brothers from the same mother;
- (17) the sons of the half brothers from the same mother;
- (18) the father's sister;
- (19) the father's brother:
- (20) the daughters of the mother's sister;
- (21) the daughters of the father's brother:
- (22) and then the son of the father's brother.
- m13.2 The necessary conditions for a person to have custody of a child are:
- (a) uprightness (def: o24.4) (O: a corrupt person may not be guardian, because child care is a position of authority, and the corrupt are unqualified for it. Mawardi and Ruyani hold that outward uprightness (def: m3.3(f)) is sufficient unless there is open wrongdoing. If the corruptness of a child's mother consists of her not performing the prayer (salat), she has no right to custody of the child, who might grow up to be like her, ending up in the same vile condition of not praying, for keeping another's company has its effects);
- (b) sanity (O: since a mother uninterruptedly insane has no right to custody, though if her insanity is slight, such as a single day per year, her right to custody is not vitiated by it);
- (c) and if the child is Muslim, it is a necessary condition that the person with custody be a Muslim (O: because it is a position of authority, and a non-Muslim has no right to

authority and hence no right to raise a Muslim. If a non-Muslim were given charge of the custody and upbringing of the child, the child might acquire the character traits of unbelief (kufr)).

m13.3 (A: It is offensive to send one's children to a day-care center run by non-Muslims. It is unlawful to send Muslim children to Christian schools, or those which are designedly atheist, though it is not unlawful to send them to public schools in which religion is not mentioned (N: in a way that threatens the students' belief is Islam).

m13.4 A woman has no right to custody (A: of her child from a previous marriage) when she remarries (O: because married life will occupy her with fulfilling the rights of her husband and prevent her from tending the child. It makes no difference in such cases if the (A: new) husband agrees or not (N: since the child's custody in such a case automatically devolves to the next most eligible on the list (dis: m13.1)), unless the person she marries is someone (A: on the list) who is entitled to the child's custody anyway (O: as opposed to someone unrelated to the child, since such a person, even if willing, does not deserve custody because he lacks the tenderness for the child that a relative would have).

m13.5 When a child reaches the age of discrimination (O: which generally occurs around seven or eight years of age) he is given a choice as to which of his parents he wants to stay with (O: since the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) gave a young boy the choice between his father and his mother. The child is only given such a choice when the necessary conditions for child custody (def: m13.2) exist in both parents. If one of them lacks a single condition, then the child is not given a choice, because someone lacking one of the conditions is as though nonexistent). If the child chooses one of the parents, he is given to the care of that lone, though if a son chooses his mother, he is left with his father during the day so the father can teach him and train him. (O: Other possible outcomes of such a choice are when the child chooses both parents, in which case they draw lots to see who receives custody of him; or when he chooses neither, in which case the mother takes precedence since the custody is hers, and the child has not chosen someone else.) If the child subsequently chooses the other parent, he is given to the care of them (O: for he might want to stay with one of them at one time and with the other at another, just as one desires food at one time but not another. Or the child's intention might be to maintain good relations with both sides. The author restricts the permissibility of such cases of transferring the child's custody from one to another by saying:) unless it is apparent that the child is merely enamored with going back and forth or is weakminded (O: indicating his lack of discernment. In such cases his choice is not followed, and he remains with whomever he was with before reaching the age discernment).

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BOOK N - DIVORCE (by al-Misri)

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n1 0 WHO MAY EFFECT A DIVORCE

(O: The legal basis for the permissibility of divorce is the Koran, sunna, and consensus of Muslims. As for the Koran, Allah Most High says, "Divorce is two times..." (Koran 2:229). And as for the sunna, there is the rigorously authenticated (sahih) hadith. "No permissible thing is more detested by Allah than divorce." Our sheikh, Bajuri, says the meaning of permissible in the hadith is offensive, since it is permissible, meaning lawful, though detested by Allah. Its integrals are five:

- (a) the spoken form;
- (b) the wife;
- (c) the authority to effect it;
- (d) the intention:
- (e) and the person who effects it (A: i.e. the husband).)
- n1.1 Divorce is valid from any:
- (a) husband:
- (b) who is sane;
- (c) has reached puberty;
- (d) and who voluntarily effects it.
- A divorce is not valid from:
- (1) (non-(c) above) a child;
- (2) (non-(b)) someone insane:
- (3) or (non-(d)) someone who is wrongfully coerced to do it, as when one is threatened with death, dismemberment, being severely beaten, or even mere verbal abuse or a slight beating if the person being coerced is someone whose public image is important and would thereby suffer. (O: Someone being forced should use words that give a misleading impression (def: r10.2) for his ostensible divorce.")
- n1.2 A statement of divorce is legally effective when pronounced by a person whose mental faculties are lacking because of something inexcusable such as having become intoxicated or having needlessly taken some mind-altering drug (O: though someone who takes such a drug out of need for medical treatment is considered as an insane person in that this statement of divorce is not legally effective).
- n1.3 The person conducting the divorce may effect it himself or commission another (def: k17.5-6) to do so, even if the person commissioned is a woman

The person commissioned may effect the divorce at any time (O: provided the one who commissions him does not cancel the commission before the divorce takes place (disk: k17.16)), though when a husband tells his wife, Divorce yourself," then if she immediately says, I divorce myself," she is divorced, but if she delays, she is not divorced unless the husband has said, Divorce yourself whenever you wish.'

n2.0 GENERAL PROVISIONS CONCERNING DIVORCE

- n2.1 A free man has three pronouncements of divorce (O: because of the word of Allah Most High, "Divorce is two times, then retain with kindness or graciously release" (Koran 2:229), and when the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) was asked about the third time, he said, "It is Allah's having said, or graciously release"").
- n2.2 It is offensive to make a pronouncement of divorce when there is no need (O: need including when the wife has displeasing qualities of morals), to make three pronouncements (N: even if separate) being more offensive, and combining them in one interval of purity between menstruations even more offensive.
- n2.3 There are various categories of divorce: sunna, unlawful innovation, and that which is neither sunna nor unlawful innovation. The sunna is to make a pronouncement of divorce in an interval between menstruations in which no sexual intercourse with the wife has taken place. Unlawful innovation consists of either making a pronouncement of divorce during the woman's menstrual period when this is not for payment (O: from the wife in exchange for the husband's releasing her from marriage (def: n5), though if the divorce is in exchange for a sum paid by the wife, it is not unlawful innovation because it implies that she accepts that the waiting period should be thus prolonged (dis: n9.7))-or else making the pronouncement during an interval between menstruations in which they have had sexual intercourse. If one effects such a divorce, it is recommended to take the wife back (O: if one did not pronounce it the full number of (n: three) times). Neither sunna nor unlawful innovation means the divorce of a wife who is prepubescent, postmenopausal, pregnant, or one with whom one has not yet had sexual intercourse

n3.0 THE WORDS THAT EFFECT A DIVORCE

- n3.1 The words that effect a divorce may be plain or allusive. Plain words effect the divorce whether one intends divorce by them or not, while allusive words do not effect it unless one intends divorce by them.
- n3.2 Using plain words to effect a divorce means expressly pronouncing the word divorce (O: or words derived from it). When the husband says' "I divorce you," or "You are divorced," the wife is divorced whether he has made the intention or not. (A: Here and in the rulings below, expressions such as "The wife is divorced," or "The divorce is effected," mean just one of the three times (def: n9.0(N:)) necessary to finalise it unless the husband thereby intends a two-or threefold divorce (dis: n3.5) or repeats the words three times.)
- n3.3 Using allusive words to effect a divorce includes: (1) the husband's saying, "You are now alone," "You are ee," "You are separated," "You are

parted," "You are no longer lawful to me," "Rejoin your "You are footloose," and the like;

- (2) his saying, "I am divorced from you";
- (3) or when he commissions the wife to pronounce the divorce, and she says, "You are divorced";
- (4) when someone asks. "Do you have a wife?" and he says
- (5) or when the husband writes words that effect the divorce (O: no matter whether able or unable to speak at the time of writing, or whether he is present or absent, or whether he writes in plain or allusive words). When one intends divorce by any of the above, the words effect it, but if one does not,
- n3.4 When a husband is asked, Have you divorced your wife?" and he says Yes," then she is divorced (O: even if he does not intend).
- n3.5 If the husband says, "You are divorced," and thereby intends a two-or threefold pronouncement, then whatever number he intends is effected, this rule holding for all words that effect divorce, whether plain or allusive. (O: The proof that a single pronouncement can validly effect a threefold divorce is the hadith classified as rigorously authenticated (sahih) by Ibn Hibban that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), when Rukana divorced his wife and then said, "I did not intend it except as one time," made him swear an oath to that effect, and then returned her to him. If a single pronouncement could not effect a threefold divorce, there would not have been any point in the Prophet's making him swear the oath (Allah bless him and give him peace).)
 n3.7 If a husband tells his wife, "You are divorced in sha'

Allah [if Allah wills]," or "if Allah does not will," or "unless Allah wills," then the divorce is not effected.

n4.0 CONDITIONAL EXPRESSIONS THAT EFFECT DIVORCE

- n4.1 It is permissible to make the efficacy of a divorce conditional. If the husband makes the divorce conditional on something, and the event occurs, then the wife is divorced. If he says, "If your monthly period begins, you are divorced," then she is divorced when her menstrual flow appears.
- n4.3 If the husband says, "If you leave the house without my permission, you are divorced," then gives her permission to go out, and she does but then goes out a second time without permission, she is not divorced. If he says, "Anytime you go out without my permission you are divorced," then if she leaves at anytime without permission, she is divorced.
- n4.5 When a husband makes a divorce conditional on one of his own acts but then does the act not remembering that he made it a condition, or does the act because he is forced to, the wife is not divorced.
- n4.6 When the husband makes a divorce conditional on another person's act, such as by saying. "If So-and-so enters the house, you are divorced," and the person enters before or after he knows it is a condition, whether remembering it or not, then if the person named is not someone who would mind if they were divorced (O: meaning it is no problem for him if it happens, and the would not be saddened if it did, because of lack of friendship for them). then the wife is divorced. But if the person knows it is a condition and enters forgetfully, then if he is someone who would mind if they were divorced, the wife not divorced. If the husband, tells his wife, If you enter that house, you are divorced," and she is subsequently

divorced," and she is subsequently divorced from him with a finalised divorce, after which he remarries her, and she then enters the house, then she is not divorced.

n5.0 A RELEASE FOR PAYMENT FROM THE WIFE (KHUL)

- (O: A release for payment means a separation in return for remuneration given to the husband (A: which is a finalised cancellation of the marriage agreement, differing from a threefold divorce by the fact that they may remarry in such a case without her marrying another husband first (dis: n7.7)).)
- n5.1 A release for payment is valid from any person whose divorce is valid (def: n1.1).
- n5.2 Release is offensive except when:
- (1) the husband or wife fear they will not be able to keep within Allah's limits (O: i.e. those that Allah Most High has made obligatory upon them (dis: m10.1)) while the marriage
- (2) or when the husband swears that a threefold divorce is incumbent upon him if he performs some action, but then finds he needs to do it (O: since he cannot clear himself from the oath without giving her a release), so he releases her, marries her (O: with a new agreement, a new marriage payment (mahr), and upright witnesses), and then does the act on which the divorce was conditional (O: though it is fitter to do it before the new marriage, as the oath is nullified as soon as they are unmarried), for then its performance does not necessitate a threefold divorce.
- n5.3 If the husband is foolhardy (A: meaning suspended by the court from dealing in his own money because of chronic carelessness (dis: k13.1(A:))), his granting a release is valid, though his guardian accepts the compensation. A release for compensation is no: legally valid from a wife who is foolhardy.
- n5.4 A release is validly effected by both the words for divorce and the words for release, such as "You are divorced for a thousand," or I release you for a thousand," and if the wife says "I accept," then she is separated from him and she owes him the thousand. She is also released when the husband says, "If you give me a thousand, you are divorced," and then she gives him it, or when she says, "Divorce me for a thousand,"and he says, "You are divorced," in which case she is released and owes him the thousand.
- n5.5 Anything that may be used as a marriage payment (def: m8.4) may be used as recompense for a release. If a husband releases his wife for something not determinately known (nonk2.1(e)) or without lawful value (non-k2.3) such as wine, then she is released in exchange for the amount typically received as marriage payment by women like her (def: m8.8).
- n5.6 A release enacted by words that effect it is a divorce in plain words (A: in not needing the intention (dis: n3.2), (N: in having a waiting period (def: n9), and in being a finalized cancellation of the marriage, though as previously mentioned (n5.0(A:)), the partners may remarry each other (N: even if before the end of the waiting period) without the wife first having to marry another).

n6.0 DOUBTS ABOUT THE FACT OF HAVING DIVORCED

- (A: Doubt means that one does not remember exactly what one said or did. As for when one is ignorant of rulings about divorce or the consequences of one's actions, it is not an excuse, and one must ask those who know.)
- n6.1 Whoever does not know whether he has divorced his wife or not has not divorced her. It is more godfearing in such a case to take the wife back.

- n6.2 If one does not know whether one has divorced one's wife once or whether more than once, then one has divorced her the least number one is certain of.
- n6.3 When a husband divorces his wife with a threefold divorce during his deathbed illness (def: L3.6(1-4), she does not inherit (A: a wife' estate division share (def: L6.4)) from the division of his estate (A: though if it is less than a threefold divorce, she inherits).

n7.0 TAKING BACK A DIVORCED WIFE (RAJA)

- (O: Lexically, to take back means returning, and in Sacred Law it means the return of a woman who is in her waiting period (def: n9) from an unfinalized, non-threefold divorce to the state of marriage).
- n7.1 When a free man pronounces divorce upon his wife once or twice after previously having had sexual intercourse with her, then if the divorce is not (A: a release) for compensation (def:n5), he may take her back at any time before the end of her waiting period (def: n9), whether she wishes to return or not. Or he may finalize the divorce during this period (A: by pronouncing it a third time).
- n7.2 If the husband or wife dies (A: during the waiting period (N: of an unfinalized, nonthreefold divorce)), then the spouse inherits his or her obligatory share from the deceased's estate division (dis: L6), though it is not permissible for the husband to have sexual intercourse with, look at, or physically enjoy the wife before he takes her back.
- n7.3 When a divorce occurs before the husband has made love to the wife, or afterwards (A: in a release) for compensation from her, then he may not take her back (A: without remarrying her).
- n7.4 Returning the wife to marriage is only valid by explicitly stating it, such as by saying, "I return her," "I take her back," or, "I retain her." (N: The Hanafis consider the husband's touching her with desire, such as kissing her, to be a valid return to marriage.)
- n7.5 It is not a necessary condition (O: but is sunna) to have the return attested to by witnesses.
- n7.6 When a husband takes a wife back, she returns with whatever number (A: of times of saying "I divorce you") remains to complete a threefold divorce. (A: If, for example he has said it twice, then she only has one time left.)
- n7.7 When a free man has pronounced a threefold divorce, the divorced wife is unlawful for him to remarry until she has married another husband in a valid marriage and the new husband has copulated (dis: p29) with her, which at minimum means that the head of his erect penis fully enters her vagina.

n8.0 FORSWEARING ONE'S WIFE MORE THAN FOUR MONTHS

- (O: In Sacred Law, forswearing means that the husband swears he will not have sexual intercourse with his wife, either for an unrestricted period or for more than four months.)
- n8.1 Forswearing one's wife is unlawful. It consists in the husband swearing an oath by Allah (def: o18) that for more that four months (O: more than four months including oaths in which no time period is stipulated) he will not have sexual intercourse with his wife, or swears that if he does, then he is obliged to divorce her, fast, pray, or something else.
- n8.3 A husband is not considered to have forsworn his wife (A: in the above unlawful sense) when he forswears sexual intercourse for four months or less, or when he is impotent.

n9.0 A WOMAN'S POSTMARITAL WAITING PERIOD (IDDA)

- (O: Meaning the period in which a woman waits (N: before she may remarry) to verify that she is not pregnant, or out of mourning for her deceased husband.) (N: If the waiting period finishes after a once-or twice-pronounced divorce, the wife is free to marry another man or to remarry the husband with a new contract-returning to the latter with the number of times left (one or two) needed to enact a threefold, finalised divorce (dis: n7.7); while if the waiting period of a less-than-thricepronounced divorce has not yet expired, the husband may take her back (def: n7) without a new contract.) (n: The husband's obligation to support her during the waiting period is discussed at m11.10 above.)
- n9.1 There is no waiting period for a woman divorced before having had sexual intercourse with her husband.
- n9.2 A waiting period is obligatory for a woman divorced after intercourse, whether the husband and wife are prepubescent, have reached puberty, or one has and the other has not. Intercourse means copulation (def: n7.7). If the husband was alone with her but did not copulate with her, and then divorced her, there is no waiting period.
- n9.3 When a waiting period is obligatory (O: upon a woman, cause of divorce or annulment of marriage), then if she is pregnant, the waiting period ends when she gives birth, provided tow conditions are met:
- (a) The first is that she has given birth to all she was carrying, If carrying two or more children, it is necessary that she have given birth to all, whether live or stillborn, and whether fully developed or an undeveloped fetus which midwives (O: two or more) swear is the beginning of a human

form. Whenever there is less than six months between two births, the babies are considered twins. There is no maximal number that may be born, as it is possible for a woman to give birth to four or more babies from one pregnancy

(b) The second condition is that the child is from the husband whom the waiting period is for. If the woman is pregnant from committing adultery (def: n11.2(O:)) (O: or from a marriage which was invalid, after which the husband divorced her), the waiting period does not end when she gives birth, but rather (N: after giving birth), she completes the waiting period of a woman who has been divorced (def: n9.6).

n9.5 The minimal duration of a pregnancy (A: from which a live child is born) is six months, while the maximum is four years).

n9.6 If a woman is not pregnant and has menstrual periods, her waiting period ends when three intervals between menstruations have finished. A part of an interval between menstruations is considered the same as a whole interval. Thus, if the woman's husband divorced her and her menses began an instant later, her waiting period would end after two more intervals between menstruations had finished and a third menstruation begun.

n9.7 If a woman is divorced during her menstrual period, she must wait until the end of three intervals between menstruations. When her fourth menstruation begins, her waiting period is over.

n9.8 There is no difference in respect to the above rulings (n9.6-7) whether a woman's menstrual periods are close together or far apart, close together, for example, meaning a woman whose period lasts a single day and night, and who has fifteen days between periods. Were such a woman divorced just before the end of an interval between menses (A: by a single moment), then her waiting period would finish in thirty-two days and two moments (O: one of which would be part of the waiting period, i.e. the one in which the divorce occurred, and the second of which would not be part of it, namely, that in which it became evident that the waiting period was over by the onset of a subsequent menstruation). If such a woman were divorced at the end of a menstrual period, her waiting period would be fortyseven days plus a moment. These are the shortest possible waiting periods. An example of a woman whose periods are far apart is one whose menstruation lasts fifteen days, and whose intervals between menses last, for example, a year or more. Such a woman must wait for three intervals between menstruations, even if it takes years (N: though medicine may be taken to induce or regulate menstruations).

n9.9 The waiting period for a woman who does not menstruate, whether prepubescent or postmenopausal, is three months. If a woman normally menstruates, but her periods have stopped for some reason such as breastfeeding or the like, or without apparent reason, then she must wait until the age of menopause, after which her waiting period is three months. (N: In the Maliki school, such a woman must wait nine months, and if neither pregnancy nor menses appear, she is considered to be as if menopausal, and her waiting period is three more months, making a total of one entire year in which there is no menstrual flow.)

n9.10 All of the above rulings apply to the waiting period for divorce (N: or release (def: n5)).

WAITING PERIOD FOR A DECEASED HUSBAND

n9.11 If a woman's husband dies, even if during the waiting period of a nonfinalised divorce, then if she is pregnant, her waiting period ends when she gives birth, as previously mentioned (n9.3). But if not (O: i.e. if the deceased's wife is not pregnant from him), her waiting period is four months and ten days, no matter whether she normally menstruates or not (N: and no matter whether the husband has had sexual intercourse with her or not)

THE LODGINGS OF A WOMEN IN HER WAITING PERIOD

n9.13 A woman in her waiting period is obliged to remain in the home (O: and neither the husband nor his family may force her out; nor may she leave. If the husband agrees to allow her to leave when there is no necessity, it is still not permissible). A woman in the waiting period of an unfinalised, less than threefold divorce is under the husband's authority and may not leave without his permission. If in the waiting period of a finalised divorce (N: or release (def: n5)) (O: or annulment,) or after her husband's death, a woman may leave home during the day to fulfill her needs (N: including work, if she has no means of support) and obligations.

n9.14 The waiting period must take place in the same lodgings where the divorce occurred, and the woman may not be moved to other quarters unless there is a real necessity. such as fear (O: for her person or property), or when the landlord objects (O: such as when the house in question was on loan to the husband and its time has expires), or because of considerable annoyance to the woman from neighbours or the husband's relatives, or annoyance to them from her-in all of which cases she may move to the nearest available housing.

n9.15 It is unlawful for the husband of a woman in her waiting period to be alone with her or share the same housing (N: i.e. he must move out) unless she is in a (O: separate) wing of the house (O: with its own kitchen, restroom, cistern, and stairs to the roof, in which case it is permissible to share the housing, which is as if it were two neighbouring houses).

AVOIDING ADORNMENT AFTER A HUSBAND'S DEATH OR A FINALISED DIVORCE

n9.16 It is obligatory for a woman whose husband had dies (N: while she was his wife, or died while she was in the waiting period of an unfinalised divorce form him) to avoid adornment during the subsequent waiting period. It is recommended for a woman to do so during the waiting period of a finalised divorce. It is unlawful for a woman to avoid adornment longer than three days for the death of anyone besides her husband. Avoiding adornment means not to enhance her beauty, wear jewelry or cosmetics, and so forth. A woman avoiding adornment should not wear solid colors (N: if intended to beautify) such as blues, greens, reds, or yellows; or style her hair or use cosmetics for body, clothes, or food (A: such as saffron in rice). She may wear silk, wash her hair (N: or comb it, or bathe) for cleanliness, or pare her nails during

THE END OF THE WAITING PERIOD

n9.17 If the husband of a woman in her waiting period takes her back but divorces her again before having had sexual intercourse with her, then a new waiting period starts over from the beginning (N: though it is unlawful for him to do this merely to prolong her waiting period). If a husband releases his wife for payment (def: n5), remarries her during the release's waiting period, but divorces her before having had sexual intercourse, then she merely finishes the remainder of the release's waiting period.

n9.18 When a woman claims that her waiting period has expired (O: if it does not comprise a particular number of months, but rather consists of a number of intervals between menstruations, or of giving birth) within an amount of time in which it could have possibly ended, then her word is accepted (dis: k8.2).

n9.19 If news of a husband's death reaches a woman after his death by four months and ten days, her waiting period is already over (O: since her knowledge of his death is not a condition for the waiting period).

n10.0 ESTABLISHING PATERNITY

n10.2 The husband of a woman who bears a child (O: no matter whether his marriage to her is valid or invalid) is considered to be the child's father whenever it is (N: legally) possible that the child could be his, meaning that:

(a) the woman gave birth to the child six months plus a moment after the marriage agreement;

(b) she gave birth to it less than four years from when she and her husband could last have possibly met and had sexual intercourse, even if they were living at a distance from one another, and even if the husband does not know whether he had sexual intercourse with her. (A: These conditions are for the child's protection against being disowned, and only concern what can be established in court. Hence, if the husband and wife were living apart at a distance at which they could possibly have travelled and met, for the child's sake the court presumes the child to be the husband's)'

(c) and the husband is at least nine and a half years old.

n10.3 The husband is not legally considered the child's father when the child could not possibly be his, such as when:

- (1) (non-(a) and (b) above) the wife gave birth to the child in less than six months or more than four years since intercourse:
- (2) (non-(b)) the husband is absolutely certain he did not have sexual intercourse with her;
 - (3) (non-(c)) the husband is under the above-mentioned age;
- (4) or the husband's genitals have been dissevered. n10.4 Whenever a husband is absolutely certain that a child which is legally considered his (def: n10.2) is not his, by

knowing that he never had intercourse with the wife at all (O: or did, but less than six months or more than four years before the birth), then he is obliged to deny paternity by public imprecation (ian, def: n11.3) (O: immediately, because denying paternity of a child immediately is like the return of defective merchandise (dis: k5.7). He does so by going to the Islamic judge and saying, "This child is not mine." If he delays, his denial is no longer valid. As for the public imprecation itself, he may perform it at any time thereafter. If he claims that he was ignorant of the necessity of denying paternity, or the obligatory character of its immediacy, and he is someone who might well be ignorant of it, then his claim (A: of ignorance) is accepted when he swears an oath to that effect Denial of paternity likewise entails charging the wife with adultery, and this too is obligatory immediately).

n10.5 If a husband is not absolutely sure that the child is from someone else, it is unlawful for him to deny paternity (O: as mere doubts that have arisen in his mind are of no

consequence) and unlawful to charge his wife with adultery. (O: It is also unlawful for him to publicly imprecate (def: n11.3) against her in such a case, even when he knows she has committed adultery, because the child would suffer harm through his mother being charged with adultery and its being established against her by public imprecation, the child being disgraced by this and gossip circulated about him. The child need not endure this harm merely to satisfy the husband's revenge, who may separate from her by divorce).

n10.6 When a child is legally considered (def: n10.2) to be from a husband who is entitled to deny paternity but delays doing so without excuse and subsequently wants to deny it by public imprecation, we (O: i.e. the judge) do not allow him to do so (c): because denial of paternity must take place immediately, as mentioned above (n10.4), and his delay obviates the possibility of denial). But if the husband intends to deny paternity immediately, we implement his intention.

n11.0 CHARGING ONE'S WIFE WITH ADULTERY

n11.1 Anyone who charges his wife with adultery (O: in plain words, as when he says, "you adulteress," or allusively, as when he says, "I did not find you a virgin,") and who is thereby liable to be punished for accusing another of adultery without witnesses (dis: o13.1), may prevent the punishment by public imprecation against her (lian, def: n11.2), provided

(a) has reached puberty;

(b) is sane;

(c) does so voluntarily; and provided his wife:
(d) is legally innocent of adultery (A: meaning there is neither a confession from her nor four

eyewitnesses (dis: n11.2(O:)));

(e) and that she is capable of sexual intercourse

n11.2 A husband who accuses his wife of adultery is disciplined (tazir, def:o17) by the magistrate and not allowed to imprecate against her when her adultery is already legally established (O: whether by her own admission, or by proof, meaning that four upright witnesses (o24.4) have looked at her when she was copulating and seen the adulterer's penis in her vagina), or when (N: adultery is impossible, such as when) the person accused is a mere infant.

PUBLIC IMPRECATION (LIAN)

n11.3 Public imprecation consists of the Islamic magistrate (O: or his equivalent) telling the husband to repeat four times, "I testify by Allah that I am truthful in charging her with adultery" (O: and it is necessary to identify her by her first and family name, though if she is present he says, "this wife of mine," and points to her); and if there is a child, "and that this child [O: or if absent, the child she gave birth to from adultery"] is not from me." The fifth time, after the magistrate warns him, enjoins him to fear Allah (O: reminding him that the punishment of the hereafter is worse than punishment in the present life), and after he has put his hand in from of the husband's mouth, the husband adds, "And may the curse of Allah be upon me if I am lying.

n11.4 When the husband has done this, he is no longer liable to be punished for accusing another of adultery without witnesses, he has denied paternity of the child, and his wife is divorced from him and unlawful for him to marry, be alone with, or look at, forever. She is now liable to be punished for

n11.5 The wife in such a case may avoid being punished for adultery by public imprecation against the husband. Upon being ordered by the magistrate, she says four times, "I testify by Allah that he is lying about what he has charged me with.' The fifth time, after being warned by the magistrate of the severity of the consequences, as described above, she says, "And may the wrath of Allah be upon me if he is telling the truth." When she has done this, she is no longer liable to be punished for adultery.

n11.6 (O: Public imprecation is legally valid in a non-Arabic language even when the speaker knows Arabic, because the imprecation is a kind of oath or attestation, either of which may be given in any language.)

n12.10 BECOMING UNMARRIAGEABLE KIN BY SUCKLING (RIDA)

n12.1 An infant becomes the "child" of the female who breast-feeds him (A: in respect to being unable to marry her, to the permissibility of looking at her and being alone with her, and in his ablution (wudu) not being nullified by touching her) when:

(a) the milk comes from a female at least nine years old, whether it is occasioned by sexual intercourse or something

(b) and she breast-feeds a child who is less than two full years old;

(c) in at least five separate breast-feedings (O: a restriction that excludes anything less than five, which is of no consequence. Separate breast-feedings means whatever is commonly acknowledged (def: f4.5) to be separate).

n12.2 In such a case

(1) it is unlawful for the wet nurse to marry the child and its subsequent descendants (O: by familial relation or by suckling) exclusively (O: exclusively meaning that only the child's descendants become unlawful for her to marry, not the child's ancestors (N: or brothers));

(2) she becomes the child's "mother," and it is unlawful for the child to marry her, her ancestors (O: by familial relation or by suckling), her descendants (O: who become as if they were the child's brothers and sisters), or her brothers and sisters (O: though the child is not forbidden to marry the latters' children).

n12.3 If the wet nurse's milk was occasioned by a pregnancy from her husband, then:

(1) the child she nurses becomes the husband's "child," and the husband may not marry the child or its descendants (O: by familial relation or by suckling, since they are now as if his grandchildren) exclusively;

(2) and the husband becomes the child's "father," and it is unlawful for the child to marry him, his ancestors, his descendants, or his brothers and sisters.

n12.4 Upon becoming unmarriageable kin through suckling, marriage between the above-mentioned persons is prohibited, and it is permissible for the respective members of the opposite sex to look at each other as they do with their familial unmarriageable relatives (dis: m2.5), and to be alone with them (O: though other kinds of rulings applicable to natural relatives, such as inheritance (def: L4-6) or having to support them (m12) are not applicable to unmarriageable kin by suckling).

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o1.0 WHO IS SUBJECT TO RETALIATION FOR INITIRIOUS CRIMES

(O: Injurious crimes includes not only those committed with injurious weapons, but those inflicted otherwise as well, such as with sorcery (def: x136). Killing without right is, after unbelief, one of the very worst enormities, as Shafii explicitly states in (n: Muzani's) The Epitome. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "The blood of a Muslim man who testifies that there is no god but Allah and that I am the Messenger of Allah is not lawful to shed unless he be one of three: a married adulterer, someone killed in retaliation for killing another, or some-one who abandons his religion and the Muslim community," and in another hadith, "The killing of a believer is more heinous in Allah's sight that doing away with all of this world." Allah Most High says: "... and not to slay the soul that Allah has forbidden, except with right" (Koran 6:151), and, "O you who believe, retaliation is prescribed for you regarding the slain..." (Koran 2:178).)

o1.1 Retaliation is obligatory (A: if the person entitled wishes to take it (dis: o3.8)) against anyone who kills a human being purely intentionally and without right. (O: Intentionally is a first restriction and excludes killing

someone through an honest mistake, while purely excludes a mistake made in a deliberate injury (def: o2.3), and without right excludes cases of justifiable homicide such as lawful

o1.2 The following are not subject to retaliation:

(1) a child or insane person, under any circumstances (O: whether Muslim or non-Muslim. The ruling for a person intermitently insane is that he is considered as a sane person when in his right mind, and as if someone continously insane when in an interval of insanity. If someone against whom retaliation is obligatory subsequently becomes insane, the full penalty is nevertheless exacted. A homicide committed by someone who is drunk is (A: considered the same as that of a sane person,) like his pronouncing divorce (dis: n1.2));
(2) a Muslim for killing a non-Muslim:

(3) a Jewish or Christian subject of the Islamic state for killing an apostate from Islam (O: because a subject of the state is under its protection, while killing an apostate from Islam is without consequences);

(4) a father or mother (or their fathers of mothers) fir

killing their offspring, or offspring's offspring;
(5) nor is retaliation permissible to a descendant for (A: his ancestor's) killing someone whose death would otherwise entitle the descendant to retaliate, such as when his father kills

o2.0 INTENTIONALITY IN INJURIOUS CRIMES

- o2.1 Injurious crimes (O: of all types, whether killing or something less) are of three types:
- (1) an honest mistake;
- (2) a mistake made in a deliberate injury;
- (3) or purely intentional.

o2.2 An honest mistake is an act such as shooting an arrow at a wall and hitting a person (O: or shooting at a person and hitting someone else), or slipping from a height and falling on someone. The criterion for it is that the act is intended but not the person, or neither the act nor the person is intended.

o2.3 A mistake made in a deliberate injury is when one intends an injury that is not generally fatal, such as hitting someone with a light stick in a nonvital spot (A: from which the person dies) and the like.

o2.4 Purely intentional means to intend and injury of the type that is generally fatal, whether with a blunt instrument

o3.0 RETALIATION FOR BODILY INJURY OR DEATH (QISAS)

o3.1 Retaliation is obligatory (A: if those entitled wish to take it (dis: o3.8)) when there is a (N: purely) intentional injury (def: o2.4) against life or limb.

o3.2 Retaliation is obligatory in return for injuries (A: part for commensurate part) whenever the retaliatory injury can be (O: fully) inflicted without exceeding the extent of the original injury, such as (A: when the retaliatory injury is on) an eye, eyelid, the soft part of the nose, the ear, tooth, lip, hand, foot, finger, fingertip, penis, testicles, vulva, and the like; provided that the retaliatory injury is like the origina, meaning that a right member is not taken for a left, an upper one for a lower, nor a functional member for a paralysed one. (N: Nor is there retaliation for nonfatal bullet wounds in the stomach or chest, for example, because such injuries cannot be reproduced without risk of greater damage than the original, for which reason they call for an indemnity (dis: o4.15) alone.) There is no retaliation for (O: breaking) a bone (A: though payment is due to cover the cost of treatment and so forth).

o3.3 Females are entitled to retaliate against males, children against adults, and lower class people against upper class; whether the retaliation is a life for a life, or limb for a limb.

o3.4 It is not permissible to exact retaliation against someone without the presence of the caliph (def: o25) or his representative (O: meaning that it is necessary to have the permission of one of them because of the danger and lack of knowledge involved in exacting retaliation oneself, as it requires the judgement and personal reasoning of a ruler. If someone takes retaliation without the caliph's permission. then it is valid (A: i.e. suffices the demand for it) but the person who took it is disciplined (def: o17) for arrogating the caliph's prerogative, since administering retaliation is one of his functions, and to encroach upon it is wrong). If a person who is entitled to retaliate is able to do so proficiently (O: being a strong man who knows how to do it), he is allowed to. If not, he is ordered (N: by the rules or his representative) to have another do it.

o3.5 If two (O: or more) people are entitled to exact retaliation against the offender, it is not permissible for just one of them to insist on doing so (O: though if they choose one of themselves to exact it, this is permissible, and the one chosen is considered as the other's commissioned agent. The two may not take retaliation together, as this amounts to torturing the person being retaliated against). If each insists that he be the one, they draw lots to see who will do it.

o3.6 There is no retaliation against a pregnant woman until she has given birth and the infant is able to suffice with another's milk

o3.8 Whenever someone who is entitled to exact retaliation decides instead to forgive the offender and take an indemnity (def: o4) from him, then retaliation is no longer called for, and the deserving person is entitled to the indemnity. If some of a group of people who are entitled to retaliation agree to forgo it, as when a murder victim has children and one of them forgives the murderer, then retaliation is no longer obligatory, and the group deserves an indemnity from the offender. (A: Or the indemnity may also be waived.)

o3.9 When someone kills a group of people or maims them one after another, retaliation is exacted for the first individual attacked, and the other deserving parties receive an indemnity. If the offender injures them all at one, then those entitled to retaliate against him draw lots to determine who will do so. o3.10 When a group of people together murder a single person, they are all killed in retaliation, no matter whether the amount of injury inflicted by each upon the victim is the same or whether it differs

o3.12 There is no retaliation against anyone for an injury or death caused by someone who did so intentionally but in conjunction with someone who did so by mistake. When an injurious crime is caused by a nonfamily member in cooperation with the victim's father, retaliation is only taken against the nonfamily member (dis: o1.2(4)).

o3.13 Retaliation is also obligatory (dis: o3.8) for every wound that cuts to the bone, such as a cut on the head or face that reaches the skull, or a cut to the bone in the upper arm lower leg, or thigh. To the bone means that it is known that a knife or a needle, for example, has reached the bone, not that the wound actually exposes the bone to view.

o4.0 INDEMNITY (DIYA)

(A: The rulings below concern the maximum that the victim or victim's family may demand. If both sides agree on an indemnity of lesser amount, or nothing at all, this is legally valid and binding.)

o4.1 An indemnity is obligatory (N: though it may by waived by deserving recipients, like retaliation) in cases of death caused:

(1) by an honest mistake (def: o2.2);

(2) by a mistake made in a deliberate injury (o2.3);

(3) or intentionally, if those entitled to retaliate agree to forgo retaliation (dis: o3.8).

o4.2 The indemnity for killing a male Muslim is 100 camels. (N: Shafii scholars early converted the pastoral equivalents to gold dinars (n: one dinar equalling 4.235 grams of gold (dis: w15)), the amount due in the rulings below being the weight of the gold, regardless of its current market value.) (A: The stronger position in the Shafi's school is that indemnities should be reckoned in camels, after which both parties may agree on a lesser amount or another form of payment.)

THE INDEMNITY FOR A PURELY INTENTIONAL KILLING

o4.3 The indemnity for cases of purely intentional homicide (def: o2.4) is made severe in three ways:

(a) it must be paid immediately;

(b) it is due from the offender himself;

(c) and the amount paid is (N: 1.333.3 gold dinars (n: 5,646.6 grams of gold) or else:) 30 she-camels in their fourth year, 30 she-camels in their fifth year, and 40 pregnant she-

THE INDEMNITY FOR DEATH BY MISTAKE IN A DELIBERATE INJURY

o4.4 When the killing is a mistake made in a deliberate injury (def:o2.3), the indemnity is only made severe in one respect, namely that the payment consists of the three types of camel mentioned above (n: or 5,646.6 grams of gold), while it is less severe in that:

(a) payment is deferred (def: o4.11);

(b) and is due (N: not from the offender, but) from those of the offender's extended family who are required to pay (agila. def: o4.10).

THE INDEMNITY FOR A DEATH CAUSED BY AN HONEST MISTAKE

o4.5 When the killing occurred through an honest mistake (def: o2.2), the indemnity is less severe in three ways:

(a) payment is deferred;

(b) it is due from those of the offender's extended family who are required to pay (def: o4.10);

(c) and the amount paid is (N: 1,000 gold dinars (n: 4,235.0 grams of gold) or: 20 she-camels in their second year, 20 she-camels and 20 he-camels in their third year, 20, shecamels in their fourth year, and 20 she-camels in their fifth

o4.6 But no matter whether the killing was a mistake or intentional, the three-types-of-camelindemnity (def: o4.3(c)) must be paid if the person killed was:

- m6.1(1-8) and m6.2(1-6)):
- (2) slain in the Sacred Precinct in Mecca:
- (3) or killed during one of the sacrosanct months of Dhul Qada, Dhul Hijja, Muharram, or Rajab.
- o4.7 Defective animals may not constitute payment.
- o4.8 It is permissible for deserving recipients to accept payment other than camels if both parties agree
- o4.9 (A: For the rulings below, one multiplies the fraction named by the indemnity appropriate to the death or injury's type of intentionality and other relevant circumstances that determine the amount of a male Muslim's indemnity (def: o4.2-6 and o4.13).) The indemnity for the death or injury of a woman is one-half the indemnity paid for a man. The indemnity paid for a Jew or Christian is one-third of the indemnity paid for a Muslim. The indemnity paid of a Zoroastrian is one-fifteenth of that a Muslim. When a miscarriage results from someone having struck the stomach of a pregnant woman (O: or other part of her, or when someone frightens her, resulting in a miscarriage), the indemnity for the fetus is a male or female slave worth onetwentieth of the indemnity payable for killing the fetus's father, or one-tenth that of its mother. (A: The indemnity is whatever they agree upon.)
- o4.10 The members of the offender's extended family who are liable for certain kinds of indemnities consist of the offender's universal heirs, excluding his father, father's father (O: and on up), his son, son's son (O: and on down). (A: Meaning that they consist of those mentioned at L10.6(7-14).) Those of the extended family who are poor (A: poor meaning someone who has enough for himself but no more), prepubescent, or insane are not obliged to pay (N: anything in conjunction with the other members). If the offender is Muslim, then his non-Muslim relatives are not obliged to pay, as is also the case if the offender is non-Muslim and his relatives are Muslim.
- o4.11 When the extended family is obliged to, they must pay the entire indemnity of 100 camels (N: or the gold equivalents) within three years. Every required extended family member who is well-off is obliged to pay one-half dinar (n:2.1175 grams of gold) at the end of each year, while every member who is between affluence and poverty is obliged to pay a quarter dinar (n; 1.05875 grams of gold). If any of the indemnity remains to be paid after three years (N: or if the offender has no family to pay it), it is paid by the Muslim common fund (bayt al-mal). If there is none, the offender himself must pay. 04.12 When the indemnity due is less than a full indemnity
- (A: full meaning that which is due for a Muslim male (def: 04.2-6)), as when it is for a wound, miscarriage, female, or a Jewish or Christian subject of the Islamic state, then:
- (1) if it consists of one-third or less of a full indemnity, it must be paid within one year;
- (2) if it consists of two-thirds or less of a full indemnity then one of the thirds must be paid in the first year, and the rest in the second year;
- (3) and if it amounts to more than two-thirds of a full indemnity, then the two-thirds must be paid within two years and the rest in the third year.

THE INDEMNITY FOR BODILY INJURIES

- o4.13 If a nonpaired body part of aesthetic value and utility (A: a tongue, for example) is dissevered, then a full indemnity is paid, meaning the indemnity due if the member's owner were killed (def: o4.2-6,
- o4.9). The same is due for each pair of limbs: if both are cut off, a full indemnity is paid, while if only one is cut off, then half the full indemnity. The same is true for the faculties of sense (A: such as hearing): for each faculty the injury eliminates, there is a full indemnity. Thus, a full indemnity is paid for cutting off two ears, and a half indemnity for one. This also holds for a pair of eyes, lips, jaws, hands, feet, buttocks, testicles, eyelids, the nipples of a female, vulval labia the soft part of the nose, the tongue, head of the penis, or whole penis. A full indemnity is also paid for injuries which paralyze these members, or for injuring the peritioneal wall between vagina and rectum so they become one aperture, or for flaying a person, breaking his back, or eliminating the use of his mind, hearing, vision, speech, sense of smell, or taste.
- o4.14 The indemnity for each finger is ten camels, and five for each tooth (N: or 10 and 5 percent respectively of the equivalent gold values (def: o4.3-5), depending on the relevant circumstances (dis: o4.9(A:))).
- o4.15 As for wounds on the body, their indemnity consists of a fraction of the full indemnity
- proportionate (A: by the calculation of the Islamic magistrate) to the extent of the damage.
- o4.16 The indemnity for wounds on the head or face, when not to the bone, is also such a proportionate fraction, though if such wounds are to the bone, as mentioned above (o3.13), the indemnity is five camels (dis: o4.14(N:)). There are other injuries which I prefer to omit for the sake of brevity.
- o4.17 There is no indemnity obligatory for killing a non-Muslim at war with Muslims (harbi), someone who has left

(1) an unmarriageable kin by birth relative of the killer (def: Islam, someone sentenced to death by stoning (A: for adultery (def: o12)) by virtue of having been convicted in court, or those it is obligatory to kill by military action (N: such as a band of highwaymen).

o5.0 THE EXPIATION TO ALLAH FOR TAKING A HUMANLIFE

- o5.1 An expiation is due to Allah Most High from anyone who kills someone unlawful to kill, whether the killing is through a mistake or is intentional, and no matter whether retaliation (def: o3) or an indemnity (o4) is obligatory or not.
- o5.2 The expiation consists of freeing a slave (def: k32), or if one cannot, then two consecutive months of fasting. (O: There is no difference in this precedence order whether the killer is legally accountable or not, as when he is a child or insane, in which case the guardian must free a slave on his behalf. (A: Though if a child fasts, it fulfills the expiation.))
- o5.4 (O: There is no expiation for killing someone who has left Islam, a highwayman (def: o15). or a convicted married adulterer, even when someone besides the caliph kills him.)

06.0 FIGHTING THOSE WHO REBEL AGAINST THE CALIPH

- o6.1 When a group of Muslims rebel against the caliph (khalifa, def: o25) and want to overthrow him, or refuse to fulfill an obligation imposed by Sacred Law such as zakat, and rise in armed insurrection, he sends someone to them and redresses their grievances if possible. If they obdurately refuse to obey him (O: no matter whether he is just or unjust, as Nawawi mentions in his commentary on Sahih Muslim, citing the consensus of Muslims (ijma, def: b7) that it is unlawful to revolt against caliphs and fight them, even if they are corrupt), he fights them with (O: military) weaponry that does not cause general destruction, as do fire and mangonel (O: for the aim is to suppress them, not destroy them), and does not pursue those who retreat, or kill the wounded
- o6.2 There is no financial responsibility for what they destroy of ours nor what we destroy of theirs in such military
- o6.3 They are subject to Islamic laws (O: because they have not committed an act that puts them outside of Islam that they should be considered non-Muslims. Nor are they considered morally corrupt, for rebels is not a pejorative term, but rather they merely have a mistaken understanding), and the decisions of their Islamic judge are considered legally effective (O: provided he does not declare the lives of upright Muslims (def: o24.4) to be justly forfeitable) if they are such as would be effective if made by our own judge
- o6.4 If they do not rebel by war, the caliph may not fight

o7.0 WARDING OFF AGGRESSORS

- o7.1 Someone whom a Muslim is trying to kill is entitled to kill the Muslim, though it is not obligatory to. Someone whom a non-Muslim or animal is trying to kill is obliged to defend himself.
- o7.2 If an aggressor is trying to take one's money or property, it is permissible to defend it but not obligatory. If the aggressor intends one's womenfolk (O: such as one's wife or son's wife), it is obligatory to defend them.
- o7.3 To defend means to use the minimum amount of force required. If one knows that shouting will repel the aggressor, one may not strike him. If a hand is enough, a stick may not be employed. If a stick will do, a sword may not be used. If cutting the other's hand will suffice, one may not kill him. (O: Mawardi states that this precedence order is for crimes that are not indecencies. As for when an aggressor is raping someone whom it is unlawful for him to have sexual intercourse with, it is permissible to kill him forthwith.) Someone who knows (O: i.e. believes) that an aggressor cannot be dissuaded by anything short of killing him may kill him and is not accountable for it.
- o7.4 When one has warded off an aggressor, it is unlawful to take further measures against him.

o8.0 APOSTASY FROM ISLAM (RIDDA)

- (O: Leaving Islam is the ugliest form of unbelief (kufr) and the worst. It may come about through sarcasm, as when someone is told, "Trim your nails, it is sunna," and he replies, "I would not do it even if it were," as opposed to when some circumstance exists which exonerates him of having committed apostasy, such as when his tongue runs away with him, or when he is quoting someone, or says it out of fear.)
- o8.1 When a person who has reached puberty and is sane voluntarily apostatizes from Islam, he deserves to be killed.
- o8.2 In such a case, it is obligatory for the caliph (A: or his representive) to ask him to repent and return to Islam. If he does, it is accepted from him, but if he refuses, he is immediately killed
- 08.3 If he is a freeman, no one besides the caliph or his representative may kill him. If someone else kills him, the killer is disciplined (def: o17) (O: for arrogating the caliph's prerogative and encroaching upon his rights, as this is one of his duties).

- o8.4 There is no indemnity for killing an apostate (O: or any expiation, since it is killing someone who deserves to die). o8.5 If he apostatises from Islam and returns several times,
- it (O: i.e. his return to Islam, which occurs when he states the two Testifications of Faith (def: o8.7(12))) is accepted from him, though he is disciplined (017).
- 08.6 (A: If a spouse in a consummated marriage apostatises from Islam, the couple are separated for a waiting period consisting of three intervals between menstruations. If the spouse returns to Islam before the waiting period ends, the marriage is not annulled but is considered to have continued the whole time (dis: m7.4).)

ACTS THAT ENTAIL LEAVING ISLAM

o8.7 (O: Among the things that entail apostasy from Islam (may Allah protect us from them) are:

- (1) to prostrate to an idol, whether sarcastically, out of mere contrariness, or in actual conviction, like that of someone who believes the Creator to be something that has originated in time. Like idols in this respect are the sun or moon, and like prostration is bowing to other than Allah, if one intends reverence towards it like the reverence due to Allah:
- (2) to intend to commit unbelief, even if in the future. And like this intention is hesitating whether to do so or not: one thereby immediately commits unbelief;
- (3) to speak words that imply unbelief such as "Allah is the third of three," or "I am Allah"-unless one's tongue has run away with one, or one is quoting another, or is one of the friends of Allah Most High (wali, def: w33) in a spiritually intoxicated state of total oblivion (A: friend of Allah or not, someone totally oblivious is as if insane, and is not held legally responsible (dis: k13.1(O:))), for these latter do not entail unbelief:
- (4) to revile Allah or His messenger (Allah bless him and give him peace);
- (5) to deny the existence of Allah, His beginingless eternality, His endless eternality, or to deny any of His attributes which the consensus of Muslims ascribes to Him (dis:
- (6) to be sarcastic about Allah's name. His command. His interdiction. His promise, or His threat:
- (7) to deny any verse of the Koran or anything which by scholarly consensus (def: b7) belongs to it, or to add a verse that does belong to it;
- (8) to mockingly say, I don't know what faith is";
- (9) to reply to someone who says, "There is no power or strength save through Allah": "Your
- saving "There's no power or strength, etc.' won't save you from hunger";
- (10) for a tyrant, after an oppressed person says, "This is through the decree of Allah," to reply, "I act without the decree of Allah":
- (11) to say that a Muslim is an unbeliever (kafir) (dis: w47) in words that are uninterpretable as merely meaning he is an ingrate towards Allah for divinely given blessings (n: in Arabic, also kafir");
- (12) when someone asks to be taught the Testification of Faith (Ar. Shahada, the words, La ilaha ill Allahu Mohammedun rasulu Llah" (There is no god but Allah, Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah)), and a Muslim refuses to teach him it:
- (13) to describe a Muslim or someone who wants to become a Muslim in terms of unbelief (kufr);
- (14) to deny the obligatory character of something which by the consensus of Muslims (ijma, def: b7) is part of Islam, when it is well known as such, like the prayer (salat) or even one rak'a from one of the five obligatory prayers, if there is no excuse (def: u2.4):
- (15) to hold that any of Allah's messengers or prophets are liars, or to deny their being sent;
- (n: Ala' al-din' Abidin adds the following:
- (16) to revile the religion of Islam;
- (17) to believe that things in themselves or by their own nature have any causal influence independent of the will of Allah:
- (18) to deny the existence of angels or jinn (def: w22), or the heavens;
- (19) to be sarcastic about any ruling of the Sacred Law;
- (20) or to deny that Allah intended the Prophet's message (Allah bless him and give him peace) to be the religion followed by the entire world (dis: w4.3-4) (al-Hadiyya al-Ala'iyya (y4), 423-24).) There are others, for the subject is nearly limitless. May Allah Most High save us and all Muslims

(O: Jihad means to war against non-Muslims, and is etymologically derived from the word mujahada signifying warfare to establish the religion. And it is the lesser jihad. As for the greater jihad, it is spiritual warfare against the lower self (nafs), which is why the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said as he was returning from jihad. "We have returned from the lesser jihad to the greater jihad." The

scriptural basis for jihad, prior to scholarly consensus (def: b7) is such Koranic verses as:

- (1) "Fighting is prescribed for you" (Koran 2:216);
- (2) "Slay them wherever you find them" (Koran 4:89);
- (3) "Fight the idolators utterly" (Koran 9:36); and such hadiths as the one related by Bukhari and Muslim that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "I have been commanded to fight people until they testify that there is no god but Allah and that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah, and perform the prayer, and pay zakat. If they say it, they have saved their blood and possessions from me, except for the rights of Islam over them. And their final reckoning is with Allah"; and the hadith reported by Muslim, "To go forth in the morning or evening to fight in the path of Allah is better than the whole world and everything in it." Details concerning jihad are found in the accounts of the military expeditions of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), including his own martial forays and those on which he dispatched others. The former consist of the ones he personally attended, some twenty-seven (others say twentynine) of them. He fought in eight of them, and killed only one person with his noble hand, Ubayy ibn Khalaf, at the battle of Uhud. On the latter expeditions he sent others to fight, himself remaining at Medina, and these were forty-seven in number.)

THE OBLIGATORY CHARACTER OF JIHAD

o9.1 Jihad is a communal obligation (def: c3.2). When enough people perform it to successfully accomplish it, it is no longer obligatory upon others (O: the evidence for which is the Prophet's saying (Allah bless him and give him peace), "He who provides the equipment for a soldier in jihad has himself performed jihad," and Allah Most High having said: "Those of the believers who are unhurt but sit behind are not equal to those who fight in Allah's path with their property and lives. Allah has preferred those who fight with their property and lives a whole degree above those who sit behind. And to each, Allah has promised great good" (Koran 4:95). If none of those concerned perform jihad, and it does not happen at all, then everyone who is aware that it is obligatory is guilty of sin, if there was a possibility of having performed it. In the time of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) jihad was a communal obligation after his emigration (hijra) to Medina. As for subsequent times, there are two possible states in respect to non-Muslims. The first is when they are in their own countries, in which case jihad (def: 09.8) is a communal obligation, and this is what our author is speaking of when he says, "Jihad is a communal obligation," meaning upon the Muslims each year. The second state is when non-Muslims invade a Muslim country or near to one, in which case jihad is personally obligatory (def: c3.2) upon the inhabitants of that country, who must repel the non-Muslims with whatever they can).

o9.2 Jihad is personally obligatory upon all those present in the battle lines (A: and to flee is an enormity (dis: p11)) (O: provided one is able to fight. If unable, because of illness or the death of one's mount when not able to fight on foot, or because one no longer has a weapon, then one may leave. One may also leave if the opposing non-Muslim army is more than twice the size of the Muslim force).

o9.3 Jihad is also (O: personally) obligatory for everyone (O: able to perform it, male or female, old or young) when the enemy has surrounded the Muslims (O: on every side, having entered our territory, even if the land consists of ruins, wilderness, or mountains, for non-Muslim forces entering Muslim lands is a weighty matter that cannot be ignored, but must be met with effort and struggle to repel them by every possible means. All of which is if conditions permit gathering (A: the above-mentioned) people, provisioning them, and readying them for war. If conditions do not permit this, as when the enemy has overrun the Muslims such that they are unable to provision or prepare themselves for war, then whoever is found by non-Muslim and knows he will be killed if captured is obliged to defend himself in whatever way possible. But if not certain that he will be killed, meaning that he might or might not be, as when he might merely be taken captive, and he knows he will be killed if he does not surrender, then he may either surrender or fight. A woman too has a choice between fighting or surrendering if she is certain that she will not be subjected to an indecent act if captured. If uncertain that she will be safe from such an act, she is obliged to fight, and surrender is not permissible).

WHO IS OBLIGED TO FIGHT IN JIHAD

o9.4 Those called upon (0: to perform jihad when it is a communal obligation are every able bodied man who has reached puberty and is sane.

- 09.5 The following may not fight in jihad:
- (1) Someone in debt, unless his creditor gives him leave;
- (2) or someone with at least one Muslim parent, until they give their permission; unless the Muslims are surrounded by the enemy, in which case it is permissible for them to fight without permission.

o 9.6 It is offensive to conduct a military expedition against hostile non-Muslims without the caliph's permission (A: though if there is no caliph (def: o25), no permission is required).

o9.7 Muslims may not seek help from non-Muslims allies unless the Muslims are considerably outnumbered and the allies are of goodwill towards the Muslims.

THE OBJECTIVES OF JIHAD

o9.8 The caliph (o25) makes war upon Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians (N: provided he has first invited them to enter Islam in faith and practice, and if they will not, then invited them to enter the social order of Islam by paying the non-Muslim poll tax (jizya, def: o11.4)-which is the significance of their paying it, not the money itself-while remaining in their ancestral religions) (O: and the war continues) until they become Muslim or else pay the non-Muslim poll tax (O: in accordance with the word of Allah Most High, "Fight those who do not believe in Allah and the Last Day and who forbid not what Allah and His messenger have forbidden-who do not practice the religion of truth, being of those who have been given the Book-until they pay the poll tax out of hand and are humbled" (Koran 9.29), the time and place for which is before the final descent of Jesus (upon whom be peace). After his final coming, nothing but Islam will be accepted from them, for taking the poll tax is only effective until Jesus' descent (upon him and our Prophet be peace), which is the divinely revealed law of Mohammed. The coming of Jesus does not entail a separate divinely revealed law, for he will rule by the law of Mohammed. As for the Prophet's saying (Allah bless him and give him peace), "I am the last, there will be no prophet after me," this does not contradict the final coming of Jesus (upon whom be peace), since he will not rule according to the Gospel, but as a follower of our Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)).

o 9.9 The caliph fights all other peoples until they become Muslim (O: because they are not a people with a Book, nor honoured as such, and are not permitted to settle with paying the poll tax (jizya)) (n: though according to the Hanafi school, peoples of all other religions, even idol worshippers, are permitted to live under the protection of the Islamic state if they either become Muslim or agree to pay the poll tax, the sole exceptions to which are apostates from Islam and idol worshippers who are Arabs, neither of whom has any choice but becoming Muslim (al-Hidaya sharh Bidaya al-mubtadi' (y21), 6.48-49)).

THE RULES OF WARFARE

o9.10 It is not permissible (A: in jihad) to kill women or children unless they are fighting against the Muslims. Nor is it permissible to kill animals, unless they are being ridden into battle against the Muslims, or if killing them will help defeat the enemy. It is permissible to kill old men (O: old man (shaykh meaning someone more than forty years of age) and monks

o9.11 It is unlawful to kill a non-Muslim to whom a Muslim has given his guarantee of protection (O: whether the non-Muslim is one or more than one, provided the number is limited, and the Muslim's protecting them does not harm the Muslims, as when they are spies) provided the protecting Muslim has reached puberty, is sane, and does so voluntarily (O: and is not a prisoner of them or a spy).

o 9.12 Whoever enters Islam before being captured may not be killed or his property confiscated, or his young children taken captive.

o9.13 When a child or a woman is taken captive, they become slaves by the fact of capture, and the woman's previous marriage is immediately annulled.

o9.14 When an adult male is taken captive, the caliph (def. o25) considers the interests (O: of Islam and the Muslims) and decides between the prisoner's death, slavery, release without paying anything, or ransoming himself in exchange for money or for a Muslim captive held by the enemy. If the prisoner becomes a Muslim (O: before the caliph chooses any of the four alternatives) then he may not be killed, and one of the other three alternatives is chosen.

o 9.15 It is permissible in jihad to cut down the enemy's trees and destroy their dwellings.

TRUCES

o9.16 (O: As for truces, the author does not mention them. In Sacred Law truce means a peace treaty with those hostile to Islam, involving a cessation of fighting for a specified period, whether for payment or something else. The scriptural basis for them includes such Koranic verses as:

- (1) "An acquittal from Allah and His messenger..." (Koran 9:1);
- (2) "If they incline towards peace, then incline towards it also" (Koran 8.61);

as well as the truce which the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) made Quraysh in the year of Hudaybiya, as related by Bukhari and Muslim. Truces are permissible, not obligatory. The only one who may effect a truce is the Muslim ruler of a legion (or his representative) with a segment of the

non-Muslims of the region, or the caliph (o25) (or his representative). When made with other than a portion of the non-Muslims, or when made with all of them, or with all in a particular region such as India or Asia Minor, then only the caliph (or his representative) may effect it, for it is a matter of the gravest consequence whether globally or in a given locality, and our interests must be looked after therein, which is why it is best left to the caliph under any circumstances, or to someone he delegates to see to the interests of the various regions. There must be some interest served in making a truce other than mere preservation of the status quo. Allah Most High says, "So do not be faint-hearted and call for peace, when it is you who are the uppermost" (Koran 47:35). Interests that justify making a truce are such things as Muslim weakness because of lack of members or materiel, or the hope of an enemy becoming Muslim, for the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) made a truce in the year Mecca was liberated with Safwan ibn Umayya for four months in hope that he would become Muslim, and he entered Islam before its time was up. If the Muslims are weak, a truce may be made for ten years if necessary, for the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) made a truce with Quraysh for that long, as is related by Abu Dawud. It is not permissible to stipulate longer than that, save by means of new truces, each of which does not exceed ten years. The rulings of such a truce are inferable from those of the non-Muslim poll tax (def: o11); namely, that when a valid truce has been effected, no harm may be done to non-Muslims until it expires.)

o10.0 THE SPOILS OF BATTLE

o10.1 A free male Muslim who has reached puberty and is sane is entitled to the spoils of battle when he has participated in a battle to the end of it. After personal booty (def: o10.2), the collective spoils of the battle are divided into five parts. The first fifth is set aside (dis: o10.3), and the remaining four are distributed, one share to each infantryman and three shares to each cavalryman. From these latter four fifths also, a token payment is given at the leader's discretion to women, children, and non-Muslim participants on the Muslim side. A combatant only takes possession of his share of the spoils at the official division. (A: Or he may choose to waive his right to it.)

o 10.2 As for personal booty, anyone who, despite resistance, kills one of the enemy or effectively incapacitates him, risking his own life thereby, is entitled to whatever he can take from the enemy, meaning as much as he can take away with him in the battle, such as a mount, clothes, weaponry, money, or other

o10.3 As for the first fifth that is taken from the spoils, it is divided in turn into five parts, a share each going to:

(1) the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), and after his death, to such Islamic interests as fortifying defenses on the frontiers, salaries for Islamic judges, muezzins, and the like:

(2) relatives of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) of the Bani Hashim and Bani Muttalib clans, each male receiving the share of two females;

- (3) orphans who are poor;
- (4) those short of money (def: h8.11);
- (5) and travellers needing money (h8.18).

o11.0 NON-MUSLIM SUBJECTS OF THE ISLAMIC STATE (AHL AL-DHIMMA)

- 011.1 A formal agreement of protection is made with citizens who are:
- (1) Jews;
- (2) Christians;
- (3) Zoroastrians;
- (4) Samarians and Sabians (Gnostics), if their religions do not respectively contradict the fundamental bases of Judaism and Christianity;

(5) and those who adhere to the religion of Abraham or one of the other prophets (upon whom be blessings and peace).

o11.2 Such an agreement may not be effected with those who are idol worshippers (dis: o9.9 (n:)), or those who do not have a Sacred Book or something that could have been a Book. (A: Something that could have been a Book refers to those like the Zoroastrians, who have remnants resembling an ancient Book. As for the pseudoscriptures of cults that have appeared since Islam (n: such as the Sikhs, Baha' is, Mormons, Qadianis, etc.), they neither are nor could be a Book, since the Koran is the final revelation (dis: w4).)

o11.3 Such an agreement is only valid when the subject peoples:

(a) follow the rules of Islam (A: those mentioned below (o11.5) and those involving public behaviour and dress, though in acts of worship and their private lives, the subject communities have their own laws, judges, and courts, enforcing the rules of their own religion among themselves);

(b) and pay the non-Muslim poll tax (jizya).

THE NON-MUSLIM POLL TAX

o11.4 The minimum non-Muslim poll tax is one dinar (n: 4.235 grams of gold) per person (A: per year). The maximum

is whatever both sides agree upon. It is collected with leniency and politeness, as are all debts, and is not levied on women, children, or the insane.

- o11.5 Such non-Muslim subjects are obliged to comply with Islamic rules that pertain to the safety and indemnity of life, reputation, and property. In addition, they:
- (1) are penalised for committing adultery or theft, thought not for drunkenness:
- (2) are distinguished from Muslims in dress, wearing a wide cloth belt (zunnar);
 - (3) are not greeted with "as-Salamu 'alaykum";
 - (4) must keep to the side of the street;
- (5) may not build higher than or as high as the Muslims' buildings, though if they acquire a tall house, it is not razed;
- (6) are forbidden to openly display wine or pork. (A: to ring church bells or display crosses,) recite the Torah or Gospel aloud, or make public display of their funerals and
- (7) and are forbidden to build new churches
- oll.6 They are forbidden to reside in the Hijaz, meaning the area and towns around Mecca. Medina, and Yamama, for more than three days when the caliph allows them to enter there for something they need).
- o11.7 A non-Muslim may not enter the Meccan Sacred Precinct (Haram) under any circumstances, or enter any other mosque without permission (A: nor may Muslims enter churches without their permission).
- o11.8 It is obligatory for the caliph (def: o25) to protect those of them who are in Muslim lands just as he would Muslims, and to seek the release of those of them who are
- o11.9 If non-Muslim subjects of the Islamic state refuse to conform to the rules of Islam, or to pay the non-Muslim poll tax, then their agreement with the state has been violated (dis: o11.11) (A: though if only one of them disobeys, it concerns him alone).
- o11.10 The agreement is also violated (A: with respect to the offender alone) if the state has stipulated that any of the following things break it, and one of the subjects does so anyway, though if the state has not stipulated that these break the agreement, then they do not; namely, if one of the subject people:
- (1) commits adultery with a Muslim woman or marries her;
- (2) conceals spies of hostile forces;
- (3) leads a Muslim away from Islam;
- (4) kills a Muslim;
- (5) or mentions something impermissible about Allah, the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), or Islam.
- oll.11 When a subject's agreement with the state has been violated, the caliph chooses between the four alternatives mentioned above in connection with prisoners of war (o9.14).

o12.0 THE PENALTY FOR FORNICATION OR SODOMY

- o12.1 The legal penalty is obligatorily imposed upon anyone who fornicates or commits sodomy (A: provided it is legally established (def: n11.2 (O:))) when they:
- (a) have reached puberty;
- (b) are sane;
- (c) and commit the act voluntarily; no matter whether the person is a Muslim, non-Muslim subject of the Islamic state, or someone who has left Islam.
- o12.2 If the offender is someone with the capacity to remain chaste, then he or she is stoned to death (def: o12.6), someone with the capacity to remain chaste meaning anyone who has had sexual intercourse (A: at least once) with their spouse in a valid marriage, and is free, of age, and sane. A person is not considered to have the capacity to remain chaste if he or she has only had intercourse in a marriage that is invalid. or is prepubescent at the time of material intercourse, or is someone insane at the time of marital intercourse who subsequently regains their sanity prior to committing
- If the offender is not someone with the capacity to remain chaste, then the penalty consists of being scourged (def: o12.5) one hundred stripes and banished to a distance of at least 81 km./50 mi. for one year.
- o12.4 Someone who commits fornication is not punished if he says that he did not know it was unlawful, provided he is a new Muslim or grew up in a remote (O: from Islamic scholars) wilderness, though if neither of these is the case, such a person is punished.
- o12.5 An offender is not scourged in intense heat or bitter cold, or when he is ill and recovery is expected (until he recovers), or in a mosque, or when the offender is a woman who is pregnant, until she gives birth and has recovered from childbed pains. The whip used should be neither new nor old and worn-out, but something in between. The offender is not stretched out when scourged, or bound (O: as his hands are left loose to fend off blows), or undressed (O: but rather an ankle-length shirt is left upon him or her), and the scourger does not lay the stripes on hard (O: by raising his arm, such that he draws blood). The scourger distributes the blows over various parts of the body, avoiding the vital points and the

face. A man is scourged standing; a woman, sitting and covered (O: by a garment wrapped around her). If the offender is emaciated, or sick from an illness not expected to improve, then he or she is scourged with a single date palm frond (O: upon which there are a hundred strips, or fifty. If a hundred, such an offender is struck once with it, and if fifty, then twice), or with the edge of a garment.

o12.6 If the penalty is stoning, the offender is stoned even in severe heat or cold, and even if he has an illness from which he is expected to recover. A pregnant woman is not stoned until she gives birth and the child can suffice with the milk of

o13.0 THE PENALTY FOR ACCUSING A PERSON OF ADULTERY WITHOUT PROOF

- o13.1 When a person (who has reached puberty and is sane) voluntarily:
- (a) accuses another person of adultery or sodomy, whether the accusation is in plain words or allusive words intended as an accusation;
- (b) and the accused is someone who could be chaste (def: 013.2) and is not the offspring of the accuser; then the accuser is subject to the penalty for accusing a person of adultery without four witnesses (A: which, if it concerns his spouse, he may obviate by public imprecation (dis: n11.1)), no matter whether he is a Muslim, non-Muslim subject of the Islamic state, someone who has left Islam, or is of a group that has a truce with Muslims.
- o13.2 Someone who could be chaste in this context means someone who has reached puberty, is sane, free, Muslim, and has not committed an act of fornication (O: that is punishable)(A: meaning it has not been legally established (def: r.11.2(O:))).
- o13.3 The penalty for making such an accusation without witnesses is to be scourged (def: o12.5) eighty lashes.
- o13.4 Accusations in plain words include such expressions "You have committed fornication," and the like, while allusive words means such expressions as "You lecher," or 'You wretch," If the latter terms are accompanied by the intention to accuse, they amount to an accusation, though if not, they do not. The accuser is the one whose word is accepted (A: when there is no proof, if he swears an oath) as to what he intended by such allusive words.
- o13.5 If someone accuses a whole group of people of adultery who could not possibly all be guilty, such as saying, "All the people in Egypt are adulters, he is disciplined (def: o17). But when his accusation is not impossible, such as saying, "The So-and-so clan are adulterers," then he must bear a separate penalty for every single person in the group.
- o13.6 Someone who twice accuses someone of adultery without witnesses is punished only once. Someone who accuses a person of adultery and is punished for the accusation, but then again accuses the person of the same act of fornication is merely disciplined (def: 017).
- o13.7 When someone accuses a person who could possibly be chaste (def: o13.2) of adultery, but the accuser has not yet been punished at the time the accused subsequently commits an act of fonication, then the accuser is not punished.
- O13.8 The penalty for accusing a person of adultery without witnesses is only carried out when the Islamic magistrate is present, and the accused requests that it be carried out. If the accused forgives the offender, there is no
- o13.9 When an accusation has been made, if the accused dies (A: before the accuser has been
- punished), then his right (A: to demand that the punishment be carried out) is given to his heirs.

o14.0 THE PENALTY FOR THEFT

- O14.1 A person's right hand is amputated, whether he is a Muslim, non-Muslim subject of the Islamic state, or someone who has left Islam, when he:
- (a) has reached puberty;
- (b) is sane:
- (c) is acting voluntarily;
- (d) and steals at least a quarter of a dinar (n: 1.058 grams of gold) or goods worth that much (A:at the market price current) at the time of the theft:
- (e) from a place meeting the security requirements normal (A: in that locality and time for safeguarding similar articles (def: o14.3):
- (f) provided there is no possible confusion (dis: o14.2(3)) as to whether he took it by way of theft or for some other reason. If a person steals a second time, his left foot is amputated; if a third time, then his left hand; and if he steals again, then his right foot. If he steals a fifth time, he is disciplined (def: o17). If he does not have a right hand (N: at the first offense), then his left foot is amputated. If he has a right hand but loses it after the theft (O: by an act of God) but before he has been punished for it, then nothing is amputated. After amputation, the limb is cauterised with hot oil (A: which in previous times was the means to stop the bleeding and save the criminal's life).
- o14.2 A person's hand is not amputated when:

- (1) (non-(d) above) he steals less than the equivalent of 1.058 grams of gold;
- (2) (non-(e)) he steals the article from a place the does not meet normal requirements for
 - safeguarding similar articles (dis: below);
- (3) or (non-(f)) when there is a possible confusion as to why he took it, as when it was taken from the Muslim common fund (bayt al-mal) (O: provided the person is Muslim, since he might have intended to use it to build mosques, bridges, or hospices), or when it belongs to his son or father.
- o14.3 A place that meets normal security requirements for safeguarding similar articles means a place appropriate for keeping the thing, this varying with the type of article, the different countries, and with the justness of the ruler or lace of it, as well as the ruler's relative strength or weakness. A suitable place for safeguarding fine clothes, money, jewels, and jewelry, for example, is a locked box; the place for trade goods, a locked warehouse with guards; the place for livestock, a stable; the place for pallets and bedding, a shelf in the house; and the place for a shroud, the grave.
 o14.4 If two persons jointly steal the equivalent of 1.058
- grams of gold, then neither's hand is

amputated.

- o14.5 A freeman's hand may not be amputated by anyone besides the caliph or his representative (def: o25).
- o14.6 There is no amputation for forcible seizure (O: meaning someone relying on force (N: to take people's money, who has a gang nearby to bet him in this)), snatching (O: meaning someone who depends on running away and is unarmed), or betraying a trust (O: of something entrusted to him, such as a deposit for safekeeping), or appropriating something by disavowal (A: i.e. denying that the victim loaned or entrusted him with such and such a thing), (O: because of the Prophet's (Allah bless him and give him peace)
- 'There is no amputation for someone who seizes by force, snatches and runs, or betrays a trust," a hadith Tirmidhi classified as rigorously authenticated (Sahih)). (A: But if one of the abovementioned
- persons is a repeated offender whom it is in the interests of society to kill, the caliph may kill him.)

o15.0 THE PENALTY FOR HIGHWAY ROBBERY

- O15.1 The caliph is obliged to summon whoever uses a weapon (O: though force suffices to be considered a weapon, or taking money by dint of one's fists) and makes people afraid to use the road (O: no matter whether in the wilderness, a village, or in the country; meaning he frightens those who pass along the way by means of his strength or weapons). If the highwayman responds to the summons before he has injured anyone, then he is only disciplined (def: o17). If he steals the equivalent of 1.058 grams of gold under the previously mentioned conditions (o14.1), both his right hand and left foot are amoutated.
- (A: The difference between a highwayman and someone who takes by forcible seizure (dis: o14.6) is that the latter does so within earshot of help, while the offense of the highwayman is far greater because he menaces the lifeline of the community. its trade routes.)
- o15.2 If a highwayman kills someone, he must be executed, even when the person entitled to retaliation (def: o3) agrees to forgo it. If the highwayman robs and kills, he is killed and then left crucified for three days. If he wounds or maims someone, retaliation is taken against him, though it may be waived by those entitled to take it.
- o15.3 (N: The penalty for highway robbery, such as mandatory execution, crucifixion, and amputating the hand and foot, is cancelled if the highwayman repents (A: desists, and gives himself up) before he has been apprehended, though he is still liable to retaliation (def: o3) by parties entitled to it (A: for injuries or deaths he caused to victims) and is financially responsible for restoring the money he has taken.)

o16.0 THE PENALTY FOR DRINKING

- o16.1 Any beverage that intoxicates when taken in large quantities is unlawful both in small and large quantities, is unlawful both is small and large quantities. whether it is wine, (A: fermented) raisin drink, or something else.
- o16.2 The penalty for drinking is obligatorily enforced against anyone who:
 - (a) drinks;
 - (b) has reached puberty:
 - (c) is sane;
 - (d) is Muslim;
 - (e) does so voluntarily;
- (f) and knows it is unlawful (A: the restrictions mentioned above (o12.4) about the ignorance of the prohibition of adultery also applying here).
- o16.3 The penalty for drinking is to be scourged forty stripes, with hands, sandals, and ends of clothes. It may be administered with a whip, but if the offender dies, an indemnity (def: o4.4) is due (A: from the scourger) for his death. If the caliph (def: o25) increases the penalty to eighty stripes, it is legally valid, but if the offender dies from the

increase, the caliph must pay an adjusted indemnity, such that if he is given forty-one stripes and dies, the caliph must pay 1/41 of a full indemnity.

o16.4 Someone who commits adultery several times (O: or drinks several times, or steals several times) before being punished is only punished once for each type of crime.

o16.5 The penalty for a crime is not obviated by the offender's having repented for it, with the sole exception of the highwayman, who is not penalized at all (dis: o15.3) if he repents before he is caught.

o16.6 It is not permissible to drink an intoxicant under any circumstances, whether for medicine (O: or in bread, or to cook meat with it), or out of extreme thirst, with the sole exception of when one is choking on a piece of food and there is no other means of clearing it from one's throat save by drinking the intoxicant, in which case it is obligatory. (O: Sheikh al-Islam (A: Zakariyya Ansari) states, "It may not be used for medicine or extreme thirst, though there is no prescribed penalty for doing so, even when something besides it is available." The prohibition of using it for medicine or extreme thirst refers to when it is unadmixed, as opposed to when it is compounded with something else that renders it completely indistinguishable, such that no taste, color, or odor of it remains, in which case it is permissible.)

NONAL COHOLIC INTOXICANTS

o16.7 (Mohammed Shirbini Khatib:) The term beverage (dis: o16.1) excludes plants, such as hashish, which hashish users eat. The two sheikhs (A: Rafi'i and Nawawi) report in their section on foods the position of ruyani that eating it is unlawful, though no legal penalty is fixed for it (Mughni almuhtaj ila ma rifa ma ani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73), 4.187).

(al-Mawsu a al-fiqhiyya:) Just as any beverage that intoxicates when taken in large quantities is also unlawful in small quantities, so too it is absolutely unlawful to use any solid substance detrimental to mind or body which produces languor or has a narcotic effect, this prohibition applying to the amount that is deleterious of it, not to the minute, beneficial amounts prescribed to treat illnesses, for such substances are not unlawful in themselves, but unlawful because they are deleterious (mawdu' al-ashriba. Tab a tamhidiyya li mawdu at al-Mawsu a al-fiqhiyya, no. 1(y134),

o17.0 DISCIPLINARY ACTION (TAZIR)

o17.1 Someone who commits an act of disobedience to Allah Most High that entails neither a

prescribed legal penalty nor expiation, such as bearing false witness, is disciplined to the extent the caliph (def: 025) deems appropriate. (O: He exercises his own legal reasoning (ijtihad) and does what he thinks should be done, imprisonment and beating, either one separately, or mere verbal reprimand. He may not administer a more severe degree of punishment than what he feels is strictly necessary.)

o17.2 Disciplinary action may not reach the amount of the least prescribed legal penalty. For example, a freeman (o: if scourged) may not receive forty stripes.

o17.3 If the caliph sees fit not to take any disciplinary action, this is also permissible (O: when it concerns a right owed to Allah Most High, for the ruler is entrusted with using his own legal reasoning. But if it concerns a right owed to a fellow human being who has demanded that it be fulfilled (A: such as when someone has been cheated) it is impermissible to do nothing. If a person is entitled to have another disciplined, but instead forgives him, the ruler may nevertheless discipline him).

o17.4 (O: A father or grandfather (and on up) is entitled to discipline those under his care when they commit an act that is unbecoming. And so may a mother with her child. a husband is entitled to discipline his wife for not giving him his rights (def: m5.1). A teacher may discipline a student. (A: Spanking a student, for example, is permissible if there is a valid lawful purpose to be served thereby, and the student's guardian has given the teacher permission.))

o18.0 OATHS (YAMIN)

(A: An oath is a solemn statement to do or refrain from something, or that something is true, such that if things turn out otherwise, the swearer must make an expiation (def: o20.2).)

o18.1 An oath is only valid from a person (O: whether Muslim or non-Muslim) who:

(a) has reached puberty;

(b) is sane;

(c) makes the oath voluntarily;

(d) and intends an oath thereby.

o18.2 The oath of someone whose tongue runs away with him and who unthinkingly swears an oath, or someone who intends a particular oath but unintentionally swears something else, does not count and is an unintentional oath (A: which is mentioned in the Holy Koran (n: at 5:89)).

o18.3 An oath is only validly effected if sworn by a name of Allah Most High, or an attribute of His entity (dhat). (N: It is offensive to swear an oath by other than Allah if one merely intends it as an asseveration of one's statement, though it is unlawful to do so if one intends reverance to the thing sworn

o18.4 There are some names of Allah Most High that are applied to no one but Him, such as Allah, the All-merciful, the All-vigilant, and Knower of the Unseen. An oath sworn by any of these is valid without restriction.

o18.5 Other names of Allah may be conditionally applied to other than Him, such as Lord (Rabb) (n: rabb bayt meaning, for example, home owner), the All-compassionate (al-Rahim) (n: rahim al-qalb meaning softhearted), or the Omnipotent (al-Qadir) (n:qadir 'alayhi meaning capabale of it; the second term of each of these examples indicating that Allah is not meant). An oath sworn by such names is validly effected unless the swearer specifically intends something else.

o18.6 Other of Allah's names are applied to both Him and His creatures, such as the Living (al-Hayy), the Existent (al-Mawjud), or the Seeing (al-Basir). An oath sworn by such names is not validly effected unless the swearer specifically intends it as an oath.

o18.7 An oath sworn by the attributes of Allah that are inapplicable to creatures, such as Allah's glory. His exaltedness, His endless eternality, or the Koran, is validly effected without restriction.

o18.8 An oath sworn by divine attributes that are sometimes used to allude to creatures, such as Allah's knowledge, His power, of His right, is validly effected unless the swearer intends something else by them, such as meaning by knowledge the things known, by power the things under its sway, or by right (n: the) acts of worship (n: that are His right), in which cases an oath has not been validly effected.

o18.9 An oath is validly effected when a person says, swear by Allah that...," or "I've sworn by Allah that... unless the person merely intends to inform.

o18.10 Unless one particularly intends it as an oath, an oath is not validly effected when the following

expressions are used: "I will not do such and such, by the life of Allah," or "I resolve by Allah," or "by the covenant of Allah," "His guarantee,"

"His trust," "His sufficiency," or "I ask you by Allah," or "I

swear by Allah that you must do such and such."

019.0 EXAMPLES OF BREAKING AND NOT BREAKING OATHS

o19.1 If one swears, "I will not eat this wheat," but then makes in into flour or bread (A: and eats it), one has not broken one's oath. If one swears, "I will not drink from this river," but then drinks its water from a jug, one has broken one's oath. If one swears, "I will not eat meat," but then eats fat, kidneys, tripe, liver, heart, spleen, fish, or locusts, one has broken one's oath.

o19.3 If one swears, "I will not enter the house," but then does so absentmindedly, in ignorance of its being the house, under compulsion, or by being carried in, then one's oath is not broken and is still in effect

o19.5 When a person swearing an oath about something (O: in the future, affirming or denying that it will occur) includes the expression in sha' Allah ("if Allah will") before finishing the oath, then the oath is not broken in any event if he thereby intends to provide for exceptions. But if he merely says it out of habit, not intending to make an exception to his oath, or if he says it after having finished swearing the oath, then the exception is not valid (O: because when an oath has been completed, its efficacy is established and not eradicable by a statement of exception).

o20 O THE EXPLATION FOR A BROKEN OATH

o20.1 An expiation is obligatory for someone who swears and breaks an oath. If the swearer is entitled to expiate by the expenditure of property (def: o20.2(1-3)), it is permissible for him to do so before or after breaking the oath. But if it consists of fasting, then he may only do so after breaking the oath

o20.2 The expiation consists of (N: a choice of any) one of the following:

(1) to free a sound Muslim slave:

(2) to feed ten people who are (N: poor or) short of money (def: h8.8-11) each (0.51 liters of grain (O: though it is not a condition that it be grain, but rather the type of food payable for the zakat of Eid al-Fitr (def: h7.6), even if not grain (A: and the Hanafi school permits giving its value in money)):

(3) or to provide clothing of any kind for ten such persons, even if it consists of a wraparound or clothing previously washed, though not if ragged. If one is unable to do any of the above, one must fast for three days. It is better to fast them consecutively, though permissible to do so nonconsecutively.

o20.4 (O: Someone eligible to receive zakat funds or expiations because of being poor (def: h8.8) or short of (def:h811) may expiate broken oaths by fasting.)

o21.0 THE JUDGESHIP

o21.1 To undertake the Islamic judgeship is a communal obligation (def: c3.2) (O: for those capable of performing it in a particular area). If only one competent person exists who can perform it, then it is personally obligatory for him to do so. If he refuses, he is compelled to accept (O: though he is only obliged to accept the judgeship when it is in his own home area, not when it is elsewhere, for this would be like a punishment, involving as it does wholly leaving one's home). Such an individual person may not take a salary for it- (N: because in respect to him it has become personally obligatory, and it is not permissible to take a wage for something personally obligatory, as opposed to something that is a communal obligation (A: for which accepting a wage is permissible))- unless he is needy (O: in which case the Muslim common fund gives him enough to cover his expenses and those of his dependents, without wastefulness or penury. But if he agrees to judge without being paid (N: i.e. in expection of the reward from Allah), it is better for him).

o21.2 It is permissible to have two or more judges in the same town.

o21.3 It is not valid for anyone besides the caliph (def: o25) or his representative to appoint someone as judge.

o21.4 It is permissible for two parties to select a third party to judge between them if he is competent for the judgeship (def: o22.1) (O: provided the case does not concern Allah's prescribed penalties, (A: and they may select such a person) even when a judge exists), It is obligatory for them to accept his decision on their case, though if either litigant withdraws his nomination before the third party gives his judgement, the latter may not judge.

o22.90 THE JUDGE AND THE COURT

O22.1 The necessary qualifications for being an Islamic judge (qadi) are:

(a) to be a male freeman;

(b) to have full capacity for moral answerability (taklif, def: c8.1);

(c) to be upright (o24.4):

(d) to possess knowledge (O: of the rulings of Sacred Law, meaning by way of personal legal

reasoning (ijtihad) (A: from primary texts), not merely by following a particular qualified scholar (taqlid) (A: i.e if he follows qualified scholarship, he must know and agree with how the rulings are derived, not merely report them). Being qualified to perform legal reasoning (ijtihad) requires knowledge of the rules and principles of the Koran, the sunna (A: is this context meaning the hadith, not the sunna as apposed to the obligatory), (N: as well as knowledge of scholarly consensus (ijma', def: b7)), and analogy (def: III below), together with knowing the types of each of these. (A: The knowledge of each "type" below implies familiarity with subtypes and kinds, but the commentator has deemed the mention of the category as a whole sufficient to give readers as general idea.)

I. The types of Koranic rules include, for example:

(1) those ('amm) of general applicability to different types of legal rulings;

(2) those (khass) applicable to only one particular ruling or type or type or ruling;

(3) those (mujmal) which require details and explanation in order to be properly understood;

(4) those (mubayyan) which are plain with out added details:

(5) those (mutlag) applicable without restriction:

(6) those (muqayyad) which have restrictions

(7) those (nass) which unequivocally decide a particular legal question;

(8) those (zahir) with a probable legal signification, but which may also bear an alternative

interpretation:

(9) those (nasikh) which supersede previsouly revealed Koranic verses:

(10). and those (mansukh) which are superseded by later verses.

II. The types of sunna (A: i.e. hadith) include:

(1) hadiths (mutawatir) related by whole groups of individuals from whole groups, in multiple contiguous channels of transmission leading back to the Prophet himself (Allah bless him and give him peace), such that the sheer number of separate channels at each stage of transmission is too many for it to be possible for all to have conspired to fabricate the hadith (A: which is thereby obligatory to believe in, and denial of which is unbelief (kufr));

(2) hadiths (ahad) related by fewer than the abovementioned group at one or more stages of the transmission, though traced though contiguous successive narrators back to the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace). (n: If a hadith is transmitted through just one individual at any point in the history of its transmission, the hadith is termed singular (gharib). If it is transmitted through just two people at any stage of its transmission, it is termed rare ('aziz). If its channels of transmission, come through only three people at any point of its history, it is termed wellknown (mashhur). These designations do not directly influence the authenticity rating of the hadith, since a singular hadith, for example, might be rigorously authenticated (sahih), well authenticated (hasan) (N: hadiths of both types being obligatory for a

Muslim to believe in, though someone who denies them is merely considered corrupt (fasiq), not an unbeliever (kafir)), or not well authenticated (da'if), depending on the reliability ratings of the narrators and other factors weighed and judged by hadith specialists);

(3) and other kinds. (n: Yusuf Ardabili mentions the following in his list of qualifications for

performing legal reasoning (ijtihad):)

(4) hadiths (mursal) from one of those (tabi'i) who had personally met (N: not only met, but actually studied under) one or more of the prophetic Companions (Sahaba) but not the Prophet himself (Allah bless him and give him peace) (n: hadiths reported in the form, "The Prophet said (or did) such and such," without mentioning the Companion who related it directly from the Prophet);

(5) hadiths (musnad) related though a contiguous series of transmitters back to the Prophet (Allah bless him and give

(6) hadiths (muttasil) related though a contiguous series of transmitters (n: either from the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace). such a hadith being termed ascribed (marfu'), or else only from one of the Companions, such a hadith being termed arrested (mawquf);

(7) hadiths (munqata') related through a chain of transmitters of whom one is unknown (n: though if two or more are unknown, it is not considered merely incontiguous (munqata'), but rather problematic (mu'dal));

(8) the positive and negative personal factors (jarh wa ta'dil) determining the reliability ratings of the individual narrators of a hadith's channel of transmission:

(9) the positions held by the most learned of the Companions (Sahaba) on legal questions, and those of the scholars who came after them:

(10) and on which of these positions there is scholarly consensus (def: b7), and which are differed upon (Kitab alanwar lia'mal al-abrar fi fiqh al-Imam al-Shafi'i (yll), 2.391). (n: The English glosses and remarks on the meanings of the above hadith terminology are from notes

taken by the translator at a lesson with hadith specialist Sheikh Shu'avb Arna'ut.)

III. Types of analogical reasoning (qiyas) include:

(1) making an a fortiori analogy between acts p and q, where if p takes a ruling, q is even likelier to take the same ruling. For example, if saying "Uff!" to one's parents is unlawful (n: as at Koran 17:23), one may analogically infer that beating them must also be unlawful;

(2) making an analogy between acts p and q, where if p takes a ruling, one may infer that q is equally likely to take the same ruling. For example, if it is unlawful to wrongfully consume an orphan's property, then it must also be unlawful to destroy his property by burning it up;

(3) and making an analogy between acts p and q, where if p takes a ruling, one may infer that it is likely, though less certain, that q takes the same ruling (A: because of a common feature in the two acts which functions as the basis (illa) for the analogy). For example, if usurious gain (riba) is unlawful in selling wheat (dis: k3.1(, then it is also unlawful in selling apples, the basis for the analogy being that both are food. The meaning of knowledge of the above matters is (A: for a judge) to know part of what is connected with the Koran, sunna (A: i.e. hadith), and analogy, not complete knowledge of the Book of Allah, total familiarity with the rules of the sunna, or comprehensive mastery of the rules of analogical reasoning, but rather that which is pertinent to giving judgements in court (A: though an absolute giving judgements in court (A: though an absolute expert in Islamic legal reasoning (mujtahid mutlaq) such as Abu Hanifa. Malik; Shafi'i, or Ahmad, is obliged to know what relates to every subject matter in Sarced Law). He must know the reliability ratings of hadith narrators in strength and weakness. When two primary texts seems to contend, he gives precedence to:

(1) those of particular applicability (Khass) over those of general applicability ('amm);

(2) those that take restrictions (muqayyad) over those that do not (mutlaq);

 (3) those which unequivocally settle a particular question (nass) over those of merely probabilistic legal significance (zahir);

(4) whose which are literal (muhkam) over those which are figurative (mutashabih);

(5) and those which supersede previous rulings, those with a contiguous channel of transmission, and those with a well-authenticated channel of transmission, over their respective opposites. He must likewise know the positions of the scholars of Sacred Law regarding their consensus and differences and not contradict their consensus (A: which is unlawful (dis: b7.2)) with his own reasoning. If no one possesses the abovementioned qualifications, and a strong ruler appoints an unfit Muslim to the bench, such as someone who is immoral, or who (A: is incapable of independent legal reasoning (ijtihad) and) merely follows other qualified scholars (taqlid), or a child, or a woman, then the appointee's decisions are implemented because of necessity, so as not to vitiate people's concerns and interests (A: and this is what exists in our day, when the

conditions for an Islamic judge are seldom met with)); (e) sound hearing; (f) sound eyesight; (g) and the faculty of speech. (O: The author did not mention the necessary condition of being a Muslim, evidently feeling that

uprightness ((c) above) was sufficient to imply it.)
o.22.2 It is recommended that the judge be stern without harshness, and flexible without weakness (O: so the litigants do not despise or disdain him for otherwise, people entitled to rights would not be able to obtain them).

o22.3 If the judge needs to appoint another person to handle a part of his caseload because it is too heavy for him, then be may assign someone to deal with the extra cases if the person himself is qualified to be a judge. If the judge does not need to, he may not appoint such a person without special permission (A: from the regional ruler).

o22.4 If the judge needs a court secretary, he must be Muslim, upright (def: o24.4), sane, and learned (O: meaning familiar with writing up plaintiffs' cases, recording what is done in each case and the judge's decisions, and must be able to distinguish between writing it correctly and incorrectly. The above four conditions are obligatory, there only remaining to be mentioned that the secretary must be male and free).

o22.5 The judge should not have a doorkeeper (O: if there is no crowd), though if he needs one, the doorkeeper must be sane, reliable, and unbribable.

o22.6 When not in the area of his jurisdiction, the judge may not give legal decisions, appoint others, or hear evidence (O: or claims).

o22.7 He may not accept gifts except from someone who customarily gave him gifts before he became judge, who is not a plaintiff, and whose gifts are not more lavish than those given before the judge's appointment. (O: The same is true for entertaining the judge as a guest, as well as lending articles to him which are of rentable value, such as lending him lodgings.) It is better for a judge not to accept any gifts. (O: And whenever gifts are not lawful to accept, he does not legally own them but must return them.)

o22.8 He should not decide cases when angry, hungry, thirsty, overwrought, exultant, ill, tired, flatulent, annoyed, or when the weather is irritatingly hot or cold (0: it being offensive for a judge to decide a case in any state that affects his temperament for the worse), though if he does, his decision is implemented.

o22.10 The judge should not sit in a mosque to decide cases (O: lest voices be raised therein, and because he might need to bring in the insane, children, a woman in her period, or non-Muslims;' for which reasons sitting in a mosque to decide cases is offensive). But if his sitting in the mosque (O: in prayer, spiritual retreat (i'tikaf), or awaiting group prayer) happens to coincide with the coming of two litigants, then he may judge between them (O: without it being offensive).

o22.11 The judge should sit with tranquility and gravity (O: as it creates greater respect for him and makes it likelier that he will be obeyed). He should have witnesses present and scholars of jurisprudence to consult with on points of difficulty. If a case is not clear, he should postpone giving a decision on it. He may not merely imitate another's decision on a case (A: but must be capable of expert legal reasoning (ijtihad) himself).

o22.12 The judge handles the cases on a firstcome-first served basis, one case per turn. If two arrive at the same time, they draw lots to see whose case will be heard first. The judge (O: obligatorily) treats two litigants impartially, seating both in places of equal honour, attending to each, and so forth, unless one is a non-Muslim, in which case he gives the Muslim a better seat. He may not treat either litigant rudely, nor prompt one (O: as to how to state his case).

o22.13 The judge may intercede with one of them on behalf of the other (O: meaning to ask the two parties to settle their differences, which is what a judge's "intercession" is. It does not take place until after the truth has been established, which obviates his unfairly inclining to either one) and he may also pay one litigant what the other owes him.

o22.14 (N: When assigned to a new jurisdiction,) the judge first looks into the cases of the imprisoned, then orphans, and then of lost and found items.

o23.0 COURT CLAIMS

o23.1 If a plaintiff makes a claim that is not true, the judge considers it as if he had notheard it (O: and need not ask the defendant about it). When a claim is true, the judge asks the defendant, "What do you say?" If the defendant admits the claim is true, the judge does not give a decision on the case (A: there being no need to) unless the plaintiff asks him to. But if the defendant denies the claim, then if the plaintiff has no proof, the defendant's word is accepted if he swears an oath to hat effect. (O: This is when the claim does not involve blood (A: i.e. retaliation (def: o3) or indemnity (04)). If it does, then if there is obscurity in the matter, the plaintiff's word is accepted (N: provided fifty separate oaths are sworn by and distributed over all those entitled to take retaliation).) The judge does not have the defendant swear an oath unless the plaintiff: requests it. If the defendant refuses to swear, then the

judge has the plaintiff swear (A: that his claim is true), and when he does, he is entitled (O: to what he has claimed (A: from the defendant). But if the plaintiff also refuses to swear, the judge, dismisses both of them (O:from his presence). If the defendantis silent(O: not responding to the claim against him) then the judge should say, "Would that your would answer, for unless you do. I'll give the plaintiff the opportunity to swear an oath." If the defendant does not, then the plaintiff may swear an oath, and if he does, he is entitled to his claim.

o23.2 If the judge knows the truth of the claim (O: against the defendant), and it concerns one of the prescribed penalties of Allah Most High, meaning for fornication, theft, rebellion, or drinking, then he may not sentence the defendant, on that basis alone (O: on the basis of his knowledge of one of the above crimes. It is related of Abu Bakr Siddiq (Allah be well pleased with him) that he said, "Where I to see someone who deserved a prescribed legal penalty, I would not punish him unless two witnesses attested to his deserving it in front of me.") But when the judge knows the truth about something other than prescribed legal penalties, he must judge accordingly (O: the necessary condition for which is that he plainly state that he knows, such as by saying, "I know what he claims against you to be true, and have judged you according to my knowledge").

o23.3 When the judge does not know the language of the litigants, then he refers to upright (def: o24.4) persons familiar with it, provided they are a number (O: two or more) sufficient to substantiate the claim (def: o24.7-10).

o23.4 If a judge gives a decision on a case but then learns of an unequivocal text relating to it (0: from the Koran or mutawatir hadith (def: o22.1 (d(II))), a consensus of scholars, or an a fortiori analogy

(o22.1(dIII))), that controverts his decision, then he reverses it.

o23.5 A court claim is not valid except from a plaintiff possessing full right to deal with his own property.

o23.6 It is not valid to litigate over something that is not determinately known (def: k2.1 (e)), though some exceptions to this exist, such as claiming a bequest. If the plaintiff is claiming a financial obligation (dayn), he must mention its type, amount, and description. If he is claiming some particular article ('ayn) (O: such as a house), he must identify it. If he is unable to (O: as when the article is protable, and out of town), then he must describe it (O: with a description that would be valid for buying in advance (def: k9.2(d,g))).

o23.7 If a defendant denies a claim against him (A: and the plaintiff has no proof) then his denial is accepted (A: provided he swears on oath), as also when he says, "I owe him nothing."

o23.8 If the claim is for a particular article that is currently in the possession of one of the litigants, then the word of the person who has it is accepted when he swears an oath that it is his. If the article is in the possession of both litigants (O: together, and there is no proof as to whose it is; or when it is in the possession of neither, such as when a third party has it), then each swears an oath (O: that it does not belong to the other) and half the article is given to each of them.

o23.9 When another person owes one something, but denies it, then one may take it from his property without his leave (O: whether one has proof of it or not). But if the person acknowledges that he owes it to one, one may not simply take it from him (O: because a debtor may pay back a debt from whatever part of his property he wishes).

o24.0 WITNESSING AND TESTIFYING

o24.1 It is a communal obligation (def: e3.2) to both witness (A: i.e observe) legal events and to testify to have witnessed them. If there is only one person to do so, then it is personally obligatory upon him, in which case he may not accept payment for it, though if it is n ot personally obligatory, he may accept a fee.

o24.2 Legal testimony is only acceptable from a witness who:

(a) is free;

(b) is fully legally responsible (mukallaf, def: c8.1) (O: as testimony is not accepted from a child or insane person, even when the child's testimony regards injuries among children that occurred at play);

(c) is able to speak;

(d) it mentally awake;

(e) is religious (O: meaning upright (o24.4) (A: and Muslim), for Allah Most High says, "Let those of rectitude among you testify" (Koran 65:2), and unbelief is the vilest form of corruption, as goes without saying);

(f) and who is outwardly respectable (O: respectability (muru'a) meaning to have the positive traits which one's peers possess in one's particular time and place. Sheikh al-Islam (A: Zakariyya Ansari) says, "Respectability is refraining from conduct that is unseemly according to standards commonly acknowledged among those who observe the precepts and rules of the Sacred Law." It is according to standards commonly acknowledged (def: [4.5] because there are no absolute standards for it, but rather it varies with different persons, conditions, and places, Such things as eating and drinking (A: in the marketplace0 or wearing nothing on one's

head may vitiate it (A: though the latter is of no consequence in our times), as may a religious scholar's wearing a robe or cap in places where it is not customary for him to do so). The testimony of an absentminded person (O: meaning someone who often makes mistakes and forgets) is not acceptable (O: because he is unreliable).

o24.5 Nor is testimony acceptable from someone who:

- (1) has committed an enormity (O: meaning something severely threatened against in an unequivocal text from the Koran or hadith (dis: book p) N: though if someone who commits such an act then repents (def: p77) and is felt to be sincere in this, he regains his legal uprightness and his testimony is accepted, provided he is tested after his repentance long enough to believe in its genuineness);
- (2) persists in a lesser sin (O: because it then becomes an enormity, as opposed to when one does not persist therin. A lesser sin in one that has not been severely threatened against in an unequivocal text):
- (3) or is without respectability (def: o24.2(f)), such as a street-sweeper, bathhouse attendant, and the like. (A: A legally corrupt or immoral person (fasiq) is someone guilty of (1) or (2) above.)
- o24.4 (A: Normal uprightness ('adala) for purpose other than giving testimony in court means that one avoids (1) and (2) above, while (3) concerns court testimony alone (N: i.e. uprightness for testimony in court means a person is none of the above).)
- o24.5 The testimony of a blind person is accepted about events witnessed before he became blind, though not events witnessed after, unless they are public events that are discussed among people, or when someone says something the blind person hears (O: such as a divorce, for example), and he takes the speaker by the hand and conducts him to the judge and testifies as to what he has said.
- o24.6 The testimony of any of the following is unacceptable: (1) a person testifying for his son (O: son's son, and on down) or his father (O: father's father, and on up);
- (2) a person who stands to benefit (O: by his own testimony); (3) a person who stands to avoid loss to himself though his
- testimony; (4) a person testifying about his enemy;
- (5) or a person testifying about his own act.
- o24.7 The testimony of the following is legally acceptable when it concerns cases involving property, or transactions dealing with property, such as sales:
- (1) two men;
- (2) two women and a man-
- (3) or a male witness together with the oath of the plaintiff.
- o24.8 If testimony does not concern property, such as a marriage or prescribed legal penalties, then only two male witnesses may testify (A: though the Hanafi school holds that two women and a man may testify for marriage).
- 024.9 If testimony concerns fornication or sodomy, then it requires four male witnesses (O: who testify, in the case of fornication, that they have seen the offender insert the head of his penis into her vagina).
- 024.10 If testimony concerns things which men do not typically see (O: but women do), such as childbirth, then it is sufficient to have two male witnesses, a man and two women, or four women

o25.0 THE CALIPHATE

(n: This section has been added here by the translator because the caliphate is both Obligatory in itself and the necessary precondition for hundreds of rulings (books k through o) established by Allah Most High to govern and guide Islamic community life. What follows has been edited from al-Ahkam al-sultaniyya wa al-wilayat ad-diniyya by Imam Abul Hasan Mawardi, together with three principal commentaries on Imam Nawawi's Minhaj al-talibin, extracts from which are indicated by parentheses and the initial of the commentator. Ibn Hajar Haytami (H:) Mohammed Shirbini Khatib (K:), or 'Abd al-Hamid Sharwani (S:).)

OBLIGATORY CHARACTER OF THE THE CALIPHATE

o25.1 (Mawardi:) The reason the office of supreme leadership has been established in Sacred Law is to fulfill the caliphal successorship to prophethood in preserving the religion and managing this-worldly affairs. The investiture of someone from the Islamic Community (Umma) able to fulfill the duties of the caliphate is obligatory by scholarly consensus (def: b7), though scholars differ as to whether its obligatory character is established through reason or through Revealed Law. Some say that it is obligatory by human reason, because of the agreement of rational individuals to have a leader to prevent them from wronging one another and to come between them when conflict and arguments arise. Without authorities there would be a chaos of neglected people and a disorderly mob. Others hold that it is obligatory not through reason, but rather through Sacred Law, for the caliph performs functions that human reason might not otherwise deem ethically imperative, and which are not entailed by reason alone, for reason are not entailed by reason alone, for

reason merely requires that rational beings refrain from reciprocal oppression and strife, such that each individual conform with the demands of fairness in behaving towards others with justice and social cohesion, each evaluating their course with their own mind, not anyone else's, whereas Sacred Law stipulates that human concerns be consigned to the person religiously responsible for them. Allah Mighty and Majestic says. "You who believe, obey Allah and obey the Propeht and those of authority among you" (Koran 4:59). thereby obliging us to obey those in command, namely the leader with authority over us. Abu Hurayra relates that the Propeht (Allah bless him and give him peace) said. "Leaders shall rule you after me, the godfearing of them ruling you with godfearingness and the profligate ruling you with wickedness. So listen to them and obey them in everything that is right; for if they do well, it will count for you and for them, and if they do badly, it will count for you and against them."(al-Ahkam al-sultaniyya wa al-wilayat al-diniyya (y87),(5-6)

o25.2 (H: The caliphate is a communal obligation (def: c3.2) just as the judgeship is (S: because the Islamic community needs a ruler to uphold the religion, defend the sunna, succor the oppressed from oppressors, fulfill rights, and restore them to whom they belong).)

THE QUALIFICATIONS OF A CALIPH

O25.3 (Nawawi:) among the qualifications of the caliph are that he be:

(a) Muslim (H: so that he may see to the best interests of Islam and the Muslims (K: it being invalid to appoint a non-Muslims (K: it being invalid to appoint a non-Muslim (kafir) to authority, even to rule non-Muslim.) (S: Qadi lyad states that there is scholarly consensus (def: b7) that it is not legally valid to invest a non-Muslim as caliph, and that if a caliph becomes a non-Muslim (dis: 08.7) he is not longer caliph, as also when he does not maintain the prescribed prayers (A: meaning to both perform them himself and order Muslim to) and summon the people to them, and likewise (according to the majority of scholars) if he makes reprehensible innovations (bid'a, def: w29.3) (A: by imposing an innovation on people that is Offensive or unlawful). If the caliph becomes a non-Muslim, alters the Sacred Law- (N: such alteration being of two types, one of which consists of his changing the Law by legislating something which contravenes it while believing in the validity of the provisions of the Sacred Law, this being an injustice that does not permit rebellion against him, while the other consists of imposing rules that contravenes the provisions of the religion while believing in the validity of the rules he has imposed, this being unbelief (kufr) (A: it is questionable whether anyone would impose much rules without believing in their validity))- or imposes reprehensible innovations while in office, then he loses his authority and need no longer be obeyed, and it is obligatory for Muslims to rise against him if possible, remove him from office, and install an upright leader in his place. If only some are able, they are obliged to rise up and remove the unbeliever (A: whether they believe they will succeed or fail), through it is not obligatory to try to remove a leader who imposes reprehensible innovations unless they believe it possible. If they are certain that they are unable to (A: remove an innovator), they are notobliged to rise against him. Rather, a Muslim in such a case should emigrate from his country (N: if he can find a better one), fleeing with his religion (A: which is obligatory if he is prevented in his home country from openly performing acts of worship)));

(b) possessd to legal responsibility (def: c8.1) (K: so as to command the people, it being invalid for a child or insaneperson to lead):

(c) free (K: so that others may consider him competent and worthy or respect):

(d) male (K: to be able to devote himself fulltime to the task, and to mix with men, the leadership of a woman being invalid because of the rigorously authenticated (sahih) hadith. "A people that leave its leadership to a woman will never succeed"):

(e) of the Quraysh tribe (K: because of the (H: wellauthenticated (hasan)) hadith related by Nasa'i. "The Imams are of the Quraysh." a hadith adhered to by the Companions of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) and those after them, this qualification being obligatory when there is a member of Quraysh available who meets the other conditions) (H: though when there is not, then the next most eligible is a qualified member of the Kinana tribe, then of the Arabs, then of the non-Arabs):

(f) capable of expert legal reasoning (ijtihad) (H: as a judge must be (def: o22). 1(d)) and with even greater need (K: so as to know the rulings of Sacred Law, teach people, and not need to seek the legal opinion of others concerning uprecedented events), scholarly consensus (def: b7) having been related concerning this condition, which is not contradicted by the statement of the Qadi (A: 'Iyad) that "an ignorant upright person is fitter than a knowledgeable corrupt one," since the former would be able to refer matters requiring expert legal reasoning to qualified scholars, and

moreover the remark applies to when the available leaders are not capable of legal reasoning (S: while possessing the other qualifications for leadership));

(g) courageous (K: meaning undaunted by danger, that he may stand alone, direct troops, and vanquish foes);

(h) possessed of discernment (H: in order to lead followers and see to their best interests, religious or this-worldly discernment meaning at minimum to know the various capacities of people), sound hearing and evesight, and the faculty of speech (K: so as to decisively arbitrate matters);

(i) (H: and be upright (def: o24.4) as a judge must be, and with even greater need. But it is valid, if forced to, to resor to the leadership of a corrupt person, which is why Ibn 'Abd al-Salam says, "If there are no upright leaders or rules available, then the least corrupt is given precedence").

THE THREE WAYS A CALIPH MAY BE INVESTED WITH OFFICE

o25.4 The caliphate may legally be effected (K: through

three means, the first of which is):

(1) by an oath of fealty (H: like the one sworn by the prophetic Companions to Abu Bakr (Allah be well pleased with them)) which, according to the soundest position, is (H: legally binding if it is) the oath of those with discretionary power to enact or disolve a pact (ahl al-hall wa al-'aqd) of the scholars, leaders, and notables able to attend (K: since the matter is accomplished through them, and all the people follow them. It is not a condition that all those with discretionary power to enact or dissolve a pact be present from every remote region, or that there be a particular number present, as the author's words seem to imply, but rather, if discretionary power to enact or dissolve a pact exists in a single individual who is obeyed, his oath of fealty is sufficient.) (H: As for an oath of fealty from common people without discretionary power to enact or dissolve a pact, it is of no consequence) and they (H: those pledging fealty) must possess the qualifications necessary to be a witness (K: such as uprightness and so forth (def: 024.2)) (Mughni al-muhtaj ila ma'rifa ma'ani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73), 4.129-31, and Hawashi al-Shavkh 'Abd al-Hamid al-Sharwani wa al-Shavkh Ahmad ibn Qasim al-'Abbadi'ala Tuhfa almuhtaj bi sharh al-Minhaj (v2), 9.74-76).

(Mawardi:) When those with power to enact or dissolve a pact meet to select the caliph, they examine the state of the available qualified candidates, giving precedence to the best of them and most fully qualified, whose leadership the public will readily accept and whose investiture people will not hesitate to recognise. When there is only one person whom the examiners' reasoning leads them to select, they offer him the position. If he accepts, they swear an oath of fealty to him and the supreme leadership is thereby invested in him, the entire Islamic Community (Ummma) being compelled to acknowledge fealty to him and submit in obedience to him. But if he refuses the caliphal office, not responding to their offer, he is not forced to comply-as investiture comes of acceptance and free choice, not compulsion and constraintand they turn to another qualified candidate (al-Ahkam alsultaniyya wa al-0wilayat al-diniyya (y87), 7-8);

(2) (Nawawi:) and (H: the second means (K: through which it may be effected is)) by the caliph appointing a successor (H: meaning someone after him, even if it be his descendant or ancestor, for Abu Bakr appointed 'Umar (Allah be well pleased with them) as his successor, and scholarly consensus (def: b7) was effected in recognizing its legal validity. This type of investiture consists of the caliph appointing a sucessor while still alive, to succeed him after death. Though actually his successor during his life, the successor's disposal of affairs is suspended until the caliph dies). If the caliph appoints a group to select a successor from among themselves, it is as if he had appointed a successor (K: though the successor is not yet identified) (H: resembling an appointment in it being legally binding and obligatory to accept the outcome of their choice) and they choose one of their number (K: after the caliph's death, investing the person they select with the caliphate) (H: because 'Umar appointed a committee of six to choose his successor from among themselves: Ali, Uthman, Zubayr, Abd al-Rahman ibn Awf, Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas, and Talha, and after his death they agreed upon Uthman, (Allah be well pleased with them));

(3) an (H: the third means is) through seizure of power b a individual possessing the qualifications of a caliph (H: meaning by force, since the interests of the whole might be realized through such a takeover, this being if the caliph has died, or has himself obtained office through seizure of power, i.e. when he lacks some of the necessary qualifications.) (S: As for when the office is wrested from a living caliph, then if he himself became caliph through seizure of power, the caliphate of his deposer is legally valid. But if he became caliph through an oath of fealty (def: o25.4(1)) or having been appointed as the previous caliph's successor (def: o25.4(2)), then the deposer's caliphate is not legally valid). A takeover is also legally valid, according to the soundest position, by someone lacking moral rectitude (dis: o25.3(i)) or knowledge of Sacred Law (o25.3(f)) (K: meaning the caliphate of a person

lacking either condition is legally valid when the other conditions exist) (H: as is the takeover of someone lacking other qualifications, even if he does not possess any of them (S: besides Islam, for if a non-Muslim seizes the caliphate, it is not legally binding, and so too, according to most scholars, with someone who makes reprehensible innovations, as previously mentioned (dis: o25.3(a))). The caliphate of someone who seizes power is considered valid, even though his act of usurpation is disobedience, in view of the danger from the anarchy and strife that would otherwise ensue).

THE OBLIGATORY CHARACTER OF OBEDIENCE TO THE CALIPH

o25.5 (K: It is obligatory to obey the commands and interdictions of the caliph (N: or his representative (def: o25.7-10)) in everything that is lawful (A: meaning it is obligatory to obey him in everything that is not unlawful, offensive, or merely in his own personal interests), even if he is unjust, because of the hadith, "Hear and obey, even if the ruler placed over you is an Ethiopian slave with amputated extremities," and because the purpose of his authority is Islamic unity, which could not be realized if obeying him were not obligatory. It is also obligatory for him to give sincere counsel to those under him to the extent that it is possible.)

THE INVALIDITY OF A PLURALITY OF CALIPHS

o25.6 (K: It is not permissible for two or more individuals to be invested with the caliphate (H: at one time), even when the are in different regions, or remote from one another, because of the disunity of purpose and political dissolution it entails. If two are simultaneously invested as caliph, neither's caliphate is valid. If invested serially, the caliphate of the first of them is legally valid and the second is disciplined (def: o17) for committing an unlawful act, together with those who swear fealty to him, if the are aware of the first's investiture as caliph) (Mughni al0muhtaj ila ma'rifa ma'ani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73), 4.132, and Hawashi al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamid al-'Abbadi 'ala Tuhfa al-muhtaj bisharh al-Minhaj (y2), 9.77-

DELEGATINGAUTHORITY TO THOSE UNDER THE CALIPH

o25.7 (Mawardi:) The authority deligated to a minister of state may be of two kinds, full or limitary.

(1) Full ministerial authority is when the caliph appoints as minister an individual who is entrusted with independently managing matters through his own judgement and implementing them according to his own personal reasoning (ijtihad). Appointing such an individual is not legally invalid, for Allah Most High says, quoting His prophet Moses (Allah bless him and give him peace), "And appoint for me a minister from any family. Aaron my brother; fortify me through him and have himshare my task" (Koran 20:29-32), and if valid respecting the task of prophethood, it is valid a fortiori regarding the function of the caliphate. Another reason is that the direction of the Islamic Community (Umma), which is the caliph's duty, cannot be fully conducted alone without delegating responsibility; for him to appoint a minister to participate therin is sounder than attempting to manage everything himself, a minister to help keep him from following mere personal caprice, that he may thus be further from error and safer from mistakes. The conditions necessary for such a minister are the same as those for a'caliph, excepting lineage alone (dis: o25.3)e)), for the minister must implement his views and execute his judgements, and must accordingly be capable of expert legal reasoning (ijtihad). He must also possess an additional qualification to those required for the caliphate, namely, by being specially qualified to perform the function he is appointed to.

(2) Limitary ministerial authority is a lesser responsibility and has fewer conditions, since the role of personal judgement therein is confined to the views of the caliph and their implementation, this minister being, as it were, an intermediary between the caliph, his subjects, and their appointed rulers; delivering orders, performing directives, implementing judgements, informing of official appointments, mustering armies, and informing the caliph in turn of important events, that the minister may deal with them as the caliph orders. He is an assistant in carrying out matters and is not appointed to command them or have authority over them. Such a ministry does not require an appointment but only the

caliph's permission.
o25.8 When the caliph appoints a ruler over a region or city, the ruler's the ruler's authority may be of two kinds, general or specific. The general may in turn be of two types authority in view of merit, which is invested voluntarily; and authority in view of siezure of power, invested out of necessity

o25.9 Authority in view of merit is that which is freely invested by the caliph through his own choice, and entails delegating a given limitary function and the use of judgement within a range of familiar alternatives. This investiture consists of the caliph appointing an individual to independently govern a city or region with authority over all

its inhabitants and discretion in familiar affairs for allmatters of government, including seven functions:

(1) raising and deploying armies on the frontiers and fixing their salaries, if the caliph has not already done so;

(2) reviewing laws and appointing judges and magistrates; (3) collecting the annual rate (khiraj) from those allowed to remain on land taken b Islamic

conquests, gathering zakat from those obliged to pay, appointing workers to handle it, and distributing it to eligible recipients;

(4) protecting the religion and the sacrosanct, preserving the religion from alteration and substitution;

(5) enforcing the prescribed legal measures connected with the rights of Allah and men:

(6) leading Muslims at group and Friday prayers, whether personally or by representative;

(7) facilitating travel to the hajj for both pilgrims from the regian itself and those passing through from elsewhere, that they may proceed to the pilgrimage with all necessary help,

(8) and if the area has a border adjacent to enemy lands, an eighth duty arises, namely to undertake jihad against enemies, dividing the spoils of battle among combatants, and setting aside fifth (def: o10.3) for deserving recipients.

o25.10 Authority in view of seizure of power, invested out of necessity, is when a leader forcibly takes power in an area over which the caliph subsequently confirms his authority and invests him with its management and rule. Such a leader attains political authority and management by takeover, while the caliph, by giving him authorization, is enable to enforce the rules of the religion so that the matter may brought from invalidity to validity and from unlawfulness to legitimacy. And if this process is beyond what is normally recognized as true investiture of authority with its conditions and rules, it yet preserves the ordinances of the Sacred Law and rules of the religion that ma not be left vitiated and compromised (al-Ahkam al-sultaniyya wa al-wilayat al-diniyya (y87), 25-39).

o26.0 THE CONCLUSION OF 'UMDAT AL-SALIK

o26.1 And Allah Most High and Glorious knows best what is correct (O: meaning that He knows best what actually 1" corresponds to the truth, in word and deed, the author thereby denying the claim to know better. There is scholarly disagreement as to whether the truth (A: about the rule of Allah for a particular ruling) is really one or multiple (A: many scholars holding that all positions of qualified mujtahids on a question are correct). In fact, it is one, the Imam who is right about it (Allah be well pleased with them all) receiving two rewards, one for his attempt and one for being correct, while the one who is not is mistaken, receiving a reward for his effort and being excused for his mistake. All of which applies to particular rulings of Sacred Law (furu'), as opposed to fundamentals of Islamic faith (usul, def: books u and v), in which the person wrong about them is guilty of serious sin, as is anyone who contradicts the tenets of the orthodox Sunni Community (Ahl al-Sunna wa al-Jama'a)).

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p0.0 THE AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

(n: The first of the books translated as appendices to our basic text 'Umdat al-salik concerns the enormities alluded to above in the context of court testimony (dis: 024.3), and has been edited from the Kitab al-kaba'ir (Book of enormities) of Imam Dhahabi, who defines an enormity as any sin entailing either a threat of punishment in the hereafter explicitly mentioned by the Koran or hadith, a prescribed legal penalty (hadd), or being accursed by Allah or His messenger (Allah bless him and give him peace).)

p0.1 In the name of Allah, Most Merciful and Compassionate.

O Lord, facilitate and help. The sheikh, Imam, and hadith master (hafiz, def: w48.2 (end) Shams al-Din Mohammed ibn Ahmad ibn Uthman Dhahabi (may Allah forgive him) said: Praise be to Allah for true faith in Him. His books. messengers angels, and decrees. Allah bless our prophet Mohammed, his folk, and those who support him, with a lasting blessing that will grant us the Abode of Permanences near to Him. This is a book useful in knowing the enormities, both in general and in detail. May Allah by His mercy enable us to avoid them. Allah Most High says, "If you avoid the enormities of what you have been forbidden. We shall acquit you of your wrongdoings and admit you to a generous place to enter" (Koran 4:31). In this text, Allah Most High promises whoever avoids the enormities to admit him to paradise. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "The five prescribed prayers, and from one Friday prayer to another entail forgiveness for what is between them as long as you do not commit the enormities." So we are obliged to learn what they are, that the Muslim may avoid

p1.0 ASCRIBING ASSOCIATES TO ALLAH MOST HIGH (SHIRK)

- p1.1 Ascribing associates to Allah Most High means to hold that Allah has an equal, whereas He has created you, and to worship another with Him, whether it be a stone, human, sun, moon, prophet, sheikh, jinn, star, angel, or other.
- p1.2 Allah Most High says:
- (1) "Allah does not forgive that any should be associated with Him, but forgives what is other than that to whomever He wills" (Koran 4:48)
- (2) "Surely, whoever ascribes associates to Allah, Allah has forbidden him paradise, and his refuge is hell" (Koran 5:72).
- (3) "Of a certainty, worshipping others with Allah is a tremendous injustice" (Koran 31:13).
- p1.3 The Koranic verses concerning this are very numerous, it being absolutely certain that whoever ascribes associates to Allah and dies in such a state is one of hell's inhabitants just as whoever believes in Allah and dies as a believer is one of the inhabitants of paradise, even if he should be punished first.

2.0 KILLING A HUMAN BEING

- P2.1 Allah Most High says:
- (1) "Whoever intentionally kills a believer, his recompense shall be hell, abiding therein forever, and Allah shall be wroth with him, damn him, and ready for him a painful torment'
- (2) "Whoever takes a life other than to retaliate for a killing or for corruption in the land is as if he had slain all mankind" (Koran 5:32)
- p2.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "When two Muslims meet with drawn swords, both the slayer and the slain go to hell." Someone said, "O Messenger of Allah, that is for the slayer. But why the slain?" And he replied, "Because he meant to kill the other."

p3.0 SORCERY

p3.1 Sorcery is an enormity because the sorcerer must necessarily disbelieve (dis: x136), and the accursed Devil has no other motive for teaching a person witchcraft than that he might thereby ascribe associates to Allah (shirk).

p3.2 Allah Most High says:

- (1) "A sorcerer will never prosper wherever he goes' (Koran 20:69).
- (2) "... But the devils disbelieved, teaching people sorcery' (Koran 2:102).
- And Allah Most High says, concerning Harut and Marut.
- (3) "The two do not teach anyone before telling them, 'We are only a temptation, so be not unbelievers,' but they learn from these two that which the use to separate a man from his wife" (Koran 2:102).

p4.0 NOT PERFORMING THE PRAYER

p4.0 Allah Most High says:

(1) But a generation followed them who dissipated the prayer and pursued (their) lusts, and they shall find Ghayy (n:

- a "valley in hell" (Tafsir al-Jalalayn (y77), 402), save he who repents..." (Koran 19:59-60).
- "Woe to those who pray, unmindful of their prayers (Koran 107:4-5). 93) "'What has brought you to hell?' And they shall say, 'We were not of those who prayed'" (Koran 74:42-43).
- p4.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, The agreement that is between us and them is the prayer: whoever leaves it has disbelieved (dis: w18.2-5).

p5.0 NOT PAYING ZAKAT

p5.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Woe unto polytheists, who do not pay zakat and are disbelieves in the hereafter" (Koran 41:6-7).92) "Those who hoard gold and silver, spending it not in the way of Allah, give them glad tidings of a painful torment, the day they are roasted upon it in the fire of hell" (Koran 9:34-35).

p6.0 SHOWING DISRESPECT TO ONE'S PARENTS

p6.1 Allah Most High says:

- (1) "Your Lord decrees that you shall worship none but Him and treat your parents well, and if one or both of them each old age with you, say not 'Uff!' to them nor upbraid them, but speak noble words and lower the wing of humility to them out of mercy" (Koran 17:230-24).
- (2) "And We enjoin man to be good to his parents" (Koran 29:8).
- p6.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, 'Shall I not tell you of the worst of the enormities?..." and one of those he mentioned was undutiful behavior to one's

p7.0 ACCEPTING USURIOUS GAIN (RIBA) (def:k3) p7.1 Allah Most High says:

"O you who believe: fear Allah and forgo what remains of usurious gain if you are believers. If you will not, then know of a declaration of war (against you) from allah and His messenger" (Koran 2:278-79).

p7.2 the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "May Allah curse him who eats of usurious gain (riba) or feeds it to another (A: curse (la'n) meaning to put someone far from the divine mercy).

p8.0 WRONGFULLY CONSUMING AN ORPHAN'S PROPERTY

p8.1 Allah Most High says:

- (1) "Verily, those who wrongfully eat the property of ornhans but fill their belles with fire, and shall roast in a blaze" (Koran 4:10).
- (2) "Approach not the orphan's property, save in exchange for that which is better" (Koran 6:152).

p8.2 If the orphan's guardian is poor and consumes some of his charge's property without exceeding what is permissible, there is no harm in it (A: no haram (la ba's) being a technical term in Sacred Law meaning that it is better not to). What is in excess of the permissible is absolutely unlawful. (N: Scholars say that the guardian may lawfully only take whichever is less: the amount he needs, or else the wage typically received for work comparable to that performed for the orphan.) The criterion of the permissible is what is customary among people who are true believers free from base, ulterior motives.

p9.0 LYING ABOUT THE PROPHET (ALLAH BLESS HÎM AND GIVE HIM PEACE)

- p9.1 Some scholars hold that lying about the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) is unbelief (kufr) that puts one beyond the pale of Islam. There is no doubt that a premeditated lie against Allah and His messenger that declares something which is unlawful to be permissible or something permissible to be unlawful is pure unbelief. The question (A: as to when it is an enormity rather than outright unbelief) only concerns lies about other than that.
- p9.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: (1) "A lie about me is not the same as a lie about someone else: whoever intentionally lies about me shall take a place for himself in hell.
- (2) "Whoever relates words purportedly from me, thinking it is a lie, is a liar."
- p9.3 It is clear from this that narrating a forged (mawdu') hadith is not permissible.

p9.4 (Ibn Kathir:) As for detecting forged hadiths, there are many signs that enable one to do so, such as internal evidence of forgery in wording or content, including poor grammar, corrpt meaning, the mention of incredible rewards for inconsiderable efforts, or inconsistency with what is established in the Koran and rigorously authenticated (sahih) hadith. It is not permissible for anyone to relate such a hadith except by way of condemning it, to warn one of the ignorant public or common people who might be deceived by it. there are many types of individuals who forge hadiths, including those with corrupt convictions about basic tenets of Islamic faith, as well as devotees who believe they are doing good by making up hadith-like stores that encourage others to do

good, avoid bad, or perform meritorious acts, that such stories may be acted upon (al-Bahith al-hathith sharh Ikhtisar 'ulum al-hadith (y61), 78).

p9.5 (n: Having discussed lies and forgeries, we must strictly distinguish them from the hadith category called not well authenticated (da'if, lit. "weak"), sotermed because of such factors as having a channel of transmission containing a narrator whose memory was poor, one who was unreliable, unidentified by name, or for other reasons. Such hadiths legally differ from forgeries in the permissibility of ascribing them to the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) and in other ways discussed at w48 below.)

p10.0 BREAKING ONE'S FAST DURING RAMADAN p10.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Whoever breaks a fast-day of Ramadan without an excuse or dispensation could not requite it by fasting a lifetime, were he to do so (A: meaning that making up that day, while obligatory, does not remove the sin, though repentance does)." The above hadith is not well authenticated.

(2) "The five prescribed prayers, and from one Friday prayer to another or from Ramadan to Ramadan, expiate the sins between them as long as the enormities are avoided." 93) 'Islam is based on five things: testifying that there is no god but Allah and that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah, performing the prayer, giving zakat, fasting Ramadan, and the pilgrimage to the House (kaaba).'

P11.0 FLEEING FROM COMBAT IN JIHAD

p11.1 Allah Most High says, "On that day, whoever turns his back to them, unless pretending flight in order to reattack, or separating to join another unit, will bear the wrath of Allah and his refuge will be hell, a ter rible end" (Koran 8:16).

p12.0 FORNICATION

p12.1 Allah Most High says:

- (1) "Approach not fornication, it is surely an indecency and evil as a way" (Koran 17:32).
- (2) "The fornicator and Fornicatress, scourge them each a hundred stripes and let not pity for them take you" (Koran 24:2).
- (3) "The fornicator shall not wed other than a fornicatress or idolatress. The fornicatress, none shall wed her but a fornicator or idolator. That is unlawful for believers" (Koran 24:3). (n: The latter verse "was revealed when some poor Muslim emigrants in Medina were considering marrying the polytheists' prostitutes, who were wealthy, so that the prostitutes could provide for them. One opinion is that the Koranic prohibition concerned these people alone. A a second position is that it was a general prohibition, but was superseded by the revelation of the subsequent verse, 'And marry those of you who are without spouses' (Koran 24:32)." (Tafsir al-Jalalayn (y77), 457))
- p12.2 The Propeht (Allah bless him and give him peace)

"Whoever fornicates or drinks wine. Allah takes his faith from him as a man takes a shirt off over his head."

p13.0 THE LEADER WHO MISLEADS HIS FOLLOWING, THE TYRANT AND OPPRESSOR p13.1 Allah Most High says:

- (1) "The dispute (lit. "way against") is only with those who oppress people and wrongfully commit aggression in the land: these will have a painful torment" (Koran 42:42).
- (2) "They did not forbid each other the evil that they did, and how wicked was what they would do' (Koran 5:79).
- p13.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
- (1) "All of y ou are trustees, and each is responsible for those entrusted to his care."
- (2) "Any superior who misrules his followers shall go to hell
- (3) "There will come corrupt, tyrannous rulers: whoever confirms their lies and assists them in their oppression is not of me, nor I of him, and shall not meet me at my watering place in paradise.
- (4) "He who shows no mercy will no be shown any."
- (5) "the worst of your rulers shall be those whom you detest and who detest you, whom you curse and who curse you." They said, "O Messenger of Allah, can we not throw, them out?" And he replied, "No, not as long as they maintain the prescribed prayer (dis: o25.3(a(A:))) among you.
- (6) "You'll be anxious to lead, and this will be a source of remorse to you on the Day of Judgement."

P14 0 DRINKING

P14.1 Allah Most High says:

- (1) "They will ask you about wine and gambling. Say: 'There is great sin therein'" (Koran 2:219).
- (2) "O you believe: wine, gambling, idols, and fortunetelling arrows are but filth of the Devil's handiwork, so shun " (Koran 5:90).
 - p1.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

- (1) "Scourge whoever drinks wine. If he drinks it again, scourge him again. If he drinks it again, scourge him again. If he drinks it a fourth time, kill him." (N: The ruling of this hadith was later superseded, for the Propeht (Allah bless him and give him peace) was brought a drunkard for a forth time, but did not kill him, showing that execution had been superseded, though the hadith remains a proof that the crime of drunkenness is an enormity.)
- (2) "Allah has cursed wine, and whoever drinks it, pours it, sells it, buys it, presses it for another, presses if for himself, carries it, accepts its delivery, or eats its price."
- (3) "Whoever drinks wine in this world shall be forbidden it in the next.

$\tt p15.0$ ARROGANCE, PRIDE, CONCEIT, VANITY, AND HAUGHTINESS

p15.1 Allah Most high says:

- (1) "Moses said, 'I surely seek refuge in my Lord and yours from every arrogant person who
- disbelievers in the Day of Reckoning'" (Koran 40:27)
- (2) "Assuredly, Allah loves not those who hold aloof out of pride" (Koran 16:23).
- (3) "Such is the Final Abode. We grant it to those who seek not exaltation in the land, nor

corruption" (Koran 28:83).

- (4) "Turn not your cheek from people out of pride, not walk haughtily through the land, for Allah loves no one who is conceited and boastful" (Koran 31:18).
- p15.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
- (1) "Tyrants and the arrogant will be raised on the Last Day as grain strewn underfoot that people will walk upon."
- (2) "No one with the slightest particle of arrogance in his heart will enter paradise." A man remarked, "But a man likes his clothes to be nice and his sandals good." The Propeht (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "verily, Allah is beautiful and loves beauty. Arrogance is refusing to acknowledge what is right and considering others beneath one."
- (3) Allah Most High says, "Greatness is My garment and haughtiness My mantle: whoever vies with Me for them I will throw into hell."
- (4) Salama ibn al-Akwa' recounts that a man was eating with his left hand in the presence of the Prophett (allah bless him and give him peace). The Propeht told him, "Eat with your right," to which the man replied, "I cannot," though nothing stopped him but arrogance. The Propeht said, "May you not be able to." And the man could never left his right hand to his mouth again.
- p15.3 The wickedest arrogance is that of someone who exalts himself over people because of is learning and gloats to himself about his superiority. The knowledge of such a person is of absolutely no benefit to him. Whoever learns Sacred Knowledge for the sake of the next world is unsettled by his learning, his heart is humbled and his ego lowered. Such a person lies in wait for his selfishness and never gives it free rain. He constantly takes his ego to task and corrects it. Were he to neglect it, it would diverge from the right path and destroy him. the person who seeks knowledge to take pride in it or to gain a position of leadership, looking disdainfully at other Muslims, thinking them fools and making light of themall this is the most enormous arrogance, and "no one with the slightest particle of arrogance in his heart will enter paradise."

p16.0 BEARING FALSE WITNESS

- p16.1 Allah Most High says: "Shun the abomination of idols, and shun false testimony" (Koran 22:30).
- p16.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
- (1) "On the Day of Judgement, the feet of the person who bore false witness will not stir from their place before their own is condemned to hell."
- (2) "Shall I tell you of the worst enormities?- worshipping others with Allah, showing disrespect to parents, giving a false statement, and testifying to the truth of a falsehood." And he kept repeating it until we were telling ourselves (N: out of sympathy for him because of the strain of repeating it), "If only he would be silent."

P17.0 SODOMY AND LESBIANISM

- p17.1 In more than one place in the Holy Koran, Allah recounts to us the story of Lot's people, and how He destroyed them for their wicked practice. There is consensus among both Muslims and the followers of all other religions that sodomy is an enormity. It is even viler and uglier than adultery.
- p17.2 Allah Most High says: "Do you approach the males of humanity, leaving the wives Allah has created for you? But you are a people who transgress" (Koran 26:165-66).
- p17.3 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
- (1) "Kill the one who sodomizes and the one who lets it be done to him."
- (2) "May Allah curse him who does what Lot's people did."

(3) "Lesbianism by women is adultery between them."

P18.0 CHARGING A WOMAN WHO COULD BE CHASTE (def: o13.2) WITH ADULTERY

p18.1 Allah Most High says:
(1) "Those who accuse believing women, unmindful though innocent, are cursed in this world and the next and shall receive a painful torment" (Koran 24:23). 92) "Those who accuse innocent women without producing four witnesses, scoruge them eighty stripes" (Koran 24:4).

p18.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Avoid the seven heinous sins..." and he mentioned charging believing women, unmindful though innocent, with adultery.

adultery.
p18.3 As for someone who accuses the Mother of the Faithful 'A'isha of adultery after the revelation from heaven of her innocence (Koran 24:11-12), such a person is an unbeliever (kafir) denying the Koran and must be killed.

P19.0 MISAPPROPRIATING SPOILS OF WAR, MUSLIM FUNDS, OR ZAKAT

p19.1 Allah Most High says:

"No prophet has been given to misappropriate wealth. Whoever does so shall bring what they have taken on the Day of Judgement" (Koran 3:161).

p19.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "... By Allah, none of you shall wrongfully take something save that he will meet Allah carrying it on Judgement Day, and I swear I will not recognize any of you who is carrying a grunting camel, lowing cow, or bleating sheep when you meet Allah." Then he lifted his hands and said, "O Allah, have I told them?"

p20.0 TAKING PEOPLE'S PROPERTY THROUGH FALESHOOD

p20.1 Allah Most High says: "Consume not one another's property though falsehood, nor proffer it to those who judge (between you)..." (Koran 2:188).

p20.2 The category of taking others' property through faleshood includes such people as those who impose non-Islamic taxes (def: p32), the highwayman who blocks the road, the thief, the idler, the betrayer of a trust, the cheater or adulterator of trade goods, the borrower who denies having borrowed something, the person who stints when Weighing or measuring out goods, the person who picks up lost and found property and does not give notice of having found it, the person who sells merchandise with a hidden defect, the gambler, and the merchant who tells the buyer that the merchandise cost more than it did.

p20.3 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)

- (1) "whoever appropriates a hadsbreadth of land through falsehood shall be made to carry it, as thick as seven earths, around his neck on judgement Day."
- (2) "For someone to put off repayment of a debt when able to pay is an injustice."
- (3) A man said, "O Messenger of Allah, will my mistakes be forgiven me if I am killed, in steadfastness and anticipating Allah's reward, advancing and not retreating?" He replied, "Yes, except for debts."
- (4) "Flesh nurtured on ill-gotten wealth will not enter paradise. The hellfire has a better right to it."
- (5) "There is a record that Allah will not ignore the slightest bit of. It is the oppression of Allah's servants."
- p20.4 Oppression is of three types. The first is consuming property through falsehood; the second, oppressing Allah's servants by killing, hitting, breaking bones or causing wounds; and the third, oppressing them through spoken abuse, cursing, reviling, or accusing them of adultery or sodomy without proof. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said in an address to the people at Mina, "Verily, your blood, property, and reputations are as inviolable to one another as the inviolability of this day, this month, and this city of yours."

p21.0 THEFT

p21.1 Allah Most High says:

"Thieves, male or female-cut off their hands in retribution for what they have earned, as an exemplary punishment from Allah. Allah is Almighty and Wise" (Koran 5:38).

- p21.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
- (1) "Allah curse the thief whose hand is cut for stealing a rope."

 (2) "If Mohammed's daughter Fatima stole, I would cut off
- her hand."
 p21.3 A thief's repentance is of no benefit to him until he returns whatever he stole (dis: p77.3). If moneyless, he must

p22.0 HIGHWAYMEN WHO MENACE THE ROAD

have the victim absolve him of financial responsibility

(A: The amount of money they ask makes no difference, and like this, in being money taken through falsehood, are all measures imposed upon travellers without their free choice,

such as tariffs, mandatory currency exchange, visa fees, and so forth.)

p22.1 Allah Most High says: "The recompense of those at war with Allah and His messenger and who strive for corruption in the land is that they be killed or crucified, or a hand and foot cut off from opposite sides, or banished from the land. That is their humiliation in this world, and an immense torment awaits them in the next" (koran 5:33).

p22.2 Merely making people feel that the way is unsafe is to commit an enormity, so how then if such a person should take money?

P23.0 THE ENGULFING OATH

- $p23.1\,$ An engulfing oath is one in which there is premeditated lying. It is termed engulfing because it whelms its swearer in sin.
- p23.2 The Propeht (Allah bless him and give him peace)
- (1) "the enormities are worshipping others with Allah, showing disrespect to parents, killing a human being, and the engulfing oath."
- (2) "A man once said, 'By Allah, Allah will not forgive Soand-so.' Allah said, 'Who is it that swears I must not forgive So-and-so? I forgive him and annul all your works.'"

p24.0 THE INVETERATE LIAR

p24.1 Allah Most High says:

- (1) Allah guides not the profligate liar" (Koran 40:28).
- (2) "May liars perish" (Koran 51:10).

p24.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

- (1) "Lying leads one to wickedness and wickedness leads one to hell. A man keeps lying until Allah records that he is an inveterate liar."
- (2) "The marks of a hypocrite are three: when he speaks he lies, when he makes a promise he breaks it, and when entrusted with something he betrays the trust."
- (3) "A believer's natural disposition might comprise any trait other than treachery and untruthfulness "

p25.0 SUICIDE

P25.1 Allah Most High says:

"Do not kill yourselves, for Allah is compassionate toward you. Whoever does so, intransgression and wrongfully, We shall roast in a fire, and that is an easy matter for Allah" (Koran 4:29-30).

p25.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

- (1) "Of those before you, there was once a wounded man who could not bear it, so he took a knife and cut h is arm, and bled until he died. Allah Most High said, 'My slave has taken his life before I have, so I forbid him paradise."
- (2) "Whoever kills himself with a knife will abide forever in the fire of hell, perpetually stabbing his belly with it. Whoever kills himself with position will abide forever in the fire of hell, poison in hand, perpetually drinking of it."

p26.0 THE BAD JUDGE

p26.1 Allah Most High says:

- (1) "Whoso does not judge by what Allah has revealed, those are the Unbelievers" (Koran 5:44).
- (2) "Those who conceal the clear explanations and guidance We have revealed, after We have explained it in the Book to people, are cursed by Allah and those who curse" (Koran 2:159).
- p26.2 The Propeht (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
- (1) "One judge shall go to paradise, and two to hell. The judge who knows what is right and judges accordingly shall be in paradise. the one who knows what is right but intentionally judges unjustly will go to hell, and so will the judge who judges without knowledge." Anyone who judges without knowledge or evidence from Allah and His messenger regarding the matter he gives an opinion on is subject to this threat.
- (2) "whoever is appointed to judge between people is as though slaughtered without a knife."
- p26.3 It is unlawful for a judge to rule on a cause when angry, especially at a litigant. When a judge's qualities combine an insufficiency of Sacred Knowledge, unworthy intention, bad disposition, and lack of godfearingness, then his destruction is complete and he must resign and hasten to save himself from hell.

p27.0 PERMITTING ONE'S WIFE TO FORNICATE

p27.1 Allah Most High says:

"None shall wed a fornicatress but a fornicator or idolator. That is unlawful for believers" (Koran 24:3).

p27.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Three will not enter paradise: he who is disrespectful to his parents, he who lets his wife fornicate with another, and women who affect masculinity."

p27.3 Someone who suspects his wife of indecency but pretends not to know because he loves her is not as bad as someone who actually pimps for her. There is no good in a man without jealousy for his rights.

P28.0 MASCULINE WOMEN AND EFFEMINATE MEN p28.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said.

- (1) "Men are already destroyed when they obey women."
- (2) The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) cursed effeminate men and masculine women.
- (3) The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) cursed men who wear women's clothing and women who wear men's.

$p29.0\ MARRYING$ SOLELY TO RETURN TO THE PREVIOUS HUSBAND

p29.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) cursed to man who marries a women after her divorce solely to permit her first husband to remarry her (dis: n7.7) and cursed the first husband.

$p30.0\ EATING\ UNSLAUGHTERED\ MEAT,\ BLOOD,\ OR\ PORK$

p30.1 Allah Most High Says: "Say: 'I find nothing in what has been revealed to me that is unlawful for a person to eat except Unslaughtered meat, blood outpoured, or the flesh of swine, for all this is filth" (Koran 6:45).

p30.2 Whoever premeditatedly eats these when not forced by necessity is a criminal.

$\operatorname{p31.0}$ NOT FREEING ONESELF OF ALL TRACES OF URINE

- p31.1 Allah Most High says: "And your raiment purify" (Koran 74:4).
- p31.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace):
- (1) passed by two graves and said, "The two are being tormented, and not from anything excessive: one of them did not free himself of traces of urine, while the other was a talebearer (def: r3)."
- talebearer (def: r3)."

 (2) And he said, "Take care to remove all vestiges of urine from your persons, because it is the main reason for torment in one's grave." Moreover, the prayer of someone who does not protect his person and clothing from urine is not acceptable (A: which is how scholars interpret the above hadiths, as applying to those who are negligent in removing all traces of urine before they pray).

p32.0 COLLECTING TAXES

(A: Meaning to take revenues other than those which are countenanced by Sacred Law such as zakat, the non-Muslim poll tax (jizya, def: o11.4), or the spoils or war (o10).)

p32.1 Such people are among those meant by the words of Allah Most High: "The dispute is only with those who oppress people, and wrongfully exceed proper bounds in the land: these will have a painful torment" (Koran42:42).

p32.2 And in the hadith of the adulteress who purified herself by voluntarily being stoned to death, there is the Prophet's remark (Allah bless him and give him peace): "She has made a repentance so sincere that if even a tax taker repented with the like of it, he would be forgiven."

p32.3 He who imposes taxes resembles a highwaymen, and is worse than a thief. But one who burdens the people, imposing over new levies on them, is more tyrannous and oppressive than someone more equitable therein who treats those under him more kindly. Those who gather taxes, who do the clerical work, or who accept the proceeds, such as a soldier, sheikh, or head of a Suficenter (zawiya)-all bear the sin, and are eating of ill-gotten wealth (dis:w49).

p33.0 SHOWING OFF IN GOOD WORKS

p33.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "The hypocrites are trying to fool Allah, while it is He who is outwitting them. And when they stand to pray they do so lazily, showing off to people, remembering Allah but little" (Koran 4:142).

(2) "O you who believe: do not nullify your charity by reminding recipients of having given it and by offending them, like someone who spends his money as a show for people" (Koran 2:264).

p33.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "The first person judged on Resurrection Day will be a man martyred in battle. "He will be brought forth, Allah will reacquaint him with His blessings upon him and the man will

acknowledge them, whereupon Allah will say, 'What have you done with them?' to which the man will respond, 'I fought to the death for you.' "Allah will reply, 'You lie. You fought in order to be called a hero, and it has already been said,' Then he will be sentenced and dragged away on his face to be flung into the fire. "Then a man will be brought forward who learned Sacred Knowledge, taught it to others, and who recited the Koran. Allah will remind him of His gifts to him and the man will acknowledge them, and then Allah will say, 'What have you done with them?' The man will answer, 'I

acquired Sacred Knowledge, taught it, and recited the Koran, for Your sake." Allah will say, "You lie. You learned so as to be called a scholar, and read the Koran so as to be called a reciter, and it has already been said.' Then the man will be sentenced and dragged away on his face to be flung into the fire. "Then a man will be brought forward whom Allah expansively provided for, lavishing varieties or property upon him, and Allah will recall to him the benefits bestowed, and the man will acknowledge them, to which Allah will say, 'And what have you done with them?' The man will answer. 'I have not left a single kind of expenditure You love to see made in Your cause, save that I have spent on it for your sake.' "Allah will say, 'You lie. You did it so as to be called generous, and it has already been said.' Then he will be sentenced and dragged away on his face to be flung into the fire."

(2) "The slightest bit of showing off in good works is as if worshipping others with Allah."

p33.3 (A: When there is an act of obedience the servant intends to conceal but Allah reveals, then it is merely gratitude for His blessings to admit it to others and thank Him for it. When asked if one is fasting, for example, and one is, then one should say "Praise be to Allah" (al-Hamdu lillah).)

p34.0 BREACH OF FAITH

p34.1 Allah Most High says: "Do not betray Allah and His messenger, nor knowingly betray your trusts" (Koran 8:27).

p34.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Someone who cannot keep a trust is devoid of faith. Someone who cannot keep an agreement is devoid of religion."

p34.3 A breach of faith in anything is very ugly, but in some matters is worse than others. A person who cheats one for a pittance is not like a person who betrays one concerning one's wife and money, perpetrating outrages.

p35.0 LEARNING SACRED KNOWLEDGE FOR THE SAKE OF THIS WORLD, OR CONCEALING IT

(A: Learning Sacred Knowledge for the sake of this world means that if not for this-worldly reasons, a person would not have bothered to learn (dis: a3.1).)

p35.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Only the knowledgeable of His slaves fear Allah" (Koran 35:28).

(2) "Those who conceal what Allah has revealed of the Book and purchase a trifling price thereby, these but fill their bellies with hellfire" (Koran 2:174).

(3) "And Allah made a covenant with those given the Book to explain it to people and not keep it from them. But they flung it behind their backs" (Koran 3:187).

p35.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Anyone who seeks Sacred Knowledge to vie with scholars, argue with fools, or win people's hearts will go to ball"

p35.3 Hilal ibn al-'Ala' said, "Seeking Sacred Knowledge is arduous, learning it is harder than seeking it, applying it is harder than learning it, and remaining safe from it is even harder than applying it."

${\tt p36.0}$ REMINDING RECIPIENTS OF ONE'S CHARITY TO THEM

P36.1 Allah Most High says: "O you believe: do not nullify your charity by reminding recipients of having given it and by offending them" (Koran 2:264).

p36.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "There are three people whom Allah will not speak to, look at, or exonerate on the Day of Judgement, and who will have a painful torment: he who wears the hem of his garment low (A: out of pride). he who reminds recipients of his charity to them, and he who sells merchandise swearing that he paid more for it than he actually did."

p37.0 DISBELIEVING IN DESTINY (QADR)

p37.1 Allah Most High says:

- (1) "Verily, We have created everything in a determined measure" (Koran 54:49).
- (2) "Allah has created you and what you do" (Koran 37:96). (3) "Whomever Allah leads astray has no guide" (Koran 7:186).
- (4) "And Allah knowingly led him astray" (Koran 45:23).
- (5) "But you will not want to unless Allah wants" (Koran 76:30).
 (6) "And He inspired it (A: the human soul) its evil and its

(6) "And He inspired it (A: the human soul) its evil and it godfearingness" (Koran 91:8).

p37.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace):

(1) "O Messenger of Allah, what is faith?" And he replied, "To believe in Allah, His angles, His messengers, the resurrection after death, and in destiny (qadr, def: u3.7-8). its good and evil."

(2) "There are six whom I curse, Allah curse, and who are cursed by every prophet whose supplications are answered: he who denies Allah's destiny, he who adds anything to Allah's book, he who rules arrogantly, he who considers what Allah has prohibited to be lawful, he who deems it permissible to treat my family in ways Allah has forbidden (A: such as

insulting or reviling them), and he who abandons my sunna (A: out of disdain for it)."

P38.0 LISTENING TO PEOPLE'S PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS

p38.1 Allah Most High says: "Do not spy" (Koran 49:12).

p38.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever listens to people who are averse to his listening shall have molten lead poured into his ears on the Day of Judgement."

p38.3 This may not be an enormity (A: in some cases (dis:r6.4)).

p39.0 CURSING OTHERS (dis:r38)

p39.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Cursing a believer is like killing him."

(2) "When a servant curses something, the curse rises up to the sky, where the doors of the sky shut it out, and then it falls back to earth, where the doors of the earth shut it out, then it searches right and left and when it does not find anywhere to go it comes back to the thing which was cursed, should it deserve it. It not, it returns upon the person who uttered it."

(3) While the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) was on a journey, they was a woman of the Medinan Helpers (Ansar) riding a camel which annoyed her, whereupon, she cursed it. The Prophet heard this and said, "Take off what is on its back and release it, for it has been curse." And it is as if I can still see it now, walking along among the people, no one stopping it.

p40.0 LEAVING ONE'S LEADER

p40.1 Allah Most High says.

"Fulfill covenants, for surely convenants will be asked about" (Koran 17:34).

p40.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "He who obeys me obeys Allah, and he who disobeys me disobeys Allah. He who obeys the leader obeys me, and he who disobeys the leader disobeys me." (A: The leader referred to in the hadith is the caliph of the Muslims or his authorized representative (dis: 025.5). Whenever there is a group of three or more Muslims, it is sunna for a leader (amir) to be chosen. It is sunna to obey such a leader, and leaving him or not obeying him contravenes what is recommended, but is not unlawful.)

p41.0 BELIEVING IN FORTUNE-TELLERS OR ASTROLOGERS

p41.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Pursue not that which you have no knowledge of" (Koran 17:36).

(2) "(He is) the Knower of the Unseen, and discloses not His unseen to anyone (dis: w60.1), except to a messenger with whom He is pleased" (Koran 72:26-27).

p41.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Whoever goes to a 'psychic' ('arraf) or fortune-teller and believes what he says has disbelieved in what has been revealed to Mohammed."

(2) "Allah Most High says, 'One of My servants reaches daybreak a believer, another an unbeliever. He who says, 'We have received rain by Allah's grace,' is a believer in Me and a disbeliever in the planets. But he who says, 'We have received rain by the effects of such and such a mansion of the moon," is an unbeliever in Me and a believer in planets (A: if he thinks they have a causal influence independent of the will of Allah (dis: 08.7(17)))."

(3) "Whoever goes to a 'psychic,' asks him about something, and believes him, will not have his prayer accepted for forty days."

p42.0 A WIFE'S REBELLING AGAINST HER HUSBAND (def: m10.12)

p42.1 Allah Most High says: "Men are the guardians of women, since Allah has been more generous to one than the other, and because of what they (men) spend from their wealth. so righteous women will be obedient, and in absence watchful, for Allah is watchful. And if you fear their intractability, warn them, send them from bed, or hit them. But if they obey you, seek no way to blame them" (Koran 4:34).

p42.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Allah will not look at a woman who is ungrateful to her husband, while unable to do without him."

(2) "When a man calls his wife to his bed and she will not come, and he spends the night angry with her, the angels, curse her until morning."

(3) "It is not lawful for a woman to fast when her husband is present, save by his leave. Nor to permit anyone into his house except with his permission."

(4) "Whoever leaves her husband's house (A: without his permission), the angels curse her until she returns or repents." (Khalil Nahlawi:) It is a condition for the permissibility of her going out (dis: m 10.3-4) that she take no measures to

enhance her beauty, and that her figure is concealed or altered to a form unlikely to draw looks from men or attract them., Allah Most High says, "Remain in your homes and do not display your beauty as women did in the pre-Islamic period of Jahiliyyah (ignorance)" (Koran 33.33). (al-Durar al-mubaha (y99), 160)

p43.0 SEVERING TIES OF KINSHIP

(A: The opposite, maintaining the bons of kinship (silat alrahim), means politeness, kind treament, and concern for all one's relatives, even if distantly related, corrupt, non-Muslim, or unappreciative.)

p43.1 Allah Most High says: "If you turn back, would you then cause corruption is the land, severing your family ties? Those are the ones whom Allah has cursed and deafened, and blinded their sight" (Koran 47:22-23).

p43.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)

(1) "He who severs his family ties will not enter paradise."

(2) "Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, let him maintain the bonds of kinship."

p44.0 MAKING PICTURES

p44.1 The Prophet (Allah bless-him and give him peace) said:

(1) 'Every maker of pictures will go to the fire, where a being will be set upon him for each picture he made, to torment him in hell."

(2) "Whoever makes an image shall be required (on the Last Day) to breathe a spirit into it, but will never be able to do so." (n: Other hadith evidence appears at w50, which discusses legal questions relating to the artistic, photographic, and televisual depiction of animate life.)

p45.0 THE TALEBEARER WHO STIRS UP ENMITY BETWEEN PEOPLE (dis:r3)

p45.1 Allah Most High says: "Obey not every wretched swearer; slanderer, going about with tales" (Koran 68:10-11), p45.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "He who stirs up enmity among people by quoting their words to each other will not enter paradise."

(2) "You find that among the worst people is someone who is two-faced, showing one face to some and another face to others"

(3) "Do not tell me anything about my Companions, for I want to meet them without disquiet in my heart."

p46.0 LOUDLY LAMENTING THE DEAD

p46.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "He who slaps his cheeks, ripe his pockets, or calls out the cries of the pre-Islamic period of Jahiliyyah (ignorance) is not of us."

p47.0 ATTACKING ANOTHER'S ANCESTRY

p47.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Two qualities in people are unbelief: attacking another's ancestry, and wailing over the dead." (N: The hadith does not mean that these things put one beyond the pale of Islam, but that they are the actions of the Unbelievers.)

p48.0 EXCESSES AGAINST OTHERS

p48.1 Allah Most High says: "The dispute is only with those who oppress people and wrongfully commit aggression in the land: these will have a painful torment" (Koran 42:42).

p48.2 The Propeht (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Allah has inspired to me that you are all to be humble towards each other, such that no one transgresses against or exalts himself above another."

(2) Malik Rahawi said: "O Messenger of Allah, I have been given of beauty that which you see, and I do not like anyone to wear better sandals than I. Is this of presumptuous pride?" He answered: "This is not of presumptuousness, which rather consists of refusing to admit the truth and considering people inferior."

(3) "A woman was tortured for a cat she imprisoned until it died. She went to hell because of it, having neither fed nor watered it, for she confined it; not yet having let it go to forage on the small creatures of the earth."

(4) "Allah will certainly torture those who torture people in this world."

p49.0 ARMED INSURRECTION AND CONSIDERING MUSLIMS UNBELIEVERS

(A: The early Kharijite sect committed these transgreesions.) p49.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Do not commit transgressions: surely Allah loves not the transgressors" (Koran 2:190)

(2) "Whoever disobeys Allah and His messenger has gone manifestly astray" (Koran 33:36).

p49.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "If someone says to his Muslim brother,' You unbeliever,' one of them deserves the name."

p50.0 HURTING OR REVILING MUSLIMS p50.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "Those who hurt believing men and women who have done nothing to deserve it shall bear the burden of calumny and open sin" (Koran 33:58).

(2) "Do not spy do not splender one another "(Koran 49:12).

(3) "Woe to whoever disparages others behind their back or to their face" (Koran: 104:1).

(4) "Those who love that scandal should be spread concerning the believers shall have a painful torment in this world and the next" (Koran 24:19).

p50.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "The Muslim is the brother of the Muslim. He does not oppress him, hang back from coming to his aid, or belittle him. It is sufficiently wicked for someone to demean his fellow Muslim "

(2) "By Allah, he does not believe. By Allah, he does not believe. By Allah, he does not believe, Someone asked: "Who, O Messenger of Allah?" And he said, "He whose neighbour is not safe from his evil conduct."

(3) Someone said: "O Messenger of Allah, So-and-so spends her nights praying and her days fasting, but there is something in her tongue that maliciously injures her neighbours." He replied, "There is no good in her, she will go to hell."

(4) "When I was taken up in the Ascent (Mi'aj), I passed by people with fingernails of copper who were raking their faces and chests with them. I asked, Who are they, Gabriel?" and he said, They are those who slandered others (lit. "ate people's flesh") and attacked their reputations.""

(5) "No man charges another with corruption or unbelief, save that the charge returns against

himself if the other is not as he said."

(6) "Do not revile the dead, for they have gone on to what they have sent ahead."

p51.0 HARMING THE FRIENDS (AWLIYA') OF ALLAH MOST HIGH

p51.1 Allah Most High says: "Verily, those who offend Allah and His messenger are cursed by Allah in this world and the next, and He has prepared for them a humiliating torment" (Koran 33:57).

p51.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Abu Bakr, if you anger them [some of the poorer Emigrants], you anger your Lord."

(2) "Allah Most High says: 'He who is hostile to a friend (wali) of Mine I declare war against. My slave approaches Me with nothing more beloved to Me than what I have made obligatory for him, and My slave keeps drawing nearer to Me with voluntary works until I love him. An when I love him, I am his hearing with which he hears, his sight with which he sees, his hand with which he seizes, and his foot with which he walks. If he asks Me, I will surely give to him, and if he seeks refuge in Me, I will surely protect him.'" (n: This hadith is explained in detail at w33, which discusses the friends (awliya') of Allah Most High.)

p52.0 DRAGGING THE HEM OF ONE'S GARMENT OUT OF CONCEIT

p52.1 Allah Most High says: "... Nor walk haughtily through the land" (Koran 31:18).

p52.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "The caftan of the Muslim comes down to midcalf, there being no harm in what is between this and the anklebones, though any of it below the anklebones is in hell. Whoever lets the helm of his garment drag on the ground out of pride, Allah will not look at him."

(2) "While a man was walking along in a new set of clothes, with a swagger to his step, pleased with himself, and his hair combed down, Allah caused the earth to swallow him, and he will keep sinking until the Last Day."

p53.0 MEN WEARING SILK OR GOLD

P53.1 Allah Most High says: "And the raiment of godfearingness is better" (Koran 7:26).

p53.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Only those with no share in the next world wear silk in this one."

(2) "Wearing gold and silk has been made unlawful for the men of my Community but permissible for its women."

$\,$ p54.0 SLAUGHTERING IN OTHER THAN ALLAH'S NAME

P54.1 Allah Most High says: "Eat not of what the name of Allah has not been mentioned over; verily it is disobedience" (Koran 6:121).

p54.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "May Allah curse whoever slaughters in other than Allah's name"

p55.0 SURREPTITIOUSLY CHANGING PROPERTY-LINE MARKERS

P55.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "May Allah curse whoever changes the land's property-line markers."

p56.0 DISPARAGING THE PROPHETIC COMPANIONS (SAHABA)

p56.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "The curse of Allah is upon whoever reviles my Companions."

p56.2 'Ali ibn Abi Talib (Allah be well pleased with him) said: "By Him who cleaves the seed and creates the soul, it is the solemn word of the Illiterate Prophet to me that none shall love me except a believer, and none hate me except a hypocrite."\

p57.0 DISPARAGING THE MEDINAN HELPERS (ANSAR)

p57.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "The sign of faith is love of the Helpers (Ansar), and the sign of hypocrisy is hatred of the Helpers."

p58.0 HE WHO INAUGURATES A REPREHENSIBLE INNOVATION (BID'A)

(def:w29.3)

p58.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "He who calls others to misguidance is guilty of a sin equal to the sins of all who follow him therein without this diminishing their own sins in the slightest."

(2) "He who inaugurates a good sunna [custom] in Islam earns the reward of it and of all who

perform it after him without diminishing their own rewards in the slightest. And he who introduces a bad sunna is guilty of the sin of it and of all who perform it after him without diminishing their own sins in the slightest."

p59.0 WOMEN WEARING FALSE HAIR AND THE LIKE

P59.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said.

"Allah curse women who wear false hair or arrange it for others, who tattoo or have themselves tattooed, who pluck facial hair or eyebrows or have them plucked, and women who separate their front teeth for beauty, altering what Allah has created." (n: w51 discusses women removing facial hair.)

p60.0 POINTING A BLADE AT ONE'S BROTHER

p60.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "The angels curse whoever points a blade [A: or other weapon} at his brother [until he ceases], even if it be his brother from his mother and father."

p61.0 FALSELY CLAIMING SOMEONE IS ONE'S FATHER

p61.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)

(1) "Paradise is forbidden to whoever falsely claims someone is his father, knowing he is not."

(2) "Do not wish for fathers other than your own. For someone to wish for a different father is unbelief."

$\rm p62.0~BELIEVING~THAT~SOMETHING~PORTENDS~BAD~LUCK$

p62.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "belief in a bad omen ins polytheism (shirk)."

p63.0 DRINKING FROM GOLD OR SILVER VESSELS p63.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Do not wear silk or brocade. Do not drink from vessels of gold or silver or eat from dishes made of them: these are for others [A: i.e. non-Muslims] in this world, and for you in the next."

(2) "He who eats or drinks from vessels of gold or silver but swallows hellfire into his belly."

p64.0 ARGUING, PICKING APART ANOTHER'S WORDS, AND QUARRELLING

p64.1 Allah Most High says:

(1) "They did not mention him [Jesus] to you as an example except for argument. Rather, they are quarrelsome people" (Koran 43:58).

(2) "Those who argue about the signs of Allah without authority having been given to them have nothing in their hearts but pride, to which they will never attain" (Koran 40:56).

p64.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "The man most hated by Allah is the obstinate arguer."

(2) "No people went astray after having been guided save that they were afflicted with arguing."

(3) "Arguing over the Koran is unbelief."

- (4) "He who presses for something he knows is false remains under the hatred of Allah until he gives it up."

 (5) "The thing I fear most for my Community is the
- eloquent hypocrite.'
- (6) "Modesty and being at a loss for words are two components of true faith, while vulgarity and longwindedness are two components of hypocrisy.

p65.0 STINTING WHEN WEIGHING OR MEASURING OUT GOODS

p65.1 Allah Most High says:
"Woe to stinters who take their full share when measuring goods from people but skimp when measuring or weighing out for them. Do these not believe they will be raised to a momentous day, a day when people will stand before the Lord of the Worlds?"(Koran 83:1-6).

p65.2 This is a type of theft, a breach of faith, and consuming others property through falsehood.

p66.0 FEELING SECURE FROM ALLAH'S DEVISING p66.1 Allah Most High says:

- (1) "None feels safe from Allah's devising except people who are ruined" (Koran 7:99).
- (2) "...until, when they were exulting in what they had been given, We suddenly seized them" (Koran 6:44).
- (3) "Verily, those who do not hope to meet Us, who enjoy this world and feel at ease with it, and those who are oblivious to Our sings: their refuge is hell for what they have earned" (Koran 10:7-8).

p67.0 DESPAIRING OF THE MERCY OF ALLAH AND LOSS OF HOPE

p67.1 Allah Most High says:

- (1) "None despairs of the mercy of Allah except people who disbelieve" (Koran 12:87).
- (2) "It is He who sends down the rain after they have lost hope" (Koran 42:28).
- (3) "Say: 'O My slaves who have been prodigal against yourselves, do not despair of the mercy of Allah'" (Koran 39:53).
- p67.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said.

"Let none of you die except thinking he best of Allah."

p68.0 INGRATITUDE TO SOMEONE WHO DOES ONE A KINDNESS

p68.1 Allah Most High says: "...to show thanks to Me, and to your parents..." (Koran 31:14).

p68.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "He who does not thank people is unthankful to Allah,"

p68.3 One of the early Muslims said: "Ingratitude for a kindness is one of the enormities. Gratitude consists of reciprocating it or supplicating for the person."

p69.0 WITHHOLDING EXCESS WATER FROM OTHERS

p69.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)

(1) "Whoever denies others his surplus water or pasturage, Allah shall deny him His blessing on the Day of Judgement.

(2) "Do not sell surplus water."

p70.0 BRANDING AN ANIMAL'S FACE

p70.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) passed by a donkey whose face had been branded and said: 'Haven't you heard that I have cursed whoever brands or strikes the faces of livestock?" -and he forbade it.

p70.2 The words of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) "Haven't you heard that I have cursed..." imply that he who has not heard the warning against an act is not guilty of sin by committing it, though whoever has heard and knows is included in the curse. we hold that it is likewise with all these enormities, except those which are necessarily known as being of the religion (def: f1.3(N:)).

p71.0 GAMBLING

p71.1 Allah Most High says: "Wine, gambling, idols, and fortune-telling arrows are but filth of the Devil's handiwork, so shun it, that you may succeed. The Devil only wants to create enmity and hatred between you over wine and gambling, and to prevent you from remembering Allah and from prayer. Will you not then desist?" (Koran 5:90-91).

p71.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever says to his companion, "'Come, I will play you for stakes, must expiate by giving charity'," If merely saying this is a sin that calls for charity in expiation, what must one suppose about actually doing it? It is a form of consuming others' wealth through falsehood.

p72.0 VIOLATING THE MECCAN SACRED PRECINCT (HARAM)

p72.1 Állah Most High says: "...and al-Masjid al-Haram which We have appointed equally for all people, he who stays therein as well as the desert dweller. Whoever intends to violate it out of wrongdoing, We shall make him taste a painful torment" (Koran 22:25). (n: The words out of wrongdoing in the above verse mean "by reason of doing wrong through committing an act that is forbidden therein, even if it merely consists of reviling one of the caretakers" (Tafsir al-Jalalayn (y77), 436).).

p72.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Of all people, the greatest in outrage against Allah is he who kills in the Meccan Sacred Precinct, who kills someone who is not trying to kill him, or who kills because of the feuds of pre Islamic times.

p73.0 FORGOING THE FRIDAY PRAYER TO PRAY ALONE

p73.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

- (1) "I've considered having a man lead people at prayer and going myself to those who hang back from attending the Friday prayer to burn their houses down upon them.
- (2) "Going to the Friday prayer is obligatory for every male who has reached puberty.

p74.0 SPYING ON THE MUSLIMS AND REVEALING THEIR WEAKNESSES

p74.1 Included in this subject is the hadith of Hatib ibn Abi Balta'a (A: Who sent a secret letter telling of the Muslims' military plans to his relatives in Mecca in hopes that they would not get hurt) whom Umar (Allah be well pleased with him) wanted to kill for what he had done, but the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) forbade Umar to, as Hatib had fought at Badr (A: and by accepting Hatib's excuse, left nothing for any Muslim to criticize (dis: p75.3)). If someone's spying entails undermining Islam and its people, or the killing, captivity, enslavement, or plundering of the Muslims, or anything of the like, then he is one of those who strive for corruption in the land ,destroying village and offspring, and his subject to death, and deserves the torment (A: of hellfire), may Allah save us from it. Anyone who spies necessarily knows that if ordinary talebearing is an enormity (dis: p45), a spy's carrying information is far more abominable and heinous.

p75.0 PROBABLE ENORMITIES

(n: Commentaries by Imam Nawawi and 'Abd al-Ra'uf Munawi have been added by the translator to some of the following hadiths.)

p75.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "Beware of envy, for envy consumes good works as fire consumes wood."

(2) "None of you believes until he loves for his brother what he loves for himself." (Nawawi:) It is fitter to interpret this hadith as referring to universal brotherhood, including both Muslims and non-Muslims, such that one loves for one's non-Muslim brother what one loves for oneself, i.e. to enter Islam, just as one loves one's Muslim brother to remain in Islam, this being why it is desirable (mustahabb) to pray for the guidance of non-Muslims. The hadith is understood as denying that someone who does not love for his brother what he loves for himself has perfect faith, love meaning to want what is good and advantageous for him, referring to religious love, not individual human love. For one's human nature might well dislike another's attaining the good, or surpassing oneself therin, though it is obligatory for one to resist this human tendency and pray for one's brother and desire for him what one desires for oneself. Someone who does not love for his brother what he loves for himself is envious, and envy, as Ghazali notes, is of three types (A: all of them unlawful). The first is to wish that another person cease to have something good in order to obtain it oneself. The second is to wish that another lose something good, even if one does not obtain it, as when one already has another like it, or does not want it, this being worse than the previous type. The third is when one does not wish that the other cease to have something good. but resents his having surpassed one in attainment or position, accepting his parity with one but not his superiority. And this is unlawful as well, because one thereby objects to Allah's division of His favor among His servants. Allah Most High says: "Are they the ones who apportion the mercy of your Lord? It is We who have divided their livelihoods between them in this life, and raised some of them in degrees above others" (Koran 43:32). So whoever does not accept this division opposes Allah Most High in His apportionment and His wisdom. One must remedy one's human nature, make it accept destiny, and resist it by praying that one's enemy be given what one's self-interest might prefer him not to have (al-Arba'un al-Nawawiyya wa sharhuha (v103),40).

NOT LOVING THE PROPHET (ALLAH BLESS HIM AND GIVE HIM PEACE) MORE THAN ALL PEOPLE

p75.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "None of you believes until I am more beloved to him that his wife, child, self, and all people." (Munawi:) Kirmani says: "Love of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) means the will to obey him and disobey him, this being one of the obligations of Islam" (Fayd al-Qadir sharh al-Jami' alsaghir (v91), 6.441).

CONTENDING WITH WHAT THE PROPHET (ALLAH BLESS HIM AND GIVE HIM PEACE) HAS BROUGHT

p75.3 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "None of you believes until his inclinations conform to what I have brought." (Nawawi:) This means a person must examine his acts in light of the Koran and sunna, suspending his own inclinations and following what the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) has brought. The hadith resembles the word of Allah Most High: "When Allah and His messenger have decided a matter, no believer, male or female, has a choice in their affair" (Koran 33:36). (al-Arba'un al-Nawawiyya wa sharhuha (y103), 74).

ACQUIESCING TO DISOBEDIENCE

p75.4 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)

- (1) "Whoever of you sees something wrong, let him change it with his hand (dis: book q). If unable, then let him change it with his tongue. If unable, then with his heart. And that is the weakest degree of faith." And in the hadith related by Muslim concerning oppressors:
- (2) "Whoever fights them with his hand is a believer, whoever fights them with his tongue is a believer, whoever fights them in his heart is a believer, Beyond that, there is not a mustard grain of faith." This hadith proves that whoever does not condemn acts of disobedience in his heart or wish they would cease is devoid of faith. Fighting with the heart includes asking Allah Most High to annihitate the falsehood and its prepetrators, or improve them.
- (3) "Leaders will be placed over you that some of you will accept and some of you condemn.

Whoever dislikes what they do is innocent. Whoever condemns what they do is secure. But not whoever accepts and follows them." Someone said: 'Shouldn't we fight them?"" And he replied, "No, not as long as the maintain the prayer (dis: o25.3) (a(A:))) among you.'

HELPING ANOTHER TO WRONGFULLY DISPUTE

p75.5 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "He who helps another to argue without right remains under the hatred of Allah until he gives up.'

UNDERHANDEDNESS

p75.6 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Plotting and duplicity are in the hellfire.

DISAFFECTING A PERSON'S SPOUSE OR SERVANT FROM HIM

p75.7 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "He who disaffects a person's wife or servant from him is not of us."

VULGARITY

p75.8 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

- (1) "Modesty is of faith, and faith is in paradise. Vulgarity is of rudeness, and rudeness is in hell.
- (2) "Allah detests the foulmouthed, vulgar person."

BEING LEADERLESS

P75.9 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "The death of someone who dies without the leader of a group over him is as if he had died in the pre-Islamic period of Jahiliyyah (ignorance) (A: leader meaning the caliph (def: 025) or his representative, if the exist (dis: p40.2(A:)).

BENEFITING AT A MUSLIM'S EXPENSE

p75.10 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever eats food obtained at the expense of a Muslim. Allah will feed him hellfire on Judgement Day. He who gains a prestigious reputation at the expense of a Muslim, Allah will reduce him to the position of the show-offs and boasters (def: p33.2) on Judgement Day. He who wears a garment acquired at the expense of a Muslim, Allah will dress him in a garment of fire on Judgement Day.'

SHUNNING A MUSLIM WITHOUT RIGHT

p75.11 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever shuns his brother for a year is as though he had spilled his blood." (Munawi:) This means that avoiding him for a year deserves punishment in the hereafter just as spilling his blood does, and that both the person who shuns someone and he who kills someone are involved in sin though not on the same level, for the use of a simile does not imply the parity of the simile's subject to the thing with which it has been compared. Shafi'i holds it is unlawful to shun a Muslim for three days unless there is a valid reason such as the religious improvement of the person avoiding the other or

person being avoided, or when the latter is morally corrupt or involved in reprehensible innovation (bid'a, def: w29.3) (Fayd al-Qadir shah al-Jami' al-saghir (y91), 6.234).

INTERCEDING FOR THE GUILTY

p75.12 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "He whose intercession comes between a criminal and one of Allah's prescribed penalties has defied Allah in His command

SAYING SOMETHING THAT ALLAH DETESTS

p75.13 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

- (1) "A man says something" Allah detests that he does not think twice about, for which he plunges into hell (dis:r1)."
- (2) "A man says something pleasing to Allah, not imagining it amounts to what it does, for which Allah records His pleasure in him until Judgement Day. And a man say something that angers Allah, not imagining it amounts to what it does, for which Allah records His wrath against him until the day he meets Him.

SAYING "MASTER" (SAYYID) TO A HYPOCRITE

p75.14 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Do not say "master" to a hypocrite, for if he is a master, you have angered your Lord Mighty and Majestic."

BREAKING A PROMISE

p75.15 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "The signs of a hypocrite are three: when he speaks he lies, when he promises he breaks it, and when entrusted he betray his trust." (A: If one makes an ordinary promise to another person, it is sunna to keep the promise, though it is strictly unlawful to make a promise that one has no intention to keep, this being how scholars interpret the above hadith.) Lying and betraying a trust have been mentioned before while here we are discussing promise breaking. Allah Most High says: "Of them, there is one who promised Allah, 'If He bestows of His generosity on us, we shall certainly give charity and be of the righteous" (Koran 9:75). (n: Suyuti notes that the person referred to above "is Tha'laba ibn Hatib, who asked the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) to pray that Allah would enrich him, so that he might give everyone their just due. So the Prophet supplicated for him and he became wealthy, but then he stopped coming to the Friday prayer, withdrew from the community, and refused to pay zakat, as Allah Most High says: "But when He gave to them of His generosity, they hoarded it and turned away in aversion. So He punished them by putting hypocrisy into their hearts until the day they meet Him, because they broke their promise to Allah and lied" (Koran 9:76-77). Some time after this, he brought the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) his zakat, but the Prophet told him, 'Allah forbides me to accept it from you, 'at which Tha'laba threw handfuls of dust upon his own head. He later (A: in the time of the subsequent caliphate) took his zakat to Abu Bakr, but he would not accept it. Then to 'Umar, but he would not accept it. Then he took it to 'Uthman, but he would not accept it either, and he died in the reign of 'Uthman" (Tafsir al-Jalalayn (y77), 253).)

NOT TRIMMING ONE'S MUSTACHE

- p75.16 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)
- (1) "He who does not trim his mustache (def: e4.1(2)) is not one of us."
- (2) "Be different from the Zoroastrians: grow your beards and trim your mustaches.

NOT PERFORMING THE HAJJ WHEN ABLE TO

p75.17 'Umar ibn Khattab (Allah be well pleased with him)

"I have considered sending men to these cities to see who has not made the pilgrimage, and collect the non-Muslim poll tax (jizya, def: o11.4) from everyone possessing the means who has not performed it (def:j1.5-10). They are not Muslims. They are not Muslims.

KEEPING AN INHERITANCE FROM AN HEIR

p75.18 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever prevents his heirs from receiving their inheritance (dis: w52.1(234-36)), Allah will prevent his inheriting paradise."

TALKING ABOUT HOW ONE'S WIFE MAKES LOVE

p75.19 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Among the worst people in Allah's sight on Judgement Day will be the man who makes love to his wife and she to him. and he divulges her secret.'

SODOMISING ONE'S WIFE

p75.20 The Prophet (Allah Bless him and give him peace) said: "He who sodomizes a woman is accursed.

INTERCOURSE WITH ONE'S WIFE DURING MENSTRUATION

p75.21 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever has intercourse with a woman during her period, or sodomises a woman, or who goes to a fortune-teller and believes him, has committed unbelief (A: if he considers an of these permissible).

LOOKING INTO ANOTHER'S HOUSE WITHOUT LEAVE

p75.22 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

- (1) "Were a man to look at you without permission and you threw a rock at him and knocked out his eye, you would not have committed any offense.
- (2) "Whoever peeps into a house without its people's leave, they may put out his eye.'

EXESSIVENESS IN RELIGION

p75.23 Allah Most High says: "Say 'O people of the Book, do not be excessive in your religion'" (Koran 4:171). (Qurtubi:) According to exegetes, this refers to the extremism of the Jews concerning Jesus in accusing Mary of fornication, and the extremism of the Christians in considering him a god. For both excessiveness and remissness are evil, and both may be unbelief (al-Jami' li ahkam al-Koran (y117), 6.21).

The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Beware of going to extremes (in religion), for those before you were only destroyed through excessiveness." (Munawi:) Ibn Taymiya says, "His saying 'Beware of going to extremes in religion' is a general prohibition applying to all types of extremes, whether in belief or works" (Fayd al-Qadir sharh al-Jami' al-saghir (y91), 3.126).

NOT ACCEPTING A SWORN STATEMENT

p74.24 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever is sworn to in Allah's name, let him accept it, for whoever does not has nothing to do with Allah in anything.'

STINGINESS

P75.25 Allah Most High says:

- (1) "Whoever is watchful against the stinginess of his own soul, those are the successful" (Koran 59:9).
- (2) "Here you are, called upon to spend in the Way of Allah, and some of you are being stingy, while whoever is stingy is only ungenerous towards himself. It is Allah who is rich and you who are the poor" (Koran 47:38). The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
- (1) "What disease is worse than stinginess?"
- (2) "Three things are deadly: avarice obeyed, caprice yielded to, and opinionated people's pride in their opinions.'

SITTING IN THE CENTRE OF A CIRCLE

p75.26 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) cursed whoever sits in the middle of a circle of

people (A: because such a person sees himself as better than

PASSING IN FRONT OF SOMEONE PERFORMING THE PRAYER

p75.27 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "If someone passing in front of a person performing the prayer knew of the penalty for it, it would be better for him to wait for forty (n: a variant has, "a hundred years")." (A: In front means within the length of the person's prostration, or the distance to the barrier he is using (def; f7) if it is not far.) (Munawi:) Ibn Daqiq al-Eid says: "A Maliki scholar has distinguished four situations respecting the sin of the person praying and the person who passes in front of him (n: given P, the person praying, and Q, the person passing in front of him):

(1) Q sins but not P when P is praying behind a barrier in a place that is not a commonly used

walkway and Q passes in front of him when there is another alternative (A: meaning another route, since to stop and wait is not considered an alternative, though it is superior):

(2) P sins but not Q when P is praying in a commonly used walkway without a barrier, or at a

considerable distance from one, and Q has no other alternative but to pass in front of him;

- (3) both P and Q sin when P is praying in circumstances like (2) above, if O has an alternative route but passes in front of P anyway;
- (4) and neither P nor Q sin when P is praying in circumstances like (1) above, if Q has no alternative and passes in front of P." (Fayd al-Qadir sharh al-Jami' al-saghir (y91), 5.338)

NOT LOVING ONE'S FELLOW MUSLIMS

p75.28 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "By Him in whose hand is m soul, none of you will enter paradise until you believe, and none of you will believe until you love each other. Shall I not tell you of something which if you do it will create love among? Increase the custom of

greeting each other with 'as-Salamu 'alaykum.'" (Kitab al-Kaba'ir wa tabyin al-maharim (y36), 35-181) p76.0 (n: Most of the above enormities are agreed upon b all four schools of jurisprudence. A more comprehensive list b Ibn Hajar Haytami is given below at w52.)

p77.0 THE CONDITIONS OF A VALID REPENTANCE

p77.1 (Nawawi: (n: with commentary by Mohammed ibn Allah Bakri (B:))) Scholars state that repentance is obligatory for every sin (B: there being scholarly consensus (def: b7) that it is Obligatory for both lessor sins and enormities, and for both outward acts and inward ones such as malice or envy).

p77.2 When a person's disobedience is solely between him and Allah Most High, unconnected with another human being's rights, his repentance has three conditions:

(a) to desist from the sin;

(b) to regret having done it (B: because of its being disobedience, since regretting it for some other reason is of no consequence);

(c) and to resolve never to commit it again.

(B: Some hold that after having repented of it, it is also a condition that one abandon the company of whoever committed the act with one, and also that one's repentance be purely for the sake of Allah, a restriction that Ibn HajarHaytami embeds in the first condition above by saying, to desist from the sin solely for the sake of Allah, since abandoning it out of fear, ostentation, or other motive besides Allah Most High is not considered desisting.") If any of these conditions is lacking, one's repentance is not valid.

p77.3 If the act of disobedience is connected with the rights of another human being, repentance for it has four conditions; the three mentioned above, plus clearing oneself of the obligation owed to the other person. If this obligation is property or the like, one must return it (A: by any means, secretly, or openly, even as an ostensible gift) to him (B: i.e to its owner, meaning to return the article itself if it still exists, or if it does not, then a substitute, whether this be its value or an equal amount of it). (N: Becoming a Muslim eliminates all previous sins except those involving rights or property owed to other people. Allah does not pardon these until they are restored or forgiven.) If the right in question is the penalty for charging someone with adultery when there are not four witnesses (def:o13) or the like (B: such as a victim's right to retaliate (o3) for a homicide or injury) then one must give oneself up to him (B: to permit him to inflict the penalty due) or else ask him to forgive it. (B: The author's words seem to imply that the validity of repentance depends on performing the above, of returning the property or giving oneself up-i.e. when possible, for otherwise one intends to do so when possible, or asks he victim for amnesty-but the position of the Imam (A: Juwayni), which Izz ibn Abd al Salam and our author (n: Nawawi) also follow, is that one's repentance is valid regarding the rights of Allah Most High (N: through merely repenting), while the other person's right is an obligation that remains upon one (dis:w53), as does the sin of not discharging it). If the wrong done to another consists of slander (def: r2), the one must have him pardon it (B: by informing him so he can forgive one, though informing him is only a necessary condition when doing so will not cause even greater harm, though if it will as when one fears the other will kill one, informing him is not obligatory. Both asking for the person's forgiveness and informing him of what one said are only obligatory when he has heard that he has been slandered. If he has not, then asking Allah's forgiveness is sufficient) (Riyad al-salihin (y107), 10-11, and Dalil alfalihin li turuq Riyad al-salihin (y25), 1.88-91).

BOOK O

COMMANDING THE RIGHT AND FORBIDDING THE WRONG

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a0.0 INTRODUCTION

- q0.1 (n: The discussion and analysis that follow are Imam Ghazali's, edited by the Hanbali scholar Ibn Qudama Maqdisi from an earlier abridgement of Ghazali's Ihya' ulum al-din by Abd al-Rahman ibn Jawzi, which Maqdisi shortened to a single volume whose conciseness, if less vivid than the Ihya', better lends itself to the purpose of the present section, which is to discuss the practical implications of an important aspect of Scared Law.)
- q0.2 (Ibn Qudama Maqdisi:) One should know that commanding the right and forbidding the wrong is the most important fundamental of the religion, and is the mission that Allah sent the prophets to fulfill. if it were folded up and put away, religion itself would vanish, dissolution appear, and whole lands come to ruin.

q1.0 THE OBLIGATION TO COMMAND THE RIGHT

- Q1.1 Allah Most High says: "Let there be a group of you who call to good, commanding the right and forbidding the wrong, for those are the successful" (Koran 3:104). This verse explains that commanding the right and forbidding the wrong re a communal rather than a personal obligation (dis: c3.2), for He says, "Let there be a group of you..."and not, All of you command the right." So if enough people do it (A: meaning that whenever a wrong is seen, one of those who see it corrects it), the responsibility is lifted from the rest, those who perform it being expressly mentioned as the successful. There are many verses in the Holy Koran about commanding the right and forbidding the wrong.
- q1.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
 (1) "Those who keep within Allah's limits and those who transgress them or allow them to be

compromised may be compared to people on a ship, some of whom must stay below deck in the hardest and worst place, while others get passage above. When those below need water, they pass through those on the upper deck, injuring and annoying them until those below reflect, 'If we were to stave a hole in the hull we could get water without troubling those above. Were those above deck to leave those below to themselves, all would be destroyed, while if they were to help them, all would be saved'."

- (2) "Whoever of you sees something wrong, let him change it with his hand. If unable to, then let him change it with his tongue. If unable, then with his heart. And that is the weakest degree of faith."
- (3) "The best jihad is speaking the truth to an unjust ruler."
- (4) "When you see my Community too intimidated by an oppressor to tell him, 'You are a tyrant,' then you may as well say good by to them."
- (5) "Command the right and forbid the wrong, or Allah will put the worst of you in charge of the best of you, and the best will supplicate Allah and be left unanswered."
- q1.3 Abu Bakr (Allah be well pleased with him) rose from his place, and after having praised Allah Most High, said, "O people: you recite the verse, 'O you who believe: you are responsible for yourselves; those who go astray will not harm you if you are guided'. (Koran 5:105), 'while we have heard the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace) say, "People who do not change something wrong when they see it are on the verge of a sweeping punishment from Allah."

${\rm q2.0~WHO~MAY~COMMAND~THE~RIGHT~AND}$ FORBID THE WRONG

LEGAL RESPONSIBILITY

q2.1 There are four integrals (def: q2-5) in commanding the right and forbidding the wrong, the first of which is that the person doing so be legally responsible (def: c8.1), Muslim, and able to, these being the conditions for it to be obligatory, though a child of the age of discrimination (def: f1.2) who condemns something dishonorable is rewarded for doing so, even if it is not obligatory for him to.

MORAL RECTITUDE IS NOT A CONDITION

q2.2 As for requirements of moral rectitude in the person giving the reprimand, some scholars take this into consideration and say that a corrupt person is not entitled to censure, a position for which they adduce the word of Allah Most High: "Do you enjoin piety to others and forget yourselves?" (Koran 2:44), but there are no grounds in the verse for such and inference.

HAVING THE CALIPH'S PERMISSION

a2.3 Some scholars stipulate that the person delivering the censure must have permission to do so from the caliph (def: o25) or his regional appointee, and do not grant that private individuals may censure others. This is untrue, for the Koranic verses and hadiths all indicate that whoever sees something wrong and does nothing has sinned. Stipulating that there must be permission from the caliph is mere arbitrary opinion. One should realize that there are five levels of censure: explaining the wrong nature of the act, admonishing the person politely, reviling him and harshness, forcibly stopping the act (such as by breaking musical instruments or pouring out wine), and finally, intimidation and threatening to strike the person or actually hitting him to stop what he is doing. It is the latter level, not the first four, that requires the caliph, because it may lead to civil disorder. The early Muslims' invariable practice of reprimanding those in authority decisively proves by their consensus (def: b7) that there is no need for a superior's authorisation. If it be wondered whether a child is entitled to reprove his father, or a wife her husband, or for private citizens to reprove their ruler, the answer is that all are fundamentally entitled to. We have distinguished the five levels: the child is entitled to explain the nature of the act, to admonish and advise his parents politely, and finally may censure at the fourth level by such things as breaking a lute, pouring out wine, and so forth. This is also the sequence that should be observed by a wife. As for private citizens with their ruler, the matter is much graver than a child's reproving his father, and citizens are only entitled to explain the matter and advise.

BEING ABLE TO CENSURE

q2.4 It is a necessary condition that the person condemning something wrong be able to do so. Someone who is unable is not obliged to condemn it except in his heart. The obligation is not only lifted when physically unable, but also when one fears that problems (def: q2.7) will result for one, which also comes under the heading of inability. The obligation to censure the wrong is likewise lifted when one knows that the reproach will be ineffective. Four situations may be distinguished with respect to this:

- (1) When one knows (def: q2.6) the wrong will be eliminated by speaking or acting without this entailing problems for oneself, one is obliged to censure it.
- (2) When one knows that speaking will be ineffective and one will be beaten if one does, one is not obliged to.
- (3) When one knows that one's censure will be ineffective but it does not entail problems for one, it is not obligatory, because of its ineffectiveness, though one is still recommended to censure the act is order to manifest the standards of Islam and remind people of their religion.
- (A: Hadiths that seem to show the nonobligatoriness of commanding the right and forbidding the wrong are understood by Islamic scholars as referring to specific situations in which censure is ineffectual, and are not global statements about this obligation's inapplicability to a certain era of history, such as our own or some future time. Commanding the right and forbidding the wrong will be obligatory until the Day of Judgement.)
- (4) And when one knows that it will cause problems for one but the wrong will be eliminated by censuring it, such as with breaking a lute or dumping out wine when one knows one will be beaten for it, then one is not obliged but rather recommended to, as is evident from the hadith, "The best jihad is speaking the truth to an unjust ruler" There is no disagreement among scholars that it is permissible for a single Muslim to attack battlelines of unbelievers headlong and fight them even if he knows he will be killed. But if one knows it will not hurt them at all, such as if a blind man were to hurl himself against them, then it is unlawful. Likewise, if someone who is alone sees a corrupt person with a bottle of wine beside him and a sword in his hand, and he knows that the person will chop his neck if he censures him for drinking, it is not permissible for him to do so, as it would not entail any religious advantage worth giving one's life for. Such censure is only praiseworthy when one is able to eliminate the wrong and one's action will produce some benefit.
- q2.5 If one wants to censure something but knows it will result in one's companions also being beaten with one, it is not permissible for one to do so, because one is incapable of removing one blameworthy thing without its leading to another. (N: It is not lawful to censure anything reprehensible when doing so will lead to a thing or state that is more reprehensible.)
- q2.6 Know only means what one believes will probably result. Someone who thinks that it will create problems for him is not obligated to censure, though someone who does not believe that problems will result is obliged to. Cowardice does not enter into consideration here, not foolhardy courage, but rather the normal temperament of someone with a sound disposition
- q2.7 Problems means being beaten, killed, robbed, or acquiring a bad name in town. As for being reviled and

disparaged, it is not an excuse to remain silent, for someone who commands what is right generally meets with it.

q3.0 WHAT MAY BE CENSURED

q3.1 The second integral of commanding the right and forbidding the wrong is that the thing censured is something blameworthy that exists at present and is apparent. Blameworthy means that its occurrence is prohibited by Sacred Law, this being of wider scope than mere disobedience. for someone who sees a child or insane person drinking wine (A: which is not a sin in relation to them) is obliged to pour it out and forbid them. That exists at present excludes someone who has drunk wine and is now finished, and so forth. It also excludes something which will take place later, as when there is evidence that a person intends to go drinking that night. There is no censure in such cases other than to appeal to the person's conscience. Apparent excludes someone who conceals his disobedience at home and locks his door. It is not permissible to spy on him. An exception is if something is manifest to another outside the house, such as the sound of pipes and lutes. Someone who hears them may enter and break the instruments. If one smells the odor of wine outside the house, the sounder opinion is that it is permissible to enter

ONE MAY NOT CONDEMN ANOTHER FOR QUESTIONS INVOLVING DIFFERENCES AMONG SCHOOLS OF JURISPRUDENCE

q3.2 It is a necessary condition that the thing censured be something whose blameworthiness is not merely established by ijtihad (n: the independent legal reasoning of a particular Imam). Any question in which there is ijtihad may not be a cause for censure. A Hanafi, for example, may not condemn a Shafi'i for eating something slaughtered without the Basmala (dis: i17.5(4)), nor a Shafi'i condemn a Hanafi for drinking some nonintoxicating raisin drunk (N: nor a Muslim condemn a non-Muslim for drinking wine (dis: o11.5(1))). (A: But if two individuals follow the same school of Sacred Law and one commits an act that is unlawful or offensive in that school or in each of the two's respective schools, it is obligatory for the other person to condemn the act even when it involves the iitihad of their Imam. And the Shafi'i must condemn the Hanafi for eating something slaughtered without the Basmala, as the Hanafi is doing something he believes to be wrong.)

q4.0 THE PERSON DOING THE WRONG

q4.1 The third integral of commanding the right and forbidding the wrong is the person being

reprimanded. It is sufficient that he be a person, and is not necessary that he be legally responsible, as we have previously mentioned (q3.1) in respect to censuring a child or insane person

a5 0 THE ACT OF CENSURING

q5.1 The fourth integral is the censure itself, which has various degrees of severity and has rules.

KNOWLEDGE OF THE WRONG ACT

q5.2 The first degree consists of knowing the wrong act. One should not eavesdrop at another's house in order to hear the sounds of musical instruments, or try to catch the scent of wine, or feel for an object concealed beneath someone's shirt to see if it is a flute, or ask a person's neighbours to see what he is doing. But if two upright witnesses (def: o24.4) come and inform one that someone is drinking, one may enter his house and take him to task.

EXPLAINING THAT SOMETHING IS WRONG

q5.3 The second degree consists of explaining that an act is wrong, since an ignorant person will often do something he does not know is blameworthy, but will stop when he finds out. So one must explain it politely, saying, for example: "People are not born scholars; we were unfamiliar with many things in Sacred Law until scholars mentioned them to us. Perhaps there are not many in your hometown," and thus lead up to it diplomatically so the person understands without being offended. To avoid the evil of remaining silent when there is something wrong, only to commit the evil of offending a Muslim when able not to, it like washing away blood with urine.

FORBIDDING THE ACT VERBALLY

q5.4 The third degree of severity is to prohibit the act by admonition, advice, and making the other fear Allah, mentioning the hadiths of divine punishment for it and reminding the person how the early Muslims behaved, all of which should be done with sympathy and kindness, not harshness or anger. The great danger here which one must beware of is that a learned person explaining that something is wrong may be proud of his knowledge and gloat over the lowliness of the other's ignorance, which is like saving someone from a fire by casting oneself into it. It is ignorant in the extreme, a deep disgrace, and a delusion from the Devil. The touchstone and test for this is to ask oneself whether one

would prefer the censured person to stop at his own or another's behest, or whether one would prefer to forbid him oneself. If reproving him is difficult and weighs upon one, and one would prefer that someone else do it, then one should proceed, for religion is the motive. But if it is otherwise, then one is following mere personal caprice and using the censuring of others as a means to display one's merit, and one should fear Allah and censure oneself first.

CENSURING WITH HARSH WORDS

q5.5 The fourth degree of severity consists of reviling the person and bearing down on him with sharp, harsh words. One does not resort to this degree unless one is unable to prevent the person by politeness, and he shows he wants to persist or mocks one's admonitions and advice. Reviling him does not mean vulgarity and lies, but rather saying "You degenerate," "You idiot "You ignoramus," "Do you not fear Allah?" and so forth. Allah Most high quotes Ibrahim (upon whom be peace) saying: "Fie on you and what you worship apart from Allah! Can you not think?" (Koran 21.67).

RIGHTING THE WRONG BY HAND

q5.6 The fifth degree consists of changing the blameworthy thing with one's hand, such as by breaking musical instruments, pouring out wine, or turning someone out of a house wrongfully appropriated. There are two rules for this degree:

(1) not to do so when one can get the person to do it himself, i.e. if one can get someone to leave the land he has unjustly taken, one should not drag or push him from it;

(2) and to break the instruments, for example, just enough to obviate their being used for disobedience and no more, or to be careful not to break the bottles when pouring out wine. If one cannot manage except by throwing rocks at the bottles or the like, then one may do so and is not obliged to cover the damages. If it be wondered whether one may break the bottles or drag someone by the foot out of a wrongfully appropriated house to create fear, as an object lesson to others, the answer is that this is for leaders alone and is not permissible for private individuals because of the obscurity of the decisionmaking criteria in the matter..

INTIMIDATION

q5.7 The sixth degree is threatening and intimidation, such as by saying, "Stop this or I'll-"; and when possible this should precede actually hitting the person. The rule for this level is not to make a threat that one cannot carry out, such as saying "or I'll seize your house," or "take you wife hostage," because if one says this seriously, it is unlawful, and if not serious, then one is lying.

ASSAULT

q5.8 The seventh degree is to directly hit or kick the person, or similar measures that do not involve weapons. This is permissible for private individuals provided it is necessary, and that one confines oneself to the minimum needed to stop the reprehensible action and nothing more. When the action has been stopped, one refrains from doing anything further.

FORCE OF ARMS

q5.9 The eighth degree is when one is unable to censure the act by oneself and requires the armed assistance of others. Sometimes the person being reproved may also get people to assist him, and a skirmish may ensue, so the soundest legal opinion is that this degree requires authorization from the caliph (def: o25). since it leads to strife and the outbreak of civil discord. Another view is that there is no need for caliph's permission.

${\rm q6.0~THE}$ Attributes of the Person censuring

q.6.1 Having presented in detail the rules for someone condemning the wrong, they may be summarised in three traits needed by the person giving the reprimand:

(1) knowledge of the (A: above-mentioned) appropriate circumstances for censure and their

definitions, so as to keep within lawful bounds;

(2) godfearingness, without which one might know something but not apply it because of some personal interest;

(3) and good character, the prime prerequisite for being able to control oneself, for when anger is aroused, ;mere knowledge and piousness are seldom sufficient to suppress it if character is lacking.

REDUCING ONE'S DEPENDENCE ON OTHERS

q6.2 Among the rules for commanding the right and forbidding the wrong is to depend less on others and eliminate desire for what they have, so as not to have to compromise one's principles. A story is told about one of the early Muslims who used to get offal each day from the neighbourhood butcher for his cat. He noticed something blameworthy about the butcher, so he returned home and turned out the cat before returning to reprimand the man, who retorted, "From now on. I'm not giving you a thing for your cat," to which he replied, "I did not censure you till I gave up both the cat and any desire for what you have." And this is the fact of the matter. One cannot reprimand others as long as one is anxious for two things: the things people give one, and their approval and praise of one.

q6.3 As for politeness in commanding the right and forbidding the wrong, it is obligatory. Allah Most High says:
"Speak unto him gentle words" (Koran 20:44) (A: this being to Pharaoh, the enemy of Allah, so how then with one's fellow Muslims?) (Mukhtasar Minhaj al-qasidin (y62), 123-30).

BOOK R - HOLDING ONE'S TONGUE

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r0 0 INTRODUCTION

r0.1 (n: Book r has been edited from Nawawi's al-Adhkar al-muntakhaba minkalam Sayyid al-Abrar and from al-Durar al-mubaha fi al-hazr wa al-ibaha, a work on the lawful and unlawful by the Hanafi scholar Khalil Nahlawi.)

r0.2 (Nawawi:) Having previously discussed what Allah Most Glorious and Exalted has facilitated of recommended invocation (dhikr) and the like, I wish to add here the expressions which are offensive or unlawful, that the book ;might fully encompass the rulings on words and explain their categories, mentioning the objects thereof that every religious person needs to know (al-Adhkar (y102), 450).

r1.0 THE IMPORTANCE OF HOLDING ONE'S TONGUE

r1.1 (Nawawi:) Every legally responsible person should refrain from saying anything except when there is a clear advantage to speaking. Whenever speaking and not speaking are of equal benefit, it is sunna to remain silent, for permissible speech easily leads to that which is unlawful or offensive, as actually happens much or even most of the time and there is no substitute for safety. The Prophet (Allah) bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, let him say what is good or remain silent." This hadith, whose authenticity Bukhari and Muslim concur upon, is an explicit ;legal text indicating that a person should not speak unless what he intends to say is good, meaning that the benefit of it is apparent to him. Whenever one doubts that there is a clear advantage, one should not speak. Imam Shafi'i (Allah have mercy on him) said, "when one wishes to speak, one must first reflect, and if there is a clear interest to be served by speaking, one speaks, while if one doubts it, one remains silent until the advantage becomes apparent.'

r1.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace):

(1) "O Messenger of Allah, which of the Muslims is best?" And he said, "He who the Muslims are safe from his tongue and his hand.

(2) "A servant unthinkingly says something pleasing to Allah Most High for which Allah raises him whole degrees. And a servant unthinkingly says something detested by Allah Most High for which he plunges into hell,

(3) "The excellence of a person's Islam includes leaving what does not concern him [def: w54]."

(4) "Do not speak much without mentioning Allah (dhikr), for too much speech without mentioning Allah hardens the heart, and the hard-hearted are the farthest of all people from

Allah Most High." (5) "All of a human being's words count against him and not for him, except commanding the right, forbidding the wrong, and the mention of Allah Most High (dhikr)."

r1.3 The Master Abul Qasim Qushayri (Allah have mercy of him) said, "Safety lies in remaining silent, which should be one's basis. Silence at the appropriate time is the mark of men, just as speech at the appropriate time is one of the finest qualities. I have heard Abu 'Ali Daqqaq(Allah be well pleased with him) say, 'He who is silent when something should be said is a tongueless villain'"(ibid., 450-55).

r2.0 SLANDER (GHIBA)

r2.1 (Nawawi:) Slander and talebearing are two of the ugliest and most frequently met with qualities among men,

few people being safe from them. I have begun with them because of the widespread need to warn people of them.

r2.2 Slander (ghiba) means to mention anything concerning a person that he would dislike, whether about his body, religion, everyday life, self, disposition, property, son, father, wife, servant, turban, garment, gait, movements, smiling, dissoluteness, frowning, cheerfulness, or anything else connected with him. Mention means by word, writing, sign, or indicating him with one's eye, hand, head, and so forth. Body refers to saying such things as that someone is blind, lame, bleary-eyed, bald, short, tall, dark, or pale. Religion includes saying that he is corrupt, a thief, cannot be trusted, is a tyrant, does not care about the prayer, does not watch to avoid filth, does not honor his father, does not spend zakat on what it should be spent on, or does not avoid slandering others. Everyday life includes saying that his manners are poor; he does not care about others; does not think he owes anyone anything; that he talks, eats, or sleeps too much; or sleeps or sits when he should not. Father refers to saying such things as that his father is corrupt, his father is an Indian. Nabatean, African, cobbler, draper, carpenter, blacksmith, or weaver (n: if mentioned derogatorily). Disposition includes saying that he has bad character, is arrogant, a show-off, domineering, incapable, fainthearted, overhasty, irresponsible, gloomy, dissolute, and so forth. Clothing means saying such things as that his sleeves are too loose, his garment hangs too low, is dirty, or the like. Other remarks can be judged by the above examples. The determining factor is mentioning about a person what he would not like.

r2.3 As for talebearing (namima), it consists of quoting someone's words to another in a way that worsens relations between them.

EVIDENCE THAT SLANDER TALEBEARING ARE UNLAWFUL

r2.4 The above define slander and talebearing. As for the ruling on them, it is that they are unlawful, by the consensus (def:b7) of Muslims. There is much explicit and intersubstantiative evidence that they are unlawful from the Koran, sunna, and consensus of the Muslim Community.

r2.5 Allah Most High says:

- (1) "Do not slander one another" (Koran 49.12).
- (2) "Woe to whomever disparages others behind their back or to their face" (Koran 104:1)
- (3) "... slanderer, going about with tales" (Koran 68.11) r2.6 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

(1) "The talebearer will not enter paradise."

- (2) "Do you know what slander is?" They answered, "Allah and His messenger know best." He said: "It is to mention of your brother that which he would dislike." Someone asked, "what if he is as I say?" And he replied: "If he is as you say, you have slandered him, and if not, you have calumniated him '
- (3) The Muslim is the brother of the Muslim. He does not betray him, lie to him, or hang back from coming to his aid. All of the Muslim is inviolable to his fellow Muslim: his reputation, his property, his blood. Godfearingness is here[N: pointing to his heart]. It is sufficiently wicked for someone to belittle his fellow Muslim

MIMICKING ANOTHER'S IDIOSYNCRACIES

r2.7 We have mentioned above that slander is saying anything about a person that he would dislike, whether aloud in writing, by a sign, or a gesture. Anything by which one conveys a Muslim's (A: or non-Muslim's) shortcomings to another is slander, and unlawful. It includes doing imitations of someone, such as by walking with a limp, with a stoop, or similar posture, intending to mimic the person with such a deficiency. Anything of this sort is unquestionably unlawful.

SLANDER IN PUBLISHED WORKS

r2.8 Slander also includes the author of a book mentioning a specific person in his work by saying, "So-and-so says such which is unlawful if he thereby intends to demean him. But if he wants to clarify the person's mistake so that others will not follow him, or expose the weakness of his scholarship so others will not be deceived and accept what he says, it is not slander, but rather advice that is obligatory, and is rewarded by Allah for the person who intends it as such. Nor is it slander for a writer or other person to say, "There are those [or "a certain group"] who say such and such, which is a mistake, error, ignorance, and folly," and so forth, which is not slander because slander entails mentioning a particular person or a group of specific individuals.

SLANDER BY ALLUSION AND INNUENDO

r2.9 When the person being spoken to understands whom one is referring to, it is slander and

unlawful to say, for example, "A certain person did such and such," or "A certain scholar," "Someone with pretensions to knowledge," "A certain Mufti certain person regarded as good," "Someone who claims to be an ascetic," "One of those

who passed by us today," or "One of the people we saw." This includes the slander of some would-be scholars and devotees. who make slanderous innuendoes that are as clearly understood as if they were plainly stated. When one of them is asked, for example, how So-and-so is, he replies, "May Allah improve us," "May Allah forgive us," "May Allah improve him," "We ask Allah's forbearance," "Praise be to Allah who has not afflicted us with visiting oppressors," "We take refuge in Allah from evil," "May Allah forgive us for lack of modesty," "May Allah relent towards us," and the like, from which the listener understands the person's shortcomings. All of this is slander and is unlawful, just as when one says, and-so is afflicted with what we all are," or "There's no way he can manage this," or "We all do it." r2.10 The above are but examples. Otherwise, as previously mentioned, the criterion for slander is that one gives the person being addressed to understand another's faults.

LISTENING TO SLANDER

r2.11 Just as slander is unlawful for the one who says it, it is also unlawful for the person hearing it to listen and acquiesce to. It is obligatory whenever one hears some one begin to slander another to tell him to stop if this does not entail manifest harm to one. If it does, then one is obliged to condemn it in one's heart and to leave the company if able. When the person who hears it is able to condemn it in words or change the subject, then he must. It is a sin for him not to. But if the hearer tells the slanderer to be silent while desiring him in his heart to continue, this, as Ghazali notes, is hypocrisy that does not lift the sin from him, for one must dislike it in one's heart. r2.12 Whenever one is forced to remain at a gathering where there is slander and one is unable to condemn it, or one's condemnation goes unheeded and one cannot leave, it is nevertheless unlawful to listen or pay attention to. What one should do is invoke Allah(dhikr) with the tongue and heart or heart alone, or think about something else to distract one from listening to it. When this is done, whatever one hears under such circumstances does not harm one as long as one does not listen to or heed the conversation. And if afterwards one is able to leave the assembly and the people are persisting in slander and the like, then one must leave. Allah Most High says: "When you see those engaged in idle discussion about Our signs, keep apart from them until they speak of other things. And if the Devil makes you forget, then do not sit with wrong-doing people after being reminded" (Koran 6.68).

r2.13 Ibrahim ibn Adham (Allah be well pleased with him) answered an invitation to come to a wedding feast, where some of those present mentioned that a certain person who did not attend was "unpleasant." Ibrahim said, "I myself have done this by coming to a place where others are slandered,' and he left and would not eat for three days.

SLANDERING ANOTHER IN ONE'S HEART

r2.14 Entertaining bad thoughts about others (su' al-zann) is as unlawful as expressing them. Just as it is unlawful to tell another of the failings of a person, so too it is unlawful to speak to oneself of them and think badly of him. Allah Most High says: "Shun much of surmise" (Koran 49:12). The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace said: "Beware of suspicions, for they are the most lying of words," There are many hadiths which say the same, and they refer to an established conviction or judgement in the heart that another is bad. As for passing thoughts and fancies that do not last, when the person having them does not persist in them, scholars concur that they are excusable, since their occurrence is involuntary and there is no way to avoid them. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "For those of my Community, Allah overlooks the thoughts that come to mind as long as they are not uttered or acted upon." Scholars say this refers to passing thoughts that do not abide, whether of slander, unbelief (kufr), or something else. Whoever entertains a passing notion of unbelief that is a mere fancy whose occurrence is unintentional and immediately dismissed is not an unbeliever and is not to blame. The reason such things are excusable is that there is no way to take precaution against them. One can only avoid continuing therein, which is why persistence in them and the established conviction of them in one's heart is unlawful. Whenever one has a passing thought of slander, one is obliged to reject it and summon to mind extenuating circumstances which explain away the appearances that seem to imply the bad opinion Imam Abu Hamid Ghazali says in the Ihya': "A bad thought about someone that occurs in one's heart is a notion suggested by the Devil, and one should dismiss it, for the Devil is the most corrupt of the corrupt, and Allah Most high says: "'If a corrupt person brings you news, verify it, lest you hurt others out of ignorance and then regret what you have done' (Koran 49.6). It is not permissible to believe Satan, and if the appearance of wrongdoing can possibly be interpreted otherwise, it is not lawful to think badly of another. The Devil may enter the heart at the slightest impression of others' mistakes, suggesting that one only noticed it because of one's superior intelligence and discernment, and that "the believer

sees with the light of Allah," which upon examination often amounts to nothing more than repeating the Devil's deceit and obscurities. If a reliable witness informs one of something bad about another, one should neither believe it nor disbelieve it, in order to avoid thinking badly of either of them. And whenever one has a bad thought about a Muslim one should increase one's concern and respect for him, as this will madden the Devil and put him off, and he will not suggest the like of it to one again for fear that one will occupy oneself with prayer for the person. "If one learns of a Muslim's mistake by undeniable proof, one should advise him about it in private and not let the Devil delude one into slandering him. And when admonishing him, one should not gloat over his shortcoming and the fact that he is regarding one with respect while one is regarding him with disdain, but one's intention should rather be to help him disengage from the act of disobedience, over which one is as sad as if one had committed it oneself. One should be happier if he desists from it without being admonished than if he desists because of one's admonishment." These are Ghazali's words.

r2.15 We have mentioned that it is obligatory for a person with a passing ill thought of another to dispell it, this being when no interest recongnised by Sacred Law conduces one to reflect upon it, for if there is such an interest, it is permissible to weigh and consider the individual's deficiency and warn others of it, as when evaluating the reliability of court witnesses or hadith transmitters, and in other cases we will mention below in the section on permissible slander.

PERMISSIBLE SLANDER

r2.16 Slander, though unlawful, is sometimes permissible for a lawful purpose, the legitimating factor being that there is some aim countenanced by Sacred Law that is unattainable by other means. This may be for one of six reasons.

REDRESSING GRIEVANCES

r2.17 The first is the redress of grievances. Someone wronged may seek redress from the Islamic ruler, judge, or others with the authority or power to help one against the person who has wronged one. One may say, "So-and-so has wronged me," "done such and such to me," "took such and such of mine," and similar remarks.

ELIMINATING WRONGDOING

r2.18 The second is seeking aid in righting a wrong or correcting a wrongdoer, such as by saying to someone expected to be able to set things right, "So-and-so doing such and such, so warn him not to continue," and the like. The intention in such a case must be to take the measures necessary to eliminate the wrong, for if this is not one's purpose, it is

ASKING FOR A LEGAL OPINION

r2.19 The third is asking for a ;legal opinion, such as by saying to the mufti, "My father [or "brother," or "So-andso,"] has wronged me by doing such and such. May he do so or not?" "How can I be rid of him," "get what is coming to me," "stop the injustice," and so forth. Or such as saying, "My wife does such and such to me," "My husband does such and such," and the like. This is permissible when necessary, but to be on the safe side it is best to say, "What do you think of a man whose case is such and such," or "A husband [or "wife'] who does such and such," and so on, since this accomplishes one's aim without referring to particular people. But it is nevertheless permissible to identify a particular person, as is attested to by the hadith in which Hind said, "O Messenger of Allah, Abu Sufyan is a stingy man..." and the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) did not forbid her.

WARNING MUSLIMS OF EVIL

r2.20 The fourth reason is to warn Muslims of evil and advise them, which may take several forms, including:

(1) Impugning unreliable hadith transmitters or court witnesses, which is permissible by consensus of all Muslims, even obligatory, because of the need for it.

(2) When a person seeks one's advice about marrying into a certain family, entering into a partnership with someone, depositing something for safekeeping with him, accepting such a deposit, or some other transaction with him, it is obligatory for one to tell the person asking what one knows about the other by way advising him. If one can accomplish this by merely saying, "Dealing with him is of no advantage to you," "Marrying into the family is not in your interests," 'Do not do it," and similar expressions, then one may not elaborate on the individual's shortcomings. But if it cannot be accomplished without explicitly mentioning the individual, one may do so.

(3) When one notices a student of Sacred Law going to learn from a teacher who is guilty of

reprehensible innovations in religious matters (bid'a, def: w29.3) or who is corrupt, and one apprehends harm to the student thereby, one apprehends harm to the student thereby, one must advise him and explain how the teacher really is. It is necessary in such a case that one intend to give sincere counsel.

Mistakes are sometimes made in this, as the person warning another may be motivated by envy, which the Devil has duped him into believing is heartfelt advice and compassion, so one must beware of this.

(4) And when there is someone in a position of responsibility who is not doing the job as it should be done, because of being unfit for it, corrupt, inattentive, or the ;like, one must mention this to the person with authority over him so he can remove him and find another to do the job properly, or be aware of how he is so as to deal with him as he should be dealt with and not be deluded by him, to urge him to either improve or else be replaced.

SOMEONE UNCONCERNED WITH CONCEALING THEIR DISOBEDIENCE

r2.21 A fifth reason that permits slander is when the person is making no effort to conceal his

corruption or involvement in reprehensible innovation (bid'a), such as someone who openly drinks wine, confiscates others, property, gathers taxes uncountenanced by Sacred Law, collects money wrongfully, or perpetrates other falsehoods, in which cases it is permissible to speak about what he is unconcerned to conceal, but unlawful to mention his other faults unless there is some other valid reason that permits it, of those we have discussed.

IDENTIFICATION

r.2.22 The sixth reason is to identify someone. When a person is known by a nickname such as "the Bleary-eyed," "the Lame," "the Deaf," "the Blind," "the Cross-eyed," or similar, it is permissible to refer to him by that name if one's intention is to identify him. It is unlawful to do so by way of pointing out his deficiencies. And if one can identify him by some other means, it is better.

r2.23 These then, are six reasons Islamic scholars mention that permit slander in the above cases (as-Adhkar(y102), 455-69)

r3.0 TALEBEARING (NAMIMA)

- r3.1 (Nawawi:) Having summarily mentioned that talebearing (namima) is unlawful, with the evidence for this and a description of its nature, we now want to add a fuller explanation of it. Imam Abu Hamid Ghazali says, "Talebearing is a term that is usually applied only to someone who conveys to a person what another has said about him, such as by saying, 'So-and-so says such and such about you,' In fact talebearing is not limited to that but rather consists of revealing anything whose disclosure is resented, whether resented by the person who originally said it, the person to whom it is disclosed, or by a third party. It makes no difference whether the disclosure is in word, writing, a sign, nodding, or other; whether it concerns word or deed; or whether it concerns something bad or otherwise. The reality of talebearing lies in divulging a secret, in revealing something confidential whose disclosure is resented. A person should not speak of anything he notices about people besides that which benefits a Muslim to relate or prevents disobedience. Anyone approached with a story, who is told, 'So-and-so says such and such about you,' must do six things:
- (1) disbelieve it, for talebearers are corrupt, and their information unacceptable;
- (2) tell the talebearer to stop, admonish him about it, and condemn the shamefulness of what he has done;
- (3) hate him for the sake of Allah Most High, for he is detestable in Allah's sight, and hating for the sake of Allah Most High obligatory;
- (4) not think badly of the person whom the words are supposedly from, for Allah Most High says: 'Such much of surmise' (Koran 49.12);
- (5) not let what has been said prompt him to spy or investigate whether it is true, for Allah Most High says, 'Do not spy' (Koran 49.12);
- (6) and not to do himself what he has forbidden the talebearer to do, by relating it to others."(Ibid., 471-72)

r4.0 SAYING "THE PEOPLE HAVE GONE TO RUIN"

r4.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "When a man says, 'The people have gone to ruin,' he is the most ruined of all." r4.2 (Nawawi:) Khattabi says the hadith means that a person who continually finds fault with people and mentions their failings is the most ruined of all, i.e. he becomes worse than they are because of the sin he commits in disparaging and attacking them, which may also lead to conceitedness and seeing himself as better than they. Scholars concur that the condemnation only applies to someone who says the like of this out of contempt for people, considering them inferior and himself superior, despising the way they are because of his ignorance of the divine wisdom in Allah's creating them. But if one says it out of sadness at seeing one's own religious failings and those of others, there is no harm in it, just as there is no blame in saying: "For all I know, every one of the Prophet's Community (Allah bless him and give him peace) performs the prayer." This is how Imam Malik

explained the hadith, and others have followed him therein (sahih Muslim bi Sharh al-Nawawi(y93), 16,175-76).

r5.0 INFORMING ON ANOTHER

r5.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Let none of my Companions inform me of anything another of them has said, for I wish to come out to you without disquiet in my heart." (al-Adhkar(y102),473)

r6.0 TWO PEOPLE CONVERSING SO A THIRD CANNOT HEAR

r6.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
"When there are only three of you, two of you may not speak
together apart from the third unless you join a group of
others, lest your doing so sadden him."

r6.2 (Nahlawi:) Nawawi (Allah have mercy on him) says this hadith prohibits two individuals

conversing privately when a third is present, and likewise prohibits three or more people from doing so when there is a single person apart from them. The prohibition indicates its unlawfulness, it being impermissible for a group to converse apart from a single individual unless he gives his permission. Imam Malik (Allah have mercy on him), our colleagues, and the majority of scholars hold that the prohibition is applicable at all times, whether one is at home or travelling, though some (A: Hanafi) scholars say that such converse is forbidden only while travelling, not when at home, for when travelling it may portend danger.

r6.3 As for when there are four people and two of them speak privately in low tones apart from the other two, scholars agree that there is no harm in this.

r6.4 The prohibition of listening to the conversation of people who are averse to one's listening likewise means it is unlawful, though only when the conversation does not entail harm to the listener, for if it does, one may listen to protect oneself from them (al-Durar-al-mubaha(y99), 159).

r7.0 GIVING DIRECTIONS TO SOMEONE WHO WANTS TO DO WRONG

r7.1 (Nahlawi:) It is not permissible to give directions and the like to someone intending to perpetrate a sin, because it is helping another to commit disobedience. Allah Most High says.

"Do not assist one another in sin and aggression" (Koran 5:2). Giving directions to wrongdoers includes:

(1) showing the way to policemen and tyrants when they are going to commit injustice and corruption;

(2) teaching questions of Sacred Law to those learning it in bad faith (N:i.e. who do not want the knowledge to apply it in their lives, but for some unworthy purpose);

(3) teaching positions in Sacred Law that are rejected (A: meaning those that are not accepted by any of the four schools of jurisprudence (dis:b7.6)) or weak (dis:w12.2), or anything else that informs people of how to commit disobedience to Allah Most High.

(4) and permitting or authorising a person to do something that entails disobedience, for acceptance of disobedience is disobedience, (bid., 159-60)

r8.0 LYING

r8.1 (Nawawi:) Primary texts from the Koran and sunna that it is unlawful to lie (dis:p24) are both numerous and intersubstantiative, it being among the ugliest sins and most disgusting faults. Because of the scholarly consensus of the Community (Umma) that it is prohibited and the unanimity and amount of the primary textual evidence, there is little need to cite particular examples thereof, out only concern here being to explain the exceptions to what is considered lying, and apprise of the details.

PERMISSIBLE LYING (AL TAQIYYA)

r8.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "He who settles disagreements between people to bring about good or says something commendable is not a liar.' much is related by both Bukhari and Muslim, with Muslim's version recording that Umm Kulthum added, "I did not hear him permit untruth in anything people say, except for three things: war, settling disagreements and a man talking with his wife or she with him (A:in smoothing over differences)," This is an explicit statement that lying is sometimes permissible for a given interest, scholars having established criteria defining what types of it are lawful. The best analysis of it I have seen is by Imam Ghazali. If something is attainable through both telling the truth and lying, it is unlawful to accomplish it through lying because there is no need for it. When it is possible to achieve such an aim by lying but not by telling the truth, it is permissible to lie if attaining the goal is permissible (N:i.e. when the purpose of lying is to circumvent someone who is preventing one from doing something permissible), and obligatory to lie if the goal is obligatory. When for example one is concealing a muslim from an oppressor who asks where he is, it is obligatory to lie about his being hidden. Or when a person deposits an article with one for safekeeping and an oppressor wanting to appropriate it inquires about it, it is obligatory to lie about having concealed it, for if one informs him about the article and he then siezes it, one is financially liable(A:to the owner)to cover the article's cost. Whether the purpose is war, settling a disagreement, or gaining the sympathy of a victim legally entitled to retaliate against one so that he will forbear to do so; it is not unlawful to lie when any of these aims can only be attained through lying. But is religiously more precautionary (def:c6.5) in all such cases to employ words that give misleading impression, meaning to intend by one's words something that is literally true, in respect to which one is not lying (def:r10.2) white the outward purport of the words deceives the hearer, though even if one does not have such an intention and merely lies without intending anything else, it is not unlawful in the above circumstances. This is true of every expression connected with a legitimating desired end, whether one's own or another's. An example of a legitimating end of one's own is when an oppressor intending to appropriate one's property inquires about it, in which case one may deny it. Or if a ruler asks one about a wicked act one has committed that is solely between oneself and Allah Most High (N: i.e. it does not concern the rights of another), in which case one is entitled to disclaim it, such as by saying, 'I did not commit fornication, 'or' I did not drink.' There are many well known hadiths in which those who admitted they deserved punishment were given prompting (A: by the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)) to retract their confessions. An example of a legitimating desired end of another is when one is asked about another's secret and one disacknowledges it. And so on. One should compare the bad consequences entailed by lying to those entailed by telling the truth, and if the consequences of telling the truth are more damaging, on is entitled to lie, though if the reverse is true or if one does not know which entails more damage, them lying is unlawful. Whenever lying is permissible, if the factor which permits it is desired end of one's own, it is recommended not to lie, but when the factor that permits it is the desired end of another, it is not lawful to infringe upon his rights. Strictness (A: as opposed to the above dispensations (rukhsa, def:c6.2)) is to forgo lying in every case where it is not legally obligatory.'

r8.3 The position of Ahl al-Sunna is that lying means to inform another that something is otherwise than it really is, whether intentionally or out of ignorance. One is not culpable if ignorant of it, but only if one lies intentionally, the evidence for which is that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) made intentionality a condition when he said, "Whoever lies about me intentionally shall take a place for himself in hell." (al-Adhkar (y102), 510-12)

r9.0 EXAGGERATION

r9.1 (Nawawi:) Gazali says: "Among the forms of lying that are unlawful but not serious enough to stigmatise their perpetrator as legally corrupt (dis:o24.3) is the customary exaggeration of saying, "I've told you a hundred times," or 'asked after you hundred times.' and so forth, since one does not thereby intend to inform the other how many times it has been, but only to indicate that it has been too many. In such cases, if the speaker in fact has only asked after the other but once, he is; lying, though is he has asked after him a number of times considerably more than what is generally accepted, he is not committing a sin by saying it, even if it has not been 'a hundred times.' There are intermediate degrees between these two at which the exaggerator becomes a liar."

r9.2 The proof that exaggeration is sometimes permissible and not considered lying is the hadith related by Bukhari and a Muslim that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "... As for Abul Jahm, his stick never leaves his shoulder, while Mu'awiya does not own a thing," it being understood that the latter owned the garment he was wearing, and the former set his stick aside when he slept and at other times. And Allah alone gives success(ibid.,515-16).

r10 0 GIVING A MISLEADING IMPRESSION

r10.1 (Nawawi:) Giving a misleading impression is among the most important topics, being frequently met with and often abused. It befits us to examine the matter closely, and whoever learns of it should reflect upon it and apply it. Having previously mentioned that lying is severely prohibited, and the danger that exists in saying something without any particular intention, what follows below shows a safe alternative to these.

r10.2 Giving a misleading impression means to utter an expression that ostensibly implies one meaning, while intending a different meaning the expression may also have, one that contradicts the ostensive purport. It is a kind of deception. (A: It often takes the form of the speaker intending a specific referent while the hearer understands a more general one, as when a person asks a householder, "Is So-and-so here?" to which the householder, intending the space between himself and the questioner rather than the space inside the house, replies, "He is not here.")

r10.3 Scholars say that there is no harm (def: p8.2(A:)) in giving a misleading impression if required by an interest countenanced by Sacred Law that is more important than not

misleading the person being addressed, or if there is a pressing need which could not otherwise be fulfilled except through lying. When neither of these is the case, giving a misleading impression is offensive though not unlawful unless used as a means for wrongful gain or suppressing another's right, in which case it becomes unlawful. The above determine its permissibility. As for the hadith evidence, some of which permits it and some of which does not, it is to be interpreted in the light of the above criteria (al-Adhkar (vl.02), 514).

r11.0 VERIFYING ONE'S WORDS BEFORE SPEAKING

- r11.1 Allah Most High says:
- (1) "Pursue not that of which you have no knowledge. The hearing, the eyesight, the heart: all will be asked about" (Koran 17:36).
- (2) "He utters not a word save that an observer is present beside him" (Koran 50:18).
- r11.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "It is lying enough for a man to repeat everything he hears." (Ibid., 512-13)

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12.0 SPEAKING OF TAXES AS "THE RULER'S RIGHT" $\,$

r12.1 (Nawawi:) One of the things most sternly prohibited and needful to warn people against is what the common people say about sales tax and the like (dis: p32), namely that "this is the ruler's right," or "you have to pay the ruler's due" and so forth, of references to "right", "obligation", and so on. This is one of the most objectionable practices and ugliest of reprehensible innovations. Some scholars even hold that anyone who calls these taxes a right thereby becomes an unbeliever, beyond the pale of Islam. But in fact, such a person does not become an unbeliever unless he actually considers it right while knowing it is unjust. The proper way to mention these is to say "the ruler's tax", "revenue", or similar words. And Allah alone gives success (ibid., 499-500).

r13.0 CONVERSING ABOUT WHAT IS USELESS OR IMMORAL

r13.1 (Nahlawi:) Conversing about what is useless or immoral means discussing acts of disobedience, such as stories about drinking sessions and fornicators when there is no legitimate purpose connected with the conversation, which is unlawful because it manifests one's own disobedience or another's without there being any need to. Ibn Mas'ud (Allah be well pleased with him) said, "The greatest in sins on the Judgement Day will be the one most given to speaking about the useless and immoral."

SPEAKING ABOUT WHAT DOES NOT CONCERN ONE

r13.2 As for speaking about what does not concern one, such as the story of one's travels, and the mountains, rivers, food, and clothes one saw while on them; when it does not contain lies, slander, ostentation, or other things that are unlawful, it is not in itself prohibited. Rather, it may be recommended, as when inspired by a good intention such as preventing others of accusing one of being arrogant or proud of not speaking, allaying another's timorousness, cheering up someone sad or ill, amusing or getting along well with the womenfolk, showing kindness to children, or similar motives. With these intentions it is not considered to be what does not concern one.

r13.3 It is recommended and praiseworthy to leave anything that does not concern one (def: 254) because one squanders one's life by involvement in it and in mere amusement. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "The excellence of a person's Islam includes leaving what does not concern him," including excess verbiage, meaning to elaborate more than necessary about matters which do concern one, or to ask about things which are of no importance; though it does not include clarifying the details of difficult legal questions, especially to those of limited understanding, or the need to repeat an exhortation, reminder, instruction, or the like, since it might be necessary. But when it is unnecessary to add details, one should express oneself succinctly and with brevity. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace said: "Good tidings to him who avoids the excess in his speech and spends the excess of his money." Ali (Allah ennoble his countenance) said: "The best discourse is expressive, great, brief, and interesting." (al-Durar al-mubaha (v99), 135-36)

r14.0 EXPLAINING THE KORAN BY PERSONAL OPINION

r14.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever speaks of the Book of Allah from his own opinion is in error."

r14.2 (Nahlawi:) The jurist Abul Layth says in Bustan al-'arifin, "The [above] prohibition only applies to the allegorical parts of it (dis: w6), not to all of it, since Allah Most High says:

"'As for those with deviance in their hearts, they pursue the allegorical of it' (Koran 3:7). 'The Koran came as a proof of

moral answerability against all mankind and jinn, while if interpreting it were not permissible, it could not be a decisive proof. Since it is decisive, it is permissible for someone acquainted with the dialects of the Arabs and the circumstances under which various verses were revealed to interpret it. As for would-be exegetes who do not know the dimensions of Arabic, the figurative, literal, and the types of metaphor, it is not permissible for them to explain it beyond what they have heard, by way of reporting and not actual interpretation'." The generality of the prohibition also entails that whoever does not know which verses abrogate others and which are abrogated, the points upon which there is scholarly consensus (def: b7), and the tenets of faith of Ahl al-Sunna, is not safe from error if he interprets the Koran with nothing beyond the implications of the Arabic. Mere linguistic familiarity with the language is insufficient, and one must also know what we have just mentioned. When one knows both, one may interpret the Koran, and is not doing so by mere opinion (ibid., 158).

r14.3 (A: The above is equally true of hadith. Koran and hadith commentaries are of tremendous importance to teachers, speakers, writers, and translators who are preparing materials to present to Muslim audiences. The dictionary is not enough.)

r15.0 ASKING ABOUT THE NATURE OF ALLAH MOST HIGH

r15.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "People will keep wondering and asking each other until it is said, 'This is Allah's creation, but who created Allah?' Whoever finds anything like this, let him say, 'I believe in Allah and His messengers.' "(Ibid., 140)

r16.0 HYPOCRISY

r16.1 (Nahlawi:) Hypocrisy is when a person's outward does not correspond to his inward, or his words to his deeds. It is of two kinds, hypocrisy in belief and hypocrisy in acts. Hypocrisy in belief is another name for concealed unbelief while outwardly professing Islam. It is the very worst form of unbelief. Allah Mighty and Majestic says: "Verily the hypocrites shall be in the lowest abyss of hell" (Koran 4:145). And this type consigns its perpetrator to hell forever. As for hypocrisy in act, it is that which does not concern one's faith. It is also termed spoken hypocrisy, and consists of saying what contradicts one's true state. It is one of the greatest of sins. It includes being two-faced, like the person who, when two people are at odds, speaks words to each that confirm their respective sides or tells each what the other has said or endorses the enmity of each, praises each, and promises each to help against the other. This is hypocrisy and more. But its blameworthiness applies only to worsening relations between people, for if done to settle their differences, it is praiseworthy. It is seldom that a person who visits leaders and important people is free of spoken hypocrisy. Someone told Ibn 'Umar (Allah be well pleased with father and son): "We visit our leaders and speak, but when we leave, we say something else. He replied, "In the days of the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace) we considered this hypocrisy."

r16.2 As for assuaging those from whom one apprehends harm (mudara), it is permissible, being done to obviate the damage and evil anticipated from certain people, whether it be a ruler or someone else one has reason to fear (al-Durar almubaha (y99), 116-18).

r17.0 COMPROMISING ONE'S PRINCIPLES

r17.1 (Nahlawi:) Compromising one's principles means religious lassitude and weakness, such as by saying nothing upon seeing acts of disobedience or unlawful things when able to change them without suffering harm. Such silence is unlawful. Its opposite is firmness in religion. Allah Most High says: "They fight in the path of Allah and fear not the blame of whoever may blame them" (Koran 5:54). And the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Speak the truth, even if bitter." But when one's silence is to prevent damage to oneself or others, it is a permissible form of assuaging those from whom one apprehends harm (mudara), and even recommended in some cases, as when it results in being saved from injustice, or is a means to fulfill a right recognized by Sacred Law (ibid., 112-13).

r18.0 RIDICULE AND SARCASM

r18.1 (Nahlawi:) Ridicule entails showing disdain, sarcasm, or contempt for another in a way that causes laughter, whether by mimicking another's words or actions, by a gesture or by allusion. It is unlawful. Allah Most High says:

(1) "Those who demean believers who voluntarily give charity-ridiculing those who find nothing to give but their own effort-it is Allah who is ridiculing them, and they shall suffer a painful torment" (Koran 9:79).

(2) "O you who believe? let not some men deride others who might well be better than they; and let not some women ridicule others who might well be better than they. Do not belittle one another or insult one another with nicknames" (Koran 49:11). The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him

peace) said: "A gate in paradise will open to one of those who mock people and a cry will be heard, 'Come here, come here,' and he will come forward in concern and anxiety, but when he reaches it, it will close in front of him. And this will happen again and again, until the gate will open and the cry 'Come here, come here' will be heard as before, but he will not approach because he knows it will only close in front of him."

r18.2 Ridicule is only unlawful when it hurts others' feelings. As for someone who purposely makes himself a laughingstock, perhaps such a person enjoys it, and jokes about him are considered mere humor. What is unlawful is the sarcasm that offends the person ridiculed, because of the insult and disdain involved, such as by laughing at his way of speaking, what he does, how he looks, or his physique because of a defect therein. To laugh at any of these is to commit ridicule that is unlawful (bid., 126-27).

r19.0 JOKING

r19.1 (Nahlawi:) The necessary condition for the permissibility of joking is that it does not contain lies or occasion fright to a Muslim or a non-Muslim citizen, because this hurts others, and we are forbidden to do so.

r19.2 Excessive joking is blameworthy and forbidden, since it eliminates one's dignity and reserve, and creates resentment in certain situations and people. It also causes immoderate laughter, which kills the heart. The prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said to this companions. "Who will take these words and apply them, or knows someone who wil!?" Abu Hurayra answered, "I will, O Messenger of Allah," whereupon the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) took his hand and enumerated five things saying: "Avoid the unlawful and you will be the most religious of people." "Be satisfied with what Allah has allotted you and you will be the richest of people." "Threat your neighbour well and you will be a believer." "Love for others what you love for yourself and you will be a Muslim." "Avoid excessive laughter, for too much laughter kills the heart." (al-Durar al-mubaha (y99), 127-28)

r20.0 PICKING APART ANOTHER'S WORDS

r20.1 (Nahlawi:) Picking apart another's words consists of attacking another's speech by revealing the mistakes in it, whether its weak Arabic, meaning, or the intention of the speaker, as when one says: "This is true, but you do not intend the truth by it," when such an attack involves no other motive than contempt for the other and displaying one's cleverness. It is unlawful. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Whoever forgoes to cavil when he is in the wrong will have a home built for him on the edge of paradise. Whoever forgoes it when in the right will have a home built for him in the middle of paradise. And whoever improves his own character, a home will be built for him in the highest part of paradise." When a believer hears something true, it befits him to accept it. If it is not true, but is unconnected with religious matters, he should remain silent, though if connected with religious matters, he is obliged to show that it is false and to condemn it if there is a chance that anyone will believe him, because this is forbidding the wrong.

GIVING A POSITIVE INTERPRETATION TO OTHERS' SEEMING MISTAKES

r20.2 Nawawi (Allah Most High have mercy on him) mentions, in the section of the introduction of Sharh al-Muhadhdhab about the behaviour of teacher and student, that "it is obligatory for a student to give a positive interpretation to every utterance of his brothers that seems to be wrong until has exhausted seventy excuses. No one is incapable of this except a failure."

READING WORKS THAT ARE BEYOND ONE'S UNDERSTANDING OR CAPACITY

r20.3 The Sheikh al-Akbar (A: Muhyiddin ibn al-Arabi), Allah Most High sanctify his inmost being, writes in his letter about the spiritual station of annihilation in gnostic vision: "When a book falls into a person's hands concerning a subject he knows nothing about [A: knows meaning through having studied in with sheikhs who are masters of it] and has not learned by engaging in it at first hand, he should do absolutely nothing with the book, but rather return it to those whom it concerns. He should not believe, disbelieve, or discuss it at all" (ibid., 131-32).

r21.0 LEARNED DISPUTATION

r21.1 (Nahlawi:) Disputation is what relates to clarifying various legal positions and making a case for them. When the intention behind this is to embarrass one's opponent or display one's superiority, it is unlawful or even unbelief according to some scholars. But when disputation is intended to reveal the truth, as is rare, then it is permissible or even recommended. Allah Most High says, "Dispute with them with that which is better" (Koran 16:125), meaning, as Baydawi notes, by the best means of disputation, gently and affably, using the simplest approach and most familiar

premises, since this more effectively cools opponents' vehemence and exposes their contentiousness (ibid., 132)

r22.0 ARGUING

r22.1 (Nawawi:) Arguing is importunateness in speech to gain one's end, whether monetary or other. It may be intitiated by oneself or in response to another. If one objects that a person must argue to obtain his rights, the reply is that the stern condemnation of it applies to those who argue without right or knowledge, or someone who adds abuse to his speech that is not necessary to secure his rights, or is motivated to argue by nothing besides an obstinate desire to win and to finish his opponent. As for someone who has been wronged and makes his case in a way compatible with the Sacred Law, without belligerence, excessiveness, or importunateness, and not intending mere obstinacy and abuse, it is not unlawful, though it is better to avoid it if there is any way to do so, for keeping one's tongue within the limits of fair play during the course of an argument is virtually impossible. Moreover, arguing produces rancor in hearts and causes animosity that can lead to actual hatred between two people, until each comes to be pleased when harm befalls the other and to be displeased at the good, and unleashes his tongue against the other's reputation. Whoever argues runs the risk of these calamities. AT minimum, a quarrel comes to preoccupy one's heart so that during the prayer one's thoughts turn to debating and arguing, and one does not remain as one should.

r22.2 A certain person remarked, "I have not seen anything that impairs one's religion, diminishes one's respectability, ends one's happiness, or preoccupies one's heart like arguing' (al Adhkar (y102),502-3).

r23.0 ASKING ABOUT ANOTHER'S MISTAKES

r23.1 (Nahlawi:) It is forbidden to ask about another's errors and blunders in order to tell them they have made a mistake or to embarrass them, being unlawful because it entails injury to another and belittling him in front of people. But when one's asking about mistakes is to learn or teach, or to test or sharpen students' minds or make them reflect, then it is recommended and desirable, because it facilitates the comprehension of religious knowledge (al-Durar al-mubaha (y99), 140).

r24.0 SEARCHING OUT A PERSON'S FAULTS

- r24.1 (Nahlawi:) Asking about and searching out the faults of others is spying, which Allah Most High has forbidden by saying, Do not spy" (Koran 49.12), meaning to look for the shameful points of Muslims. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
- (1) "If you search for people's shameful points, you corrupt
- (2) "O you have entered Islam with your tongues but whose hearts faith has not entered: do not slander people, and do not ferret out people's shameful points. Whoever searches out the shameful points of his brother, Allah will search out his own shameful points, and if Allah searches out a person's shameful points, be sure that He will disgrace him even if he should remain in the middle of his house." (Ibid., 145)

r25.0 DISPLAYING SATISFACTION AT A MUSLIM'S TROUBLES

r25.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)

"Do not show joy at the misfortune of your brother, lest Allah have mercy on him and afflict you with misfortune." (al-Adhkar (v102),474)

r26.0 OBSCENITY

- r26.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace)
- (1) "A believer is not given to reviling, cursing, obscenity, or vulgarity."
 (2) "Whatever contains vulgarity is made ugly by it, and
- whatever contains modesty is made beautiful by it.'
- r26.2 (Nawawi:) Obscenity and vulgarity are forbidden, as is attested to by many well-known and rigorously authenticated (sahih) hadiths, obscenity meaning to express ugly or vulgar matters, in plain words, even if they are true and the speaker is being honest. One should instead express such things by alluding to them in a polite way that nevertheless conveys what is meant, as is done by the Holy Koran and authentic noble hadiths. Allah Most High says:
- (1) "It is permitted to you on the nights of the fast to enter unto your wives" (Koran 2:187).
- (2) "How can you take it [the marriage payment] back when you have entered unto one another?" (Koran 4:21).
- (3) "But if you divorce them before you have touched them..." (Koran 2:337). There are many Koranic verses and authentic hadiths that employ similar words. Scholars say that comprehensible allusions should be used for these and other matters one is hesitant to mention by name. One alludes, for example, to sexual intercourse with a woman as "going unto," lovemaking," "sleeping with," and so forth, and does

not use explicit words such as copulate or the like; and similarly alludes to urinating and voiding excrement as "answering the call of nature," or "going to the bathroom," and does not simply say "defecate," "urinate," and so forth. The same is true of mentioning personal blemishes such as leprosy, halitosis, underarm odor, and the like, which one should refer to by polite words that indicate what is meant. Other matters should be dealt with as in the above mentioned examples-all of which applies to cases in which there is no need to plainly refer to these things by name. When the need arises to explain or teach, and one fears that the listener may nor grasp one's allusion or

may misunderstand the meaning, one should plainly say the thing's name so that the real meaning is understood. And this is how one should interpret the hadiths that have reached us which contain such straightforward expressions, as arising from the needs we have mentioned, for communicating clearly is more important than mere decorum. And Allah alone gives success (ibid., (y102),508-9).

SEVERITY IN SPEECH AND HARSHNESS

r27.1 (Nahlawi:) Severity in speech and harshness are blameworthy when out of place, their proper place being in forbidding the wrong, if gentleness and affability prove ineffective (dis: q5.5), as well as in imposing prescribed legal penalties, and in reprimanding or disciplining those who require it Allah Most High says:

- (1) "... And be harsh with them" (Koran 9:73). (2) "Let them find severity in you" (Koran 9:123)
- (3) "Let not pity for them seize you concerning the religion of Allah" (Koran 24:)
- r27.2 Other than in the above-mentioned cases, it is praiseworthy for one to use amiable words, have a cheerful expression, and to smile. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "There is a dwelling in paradise whose outside can be seen from inside [A: from its lucidness and purity]." Abu Malik Ash ari asked, "Whose shall it be, O Messenger of Allah?" And he said, "He whose speech is fair, who feeds others, and who spends the night standing in prayer when people sleep." (al-Durar al-mubaha (y99)m 144-45)

r28.0 FRIGHTENING OR COERCING A BELIEVER

r28.1 (Nahlawi:) To make a believer fear other than disobedience or coerce him to do something he is averse to, such as giving a gift, marrying, or selling something-all this is hurting him, and hurting a believer is unlawful. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Whoever frightens a believer, it is incumbent that Allah not protect him from the terrors of Judgement Day as a fitting recompense." Najm al-Ghazzi says in Husn al-tanabbuh, "Among the works of the Devil is frightening, annoying, or alarming a believer, all of which is unlawful" (ibid., 157-58).

r29 0 REJECTING A BROTHER'S EXCUSE

r29.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him) said: When someone offers an excuse to his fellow Muslim and the latter does not accept it, his sin is like the crime of imposing taxes [dis: p32]."(Ibid 157)

r30.0 DRIVING AWAY THE POOR, THE WEAK, THE ORPHAN OR THE BEGGAR

r30.1 Allah Most high says:

(1) "As for the orphan, do not oppress him; and as for the beggar [dis: r39], turn him not away" (Koran 93:9).

- (2) "Do not drive away those who call upon their Lord morning and evening, seeking His countenance: you are not responsible for anything of their account, nor they for anything of yours, that you should drive them away and thus become of the wrongdoers" (Koran 6:52).
- "Lower your wing unto the believers" (Koran 15:88).(al-Adhkar (Y102), 481-82)

r31 0 PUTTING OFF ONE'S FATHER OF MOTHER

r31.1 (Nawawi:) It is very sternly prohibited to putt off one's father or mother. Allah Most High says: "Your Lord decrees that you shall worship none but Him and treat your parents well. If one or both of them reach old age while with you, do not say Uff' to them or put them off, but speak respectfully to them. Lower for them the wing of humbleness, out of mercy, and say, O Lord, have mercy on them, as they raised me when I was young' " (Koran 17.24-25).(Ibid.,509)

r32.0 CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH CONVERSATION IS OFFENSIVE

(N: Offensive, when used without further qualification by Hanafis (A: in their books on the lawful and unlawful (al-hazr wa al-ibaha)) means unlawfully offensive (makruh tahriman), and its ruling is the same as the unlawful (A: is in the Shafi'i school))

INTERRUPTING ONESELF OR OTHERS

r32. (Nahlawi:) It is offensive to interrupt someone else's words with one's own when the former consist of teaching

Sacred Knowledge. Some scholars hold that to greet a group with "as Salamu alaykum" when they are learning religious knowledge is a sin. It is also offensive to interrupt one's own words with speech of a different kind when reciting Koran, supplicating, explaining the Koran, teaching hadith, or addressing people, and while doing this, for example, one turns to someone and tells him to go buy some things needed at home.

Conversation is offensive for anyone seated listening to a pious exhortation, or instruction, or in the presence of someone above his own level. It is also offensive for such a person merely to turn to look at something else, or to stir when there is no need, all of which is poor manner,s levity, precipitateness, and thoughtlessness. Rather, the one speaking should set for the what he means to say without irrelevant asides until finished, and the person addressed should heed the speaker, paying attention to him and listening until he without looking around, stirring, or especially if the speaker is explaining the words of Allah Most High or His messenger (Allah bless him and give him peace). But one is excused if a pressing physical or religious need arises that there is no alternative but to fulfill, since necessity excuses one from any rule whatever (A: but only to the degree demanded by necessity).

DISRESPECT TO THOSE WITH AUTHORITY OVER ONE

r32.2 It is offensive to contend against the words of anyone with authority over one (A: countenanced by Sacred Law), or talk back, oppose, rebut, or disobey such a person in anything lawful (A: meaning not unlawful or offensive), the prohibition applying to such people as a follower with his leader, son with his parents, student with his teacher wife with her husband, or unlearned person with a scholar. All of this is very ugly behavior and deserves disciplinary action (def: o17), since each of these is obliged to obey the one over them.

THIS-WORLDLY WORDS IN A MOSQUE

r32.3 It is offensive to speak about this-worldly matters, meaning words that would otherwise be permissible, in a mosque when there is no excuse (A: if one makes a habit of it). (N: the more reliable position is that it is not offensive, but merely better not to (khilaf al-awla).)

SPEAKING DURING THE SERMON OF THE FRIDAY PRAYER

r32.4 It is offensive to speak during the sermon on Friday, whether it be to say "Subhan Allah," the Blessings on the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), or to command the right or forbid the wrong, the reason for the prohibition being that listening to the Friday prayer sermon is obligatory, as it takes the place of two of the rak'as of the noon prayer, so that things offensive during the prayer are offensive while listening to the sermon. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), said, "When the imam is giving the sermon on Friday, and you tell your companion, 'Listen,' you have made an impertinent remark."

SPEAKING WHEN THE KORAN IS BEING RECITED

r32.5 It is offensive to speak when the Koran is being recited, for listening to it and heeding it are absolutely obligatory, whether one is performing the prayer or not, and whether one comprehends it or not (A: but only if its words are distinctly audible to one). Allah Most High says, "When the Koran is recited, listen and pay heed to it" (Koran 7:204).

SPEAKING WITHOUT NEED TO A MEMBER OF THE OPPOSITE SEX

r32.6 It is offensive for a male to speak without need to a young woman who is not a member of his unmarriageable kin (def: m6.1). He should not say "Arhamkum Allah" (Allah have mercy on you) if she sneezes, greet her with "as-Salamu alaykum" (A: which is unlawful in the Shafii school) nor return her Salams if she says them (A: which is offensive for Shafi'is). He should not say these aloud, but to himself, all of which likewise holds for a young woman's speaking to a man who is not a member of her unmarriageable kin (m6.2). The prohibition of these is due to the Prophet's having said (Allah bless him and give him peace), "The adultery of the tongue is speech."

SPEAKING WHEN LOVEMAKING OR IN THE LAVATORY

r32.7 It is offensive to speak while lovemaking, or when in the lavatory or relieving oneself. It is offensive to laugh in circumstances in which speaking is offensive.

SPEAKING AFTER THE COMING OF DAWN BEFORE PERFORMING THE DAWN PRAYER

r32.8 It is offensive to speak of this-worldly things between dawn and performing the dawn prayer (subh). Some hold this extends until sunrise (al-Durar al-mubaha (y99), 145-49).

CONVERSATION AFTER PERFORMING THE NIGHTFALL PRAYER (ISHA)

r32.9 (Nawawi:) It is offensive for someone who has prayed the nightfall prayer (isha) to converse about things permitted at other time,s meaning permissible words which would otherwise be the same to say or not to. Discourse that is unlawful or offensive at other times is even more sternly prohibited or offensive at this time. As for conversation about what is good, such as teaching Sacred Knowledge, relating the words of the pious, describing noble qualities, or speaking to one's guest, none of these is offensive, but rather they are commendable (al-Adhkar (y102), 504).

r33.0 PEOPLE OFFENSIVE TO GREET WITH SALAMS r33.1 (Nahlawi:) It is offensive (def: r32.0) to greet with "as-Salamu alaykum" anyone who is:

- (1) performing the prayer, reciting the Koran invoking Allah (dhikr), reading hadith to others, giving the Friday prayer sermon (khutba), or listening to any of these;
- (2) a student of jurisprudence repeating a lesson over to himself to facilitate memorising it, someone informing ordinary people of legal rulings, or anyone engaged in a lesson of Sacred Knowledge;
- (3) giving the call to prayer or call to commence (iqama);
- (4) teaching;
- (5) seated waiting for the prayer, or saying Subhan Allah";
- (6) eating; (7) a corrupt person who does not conceal his acts of disobedience:
- (8) a young lady who is not a member of one's unmarriageable kin (dis: r32.6);
- (9) someone who plays games that are not permissible (dis: k29.5), slanders others, sings, is an old wag, a chronic liar, addicted to profitless conversation, reviles others, or looks at women's faces, all of whom are offensive to greet unless their repentance from these things is known:
- (10) someone who is enjoying his wife, whose nakedness is exposed, who is relieving himself, drowsy, asleep, or someone who is in a bathhouse.

RESPONDING TO SALAMS

r33.2 It is not obligatory to respond to someone's Salams in circumstances where greeting him is uncalled-for, except for a corrupt person ((7) above), whose Salams it is obligatory to return. It is not obligatory to answer the Salams of someone who is a child, intoxicated, or insane. Nawawi (Allah Most High have mercy on him) says in his commentary on Sahih Muslim, "Scholars disagree about greeting non-Muslims with 'as-Salamu alaykum' or returning their Salams. We hold that it is unlawful to say it to the first, though is obligatory to return their greetings by saying alaykum' (and upon you), or simply, 'Alaykum.' Other scholars hold it is permissible to greet them first with 'as-Salamu alaykum' " (al-Durar almubaha (y99), 150151).

r34.0 BOASTING

- r34.1 Allah Most High says: "Do not praise yourselves: He
- knows best who is godfearing" (Koran 53:32) r34.2 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Allah has inspired to met that you are all to be humble towards each other such that no one transgresses against or exalts himself above another, (al-Adhkar (v102), 473-74)

r35.0 REVEALING ONE'S SINS TO OTHERS

- r35.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "All of my Community shall be pardoned, save those who commit sins openly. Committing them openly includes a man who does something shameful at night, and when morning comes, Allah having hidden his act, he says, "O Soand-so, last night I did such and such; his Lord having concealed it for him at night, while in the morning he pulls away the cover with which Allah had concealed it for him.
- r35.2 (Nawawi:) It is offensive for a person who has been afflicted with an act of disobedience or the like to inform another of it. Rather, one should repent to Allah Most High by desisting from it at once, regretting what one has done, and firmly resolving never to do the like of it again. These three things are the integrals of repentance, which is not valid without them. There is no harm in telling about a sin to one's sheikh or other person who may be expected to teach one how to desist from the act or refrain from similar acts, or appraise one of the causes that led to it, or pray for one, and so forth. If such is the case, informing him is commendable. It is only offensive to do so when no such interest can be served (ibid.,

r36.0 REVEALING A SECRET

- r36.1 The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "When a man says something, then glances left or right, his words are a confidence to be kept." (Ibid., 507)
- r36.2 (Nahlawi:) Telling a secret means to inform others of a remark, action, or state which one learns of from someone who wants it to remain hidden, whether it be good or bad. This is hurting him, and hurting others is unlawful. Whenever

people meet, it is obligatory to keep secret any act that occurs, any words spoke, or any state attributable to someone. when these concern something one would normally wish to remain confidential, while not being unlawful. If unlawful, then:

- (1) If it is against Allah Most High alone and does not involve legal measures such as prescribed legal penalties or disciplinary action (def: o17), then it must be kept secret.
- (2) If it involves legal measures, as do fornication (dis: o12) and drinking (o16), then one has a choice between revealing it or not, though it is superior to conceal it.
- (3) if it involves another person's rights, then if concealing it entails harm to anyone, or if it concerns prescribed legal measures such as retaliation for an injury or death (def: o3), or covering the cost of an article destroyed through negligence, then if the person whose rights have been infringed is ignorant of it, one is obliged to make the matter known, and must testify to it if asked to.
- (4) If it involves another's rights, but concealing it does not entail harm to anyone and it does not concern prescribed legal measures, or it entails one of these two, but the person concerned already knows of it through another and one has not been asked to testify about it, then one is obliged to conceal the matter. (al-Durar al-mubaha (Y99), 134)

r37.0 DISAFFECTING A PERSON'S FAMILY FROM HIM

r37.1 (Nawawi:) It is unlawful for a person to mention anything to another's servant, wife, son, and so forth that could disaffect them from him, unless one is commanding the right or forbidding the wrong. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "He who disaffects a person's wife or servant from him is not of us."(al-Adhkar (Y102), 498)

r38.0 CURSING

THE PROHIBITION OF CURSING OTHERS

r38.1 (Nawawi:) Cursing an upright Muslim is unlawful by unanimous consensus of all Muslims. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "Cursing a believer is like

THE PERMISSIBILITY OF CURSING THOSE WHO COMMIT DISOBEDIENCE WHEN THEY

ARE NOT PERSONALLY IDENTIFIED OR KNOWN r38.2 It is permissible (A: but not rewarded by Allah) to curse those who possess blameworthy characteristics, such as by saying, "Allah curse oppressors," "Allah curse the corrupt," "Allah curse picture makers," and so forth. Wellknown and rigorously authenticated (sahih) hadiths verify that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:

- (1) "Allah curse her who wears false hair and her who arranges it for another";
- (2) "Allah curse him who eats usurious gain (riba)";
- (3) "Allah curse those who make pictures"
- (4) "Allah curse him who surreptitiously changes propertyline markers"; all of these being found in Bukhari, Muslim, or both. As for cursing a particular person who commits some act of disobedience, such as an oppressor, adulterer, maker of pictures, thief, or one who consumes usurious gain; the hadith evidence seems to suggest it is not unlawful, though Ghazali indicates (A: and it is the most reliable opinion) that it is unlawful unless the person cursed is someone we know has died in a state of unbelief, such as Abu Lahab, Abu Jahl, Pharaoh, Haman, and their likes. This, as Ghazali notes, is "because to curse means to distance another from the mercy of Allah Most High, while we do not know how the particular corrupt person or non-Muslim will end his life. As for those the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) personally cursed, perhaps it was because he knew they would die in unbelief. Praying that evil befalls a person is similar to cursing, even when against a tyrant, such as saying, 'May Allah not heal him,' 'May Allah not keep him safe,' and similar remarks, if of a Muslim]. And likewise for cursing any animals or inanimate objects whatever-all this is objectionable [A: meaning offensive]" (al-Adhkar (Y102), 476-80).

r39.0 BEGGING

r39.1 (Nahlawi:) It is unlawful to ask for money or other worldly advantage from someone one has no right to ask. unless there is a necessity to. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said, "One of you keeps begin until when he meets Allah Most High, there is not a piece of flesh left on his face," which is interpreted as referring to anyone who asks when it is not permissible to do so. The degree of necessity that permits begging is when one is unable to earn a living due to illness or weakness and does not have enough food to last one day (al-Durar al-mubaha (y99), 139).

r40.0 MUSIC, SONG, AND DANCE

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

- r40.1 (Ibn Hajar Haytami:) As for the condemnation of musical instruments, flutes, strings, and the like by the Truthful and Trustworthy (Allah bless him and give him peace), who "does not speak from personal caprice: it is nothing besides a revelation inspired" (Koran 53:3-4), let those who refuse to obey him beware lest calamity strike them, or a painful torment. The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said:
- (1) "Allah Mighty and Majestic sent me as a guidance and mercy to believers and commanded me to do away with musical instruments, flutes, strings, crucifixes, and the affair of the pre-Islamic period of Jahilivvah (ignorance).
- (2) "On the Day of Resurrection, Allah will pour molten lead into the ears of whoever sits listening to a songstress."
- (3) "Song makes hypocrisy grow in the heart as water does herbage
- (4) "This Community will experience the swallowing up of some people by the earth, metamorphosis of some into animals, and being rained upon with stones." Someone asked, 'When will this be, O messenger of Allah?" and he said, "When songstresses and musical instruments appear and wine is held to be lawful."
- (5) "There will be peoples of my Community who will hold fornication, silk, wine, and musical instruments to be lawful...." All of this is explicit and compelling textual evidence that musical instruments of all types are unlawful (Kaff al-raa' an muharramat al-lahw wa al-sama (y49), 2.269-
- r40.2 (Nawawi:) It is unlawful to use musical instrumentssuch as those which drinkers are known for, like the mandolin, lute, cymbals and flute-or to listen to them. It is permissible to play the tambourine at weddings, circumcisions, and other times, even if it has bells on its sides. Beating the kuba, a long drum with a narrow middle, is unlawful (Mughni al-muhtaj ila ma rifa maani alfaz al-Minhaj (y73)m, 4.429-30).

UNACCOMPANIED MUSICAL SINGING RY INSTRUMENTS

r40.3 (Ibn Hajar Haytami:) As for listening to singing that is not accompanied by instruments, one should know that singing or listening to singing is offensive except under the circumstances to be mentioned in what follow. Some scholars hold that singing is sunna at weddings and the like, and of our Imams, Ghazali and Izzi ibn Abd al-Salam say that it is sunna if it moves one to a noble state of mind that makes one remember the hereafter. It is clear from this that all poetry which encourages good deeds, wisdom, noble qualities, abstinence from this-worldly things, or similar pious traits such as urging one to obey Allah, follow the sunna, or shun disobedience, is sunna to write, sing, or listen to, as more than one of our Imams have stated is obvious, since using a means to do good is itself doing good (kaff al-ra'a an muhar-ramat al-lahw wa al-sama (y49), 2.273).

DANCING

r40.4 (Nawawi: (n: with commentary by Mohammed Shirbini Khatib)) It is not prohibited to dance ((Shirbini:) which is not unlawful because it is only motions made while standing or bowing. Furani and others have expressly stated that neither is it offensive, but rather is permissible, as is attested to by the hadith related in the sahihs of Bukhhari and Muslim that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) stood before Ai'isha (Allah be well pleased with her) to screen her from view so that she could observe the Abyssinians sporting and dancing)-unless it is languid, like the movements of the effeminate (Mughni al-muhtaj ila ma rifa ma ani alfaz al Minhaj (y73), 4.430).

BOOK S - DELUSIONS

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\$1.0 THOSE DELUDED BY THIS WORLD, ALLAH'S FORGIVENESS, OR THEIR OWN WORKS

s1.1 (Ibn Qudama Maqdisi (dis: q0.1):) There are people misled by this world, saying, "Cash is better than credit: This world is cash while the next world is credit." And it is a point of deception, for cash cannot be better than credit unless the amount of each is equal. Now a person's life, when compared to the hereafter, obviously does not amount to even a thousandth part before he breathes his last, while someone who says that "cash is better than credit" means provided the credit equals the cash." And this is the delusion of unbelievers. As for those immersed by sin while their faith in eternal truths remains sound, they share this delusion with unbelievers, by preferring the present life to the hereafter (afterlife), but their lot is easier than the unbelievers' in that their basic faith will keep them from unending punishment.

THOSE DELUDED BY ALLAH'S FORGIVENESS

s1.2 Other sinners delude themselves by saying, "Allah is generous, we but rely on His forgiveness," while the learned tell us that if one longs for something one pursues it, and if one fears something one shuns it. Whoever hopes for forgiveness while persisting in wrongdoing is deluded. One must know that Allah Most High with His vast mercy, is terrible in retribution, having decreed that unbelievers shall abide in hell forever (dis: w55) even though their unbelief does not hurt Him in the slightest. He has made some of His servants prey to infirmities and trials in this world, though He, Glorious and Exalted, is quite able to eliminate them. Moreover, He has made us fear His punishment. How can we not be afraid? Fear and hope drive and arouse one to action. That which does not spur one to works is deception, as is clear from the fact that the "hope" of most people makes them do nothing at all or prefer disobedience. It is odd that early Muslims both worked and feared, while nowadays, though falling far short, people feel secure and tranquil as though they knew more about the generosity of Allah Most High than the prophets and the righteous. If it could be had by wishing, why did the latter fatigue themselves and weep so much? Does Allah condemn the Jews and Christians for anything besides being this way when He says, "They grasp at the paltry things of this low life and say, We shall be forgiven,' " (Koran 7:169). This delusion resembles that of people who do both good and evil, but more of evil, while imagining their good to be greater. One might see them give a dirham as charity while having wrongfully appropriated many times that amount, or maybe even giving as charity something wrongfully acquired, relying on such a donation, which is like someone putting a dirham in one scalepan, a thousand in the other, and hoping the scale will balance. Or another of them who thinks his good acts are more than his evil ones, the reason for which is that he keeps track of the number of good deeds, but does not take himself to task for the bad one,s nor consider his sins. For example, he says, "Astaghfir Allah" (May Allah forgive me) and "Subhan Allah" (Glory be to Allah) a hundred times a day, but then spends the rest of his day slandering Muslims and making ugly remarks, seeing the virtue of saying "Subhan Allah" and "Astighfir Allah," but not the punishment for slander forbidden speech.

s1.3 Delusions generally occur among four kinds of people: Islamic scholars, devotees, would-be Sufis, and the wealthy.

s2.0 THE DELUSIONS OF ISLAMIC SCHOLARS

THOSE REMISS IN OUTWARD CONDUCT

s2.1 As for religious scholars, some master the legal and rational sciences but neglect to examine their outward habits and practices, not keeping their external self from sin or making it faithful in obedience. They are deluded by their

learning and feel sure they rate high with Allah. If they were to look with the eye of insight, they would see that the whole point of knowing about religious practice is to apply it. Without works, it is useless. Allah Most High says: "He who purifies it [the soul] has succeeded" (Koran 91:9), not, "He who knows how to purify it has succeeded." If the Devil reminds such a person of the virtues of learned people, let the person for his part remember what has reached us about corrupt scholars, such as Allah's saying, "...like a donkey laden with books" (Koran 62:5).

THOSE WHO NEGLECT THEIR INWARD FAULTS

s2.2 Others master religious learning and its outward performance, but do not examine their hearts to eliminate the blameworthy traits therein such as pride, envy, ostentation, and seeking exaltation or fame. These have made their exterior seemly while neglecting their interior, forgetting the words of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), "Allah does not look at your appearance or property, but only at your hearts and works." Such people apply themselves to works but do not apply themselves to hearts, though the heart is the real foundation, since no one is saved "except he who comes to Allah with a pure heart" (Koran 26:89). They resemble someone who sows grain that comes up with weeds choking it out, but when ordered to weed it, merely trims away the weeds' twigs and stems, neglecting the roots, which take stronger hold. Another segment of scholars know that these inner qualities are condemnable, but out of self satisfaction feel they are above them, and the they are too good as far as Allah is concerned for Him to afflict them with such traits, that only common people have them and not people at their own level of learning. When symptoms of arrogance or avidness for leadership appear is such people, one of them may say, "This is not arrogance, but only seeking to exalt Islam, display the nobility of religious learning, and to spite those given to reprehensible innovations, Were I to wear clothes less fine or sit with a lower class of people, the enemies of religion would smirk, and gloat at my humiliation, which amounts to humiliating Islam." And he forgets about delusion, and that it is Satan Who has seduced him with this. which is plain from the fact that the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) and his Companions were humble in manner and preferred the way of poverty and lowliness. Still other scholars have acquired religious knowledge, purified their exterior actions, making them seemly with obedience, and examined their hearts, purifying them of ostentation, envy, pride, and the like, and yet there remain snares of the Devil and tricks of the ego hidden in the recesses of their hearts which they have failed to notice and this neglected. You might see one of them spending the night and day in learning various religious sciences, organising them and polishing up their terminology, such a person thinking his motive is the desire to manifest the religion of Allah Most High, while the real motive might be to make a name for himself and enhance his prestige. Perhaps too his published work is not entirely free of self-praise, whether overtly, by wide, sweeping claims, or covertly, by attacks on others, to show by attacking them that he is better than they are and more knowledgeable. Such kinds of behaviour and similar ones are hidden faults which few discern but the wisest and strongest. Those as weak as we are have little hope of doing so, but at least a person should be aware of his own defects and wish they were corrected. There is hope for someone whose good acts make him happy and wicked ones make him sad, unlike someone who applauds himself and thinks himself the best of men. s2.3 The above are the delusions of those who master important branches of Sacred Knowledge. How then for those who content themselves with studying fields not essential to them, neglecting the import ones?

THEOLOGICAL POLEMICISTS

s2.4 Among them are those who busy themselves with theological polemics against heretical beliefs, and refuting the unorthodox. Scholars engaged in this are of two types, those in the wrong and those in the right, the former advocating something other than the sunna, the latter advocating the sunna. Both are deluded. The misguidedness of those in the wrong is obvious (A: since they have left the Koran and sunna which are divinely protected). As for those in the right, their delusion is in believing that arguing is the most important activity and greatest spiritual work in the religion of Allah Most High. They maintain that one's religion is not complete until one has made lengthy investigations into one's beliefs, and that someone who simply believes in Allah and His messenger without preparing a case for it is deficient in faith. Because of this mistaken presumption, they spend their lives learning how to dispute, conducting in-depth studies of statements of theological controversies until their spiritual insight eventually goes blind. They do not pause to consider that the early Muslims, whom the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) testified were the very best of mankind, and who lived to see many a reprehensible innovation (bid'a) and deviant belief, did not expose themselves and their religion to quarrels and disputation, or busy themselves therein at the expense of their hearts and works. They did not talk about it at all, except under necessity to refute misguidance. And if they saw someone persisting in blameworthy innovation, they had nothing more to do with him, without further debate or argument. The hadith has reached us, "No people went astray after having been guided save that they were afflicted with arguing."

SERMONISERS

s2.5 Others spend their time in homilies to people, the highest class of whom speak about traits of the self and qualities of the hear such as fear, hope, patience, gratitude, reliance on Allah, abstinence, certainty, and sincerity, thinking that by merely speaking of them, even of they do not have them, they acquire them. Such people call to Allah while they themselves flee from Him. They are among the most deluded. And some of them turn from the proper way of exhorting others to relating baseless tales, adding words that are neither acceptable to Sacred Law nor to human intelligence, in an attempt to say something novel.

LEARNING HADITH FOR THE SAKE OF MAKING A REPUTATION

s.26 Others spend their time in listening to hadiths, gathering variants and rare chains of transmission or chains remarkable for having come through but few transmitters of advanced years. The concern of one of them is to go from city to city, seeing sheikhs in order to drop names, saying, I relate from So-andso," "I've met So-and-so," or "I know chains of transmission no one else does."

ARABISTS

s2.7 Others devote their time to advanced studies in Arabic grammar, lexicography, and poetry, claiming they are the scholars of the Islamic Community, dissipating their lives in subtleties of grammar and diction. If they stopped to think, they would realise that someone who wastes his lifetime in the knowledge of the language of the Arabs is like someone who wastes it in knowledge of the language of the Turks. Arabic is only distinguished above the latter in that the Sacred Law has come in it. As for lexicology, there are only two areas in which it is necessary for one to gain an understanding of rare words: those of the Koran, and those of the hadith. As for grammar, one but needs enough to use the language properly.

s2.8 The really fortunate person is he who takes of each thing the amount that is critical to him and then goes on to apply it, putting his effort behind it and purifying if of imperfection. And this is the real aim.

s3.0 THE DELUSIONS OF DEVOTEES

s3.1 Devotees are of various types, including those remiss about obligatory acts while engaging in extra devotions and supererogatory works.

s3.2 Sometimes they are so worried about using water for purification that it reaches the level of obsessive doubt (waswasa) about the validity of their ablution. You might see one of them unsatisfied with water the Sacred Law deems fit for ablution, imagining remote possibilities that it could be affected with something unclean, while not having such concern for the lawfulness of the source of the food he eats. Were he to reverse these two, applying the care he takes for the water instead to his food, he would be closer to the practice of the early Muslims. Umar (Allah be well pleased with him) performed ablution from the water jar of a Christian despite signs that it might well be unclean, while he used to refrain from many kinds of permissible things for fear of falling into the unlawful.

s3.3 Others are so bedeviled by inner misgivings at their initial Allahu Akbar in the prayer that they may miss a raka with the imam. And like them are those with obsessive doubts about the proper pronunciation of the letters of the Fatiha and other spoken elements of the prayer. One of them may take precaution upon precaution in doubling the doubled letters, distinguishing from and so forth, beyond the necessary, until he is finally so concerned about it that he does not think about anything else, neglecting the meaning of the Koran and the lessons he should be taking from it. And this is among the ugliest forms of delusion, for people are not required to pronounce the letters when reciting the Koran with more precision than that with which classical Arabic is normally spoken. Such people are as if delivering a message to a ruler, the messenger fastidiously pronouncing each letter and repeating those he is unsatisfied with, having quite forgotten the purpose of the message and the dignity of the assembly before whom he is delivering it. How richly such a person deserves to be thrown out and taught a lesson.

s3.4 A third group is deluded by reciting the Koran, which they rush through, perhaps finishing twice a day, the tongue of one of them being occupied therein while his heart is wandering through the valleys of daydream, not reflecting on its meanings, heeding its exhortations, or obeying its ordinances and prohibitions. Such a person is misled, believing the Koran is only intended for reciting. He is like someone to whom his master has written a letter charging him

with certain matters and forbidding him others, while the servant does no bother the understand it or carry it out but simply memorizes it and repeats it, thinking that this is the purport of it, while violating the master's commands and prohibitions. Others relish the sound of their own voice in reciting the Koran, disregarding its significance. One should examine one's heart as to whether one is enjoying the meter, the sound, or the meaning (A: though it is not blame worthy to enjoy the meter or sound, unless one is unconcerned with the meaning).

s3.5 Others are deceived by fasting, and frequently practice it, but do not restrain their tongue from slander and useless words, keep their belly from ill-gotten or unlawful food with which to break their fast, or free their heart from ostentation.

s3.6 Others are deluded by going on pilgrimage, departing for it without restoring the rights of people they have wronged (dis: p77.3), meeting their financial obligations, asking the permission of their parents, or obtaining lawfully gotten provision. And this may be after having fulfilled the obligatory hajj, while they neglect obligatory acts of worship enroute, are unable to purify their garments and person, and do not refrain from unpermitted sex or getting into arguments, despite which they think all is well with them, being self deceived.

s3.7 Others command the right and forbid the wrong, while forgetting themselves.

s3.8 Others include the imam who leads the group prayer at the mosque, but when someone more godfearing or knowledgeable is allowed to lead in his stead, it weighs heavily on him. Or the muezzin who calls to the prayer, believing he is doing it for the sake of Allah, but when someone else gives the call in his absence, it annoys him and he says, He has infringed on my position."

s3.9 Others eschew material possessions, content with poor clothes and food and with living in mosques, thinking that they have reached the rank of the abstinent (zuhhad), while they are avoid for leadership and prestige. In fact, they have given up the lesser of two matters while getting involved in the more deadly.

s3.10 Still others enthusiastically perform supererogatory acts while not being concerned for the obligatory ones. You may see one of them savoring the midmorning or night vigil prayer, but finding no satisfaction in the prescribed prayer nor hastening to pray it at the first of its time. Such a person has forgotten the Prophet's words (Allah bless him and give him peace) relating that Allah Mighty and Majestic said: "Those near to Me do not approach Me with anything like that which I have made obligatory upon them."

s3.11 There is no spiritual labour without its dangers, and those who do not know them fall prey to them. Whoever wishes to learn them should study the dangers of ostentation that exist in acts of worship, from fasting and prayer to all the rest, in the chapters set forth in this book (A: i.e. Ibn Oudama's source here. Ghazali's lhva ulum aldin).

\$4.0 THE DELUSIONS OF WOULD-BE SUFIS

s4.1 The deluded among them are of various types. Some are deluded by the dress, terminology, or demeanor of the Sufis. They imitate the sincere Sufis (dis: w9) externally, but do not tax themselves with spiritual struggle or self-discipline Rather, they pounce upon and quarrel over wealth that is unlawful, doubtful, or from rulers (dis: p32:3), rending each other's honor whenever they are at crosspurposes. The delusion of these is obvious. They are like an old woman who hears that the names of courageous, valiant soldiers are inscribed in the official roster and they are ceded whole tracts of land. Feeling a longing within herself, she dons hauberk and helmet, learns a few heroic stanzas and the details of their apparel and characteristics, and then sets out for the camp. Her name is duly entered in the lists, but when she reports for inspection, she is ordered to take off the helmet and armor to see what is underneath, and to be tried in combat. When she complies, it turns out that she is a feeble old crone, and she is told,"you only came to mock the king and his court!-Take her away and throw her under the elephant's feet." And she is flung under it to be trampled. Thus will be the state of pretenders to Sufism on the Day of Judgement, when they stand revealed and are brought before the Supreme Judge, who looks at hears, not patched clothes or Sufi dress.

s4.2 Others claim to have attained to gnosis and contemplative knowledge of the Divine, to have passed through spiritual stations and states, and to have reached nearness to Allah, while they know nothing of any of this except the words. You might see one of them reiterating these terms, thinking it above the combined learning of the first and last, and looking with condescension upon the scholars of ordinary Muslims. Sometimes a common person will keep their company for many days, picking up these artificial phrases and parroting them as if he were speaking divine revelation, with sneering contempt for scholars and worshipers, saying that they are veiled from Allah (A: which could be true, though saying it by way of self-praise is very

wrong) while he has attained to the Truth, and that he is one of those brought near to Allah-while Allah considers him a debauched hypocrite, and the transformed ones know him to be an ignorant fool who has not acquired sound knowledge, perfected his character, or kept watch over his heart, but merely pursued his own fancy and memorised a lot of gibberish.

s4.3 Others roll up and put away the carpet of the Sacred Law, rejecting its rulings and considering the unlawful and the lawful to be equal, saying, "Allah does not need my works, so why should I bother?" One of them may say, "Outward devotions have no value, only hears mean anything. Our hearts are aflame with the love of Allah Most High, and we have attained to gnosis of Him. If we are bodily immersed in this word, yet our hearts are in worshipful seclusion in the presence of the Divine. Outwardly we may give in to our desires, but not in our hearts." they claim to have surpassed the rank of the common people, beyond the need to school the lower self with physical devotions, and that gratifying bodily lusts does not divert them from the path of Allah Most High because of their firmness therein. They exalt themselves above the level of the prophets (upon whom be peace) who used to weep for years over a single mistake.

s4.4 (n: As no age is without pretenders to Sufism, the following texts will hopefully be useful in letting some principal Sufis describe in their own words the delusions of those who consider themselves "above the Sacred Law.")

s4.5 (Ibn Ajiba:) Someone said to Junayd, "There is a group who claim they arrive to a state in which legal responsibility no longer applies to them." "They have arrived," he replied, "but to hell" (Iqaz alhimam fi sharh al-Hikam (y54), 210).

s4.6 (Ghazali:) When anyone claims there is a state between him and Allah relieving him of the need to obey the Sacred Law such that the prayer, fasting, and so forth are no obligatory for him, or that drinking wine and taking other people's money are permissible form-as some pretenders to Sufism,namely those "above the Sacred Law" (ibahiyyun) have claimed-there is no doubt that the imam of the Musilms or his representative is obliged to kill him. Some hold that executing such a person is better in Allah's sight than killing a hundred unbelievers in the path of Allah Most High (Hashiya at-Shaykh Ibrahim at-Bajuri (y5), 2.267).

s4.7 (Muhyiddin ibn al-Arabi:) When we see someone in this Community who claims to be able to guide others to Allah, but is remiss in but one rule of the Sacred Law-even if he manifests miracles that stagger the mind-asserting that his shortcoming is a special dispensation for him, we do not even turn to look at him, for such a person is not a sheikh, nor is he speaking the truth, for no one is entrusted with the secrets of Allah Most High save one in whom the ordinances of the Sacred Law are preserved (Jami karamat al-awliya (995), 1.3).

s4.8 (Sheikh Ahmad al-Alawi:) The friend of Allah (wali) is not divinely protected from error, for which reason he is to be feared for and his word is not be relied upon when it exceeds what has been conveyed by the sunna concerning matters of the after life, because he is suspended from making any new provisions in the Sacred Law, and in respect to the prophets (upon whom be peace) he is not a guide. He is only entitled to believe what the Lawgiver has informed of. "Today I have perfected you religion for you and completed My favour upon you, and I please that Islam be your religion" (Koran 5:3). The gnostic in the first of his states is strongly affected by the initial impact, and will sometimes try to take on a discussion of the affairs of the afterlife, as opposed to the final state, in which he may be so quiescent that an unknowing observer might assume its strength has waned, though this is rather the result of this perfection and firmness in his station. It has been said that they way begins in madness, proceeds to arts, and ends in quietude. So one is obliged, whenever one's rapture subsides, to return to what the Lawgiver has stated, without personal figurative interpretations. This is why our author says, "Faith is incisive," meaning that one cuts the self short whenever it wants eminence and elevation. The gnostic's spiritual will, exalted above all else, must carry him beyond what we have just mentioned. For he is outside our phenomenal frame of reference and all it contains, and whenever he wants to speak about things of the afterlife his words are high, unintelligible, and a source of trouble to both those who believe him and those who do not, which is why he is forbidden speech about it, and as much as he increasingly forgoes it, he increases in nearness to Allah and in safety. Sufis call this station subsistence (baqa'). Before a disciple is firmly established therein, it is to be feared that he will be overtaken by misfortune because of his lack of a foothold in the state of subsistence, a juncture that has been called "from annihilation to subsistence, or annihilation to perdition" (al-Minah alquddusiyya fi sharh al-Murshid al-mu'in bi tariq al Sufiyya (v8), 67-68).

s4.9 (Abd al-Karim Jili:) My brother, Allah have mercy on you, I have travelled to the remotest cities and dealt with all types of people, but never has my eye seen, nor ear heard of nor is there any uglier or farther from the presence of Allah Most High than a certain group who pretend they are accomplished Sufis, claiming for themselves a lineal spiritual

tradition from the perfected ones and appearing in their guise, while they do not believe in Allah, His messengers, or the Last Day, and do not comply with the responsibilities of the Sacred Law, depicting the states of the prophets and their messages in a manner that no one with a particle of faith in his heartcan accept, let alone someone who has reached the level of those to whom the unseen disclosed and who have gnostic insight. We have seen a great number of their luminaries in cities in Azerbaijan, Shirwan, Jilan, and Khurasan, may Allah curse them all (Idah almaqsud min wahdat al-wujud (Y98), 17-18).

s4.10 The delusions of those "above the Sacred Law" are beyond number, all of it mistakes and inner suggestions with which the Devil has tricked them because of their having taken up spiritual struggle before they mastered the rules of the Sacred Law, and they did not connect themselves with a sheikh of learning and religion worthy of being followed (dis:w9.9-9).

s4.11 Other students of Sufism proceed on the right path, engage in spiritual struggle, begin to actually travel in the way, and the door of gnosis, contemplative knowledge of the Divine, opens to them. But when they sniff the first traces of this knowledge, it surprises them and they exult in it and are pleased by the strangeness of it, until their hearts become fettered with turning to it and thinking about it, and how it was disclosed to them but not others. And all of this is delusion, for the wonders met with in the path of Allah Glorious and Exalted are endless. If one stops with a particular marvel and becomes enamored with it. one's progress falters and one fails to reach the goal. Such a person is like someone going to see a king, who notices a garden at the palace gate with flowers in it, the like of which he has never seen, and who stops to look at them until there is no longer time to meet the king.

\$5.0 THE DELUSIONS OF THE WEALTHY

s5.1 The deluded among the wealthy are of various types. Some of them eagerly build mosques, schools, hospices, aqueducts, whatever people can see, and write their names upon them to perpetuate their memory and keep it alive after their death, while of one of them were called upon to spend a single dinar on something that did not have his name on it, it would be a burden for him. If not for the fact that this aim is other people and not Allah Himself, this would not be so hard for him, as Allah is looking at him whether he writes his name or not. Others spend money embellishing mosques with ornamentation and bas-reliefs, which are prohibited by Sacred Law and distracting to the people praying in them. The aim in prayer is humble awe and an attentive heart, while this ornamentation spoils the hearts of those praying. And if the money spend on such things is from an unlawful source to begin with, so much greater the delusion. Malik ibn Dinar (Allah have mercy on him) said, A man came to a mosque, stopped at the entrance, and said, someone like me does not enter a house of Allah'-for which he was accorded the rank of those with perfect faith (siddiq)." And this is how we should revere mosques, by seeing them as defiled by our entering them with our self as bad as it is, an affront to them; not by seeing to their defilement with the unlawful and with thisworldly embellishment, trying to outdo Allah Most High. The delusion of someone who does this is in thinking the wrong to be right.

s5.2 Others protect their money, holding fast to it with the tight fist of greed, and then occupy

themselves with bodily works of worship that do not cost much, like fasting, prayer, or reciting the whole Koran. They are deluded, for stinginess is deadly (dis: p75.25) and has taken over their heart. They need to rid themselves of if by spending of their wealth, but are too busy with supererogatory works to do so. They are like someone who, when a snake has entered his clothes, sets about cooking up a syrup of vinegar and honey to reduce his bile.

s5.3 There are others whose selfishness will not let them give anything but zakat. One of them may pay out the worst property he has, or give it to those of the poor who are useful to him, vacillating between which of his ulterior motives can best be served, or as to whom he may have use for in the future or is "good for something" in particular. Another may deliver his zakat to a prominent public figure so he will consider him to be someone and later fulfill his needs. And all of this invalidates the intention, the person who does it being deluded by wanting recompense from others for worshiping Allah Most High.

s5.4 Some wealthy people and others are deluded by frequenting circles of dhikr (remembrance of Allah), thinking that merely attending them will take the place of works and of a sober look at the afterlife, though it is not so, for circles of dhikr are only commendable in that they motivate one to do good. And anything that is a means to something else is pointless if it does no achieve it. When one of them hears something that creates fear of divine punishment, he says nothing more than. "O Protector, keep us safe," or "I take refuge in Allah, "thinking he has done all that is necessary. He is like a sick person who comes to a group of doctors to hear what is happening. Or a hungry person who visits someone

who can describe delicious food to him, and then leaves. It does not do him much good. And likewise with hearing acts of obedience described without applying them: every admonition that does not change something within one that affects one's actions is a case against one.

s6.0 REMEDYING DELLISIONS

- s6.1 If it be objected that I have not mentioned a single action which is free of delusion, the replay is that the matter of the afterlife hinges upon one thing alone:" straightening out one's heart. And no one is incapable of it except someone whose intention is insincere. If a person were as concerned about the next world as this one, he would certainly achieve it. The early Muslims did so, and so have those who have followed them in excellence. Three things can be used to help rid oneself of delusions:
- (1) intelligence, the real light by which a person sees things as they are:
- (2) knowledge, through which a person knows himself, his Lord, his this-worldly life, and the life to come;
- (3) and learning, by which we mean learning how to travel the way to Allah Most High, the pitfall therein, and learning what will bring one nearer and guide one, all of which may be found in this books (dis: s3.11(A:)). When a person has done all this, he should be wary lest the Devil beguile him and make him desirous for leadership, or lest he feel secure from Allah's devising (def: p66). Fear should never be absent from the hearts of the friends (awliya') of Allah. We ask Allah to protect us from delusion and that we may end our lives well. Truly, He is near and answers supplications (Mukhtasar Minhaj al-qasidin (y62), 237-50).

BOOK T A PURE HEART

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t1.0 INTENTION, SINCERITY, AND BEING TRUE

INTENTION

t1.1 (Nawawi:) Allah Most High says: "Whoever leaves home to emigrate to Allah and His messenger but whom death overtakes: paying his recompense falls to Allah" (Koran 4:100). The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: "Works are only according to intentions, and man only receives what he intends. Whoever's emigration was to Allah and His messenger has truly emigrated to Allah and His messenger; and whoever's emigration was for worldly gain or to wed a woman, his if for that to which he emigrated." This is a hadith whose authenticity Bukhari and Muslim agree upon, and there is complete scholarly consensus on the greatness of its rank and majesty. It is one of the cornerstones. fundamental supports, and most important integrals of faith. Imam Shafi'i (Allah have mercy on him) said it enters into seventy chapters of jurisprudence. He also said it constitutes one-third of Sacred Knowledge.

SINCERITY (IKHLAS)

- t1.2 Allah Most High says:
- (1) "Nor were they commanded save to worship Him, sincere to Him in their religion" (Koran 98:5).
- (2) "So worship Allah with sincerity" (Koran 39:2).
- t1.3 The Master Abul Qasim Qushayri (Allah have mercy on Him) said: "Sincerity is to make Allah one's sole aim in acts of obedience, meaning to intend by one's obedience to draw nearer to Allah Most High and nothing else, whether hypocrisy before others, acquiring esteem in their eyes, love of their praise, or anything besides drawing nearer to Allah. One could say that sincerity is purifying the mind from paying attention to one's fellow creatures."
- t1.4 Abu Uthman (Allah have mercy on Him) said, "isnerity it to forget to regard men by continuously regarding their Maker." He also said, "The sincerity of ordinary people is that which is free of self-interest, while the sincerity of the elect is that which comes over them, not from them, for acts of worship appear in them from which they are at a remove, and neither observe nor consider" (al-Majmu' (v108), 1.16-17).
- t1.5 (Nawawi:) Abu Yazid (Allah Most High be well pleased with him) said: "For twelve years I was the blacksmith of my soul; for five, the mirror of my heart; for one year I observed what was between them, and lo, around my waist I found the girdle of unbelief (zunnar) in plain view. So I worked for five years at cutting it, seeking a way to dissever it,

until at length this was revealed to me and looking at mankind, I saw them as dead and prayed a fourfold Allahu Akbar over them." Sufficient to show the subtlety of the hiddenness of ostentation is the difficulty with which this master recognised it, who had few equals in this path. As for his remark I saw them as dead," it is of the greatest worth and excellence, words that express this meaning being seldom met with outside those of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace). What it signifies is that when he underwent this spiritual struggle and his lower self became trained and his heart enlightened, when he had mastered the self, subdued it, taken full possession of it, and made it submit in everything, he looked at all creatures and found them as if dead, without discoverable trait. They could not harm or benefit, bestow or keep back, give life or death, join or separate, bring close or make far, save or damn, give sustenance or withhold it; they possessed neither benefit nor harm to themselves, neither life nor death, nor resurrection. Now, the dead are dealt with, regarding these things, as deceased, and they are not feared, nor are hopes placed in them, nor does desire arise for what they have. We do not do anything for their sake, refrain from anything for their sake, or forgo any act of obedience to Allah for their sake, any more than we would to win the praise of the dead. They are not shown-off in front of, their favor is not sought through flattery or compromise of principles, and they do not occupy one's attention. They are not held in contempt or disparaged; their defects are unmentioned, their shameful points unsought out, their mistakes uncriticised: though if penalties prescribed by Sacred Law are incurred, we enforce them. In short, they are as though nonexistent in everything we have mentioned, the decisions of Allah Most High holding sway over them. Whoever deals with them accordingly has attained to the good of this world and the next. May Allah Most Generous give us success in realising it (Bustan al-afrifin (v104), 131-34).

BEING TRUE (SIDQ)

- t1.6 (Nawawi:) As for being true, Allah Most High says: "O you who believe, fear Allah, and be with those who are true" (Koran 9:119).
- t1.7 Sahl ibn Abdullah Tustari said, "The servant who compromises his principles, for himself or another, will never catch even a scent of being true."
- t1.8 It is related that Harith al-Muhasibi (Allah have mercy on him) said: "A person who is true would not care if his whole value vanished from the hears of men for the sake of bettering his heart. He does not like people seeing the smallest bit of his good acts, and does not mind their noticing the worst of them, for to be otherwise would show he wants to be more in their eyes, and this is out of character for those of great faith (siddiqin)."
- t1.9 Dhul Nun al-Misri (Allah have mercy on him) said:
 "Truth is the sword of Allah. Whatever it is put to, it cuts"
 (al-Maimu (v108), 1.17).

t2.0 A LETTER TO ONE OF THE BRETHREN

t2.1 (Ibn Ata Illah:) I know of nothing more useful to you than four matters: surrender to Allah, to humbly entreat Him, to think the best of Him, and to perpetually renew your repentance to Him, even if you should repeat a sin seventy times in a day.

SURRENDER TO ALLAH

t2.2 Surrender to Him gives you relief in the present life from having to plan while He does, triumph in the next life through the supreme favor, and safety from the idolatry of contention, for how should you contend with Him for something you do not own with Him? Cast yourself amidst His kingdom, meager in its plentitude and insignificant in its vastness, and He will plan for you as He does for it. Do not leave the slavehood that is yours for claims to a lordship that you have no claim to. To plan and choose for oneself are enormities with respect to hearts and inmost souls, as you find it the Book of Allah Most High where Allah says: "Your Lord creates whatever He wills and chooses, and they do not have a choice. Glory be to Allah above what they associate with Him" (Koran 28:68).

EARNESTLY ENTREATING ALLAH

t2.3 As for earnestly entreating Allah, in it lies the coming of increase, lifting of hardships, enwrapment in mantles of divine gifts, and safety from affliction. One is repaid for it in times of hardship by the Master's undertaking one's protection, and in times of ease by His seeing to one's gain. It is the greatest threshold and straightest way. It is effectual despite unbelief, so how could it be ineffectual with faith? Have you not heard the words of Allah Most High: "And when you are touched by affliction at sea, those to whom you pray besides Him are lost, but when He delivers you to shore, you turn away. Surely man is an ingrate" (Koran 17:67)-meaning that He answers you. Earnest entreaty is the door allah Most High has placed between Himself and His servants. Gifts come to whomever betakes himself to it, and spiritual favors unceasingly reach whoever stands before it. Whoever

enters unto Him by it attains to the reality of divine assistance. And whenever He release unto you through it, He bestows of every good thin in the most lavish gift giving, as is found in the Book of Allah Most High where Allah says, "If only they had earnestly entreated Us when Our vengeance reached them" (Koran 6:43).

THINKING THE BEST OF ALLAH

t2.4 As for thinking best of Allah, how tremendous it is for whomever Allah has blessed with it. Whoever has it does not lace the slightest bit of good, and whoever lacks it will never find any. You will never have a better excuse to Allah than it, or one more profitable. Nor anything that better leads you to Allah or is more guidance giving. It informs one what Allah will make of one and gives good tidings the like of whose words no eye has ever read nor tongue given utterance to. This is found in the sunna of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), where he says, quoting Allah, "I am night to what My servant expects of Me."

CONTINUALLY RENEWED REPENTANCE

t2.5 As for continually renewing one's repentance to Allah. it is the wellspring of every spiritual rank and station from first to last, inwardly and outwardly. There is no excellence in one who lacks it, and nothing lacking in one who has it. It is the key to every good, outwardly and inwardly, the very soul of stations of wisdom, and the reason men are made friends of Allah (awliya). If the repentance of the Axis of the World (Outh) were like that of the ordinary righteous person because of equality in station, the higher of them would not surpass the other for his exaltedness of rank and tremendousness of spiritual certainty. Allah Most Glorious and Exalted has not made any rank below it except that of wrongdoing, as Allah Most High says, "Whoever does not repent, they are the wrongdoers" (Koran 49:11), it being required from every messenger and prophet, every great-faithed one (siddiq) and friend of Allah (wali), every godfearing pious person, misguided profligate, and every doomed unbeliever. You may find this is the Book of Allah Most High where Allah Glorious and Exalted says: "O people: fear you Lord" (Koran 4;1), Godfearingness being through repentance to Him and regret before Him. The repentance of those who do evil lies in abandoning it, while the repentance of those who do good lies in not halting with their good, whether it consists of spiritual effort or its rewards. The repentance of both is the same: not to stop at it. "... the faith of your father Ibrahim. He has named you Muslims" (Koran 22:78). It was of Ibrahim's faith not to halt with what passes away, or fix his regard on existent things. In quoting him to us, Allah Most High says: "I love not things which pass away" (Koran 6:76).

t2.6 In general, someone's who cannot benefit from a little will not benefit from a lot (A: since a lot of work does not (A: since a lot of work does not avail without sincerity), and someone who cannot profit from a hint will not profit from a plain remark. When Allah gives you understanding, Your hearing will not cease nor you benefiting be restricted to a certain time. May Allah give us and you to understand Him, give us and you to hear Him, dissever us from everything besides Him, dissever us from everything besides Him, enter us into His shade and protection, and make us of those to whom He has given spiritual insight, guidance, and a yearning for His nearness. May He not scatter the intention of our hearts but rather center our purpose on Him, and remove our cares by bringing us to our destination. Ameen. May there be safety for the whole group, and blessing and peace upon the Best of Messengers (al-Hikam al-Ata'iyya wa al-munajat al-ilahiyya (v56), 103-9).

t3.0 COUNSELS AND MAXIMS

- t3.1 (Mohammed Said Burhani:) Do not limit yourself to deep words and profound spiritual allusions but make provision for the afterlife before death comes, when fine words will be lost and the rakas you prayed by night or day will remain.
- t3.2 Give voluntary charity as much as possible, for you owe more than merely the zakat obligatory. Make provision for the afterlife by giving while you have health and want to cling to your money out of fear of poverty, seeing life before you. Allah Most High says, Whoever is watchful against the stinginess of his own soul, those shall be the successful" (Koran 59:9), meaning they shall be saved.
- t3.3 Never obey anyone of Allah's servants, even father or mother, in an act of disobedience to Allah, for there is no obedience to a creature in disobedience to the Creator.
- t3.4 Do not wrong another person, for wrongs done to others are clouds of darkness on the Day of Judgement. Wronging others includes not doing what Allah has obliged you to do for them.
- t3.5 Beware of enmity against anyone who has said, "La ilaha ill Allah" (There is no god but Allah), for Allah has honoured them with faith, and particularly the righteous of them, for Allah Most High says in a rigorously authenticated (sahih) hadith, "He who makes an enemy of a friend of Mine, I declare war against."

- t3.6 Tell the truth when you speak. It is one of the worst betrayals to tell your brother something he thinks you are being honest about when the matter is otherwise.
- t3.7 Be honest in your clothes and dress. It is an outrage against Allah to appear to His servants in the guise of the righteous while secretly contradicting it with the works of the wicked.
- t3.8 Recite the Koran and contemplate its meanings. Reflect while reading it on the qualities Allah has praised, with which He describes the people He loves. Acquire these qualities yourself and shun those Allah has condemned. Do your utmost of memorise the Holy Koran by acts as you do by words.
- t3.9 Never explain a verse of Holy Koran by your own opinion, but check as to how it has been understood by the scholars of Sacred Law and men of wisdom who came before you. If you comprehend something else by it and what you have understood contradicts the Sacred Law, forsake your wretched opinion and fling it against the wall.
- t3.10 Beware lest you ever say anything that does not conform to the Sacred Law. Know that the highest stage of the perfected ones (rijal) is the Sacred Law of Mohammed (Allah bless him and give him peace). And know that the exoteric that contravenes the exoteric is a fraud.
- t3.11 Take care to eat lawful food bought with a lawful income, for the entire body of someone who eats what is lawful, his hearing, eyesight, hands, and feet, are disposed to obey Allah whether he wishes to or not; while the whole body of someone who eats the unlawful is disposed to do wrong whether he wants to or not.
- t3.12 Keep the thought of Allah Mighty and Majestic ever before you with respect to what He takes from you and what He gives. He takes away nothing except that you may show patience and win His love, for He loves the patient, and when He loves you, He will treat you as a lover does his beloved. And so too, when He gives to you, He bestows blessings upon you that you may give thanks, for He loves the thankful.
- t3.13 Do not walk a step, take a bite, or make a move without intending thereby to draw nearer to Allah.
- t3.14 Perform the remembrance of Allah (dhikr) silently and aloud, in a group and when alone, for Allah Most High says, "Remember Me: I will remember you" (Koran 2:152). It is sufficient as to its worth that Allah is remembering you as long as you are remembering Him.
- t31.5 Give frequent utterance to the axiom of Islam "La ilaha ill Allah" (There is no god but Allah), for it is the greatest invocation (dhikr), as is mentioned in the hadith: The best thins I or any of the prophets before me have said is 'La ilaha ill Allah.'" And in a hadith qudsi: "Were the seven heavens and seven earths placed on one side of a balance scale and 'La ilaha ill Allah' placed on the other, the latter would outweigh them all."
- t3.16 Train you children in points of Islamic behavior so they grow up to be Muslims who love Islam and respect the religion of Islam
- t13.7 Do not seek exaltation on earth, but have humility in whatever degree Allah has raised you to. For Allah has brought you forth from the earth, you mother, and it is unseemly to exalt yourself above her. As a hadith says: "Allah has charged Himself to raise nothing in this world, save that He will lower it again." So if you are such a thing, you may expect to be lowered by Allah.
- t3.18 Always visit those who are ill, as it helps one reflect and take admonition, for someone ill is close to Allah. One has only to consider that the sick person has no one to call upon but Allah, nothing to reflect on but Allah, and his condition reminds one of the blessing of health (al-Hall alsadid li ma astashkalahu al-murid (y46), 29-32).

BOOK U - THE GABRIEL HADITH

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u.10 THE HADITH TEXT

u1.1 Umar ibn Khattab (Allah be well pleased with him) said: "As we sat one day with the Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace), a man with pure white clothing and iet black hair came to us, without a trace of travelling upon him, though none of us knew him. He sat down before the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) bracing his knees against his, and resting his hands on his legs, said: 'Mohammed, tell me about Islam.' The Messenger of Allah (Allah bless him and give him peace) said: 'Islam is to testify there is no god but Allah and that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah, and to perform the prayer, give zakat, fast in Ramadan, and perform the pilgrimage to the House if you can find a way.' He said: 'You have spoken the truth,' and we were surprised that he should ask and then confirm the answer. Then he said: 'Tell me about true faith (iman),' and the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) answered: 'It is to believe in Allah, His angels, His inspired Books, His messengers, the Last Day, and in destiny, its good and evil.' You have spoken the truth,' he said, 'Now tell me about the perfection of faith (ihsan),' and the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) answered: "It is to adore Allah as if you see Him, and if you see Him not, He nevertheless sees you.' 'Tell me of the Hour' said the visitor, and he was told: 'The one questioned knows no more about it than the questioner. Then tell me of its portents, 'he said, and the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) replied: 'That the slave woman shall give birth to her mistress, and that you shall see barefoot, naked, penniless shepherds vying in constructing high buildings.' Then the visitor left. I waited a while, and the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) said to me, 'Do you know. 'Umar, who was the questioned?' and I replied. 'Allah and His messenger know best.' He said, 'It was Gabriel, who came to you to teach you your religion ' " (Sahih Muslim (y92), 1.37-38).

u2.1 "Islam is to testify there is no god but Allah and that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah, and to perform the prayer, give zakat, fast in Ramadan, and perform the pilgrimage to the House if you can find a way."

u2.2 (Nawawi:) The sheikh and Imam Ibn Salah (Allah have mercy on him) said: "Being a Muslim is outwardly established by one's saying the two Testifications of Faith (Shahadatayn) (N: even if they are not spoken in Arabic). The Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace) only added the prayer, zakat, the pilgrimage, and the fast because they are the most patent and greatest of Islamic observances. One's submission (istislam) is perfected through performing them, and neglecting them suggests that one has dissolved or vitiated the terms of one's compliance Moreover the term faith (iman) encompasses all of the things by which Islam is explained in this hadith, and indeed, all acts of obedience, for they are the fruits of the inner conviction that is the underlying basis of faith, and are what strengthen, complete, and preserve it."

u2.3 The position of Muslim orthodoxy is that no Muslim becomes a non-Muslim through sin. Muslims of heretical sectarian groups and those of reprehensible innovations (bida) are not thereby non-Muslims (dis: w47.2).

u2.4 Any Muslim who denies something that is necessarily known (def: f1.3(N:)) to be of the religion of Islam is adjudged a renegade and an unbeliever unless he is a recent convert or was born and raised in the wilderness or for some similar reason has been unable to learn his religion properly. Muslims in such a condition should be informed about the truth, and if they then continue as before, they are adjudged non-Muslims, as is also the case with any Muslim who believes it permissible to commit adultery, drink wine, kill without right, or do other acts that are necessarily known to be unlawful (Sahih Muslim bi sharh al-Nawawi (Y93), 1.147-

u3.0 TRUE FAITH (IMAN)

u3.1 "[True faith] is to believe in Allah, His angels, His inspired Books, His messengers, the Last Day, and in destiny, its good and evil."

RELIEF IN ALLAH

u3.2 (Mohammed Jurdani:) To believe in Allah means in His existence, His sole godhood (rububiyya, that no one else participates in His attribute of divinity or in the rights He has over His creatures), His oneness and uniqueness (wahdaniyya), and that He is characterized by every perfection and exalted above any imperfection or impossibility (dis: "v1).

BELIEF IN ANGELS

u3.3 To believe in His angels means in beings with bodies of light who are capable of changing form to assume various appearances. Believe means to be convinced that they exist, and are honored servants who do not disobey what Allah orders them to do, but do whatever they are commanded. Only Allah Most High knows how many there are, but a hadith relates that there is not a foot of space in the seven heavens that does not contain an angel standing in prayer, bowing, or prostrating. We are obliged to know ten individual angels:

(1) Jibril (Gabriel):

- (2) Mika'il (Michael):
- (3) Israfil:
- (4) Azra'il;
- (5) Munkar; (6) Nakir;
- (7) Ridwan:
- (8) Malik:
- (9 and 10) and the two scribes who record one's good and bad deeds, each of who, is called a
 - "present observer."

BELIEF IN ALLAH'S INSPIRED BOOKS

u3.4 To believe in His inspired Books means those which He revealed to His messengers, believe meaning to be convinced that they are the word of Allah Most High, and all they contain is the truth. (A: The obligation of belief applies to the original revelations, not the various scriptures in the hands of non-Muslims, which are textually corrupt in their present form.) Scholars differ as to how many Books there are. Some hold they number 104, and some say otherwise. One is obliged to know four particular Books:

- (1) the Tawrah (Torah), revealed to our liegelord Musa (Moses);
- (2) the Injil (Gospel), revealed to our liegelord Isa (Jesus);
- (3) the Zabur (Psalms), revealed to our liegelord Dawud (King David);
- (4) and the Koran (Koran), revealed to our liegelord Mohammed (Allah bless them all and give them peace).

BELIEF IN ALLAH'S MESSENGERS

u3.5 To believe in His messengers means to be convinced that Allah Most High sent them to men and jinn (khalq) to guide them to the path of the Truth, and that they have told the truth about everything they have told the truth about everything they have conveyed from Allah Most High. It is obligatory to know twenty-five particular messengers:

- (1) Adam;
- (2) Idris (Enoch);
- (3) Nuh (Noah);
- (4) Hud: (5) Salih:
- (6) Lut (Lot):
- (7) Ibrahim (Abrahim);
- (8) Isma'il (Ishmael)
- (9) Ishaq (Isaac); (10) Ya'qub (Jacob);
- (11) Yusuf (Joseph);
- (12) Shu'avb:
- (13) Harun (Aaron);
- (14) Musa (Moses); (15) Dawud (David);
- (16) Sulayman (Soloman);
- (17) Ayyub (Job);
- (18) Dhul Kifl (Ézekiel): (19) Yunus (Jonah):
- (20) Ilvas (Elias);
- (21) al-Yasa' (Elisha);
- (22) Zakariyya (Zacharias);
- (23) Yahya (John the Baptist);
- (24) Isa (Jesus):
- (25) and Mohammed (Allah bless them all and give them

BELIEF IN THE LAST DAY

u3.6 To believe in the Last Day means the Day of Resurrection, called the last because it is not followed by night. Believe means to be convinced that it will come to pass with all it implies, including the resurrection of the dead, their reckoning, the weighing of their good deeds against their bad ones, their passing over the high, narrow bridge that spans the hellfire (sirat), and that some will be put in hell out of justice, and some in paradise out of Allah's pure generosity. (n: The eternality of paradise and hell is discussed at w55)

BELIEF IN DESTINY, ITS GOOD AND EVIL

u3.7 To believe in destiny, its good and evil means to be convinced that Allah Most High has ordained both good and evil before creating creation, and that all that has been and all that will be only exists through Allah's decree, foreordinance, and will. Early Muslims used to answer whoever asked about destiny by saying, 'It is knowing that what hits you was not going to miss, and what misses you was not going to hit" (al-Jawahir al-lu 'lu'iyya fi sharh al-Arba'in al-Nawawiyya (y68),

u3.8 (N:) As for Allah's creating acts, we believe that the real doer or everything is Allah. He is the one who burns, not the fire or the person who lighted the fire; He is the one who cuts, nt the knife or the person holding the knife; He is the one who drowns a man, not the water or the person who threw him in, and so forth. Here, people always raise the question that if Allah Most High is the real doer, why are people held responsible? The answer is that Allah Most High does not hold people responsible for creating the act, but rather for

choosing the act. One proof of this is that a person who cannot choose is not held responsible, such as someone asleep, insane, a child, forced, unremembering, or someone who makes an honest mistake. The legal responsibility of such people is lifted because they lack full voluntary choice. Another proof is that Nimrod sinned for choosing to burn Ibrahim (upon whom be peace) even though Ibrahim did not burn (Koran 21:69); and that Ibrahim (Upon whom be peace) became the Friend of the All-merciful for choosing to sacrifice his son out of obedience to Allah, even though his knife did not cut and his son was not sacrificed (Koran 37:105), all of this showing that the servant is held responsible for his choice, which scholars of the divine unity (tawhid) term the servant's acquisition (kasb). As for Allah's eternally preexistent knowledge, we believe that Allah knows everything before. during, and after it is, and knows how it is when it occurs. But does the servant have acess to this knowledge? Not at all. So the servant chooses to do acts on the basis of a desire within himself, not because he knows Allah's knowledge, and he is held responsible for his choice even though it corresponds with Allah's eternally preexistent knowledge. It is clear from the above that belief in destiny means that Muslims believe Allah has destined and ordained matters in past eternity, and that nothing in existence lies outside of His eternal will, and He is the Creator of everything, while the servant is only held responsible for his own choice (Mudhakkirai fi al-tawhid (y113), 41-12).

u4.0 THE PERFECTION OF FAITH (IHSAN)

u4.1 "(The perfection of faith) is to adore Allah as if you see Him, and if you see Him not, He nevertheless sees you.'

u4.2 (Mohammed Jurdani:) To adore Allah as if you see Him means to obey Him while sincere in worship, humble, lowly, and fearful, as though one beholds, Him. And if you see Him not. He nevertheless sees you means that if one is not as if beholding Him in worship, but oblivious to this contemplation, one should nevertheless persist in excellence of performance and imagine oneself before Allah Most High and that He is looking at one's inmost being and outward self, to thereby attain to the basis of perfection. Scholars mention that there are three spiritual stations a servant may have in his worship:

(1) to worship in a way that fulfills its obligations, by observing all its conditions and integrals;

(2) to do this while immersed in the sea of gnostic inspiration (mukashafa) until it is as if the worshipper actually beholds Allah Most High, this being the statin of contemplative spiritual vision (mushahada);

(3) and to worship as mentioned above, though mainly aware that Allah sees one, this being the station of vigilance (muraqaba). Allah three of these are of the perfection of faith (ihsan), but the perfection required for the validity of worship is only the first, while perfection in the latter senses is the mark of the elect, and not possible for many (al-Jawahir allu'lu'iyya fi sharh al-Arba'in al-Nawawiyya (y68), 37-38).

BOOK V - ALLAH AND HIS MESSENGER

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v1.1 (Ghazali:) Praise be to Allah, who originates all and returns it, who does as He wills, He of the noble Throne and overwhelming force, the Guide of His elect servants to the wisest path and straightest way, who has blessed them, after having had them attest to His oneness, by preserving the tenets of their religion from the darknesses of doubt and misgivings, bringing them through His providence and guidance to follow His chosen Messenger and the example of his noble and honored Companions; He who manifests Himself and His acts to His servants through His sublime

attributes, of which none possess knowledge save those who give heed with a present mind.

HIS ONENESS

v1.2 He is one is being without partner, unique without peer, ultimate without opposite, alone without equal. He is one, preeternal, beginninglessly uncreate, everlastingly abiding, unceasingly existent, eternally limitless, the ever selfsubsisting through whom all else subsists, ever enduring, without end. He is, was and ever will be possessed of all attributes of majesty, unannihilated by dissolutiom or separtion through the passage of eons or terminus of interims. He is the First and Last, the Outward and Inward, and He has knowledge of everything.

HIS TRANSCENDENCE

v1.3 He is not a body with a form, or a limitary, quantitative substance, not resembling bodies in quantifiability or divisibility, or in being a substance or equalified by substance, or being an accident or qualified by accidents. He does not resemble anything that exists, nor anything that exists resemble Him. There is nothing whatsoever like unto Him, nor is He like unto anything. He is not delimited by magnitude, contained by places, encompassed by directions, or bounded by heavens or earth. He is 'established on the Throne' (mustawin, Koran 20:5) in the way He says and the meaning He intends, 'established' in a manner transcending contact, settledness, fixity, indwelling, or movement. The Throne does not bear Him up, but is borne, up by the subtlety of His infinite power, as are the angels who carry it, and all are powerless in His grasp. He is above the Throne, the heavens, and all else to the farthest reaches of the stars, with an aboveness that does not increase His nearness to the Throne or heavens, or His distance from the earth and what lies beneath it. He is as exalted in degree above the Throne and the heavens as He is above the earth and its depths, though He is near to everything in existence, nearer to a servant than his own jugular vein, and is witness to everything. His nearness no more resembles the nearness of objects to one another than His entity resembles the entities of objects. He does not indwell in anything, nor anything indwell in 'Him. He is as exalted above containment in space as he is above confinement in time. He was, before creating time and space, and is not even as He was. He is distinguished from His creation by His attributes. There is nothing in His entity other that Him, nor is His entity in what is other than Him .He is beyond change and motion :events neither occurs with in Him nor changes befall Him .of majestly exalted above change, and in the attributes of His perfection beyond needing any increase in perfection. The existence of His entity is known by human reason, and in the after life is beheld by the eyesight of the reghteous as a beatitude and favor, to consummate their perfect joy with the sight of His Noble Countenance

HIS LIFE AND ALMIGHTY POWER

v1.4 He Most High is living, almighty, overmastering, triumphant, unaffected by inability or weakness; unsusceptible to drowsiness, sleep, annihilatin, or death; possessed of absolute soverignty and might, of irresistible power and force. His is the majesty and sway, the creation and command. The heavens are enfolded in His right hand and all beings are powerless in His grasp. He alone creates, begins, gives existence, and originates. He creates all beings and their acts, ordains their sustenance and terms. Nothing possible is out of His grasp, the disposal ofno matter is beyond His power. The number of things He can do is limitless, the amount He knows is infinite.

HIS KNOWLEDGE

v1.5 He knows all things knowable, encompassing all that takes place from the depths of the earth to the highest heaven. He knows without an atom's weitht in the earth or heavens escaping His knowledge. He knows the creeping of a black ant across a great stone on a lightless night, and the motion in the air of a particle of dust on a windy day. He knows the concealed and the yet more hidden, the buried recesses of hearts, the movement of thought, and the opacities of the inmost soul; with preeternal, beginningless knowledge that He has always possessed from the limitless reaches of past eternity, not with awareness originating within Him through being imparted or conveved.

v1.6 He Most High wills all that exits and directs all events. Nothing occrus in the physical or spiritual world, be it meager or much, little or great, good or evil, of benefit or detriment, faith or unbelief, knowledge or ignorance, triumph or ruin, increase or decrease, obedience or sin; save through His ordinance, apportionment, wisdom, and decision. What He wills is, and what He does not will is not. Neither sidelong glance nor passing thought is beyond His design. He originates all and returns it, does what He wills, and none can repulse His command. There is no rescinding His destiny, no

flight for a servant from disobeying Him except through divinely given success therein and mercy, and no strength to obey Him save through His choice and decree. If all mankind, jinn, angels, and devils combined their efforts to move or to still a single particle of the universe without His will and choice, they would be unable to. His will, like His other attributes, exists in His entity and He ever possesses it. He has willed from preeternity the existence of all things at the times He has chosen. They occur at the times which He has destined from beginningless eternity, occurring neither before nor after, but taking place in accordance with His knowledge and will, without substitution or alternation. He directs events without successive throughts or waiting for time to elapse, which is why nothing divers Him from anything else.

HIS HEARING AND SIGHT

v1.7 He Most High is all-hearing and allseeing. He hears and sees, no sound however slight eluding His hearing, and no sight however minute escaping His vision. Distance does not obscure His hearing nor darkness hinder His vision. He sees without pupil or eyelids, and hears without ear canal or ears, just as He knows without a heart, seizes without limb, and creates without implement. His attributes no more resemble the attributes of His creatures than His entity resembles the entity of His creatures.

HIS SPEECH

v1.8 He Most High speaks, commands, forbids, promises, and warns, with beginninglessly eternal speech that is an attribute of His entity, not resembling the speech of creatures in being a sound generated by the passage of air or impact of bodies, nor in letters articulated by compressing the lips or moving the tongue. The Koran, Torah, Evangel, and Psalms are His Books, revealed to His messengers (upon whom be peace). The koran is recited with tongues, written in books, and memorized in hearts despite being beginninglessly eternal, an attribute of the entity of Allah Most High, unsubject to disseverance and separation by conveyance to hearts or pages. Moses (Allah bless him and give him peace) heard the speech of Allah without sound or letter, just as the righteous see the entity of Allah Most High in the afterlife without substance or accident. Since Allah possesses all of the above attributes. He is living, knowing, omnipotent, willing, hearing, seeing, and seeking by virtue of His life, power, knowledge, will, hearing, sight, and speech, not merely by virtue of His entity.

HIS ACTS

v1.9 Everything besides Him Glorious and Exalted exists through His action, proceeding from His justice in the best, fullet, most perfect and equitable way. He is wise in His acts and just in His decrees. His justice is not comparable to the justice of His servants, since injustice mey only be imagined from a servant through his disposal of what belongs to another, while this is inconceiveable from Allah Most High, since nothing belongs to anyone besides Him that He should unjustly disclose of 'it. Everything besides Him, be it human, jinn, angel, devil, heaven, earth, animal, vegetable, mineral, substance, accident, intelligible, or senosory, is contingent, and was brought into existence through His power after not being, created by Him after it was nothing. He alone existed in preeternity, and nothing else. He then originated creation, that His omnipotence might be mainfest, His prior decree effected, and His eternal word realised; not from needing or requiring anything in creation. Our origination, beginning, and responsibility are of Allah's generosity, not because of their being obligatory for Him, and His blessings and benefaction exist because of His favor, not because of being due from Him. Everything that exists is indebted to Him for His generosity and goodness, His blessings and benevolence; for He is well able to pour all manner of torments upon His servants and try them with tevery variety of suffering and illness, and were He to do so, it would be just on His part and not wicked or unfair. He Mighty and Majestic rewards His servants, the believers, for their acts of obedience because of His generosity and in fulfillment of His word, not because of their deserving it or His owing it to them. He is not obliged to anyone to do anything, nor is injustice on His part conveivable, for He does not owe any rights to anyone. The obligation of men an jinn to perform acts of obedience is established by His having informed them of it upon the gongues of the prophets (upon whom be peace), and not by unaided human reason. He sent the prophets and manifested the truth of their messages by unmistakable, inimitable They have communicated His commands, prohibitions, promises and warnings, and it is obligatory for mankind and jinn to believe in what they have conveyed.

v2.0 HIS MESSENGER

v2.1 Allah Most High sent Mohammed (Allah bless him and give him peace), the Qurayshite unlettered prophet, to deliever His inspired message to the entire world, Arabs and non-Arabs, jinn and mankind, superseding and abrogation all previous religious systems with the Prophet's Sacred Law, except for the provisions of them that the new revelation

expicitly reconfirmed. Allah has favored him above all the other prophets and made him the hightest of mankind, rejecting anyone's attesting to the divine oneness by saying "There is no god but Allah," unless they also attest to the Prophet by saying "Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah." He has obliged men and jinn to believe everything the Prophet (Allah bless him and giver him peace) has informed us concerning this world and the next, and does not accept anyone's faith unless they believe in what he has told us will happen after death.

THE TRIAL OF THE GRAVE

v2.2 The first of these matters is the questioning of Mankar and Nakir, two tremendous, aweinspring personages who sit a servant upright in his grave, body and soul, and ask him about the unity of Allah and the messengerhood of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), saying, "Who is your Lord, what is y our religion, and who is your prophet?" It is they who try people in the grave, their questioning being the first ordal after death. It is also Obligatory to believe in the torment of the grave, that it is a fact, is just, and affects both body and soul, in the way Allah wills.

THE SCALE

v2.3 It is obligatory to believe in the scale, which consists of two scalepans and a balance indicator between them and is as great in size as the thickness of the heavens and earth. It weighs a servant's deeds through the power of Allah Most High, and the weights placed on it are as fine as an atom or mustard seed, that justice may be perfectly done. The pages recording one's good deeds will be placed in a form pleasing to behold on the side of the scale for Light, weighing it down according to their rank with Allah through His generosity, while the pages recording one's bad deeds will be placed in an ugly form on the side of Darkness, diminishing the weight of the opposite side through Allah's justice.

THE BRIDGE OVER HELL

v2.4 It is obligatory to believe in the bridge over hell (sirat), a bridge spanning the breadth of hell, sharper than a sword and finer than a hair, which unbelievers' feet shall slip from by Allah's decree and plunge them into hell, and the feet of believers shall be made fast upon by Allah's generosity, and from thence they shall be conducted to the Final Abode.

THE WATERING PLACE

v2.5 It is Obligatory to believe in a watering place people will come to, the watering place of Mohammed (Allah bless him and give him peace), which believers will drink from before entering paradise, after having crossed the bridge over hell. Whoever drinks from it will never thirst again. Its width is month's journey across, its water whiter than milk and sweeter than honey, and there are as many pitchers around it as stars in the sky. Two aqueducts pour into t from Kawthar, a spring in paradise.

THE FINAL RECKONING

v2.6 It is obligatory to believe in the Final Reckoning and the disparity in the way various people are dealt with therein, some made to answer, others pardoned, and some admitted to paradise without reckoning, being the intimaters of Allah (muqurrabun). Allah Most High shall ask whomever He wills of the Prophets if they have conveyed their message, ask unbelievers why they denied the messengers, ask those of reprehensible innovation (bid'a) about the sunna, and ask Muslims about their works.

BELIEVERS SHALL DEPART FROM HELL

v2.7 It is obligatory to hold that true believes in the oneness of Allah (N: who follow the prophet of their age (dis: w4.4)) will be taken out of hell after having paid for their sins, through the generosity of Allah Mighty and Majestic. No one who is a true monotheist will abide in the fire forever.

THE INTERCESSION OF THE PROPHETS AND RIGHTEOUS

v2.8 It is obligatory to believe in the interecesion of first the prophets, then religious scholars, then martyrs, then other believers, the intercession of each one commensurate with his rank and position with Allah Most High. Any believer remaining in hell without intercessor shall be taken out of it by the favour of Allah, no one who believers remaining in it forevor, and anyone with an atom's weight of faith in his heart will eventually depart from it.

THE EXCELLENCE OF THE PROPHETIC COMPANIONS (SAHABA)

v2.9 It is obligatory to believe in the excellence (dis: w56) of the prophetic Companions (Allah be well pleased with them). One must think the best of all of the Companions of the Prophet (Allah bless him and give him peace), and praise them just as Allah Mighty and Majestic (n: e.g., at Koran 3:110) and His messenger have praised them (Allah bless them all and give them peace).

v3.0 CONCLUSION

v3.1 All of the foregoing has been conveyed by prophetic hadith and attested to by the words of the early Muslims. Whoever believes it with deep conviction belongs to those of the truth, who follow the sun, and distinguishes himself from the faction who have strayed, the sect adhering to repehensible innovation (bid'a). We ask Allah through His mercy for perfect certainty and steadfastness in religion, for ourselves and all Muslim; He is the Most Merciful of the Merciful. May Allah bless our ligelord Mohammed, and every chosen serant (lhya' 'ulum al-din (y39), 79-83).

MODERN ISLAMIC CONSTITUTIONS AND COVENANTS

(As Islam has not undergone the process of secularisation, like Christianity and some other belief systems, we must therefore understand that Islam is not just a religion for private purposes. Islam is not a private matter, it is always encompassing all matters of society, it is, as Islamic teachers emphasise, a "comprehesive system of civilisation", or to be more precise, a "totalitarian system of law" that every Muslim and every non-Muslim in Islamic ruled regions] has to submit unto. Foremore, the Sharia law is the tool with which Islam and its Muslims constantly and relentlessly desintegrate the non-Muslim host societies. Not to know the Islamic doctrines has proved deadly for any society that has experienced Islamic immigration during the last 1,400 years. No exceptions!

Western people try to make a difference between Islam and Islamism, in their illusion that one day an imagined "peaceful Islam" may come to terms with the West or East Asia. As all Muslims emphasise that Islam, the Koran and Mohammed are perfect as they are, these illusion will remain wishful thinking. Islamism is just putting Islam and all Islamic doctrines into practice. There is no escape!

Ignoring the Islamic doctrine of migration, on which the Islamic calendar is based on through Islam's political success, is fatal. In this section we will not explain much but show why it is vital to know the contents of the Islamic Trilogy [Koran, Sira, Hadith]. All Islamic states and organisations are explicily based on it. In order to proof this fact, we shall display now a couple of modern documents in their unabridged form. The following 7 documents represent mainstream Islam; the 8th document shows what unaware western politicans make of it. The documents are:

- The Constitution of Saudi Arabia
- The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran
- The Hamas Covenant
- The Hamas Charter
- The Islamic Declaration on Human Rights
- The Arab Charter on Human Rights
- · The Muslim Brotherhood Memorandum
- The UN Declaration and Programme of Action.)

THE CONSTITUTION OF SAUDI ARABIA

from 1992 with Amendments through 2005

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BASIC LAW

Part 1: General Principles

Article 1: The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a sovereign Arab Islamic State.

Religion: Islam

Constitution: The Holy Koran and the Prophet's Sunna (traditions, that is the Sira and the Hadith)

Language: Arabic

Capital: Riyadh

Article 2: Its national holidays:

- Eid Al-Fitr (a religious feast celebrated on the 1st of Shawal, the 10th month of the Islamic calendar)
- Eid Al-Ad-ha (a religious feast celebrated on the 10th of Dhul-Hijj ah, the 12th month of the Islamic calendar)
 - Calendar: Hijra / Hijira (Lunar calendar)
 - Article 3: Its national flag:
 - Green in colour
- · Width equal to two thirds of length
- Shahada / Article of faith (translated as "There is no God but Allah, Muhammad is Allah's Messenger") inscribed in the centre with a drawn sword underneath.

Article 4: The State's emblem consists of two intersecting swords with a datepalm in the upper space between them. Both the national anthem and the decorations awarded by the State shall be determined by the law.

Part 2: System of Government

Article 5:

- 1. The system of government in Saudi Arabia shall be monarchical.
- 2. The dynasty right shall be confined to the sons of the Founder, King Abdul Aziz bin Abdul Rahman Al Saud (Ibn

Saud), and the sons of sons. The most eligible among them shall be invited, through the process of "baiAh", to rule in accordance with the Book of God and the Prophet's Sunnah.

- 3. The King names the Crown Prince and may relieve him of his duties by Royal Order.
- 4. The Crown Prince shall devote full time to his office and to any other duties which may be assigned to him by the King.

5. The Crown Prince shall assume the powers of the king on the latter's death pending the outcome of the "baiah".

Article 6: Citizens shall pledge allegiance to the King on the basis of the Book of God and the Prophet's Sunnah, as well as on the principle of "hearing is obeying" both in prosperity and adversity, in situations pleasant and unpleasant.

Article 7: The regime derives its power from the Holy Koran and the Prophet's Sunna which rule over this and all other State Laws.

Article 8: The system of government in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is established on the foundation of justice, "Shura" and equality in compliance with the Islamic Sharia (the revealed law of Islam).

Part 3: Constituents of Saudi Society

Article 9: The family is the nucleus of Saudi society. Its members shall be brought up imbued with the Islamic Creed which calls for obedience to God, His Messenger and those of the nation who are charged with authority; for the respect and enforcement of law and order; and for love of the motherland and taking pride in its glorious history.

Article 10: The State shall take great pains to strengthen the bonds which hold the family together and to preserve its Arab and Islamic values. Likewise it is keen on taking good care of all family members and creating proper conditions to help them cultivate their skill and capabilities.

Article 11: The Saudi society shall hold fast to the Divine Rope. Its citizens shall work together to foster benevolence, piety and mutual assistance; and it avoids dissension.

Article 12: The State shall foster national unity and preclude all that may lead to disunity, mischief and division.

Article 13: Education aims at the inculcation of the Islamic creed in the young generation and the development of their knowledge and skills so that they may become useful members of society who love their homeland and take pride in its history.

Part 4: Economic Principles

Article 14: All God-given resources of the country, both under and above ground, or in territorial waters, or within terrestrial and maritime limits to which the State jurisdiction extends, as well as the revenues accruing therefrom shall be owned by the State as specified by the law. Likewise the law shall specify the means to be employed for the utilisation, protection and development of these resources in a manner conducive to the promotion of the State's interest, security and economy

Article 15: No concessions shall be awarded or permission given for the utilization of the country's natural resources, except as permitted by the law.

Article 16: Public property is sacrosanct. It shall be protected by the State and preserved by both citizens and foreign residents.

Article 17: Ownership, capital and labour are the fundamentals of the Kingdom's economic and social life. They are private rights that serve a social function in conformity with Islamic Sharia.

Article 18: The State shall guarantee the freedom and inviolability of private property. Private property shall be not be expropriated unless in the public interest and the confiscatee is fairly compensated.

Article 19: Collective confiscation of properties shall be prohibited. Confiscation of private properties shall only be effected in accordance with a judicial verdict.

Article 20: Taxes and fees shall be imposed only on the basis of fairness and when the need arises. They shall only be imposed, amended, abolished or remitted in accordance with the law.

Article 21: Zakat (poor-due) shall be levied and dispensed to its legitimate beneficiaries.

Article 22: Economic and social development shall be achieved in accordance with a methodical and equitable plan.

Part 5: Rights and Duties

Article 23: The State shall protect the Islamic Creed and shall cater to the application of Sharia. The State shall enjoin good and forbid evil, and shall undertake the duties of the call to Islam.

Article 24: The State shall maintain and serve the Two Holy Mosques. It shall ensure the security and safety of all those who call at the Two Holy Mosques so that they may be able to visit or perform the pilgrimage and "Umrah" (minor pilgrimage) in comfort and ease.

Article 25: The State shall be keen to realize the aspirations of the Arab Muslim nations with regard to solidarity and unity while enhancing its relations with friendly states.

Article 26: The State shall protect human rights in accordance with Islamic Sharia.

Article 27: The State shall guarantee the right of its citizens and their families in an emergency of in case of disease, disability and old age. Likewise it shall support the social security system and encourage individuals and institutions to contribute to charitable pursuits.

Article 28: The State shall provide job opportunities to all able-bodied people and shall enact laws to protect both the employee and the employer.

Article 29: The State shall foster sciences, arts and culture. It shall encourage scientific research, shall preserve Arab and Islamic heritage and shall contribute to Arab, Islamic and human civilisation.

Article 30: The State shall provide public education and shall commit itself to the eradication of illiteracy.

Article 31: The State shall be solicitous for promoting public health and shall provide medical care to every citizen.

Article 32: The State shall seek to conserve, protect and develop the environment and prevent pollution.

Article 33: The State shall build and equip the armed forces to defend the Islamic faith, the Two Holy Mosques, the society and the homeland.

Article 34: Defending the Islamic faith, the society and the homeland shall be the duty of each and every citizen. Rules of military service shall be spelled out by the law.

Article 35: The rules which govern the Saudi Arabian nationality shall be defined by the law.

Article 36: The State shall ensure the security of all its citizens and expatriates living within its domains. No individual shall be detained, imprisoned or have his actions restricted except under the provisions of the law.

Article 37: Houses are inviolable. They shall not be entered without the permission of their owners, nor shall they be searched except in cases specified by the law.

Article 38: Punishment shall be restricted to the actual offender. No crime shall be established as such and no punishment shall be imposed except under a judicial or law provision. No punishment shall be imposed except for acts that take place after enaction of the law provision governing them.

Article 39: Mass media, publication facilities and other means of expression shall function in a manner that is courteous and fair and shall abide by State laws. They shall play their part in educating the masses and boosting national unity. All that may give rise to mischief and discord, or may compromise the security of the State and its public image, or may offend against man's dignity and rights shall be banned. Relevant regulations shall explain how this is to be done.

Article 40: All forms of correspondence, whether conveyed by telegraph, post or any other means of communication shall be considered sacrosanet. They may not be confiscated, delayed or read, and telephones may not be tapped except as laid down in the law

Article 41: Foreign residents in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia shall abide by its regulations and shall show respect for Saudi social traditions, values and feelings.

Article 42: The State shall grant political asylum, if so required by the public interest. The law and international agreements shall define the procedures and rules for the extradition of common criminals.

Article 43: The "Majlis" of the King and the "Majlis" of the Crown Prince shall be open to all citizens and to anyone who may have a complaint or a grievance. Every individual shall have the right to communicate with public authorities regarding any topic he may wish to discuss.

Part 6: Powers of the State

Article 44: The powers of the State shall comprise:

- The Judicial Power
- The Executive Power
- The Organizational Power

All these powers shall cooperate in performing their duties according to this Law and other regulations. The King is the ultimate source of all these authorities.

Article 45: The source of Ifta (religious ruling) in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is the Holy Koran and the Prophet's Sunnah. The law shall specify the composition of the Senior Ulema Board and of the Administration of Religious Research and Ifta and its jurisdictions.

Article 46: The judicial authority is an independent power. In discharging their duties, the judges bow to no authority other than that of Islamic Sharia.

Article 47: Both citizens and foreign residents have an equal right to litigation. The necessary procedures are set forth by the law.

Article 48: Courts shall apply the provisions of Islamic Sharia to cases brought before them, according to the teachings of the Holy Koran and the Prophet's Sunnah as well as other regulations issued by the Head of State in strict conformity with the Holy Koran and the Prophet's Sunnah.

Article 49: Subject to the provisions of Article 53 of this law, the courts shall have jurisdiction to deal with all kinds of disputes and crimes.

Article 50: The King, or whomsoever he may deputize, shall be concerned with the implementation of the judicial verdicts

Article 51: The law specifies the formation of the supreme judicial council and its functions as well as the organization and jurisdiction of the courts.

Article 52: Judges are appointed and their service is terminated by a Royal Order upon a proposal by the supreme judicial council as specified by the law.

Article 53: The law defines the structure and jurisdiction of the Court of Grievances.

Article 54: The law shall specify the reference, organisation and jurisdictions of the Board of Investigation and Public Prosecution

Article 55: The King shall undertake to rule according to the rulings of Islam and shall supervise the application of Sharia, the regulations, and the State's general policy as well as the protection and defense of the country.

Article 56: The King shall be the Prime Minister and shall be assisted in the performance of his duties by members of the Council of Ministers according to the rulings of this law and other laws. The Council of Ministers Law shall specify the Council's Powers with regard to internal and external affairs, organizing government bodies and co-ordinating their activities. Likewise the Law shall specify the conditions which the Ministers must satisfy, their eligibility, the method of their accountability along with all other matters related to them. The Council of Ministers' law and jurisdiction shall be modified with this Law.

Article 57:

a. The King shall appoint the Deputy Prime Minister and Cabinet Ministers and may relieve them of their duties by a Royal order.

b. The Deputy Prime Minister and Cabinet Ministers shall be jointly responsible before the King for the applications of Islamic Sharia, the laws and the State's general policy.

 c. The King shall have the right to dissolve and re-form the Council of Ministers.

Article 58: 1. The King shall appoint ministers, deputy ministers and officials of the "excellent grade" category and he may dismiss them by a Royal order in accordance with the rules of the law.

2. Ministers and heads of independent authorities shall be responsible before the Prime Minister for their ministries and authorities.

Article 59: The law shall prescribe the provisions pertaining to civil service, including salaries, bonuses, compensation, privileges and retirement pensions.

Article 60: The King shall be the Supreme Commander of the armed forces and shall appoint military officers and terminate their service in accordance with the law.

Article 61: The King shall have the right to declare a state of emergency and general mobilisation as well as war.

Article 62: If danger threatens the safety of the Kingdom, the integrity of its territory, the security of its people and their interests, or impedes the performance of State institutions, the King shall take necessary and speedy measures to confront this danger. If the King feels that these measures may better be permanent, he then shall take whatever legal action he deems necessary in this regard.

Article 63: The King receives Kings and heads of state, appoints his representatives to other countries and accepts accreditation of the representatives of other countries to the Kingdom

Article 64: The King awards medals in the same manner as specified by the law.

Article 65: The King may delegate parts of his authority to the Crown Prince by a Royal order.

Article 66: In the event of his traveling abroad, the King shall issue a Royal Order deputizing the Crown Prince to run the affairs of the State and look after the interests of the people as stated in the Royal Order.

Article 67: Acting within its term of reference, the Organisational Power shall draw up regulations and by-laws to safeguard public interests or eliminate corruption in the affairs of the State in accordance with the rulings of the Islamic Sharia. It shall exercise its powers in compliance with this law and the two other laws of the Council of Ministers and the Majlis Al-Shura (Consultative Council).

Article 68: The Majlis Al-Shoura shall be constituted. Its law shall determine the structure of its formation, the method by which it exercises its special powers and the selection of its members. The King shall have the right to dissolve the Majlis Al-Shoura and re-form it.

Article 69: The King may call the Council of Ministers and Majlis Al-Shoura to hold a joint meeting to which he may invite whomsoever he wishes for a discussion of whatsoever issues he may like to raise.

Article 70: Laws, treaties, international agreements and concessions shall be issued and modified by Royal Decrees.

Article 71: Laws shall be published in the official gazette and they shall take effect as from the date of their publication unless another date is stipulated.

Part 7: Financial Affairs

Article 72:

- a. The law shall determine the management of State revenues, and the procedures of their delivery to the State Treasury.
- b. Revenues shall be accounted for and expended in accordance with the procedures stated on the law.

Article 73: No obligation shall be made to pay funds from the State Treasury except in accordance with the provisions of the budget. Should the provisions of the budget not suffice for paying such funds, a Royal Decree shall be issued for their payment.

Article 74: State property may not be sold, leased or otherwise disposed of except in accordance with the law.

Article 75: The regulations shall define the provisions

Article 75: The regulations shall define the provisions governing legal tender and banks, as well as standards, measures and weights.

Article 76: The law shall determine the State's fiscal year. The budget shall be issued by a Royal Decree which shall spell out revenue and expenditure estimates for the year. The budget shall be issued at least one month before the beginning of the fiscal year. If, owing to overpowering reasons, the budget is not issued on time and the new fiscal year has not yet started, the validity of the old budget shall be extended until a new budget has been issued.

Article 77: The concerned authority shall prepare the State's final accounts for the expired fiscal year and shall submit it to the Prime Minister.

Article 78: The budgets and final accounts of corporate authorities shall be subject to the same provisions applied to the State budget and its final accounts.

Part 8: Control and Auditing Authorities

Article 79: All State revenues and expenditures shall be kept under control, so shall its fixed and liquid (mobile) assets which will be checked to ascertain that they are properly utilised and maintained. An annual report thereon shall be submitted to the Council of Ministers. The law shall name the control and auditing authority concerned, and shall define its terms of reference and accountability.

Article 80: Government bodies shall be monitored closely to ensure that they are performing well and applying the law properly. Financial and administrative violations shall be investigated and an annual report thereon shall be submitted to the Council of Ministers. The law shall name the authority to be charged with this task and shall define its accountability and terms of reference.

Part 9: General Provisions

Article 81: The implementation of this law shall not violate the treaties and agreements the Kingdom has signed with other countries or with international organisations and institutions.

Article 82: Without prejudice to the provisions of Article 7 of this law, none of the provisions of this law shall, in any way, be obstructed unless it is a temporary measure taken during the time of war or in a state of emergency as specified by the

Article 83: No amendments to this law shall be made except in the same manner in which it has been issued.

SHURA COUNCIL LAW

Article 1: In compliance with Allah Almighty words: [Those who respond to their Lord, and establish regular prayer; who (conduct) their affairs by mutual consultation; who spend out of what we bestow on them for sustenance! "Shura (Koran 40:38)". And [It is part of the Mercy of Allah that thou dost deal gently with them. Wert thou severe or harsh-hearted, they would have broken away from about thee: so pass over (their faults, and ask for (Allah's) forgiveness for them; and consult them in affairs (of moment). Then, when thou hast taken a decision, put thy trust in Allah. For Allah loves those who put their trust (in Him) "Al-Imran (Koran 3:159)".

And following His Messenger (Mohammed) in consulting his Companions, and urging the (Muslim) Nation to engage in consultation. Shura Council shall be established to exercise the tasks entrusted to it, according to this Law and the Basic Law of Governance while adhering to Quran and the Path (Sunnah) of his Messenger (Mohammed), maintaining brotherly ties and cooperating unto righteousness and piety.

Article 2: Shura Council shall hold fast to the bond of Allah and adhere to the sources of Islamic legislation. All members of the Council shall strive to serve the public interest, and preserve the unity of the community, the entity of the State and nation interests.

Article 3: Shura Council shall consist of a Speaker and One hundred and fifty members chosen by the King from amongst scholars, those of knowledge, expertise and specialists.

Article 4: It is stipulated that the member of Shura Council shall be as follows:

- a. A Saudi national by descent and upbringing.
- b. A person well known for uprightness and competence.
- c. A person not less than 30 years of age.

Article 5: A member may submit a request to resign his membership to the Speaker, who in turn shall bring it before the King

Article 6: Accountability of a member shall be done on failing to perform duties, and shall be trailed according to rules and procedures to be issued by royal decree.

Article 7: On vacancy of a member position, the King shall choose a substitution and a royal decree shall be issued to this effect.

Article 8: No member may exploit his membership for his own interest.

Article 9: The membership shall not be combined with any governmental post, or with the management of any organisation, unless the King deems it necessary.

Article 10: Speaker, Vice-Speaker, and Secretary General shall be appointed and released by royal decree. Their ranks, rights, duties, and all their affairs shall be defined by royal decree

Article 11: Prior to assumption of their duties, Speaker, members and Secretary General shall take the following Oath before the King:

"I swear to Allah Almighty to be loyal to my religion, then to my King and Country, and not to reveal any of the State's secrets, to preserve its interests and laws, and to perform my duties with sincerity, integrity, loyalty and fairness."

Article 12: Riyadh City shall be the seat of the Shura Council. The Council may convene in other locations within the Kingdom if the King deems it appropriate.

Article 13: Shura Council term shall be four Hijri years, effective from the specified date in the Royal Decree issued for its formation. A new Council shall be formed at least two months prior to the end of the current Council. In case term of the current council ends before a new formation; current Council shall remain active until the new formation is accomplished. Numbers of the newly selected members shall not be less than half of the current Council.

Article 14: The King, or whoever may deputize, shall deliver an annual royal speech at Shura Council on State's domestic and foreign policy.

Article 15: Shura Council shall express its opinion on State's general policies referred by Prime Minister. The Council shall specifically have the right to exercise the following:

a. Discuss the general plan for economic and social development and give view.

b. Revising laws and regulations, international treaties and agreements, concessions, and provide whatever suggestions it deems appropriate.

c. Analysing laws.

d. Discuss government agencies annual reports and attaching new proposals when it deems appropriate.

Article 16: A meeting of Shura Council shall not be valid without a quorum of at least two thirds of members, including Speaker or whoever may deputises. Resolutions shall not be considered valid without members' majority approval.

Article 17: Shura council's resolutions shall be submitted to the king who decides what resolutions to be referred to Cabinet. If views of both Shura Council and Cabinet agree, the resolutions are issued after the king approval. If views of both councils vary the issue shall be returned back to Shura Council to decide whatever it deems appropriate, and send the new resolution to the king who takes the final decisions.

Article 18: Laws, international treaties and agreements, and concessions shall be issued and amended by royal decrees after being reviewed by the Shura Council.

Article 19: Shura Council shall form the necessary specialized committees amongst its members to exercise power within its jurisdiction. Further, it may form ad hoc committees to review any item on its agenda.

Article 20: Shura Council's committees may seek noncouncil members assistance of whomever fit upon Speaker's approval.

Article 21: Shura Council shall have Steering Committee composed of Speaker, Vice Speaker, and heads of specialised committees.

Article 22: Speaker shall submit to Prime Minister requesting accountability of ministers. A minister shall have the right to participate in the deliberation but not the right to yote

Article 23: Shura Council shall have the jurisdiction proposing a draft of a new law or an amendment of enacting law and study these within the council. Speaker shall submit the Council's resolution of new or amended law to the king.

Article 24: Speaker of Shura Council shall submit a request to the Prime Minister in providing the Council with documents and data in possession of government agencies, which the Council deems necessary to facilitate its work.

Article 25: Speaker shall submit an annual report to the King regarding Council's work in accordance with its regulations.

Article 26: Civil service laws shall be applying to Shura Council employees unless the regulations provide otherwise.

Article 27: The King shall allocate Shura Council special budget. The budget shall be spent in accordance with rules issued by royal decree.

Article 28: Shura Council's financial matters, auditing and closing accounts shall be regulated by special rules issued by royal decree.

Article 29: Shura Council regulations shall define the functions of the Speaker, Vice Speaker, General Secretary, bodies, methods of meetings conducting, work management, committees' works and voting procedure. The regulations shall also specify rules of debate, responding principles and other matters conducive to order and discipline within Council, so Council shall exercise jurisdiction for the Kingdom welfare and nation prosperity. These regulations shall be issued by royal decree.

Article 30: Amendment of this Law can only be made in the same manner of the promulgation.

THE LAW OF THE PROVINCES

With the help of God, We, Fahd Bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud, Monarch of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, having taken into consideration the public interest and the wish to improve the standard of Government Institutions' performance and modernisation in various provinces, have ordered the following:

- 1. The promulgation of the Law of the Provinces in the attached form
- 2. That this Law shall come into force within a period not
- exceeding one year effective from the date of its publication, 3. That this Law shall be published in the Official Gazette.

Article 1: The aim of this Law is to improve the standard of the administrative work and the development in the provinces of the Kingdom. It is also aimed at maintaining security and order, and guaranteeing citizens' rights and freedom within the framework of the Sharia.

Article 2: The provinces of the Kingdom and governmental seat of each province shall be formed according to a Royal Decree upon the recommendation of the Interior Minister.

Article 3: Administratively, every province shall consist of a number of governorates (of "class A" or "class B"), districts and centers (of "class A" or "class B"). Full consideration shall be given to the factors of demography, geography, security, environment and communications. The organisation of a governorate shall be carried out according to a Royal Decree upon the recommendation of the Interior Minister. Establishment of an affiliation of districts and centers shall take effect upon the Interior Minister's decision, as proposed by the emir of the province. (As amended by the Royal Decree A/21, dated 30/3/1414 AH).

Article 4: For each province, an emir with the rank of minister shall be appointed. A deputy at the highest (excellent) rank shall assist the emir and deputize for him during periods of absence. The appointment and the relief of the emir and his deputy shall be made by Royal Decree upon the recommendation of the Interior Minister.

Article 5: The Emir of the Province shall be answerable to the Interior Minister.

Article 6: An emir and his deputy, prior to assuming their duties, shall take the following oath before the King: "In the name of God Almighty, I swear that I will be loyal to my religion, then to my King and Country, will not reveal any of the State's secrets and will protect its interests and laws. I will perform my work in honesty, trust, sincerity and fairness."

Article 7: Every emir shall assume the administration of the region according to the general policy of the State in compliance with provisions of this Law and other laws and regulations. In particular, he is expected to do the following:

- Maintain security, order and stability, and take necessary measures in accordance with this Law and other laws and regulations.
- Implement rulings of the courts upon acquiring their final dispositions,
- Guarantee human rights and freedom, refrain from any action which affects such rights and freedom except within the limits provided by the Sharia and the Law,
- Work for social and economic development and public works of the province,
- Work for the development and improvement of public services in the province,
- Administer governorates, districts and centers, and supervise governors, directors and districts and heads of centers, and ascertain their capabilities to perform assigned duties,
- Protect State property and assets and prevent their usurpation,
- Supervise governmental institutions and their employees in the province and ensure proper performance of their work in honesty and loyalty with consideration of their affiliation with various ministries and service
- Have direct contact with ministers and head of agencies to discuss affairs of the province and improve the performance of affiliated institutions and to advise the Interior Minister accordingly,

• Submit annual reports to the Interior Minister on the efficiency of public services and other affairs of the province as defined by the executive provisions in this Law. (As amended by the Royal Decree A/21, dated 30/3/1414 AH).

Article 8: An annual meeting, attended by emirs of provinces and presided over by the Interior Minister, shall be held to discuss the affairs of the provinces. A report to this effect shall be forwarded to the Prince Minister by the Interior Minister.

Article 9: At least two meetings shall be held every year for governors and directors of districts to discuss affairs of the province. The meeting shall be presided over by the emir, who shall submit a report to the Interior Minister. (As amended by the Royal Decree A/21, dated 30/3/1414 AH).

Article 10: Upon the recommendation of the Interior Minister, one deputy or more with a rank not less than Grade 14 shall be appointed for every province following a decision by the Council of Ministers.

Every "Class A" governorate shall have a governor with a rank not less than Grade 14. Upon recommendation of the Interior Minister, he shall be appointed by an order issued by the Prime Minister. The governorate shall have a deputy with a rank not less than Grade 12. He shall be appointed by a decision of the Interior Minister upon the recommendation of the emir of the province.

Every "Class B" governorate shall have a governor with a rank not less than Grade 12. He shall be appointed by a decision of the Interior Minister upon the recommendation of the emir of the province.

Every "Class A" district shall have a director with a rank of not less than Grade 8. He shall be appointed by a decision of the Interior Minister upon the recommendation of the governor.

Every "Class B" district shall have a director with a rank of

Every "Class B" district shall have a director with a rank of not less than Grade 5. He shall be appointed by a decision of the emir of the province. (As amended by the Royal Decree A/2 1, dated 30/3/1414 AH).

Article 11: Emirs of provinces, governors of governorates and directors of districts shall reside in their work areas. They shall not be allowed to leave without permission from their direct superiors. (As amended by the Royal Decree A/21, dated 30/3/1414 AH).

Article 12: The governors, directors of districts and heads of centers shall assume their responsibilities within their jurisdictions and within the assigned limits of their powers. (As amended by the Royal Decree A/21, dated 30/3/1414 AH).

Article 13: Governors shall manage their governorates within their limits of powers as provided in Article 7, excluding clauses (f), (i) and (j). They shall supervise the work of subordinate directors and heads of centers, and ascertain their ability to perform their duties. They shall provide the Emir of the province with periodic reports about the efficiency of public services and other affairs of their governorates, as defined by the Executive Regulations of this Law. (As amended by the Royal Decree A/21, dated 30/3/1414 AH

Article 14: Every ministry or governmental organisation, having services in a province, shall appoint for its organs in the province a director with a rank not less than Grade 12.

He shall be directly affiliated with the central institution, and coordinate his work with the emir of the province.

Article 15: A council, called the Council of the Province, shall be established at every provincial seat.

Article 16: The council of a province shall be composed of:

- The emir of the province as chairman of the council,
 The deputy emir of the province as vice-chairman of the
- The deputy emir of the province as vice-chairman of the council,
 - The deputy of the governmental seat,
- Heads of governmental institutions in the province as specified by a resolution to be issued by the Prime Minister upon the recommendation of the Interior Minister,
- A minimum of ten men of knowledge, expertise and specialization to be appointed from among the inhabitants by an order issued by the Prime Minister after their nomination by the emir of the province and the approval by the Interior Minister -- Their terms of office shall be four years and shall be renewable. (Amended by the Royal Decree A/21, dated 30/3/1414 AH).

Article 17: It is stipulated that every member of the Council shall be:

- A Saudi national by birth and descent,
- A person well-known for righteousness and capability,
- Not younger than 30 years of age,
- A resident of the province.

Article 18: A member shall be entitled to submit written proposals to the head of the provincial council on matters pertaining to the council's jurisdiction. Every proposal shall be listed by the chairman on the council's agenda for consideration.

Article 19: A member shall not attend discussions of the (provincial) council or its committees if the subject of discussion might concern his personal gain or might benefit individuals for whom his testimony is not acceptable, or

individuals who have appointed him as guardian, proxy or representative.

Article 20: A (provincial council) member who wishes to resign shall submit his request to the Interior Minister through the emir of the province. His resignation shall not be considered valid until it is approved by the Prime Minister upon a proposal of the Interior Minister.

Article 21: In cases other than those mentioned in the Law, an appointed (provincial council) member may not be dismissed during the term of his membership without the Prime Minister's order after a proposal of the Interior Minister.

Article 22: When the place of any appointed (provincial council) member has become vacant for any reason, a successor shall be appointed within three months, effective from the beginning of vacancy. The term of the new member shall be equal to the remaining period of his predecessor's term in accordance with Article 16, Clause (e) of this Law.

Article 23: The council of a province shall consider whatever might improve the standard of services in the province particularly:

- Defining needs of the province and proposing their inclusion in the State's Development Plan,
- Defining useful projects and putting them in an order of priority, and proposing their endorsement in the annual budget of the State,
- Studying urban plans for villages and towns of the province, and following up the implementation of all allocations to the province from the development plan and the budget,
- Following up and coordinating the implementation of all allocations to the province from the development plan and the budget.

Article 24: The council of a province shall propose any work needed for the public interest of the population in the province, encourage citizens to participate in that work and submit the proposal to the Interior Minister.

Article 25: A provincial council is prohibited from considering any topic outside its jurisdiction as provided by terms of this Law. Its decisions shall be null and void if its powers are misused. The Minister of the Interior shall issue a decision to this effect.

Article 26: The council of a province shall convene every three months in ordinary sessions upon invitation by its chairman. If he considers it necessary, the chairman is entitled to summon the council to an extraordinary session. The session shall include one or more meetings which are held upon a single summons. The Session may not be adjourned until all issues on the agenda are taken into consideration and discussed.

Article 27: Those members who are mentioned in Article 16, Clauses (c) and (d) of this Law must attend meetings of the provincial council as part of their official duties. They should attend in person or appoint substitutes when they cannot attend. Regarding members mentioned in Clause (e) of the said Article, un-excused non-attendance at two successive sessions by a member shall be grounds for his dismissal from the council. In this case, he shall not be re-appointed before two years have elapsed effective from the date of the decision for dismissal.

Article 28: Meetings of a provincial council shall not be official unless at least two thirds of its members are present. Its resolutions shall be adopted by an absolute majority of votes of the council's members. In case of a tie vote, the chairman shall cast the deciding vote.

Article 29: A provincial council, in case of need, may form special committees to consider any topics within its powers. It may seek the assistance of experienced people and specialists. It may also invite others to attend the council's meetings and participate in discussion without having the right to vote.

Article 30: The Minister of Interior may invite a council to convene under his chairmanship anywhere he deems suitable. He may chair any meeting he attends.

Article 31: A provincial council may not convene without an invitation from its chairman or his deputy, or without an order issued by the Interior Minister.

Article 32: The chairman of a council shall submit a copy of the resolution to the Minister of Interior.

Article 33: The chairman of a provincial council shall inform ministries and governmental services of any resolutions concerning them which are passed by the council.

Article 34: Ministries and governmental institutions shall take into consideration resolutions passed by a provincial council in accordance with provisions of Article 23, Clauses (a) and (b) of this Law. If a ministry or a governmental institution does not agree to consider one of these resolutions, it shall explain the reasons to be provincial council. In case of dissatisfaction, the council shall refer the matter to the Interior Minister for reconsideration by the Prime Minister.

Article 35: Every ministry or institution with services in a province shall immediately inform the provincial council of projects which were decided upon in the budget for the province, together with its allocation from the development plan

Article 36: Any minister or head of institution may seek the opinion of a provincial council on matters pertaining to his jurisdiction in the province. The council shall forward its opinion in this regard.

Article 37: The Council of Ministers, upon a proposal of the Interior Ministry, shall set the remuneration of the chairman of a provincial council and its members, taking into account the cost of transportation and accommodation. (As amended by the Royal Decree A/21, dated 30/3/1414 AH).

Article 38: A provincial council can be dissolved only on an order by the Prime Minister following the recommendation of the Interior Minister. New members shall be appointed within three months effective from the date of the dissolution. During this period, members mentioned in Article 16, Clauses (c) and (d) of this Law, shall perform the duties of the council under chairmanship of the emir of the province.

Article 39: A secretariat for a provincial council shall be set up at the governmental seat of the province to prepare its agenda, send timely invitation, record discussions carried out during the sessions, count votes, prepare the minutes of sessions, draft decisions, and perform necessary work for the monitoring of the council's sessions and the registration of all decisions.

Article 40: The Interior Minister shall issue the necessary regulations to implement this Law.

CONSTITUTION OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN 1979 (rev. 1989)

Preamble

In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful We sent aforetime Our apostles with clear signs, and sent down with them the Book and the Balance that men may uphold justice... (Koran 57:25)

The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran sets forth the cultural, social, political, and economic institutions of Iranian society on the basis of Islamic principles and norms, which represent the earnest aspiration of the Islamic Ummah. This basic aspiration was made explicit by the very nature of the great Islamic Revolution of Iran, as well as the course of the Muslim people's struggle, from its beginning until victory, as reflected in the decisive and forceful slogans raised by all segments of the populations. Now, at the threshold of this great victory, our nation, with all its being, seeks its fulfilment.

The basic characteristic of this revolution, which distinguishes it from other movements that have taken place in Iran during the past hundred years, is its ideological and Islamic nature. After experiencing the anti-despotic constitutional movement and the anticolonialist movement centred on the nationalization of the oil industry, the Muslim people of Iran learned from this costly experience that the obvious and fundamental reason for the failure of those movements was their lack of an ideological basis. Although the Islamic line of thought and the direction provided by militant religious leaders played an essential role in the recent movements, nonetheless, the struggles waged in the course of those movements quickly fell into stagnation due to departure from genuine Islamic positions. Thus it was that the awakened conscience of the nation, under the leadership of the eminent marii' al-taglid. Avatullah al-Uzma Imam Khumavnî, came to perceive the necessity of pursuing an authentically Islamic and ideological line in its struggles. And this time, the militant Ulama' of the country, who had always been in the forefront of popular movements, together with the committed writers and intellectuals, found new impetus by following his leadership. (The beginning of the most recent movement of the Iranian people is to be put at 1382 of the lunar Islamic calendar, corresponding to 1341 of the solar Islamic calendar [1962 of the Christian calendar]).

1. The Dawn of the Movement

The devastating protest of Imam Khumaynî against the American conspiracy known as the "White Revolution", which was a step intended to stabilize the foundations of despotic rule and to reinforce the political, cultural, and economic dependence of Iran on world imperialism, brought into being a united movement of the people and, immediately afterwards, a momentous revolution of the Muslim nation in the month of Khurdad, 1342 [June 1963]. Although this revolution was drowned in blood, in reality it heralded the beginning of the blossoming of a glorious and massive uprising, which confirmed the central role of Imam Khumaynî as an Islamic leader. Despite his exile from Iran after his protest against the humiliating law of capitulation (which provided legal immunity for American advisers), the firm bond between the Imam and the people endured, and the Muslim nation, particularly committed intellectuals and militant Ulama', continued their struggle in the face of banishment and imprisonment, torture and execution.

Throughout this time, the conscious and responsible segment of society was bringing enlightenment to the people from the strongholds of the mosques, centres of religious

teaching, and universities. Drawing inspiration from the revolutionary and fertile teachings of Islam, they began the unrelenting yet fruitful struggle of raising the level of ideological awareness and revolutionary consciousness of the Muslim people. The despotic regime which had begun the suppression of the Islamic movement with barbaric attacks on the Faydiyyah Madrasah, Tehran University, and all other active centres of revolution, in an effort to evade the revolutionary anger of the people, resorted to the most savage and brutal measures. And in these circumstances, execution by firing squads, endurance of medieval tortures, and long terms of imprisonment were the price our Muslim nation had to pay to prove its firm resolve to continue the struggle. The Islamic Revolution of Iran was nurtured by the blood of hundreds of young men and women, infused with faith, who raised their cries of "Allahu Akbar" at daybreak in execution yards, or were gunned down by the enemy in streets and marketplaces. Meanwhile, the continuing declarations and messages of the Imam that were issued on various occasions, extended and deepened the consciousness and determination of the Muslim nation to the utmost

2. Islamic Government

The plan of the Islamic government based upon wilayat alfaqih, as proposed by Imam Khumaynî at the height of the period of repression and strangulation practised by the despotic regime, produced a new specific, and streamlined motive for the Muslim people, opening up before them the true path of Islamic ideological struggle, and giving greater intensity to the struggle of militant and committed Muslims both within the country and abroad.

The movement continued on this course until finally popular dissatisfaction and intense rage of the public caused by the constantly increasing repression at home, and the projection of the struggle at the international level after exposure of the regime by the Ulama' and militant students, shook the foundations of the regime violently. The regime and its sponsors were compelled to decrease the intensity of repression and to "liberalize" the political atmosphere of the country. This, they imagined, will serve as a safety valve, which would prevent their eventual downfall. But the people, aroused, conscious, and resolute under the decisive and unfaltering leadership of the Imam, embarked on a triumphant, unified, comprehensive, and countrywide uprising.

3. The Wrath of the People

The publication of an outrageous article meant to malign the revered Ulama' and in particular Imam Khumaynî on 15 Day, 1356 [January 7, 1978] by the ruling regime accelerated the revolutionary movement and caused an outburst of popular outrage across the country. The regime attempted to quell the volcano of the people's anger by drowning the protest and uprising in blood, but the bloodshed only quickened the pulse rate of the Revolution. The seventh-day and fortieth-day commemorations of the martyrs of the Revolution, like a series of steady heartbeats, gave greater vitality, intensity, vigour, and solidarity to this movement all over the country. In the course of this popular movement, the employees of all government establishments took an active part in the effort to overthrow the tyrannical regime by calling a general strike and participating in street demonstrations. The widespread solidarity of men and women of all segments of society and of all political and religious factions, played a clearly determining role in the struggle. Especially the women were actively and massively present in a most conspicuous manner at all stages of this great struggle. The common sight of mothers with infants in their arms rushing towards the scene of battle and in front of the barrels of machine-guns indicated the essential and decisive role played by this major segment of society in the struggle.

4. The Price the Nation Paid

After slightly more than a year of continuous and unrelenting struggle, the sapling of the Revolution, watered by the blood of more than 60,000 martyrs and 100,000 wounded and disabled, not to mention billions of tumans' worth of property damage, came to bear fruit amidst the cries of "Independence! Freedom! Islamic government!" This great movement, which attained victory through reliance upon faith, unity, and the decisiveness of its leadership at every critical and sensitive juncture, as well as the self-sacrificing spirit of the people, succeeded in upsetting all the calculations of imperialism and destroying all its connections and institutions, thereby opening a new chapter in the history of all embracing popular revolutions of the world.

Bahman 21 and 22, 1357 [February 12 and 13, 1979] witnessed the collapse of the monarchical regime; domestic tyranny and foreign domination, both of which were based upon it, were shattered. This great success proved to be the vanguard of Islamic government-a long-cherished desire of the Muslim people--and brought with it the glad tidings of final victory.

Unanimously, and with the participation of the maraji' altaqlid, the Ulama' of Islam, and the leadership, the Iranian people declared their final and firm decision, in the referendum on the Islamic Republic, to bring about a new political system, that of the Islamic Republic. A 98.2% majority of the people voted for this system. The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, setting forth as it does the political, social, cultural, and economic institutions and their relations that are to exist in society, must now provide for the consolidation of the foundations of Islamic government, and propose the plan of a new system of government to be erected on the ruins of the previous taghuti order.

5. The Form of Government in Islam

In the view of Islam, government does not derive from the interests of a class, nor does it serve the domination of an individual or a group. It represents rather the crystallization of the political ideal of a people who bear a common faith and common outlook, taking an organized form in order to initiate the process of intellectual and ideological evolution towards the final goal, i.e., movement towards Allah, Our nation, in the course of its revolutionary developments, has cleansed itself of the dust and impurities that accumulated during the taghuti past and purged itself of foreign ideological influences, returning to authentic intellectual standpoints and world-view of Islam. It now intends to establish an ideal and model society on the basis of Islamic norms. The mission of the Constitution is to realize the ideological objectives of the movement and to create conditions conducive to the development of man in accordance with the noble and universal values of Islam.

With due attention to the Islamic content of the Iranian Revolution, which has been a movement aimed at the triumph of all the mustadAfun over the mustakbirun, the Constitution provides the necessary basis for ensuring the continuation of the Revolution at home and abroad. In particular, in the development of international relations, the Constitution will strive with other Islamic and popular movements to prepare the way for the formation of a single world community (in accordance with the Koranic verse "This your community is a single community, and I am your Lord, so worship Me" [Koran 21:92]), and to assure the continuation of the struggle for the liberation of all deprived and oppressed peoples in the world

With due attention to the essential character of this great movement, the Constitution guarantees the rejection of all forms of intellectual and social tyranny and economic monopoly, and aims at entrusting the destinies of the people to the people themselves in order to break completely with the system of oppression. (This is in accordance with the Koranic verse "He removes from them their burdens and the fetters that were upon them" [Koran 7:157]).

In creating, on the basis of ideological outlook, the political infrastructures and institutions that are the foundation of society the righteous will assume the responsibility of governing and administering the country (in accordance with the Koranic verse "Verily My righteous servants shall inherit the earth" [Koran 21:105]). Legislation setting forth regulations for the administration of society will revolve around the Koran and the Sunnah. Accordingly, the exercise of meticulous and earnest supervision by just, pious, and committed scholars of Islam (al-fuqaha' al-Udul) is an absolute necessity. In addition, the aim of government is to foster the growth of man in such a way that he progresses towards the establishment of a Divine order (in accordance with the Koranic phrase "And toward God is the journeying" [Koran 3:28]); and to create favourable conditions for the emergence and blossoming of man's innate capacities, so that the theomorphic dimensions of the human being are manifested (in accordance with the injunction of the Prophet (S), "Mould yourselves according to the Divine morality"); this goal cannot be attained without the active and broad participation of all segments of society in the process of social development

With due attention to this goal, the Constitution provides the basis of such participation by all members of society at all stages of the political decision-making process on which the destiny of the country depends. In this way, during the course of human development towards perfection, each individual will himself be involved in, and responsible for the growth, advancement, and leadership of society. Precisely in this lies the realization of the government of the mustad fun upon the earth (in accordance with the Koranic verse "And we wish to show favour to those who have been oppressed upon earth, and to make them leaders and the inheritors" [Koran 28:5]).

6. The Wilayah of the Just Faqih

In keeping with the principles of governance [wilayat al-Amr] and the perpetual necessity of leadership [imamah], the Constitution provides for the establishment of leadership by a faqih possessing the necessary qualifications [jami' al-sharalt.] and recognized as leader by the people (this is in accordance with the hadith "The direction of [public] affairs is in the hands of those who are learned concerning God and are

trustworthy in matters pertaining to what He permits and forbids" [Tuhaf al-Uqul, p. 176]). Such leadership will prevent any deviation by the various organs of State from their essential Islamic duties.

7. The Economy is a Means Not an End

In strengthening the foundations of the economy, the fundamental consideration will be fulfillment of the material needs of man in the course of his overall growth and development. This principle contrasts with other economic systems, where the aim is concentration and accumulation of wealth and maximization of profit. In materialist schools of thought, the economy represents an end in itself, so that it comes to be a subversive and corrupting factor in the course of man's development. In Islam, the economy is a means, and all that is required of a means is that it should be an efficient factor contributing to the attainment of the ultimate goal.

From this viewpoint, the economic programme of Islam consists of providing the means needed for the emergence of the various creative capacities of the human being. Accordingly, it is the duty of the Islamic government to furnish all citizens with equal and appropriate opportunities, to provide them with work, and to satisfy their essential needs, so that the course of their progress may be assured.

8. Woman in the Constitution

Through the creation of Islamic social infrastructures, all the elements of humanity that hitherto served the multifaceted foreign exploitation shall regain their true identity and human rights. As a part of this process, it is only natural that women should benefit from a particularly large augmentation of their rights, because of the greater oppression that they suffered under the taghuti regime.

The family is the fundamental unit of society and the main centre for the growth and edification of human being. Compatibility with respect to belief and ideal, which provides the primary basis for man's development and growth, is the main consideration in the establishment of a family. It is the duty of the Islamic government to provide the necessary facilities for the attainment of this goal. This view of the family unit delivers woman from being regarded as an object or as an instrument in the service of promoting consumerism and exploitation. Not only does woman recover thereby her momentous and precious function of motherhood, rearing of ideologically committed human beings, she also assumes a pioneering social role and becomes the fellow struggler of man in all vital areas of life. Given the weighty responsibilities that woman thus assumes, she is accorded in Islam great value and nobility.

9. An Ideological Army

In the formation and equipping of the country's defence forces, due attention must be paid to faith and ideology as the basic criteria. Accordingly, the Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps are to be organized in conformity with this goal, and they will be responsible not only for guarding and preserving the frontiers of the country, but also for fulfilling the ideological mission of jihad in God's way; that is, extending the sovereignty of God's law throughout the world (this is in accordance with the Koranic verse "Prepare against them whatever force you are able to muster, and strings of horses, striking fear into the enemy of God and your enemy, and others besides them" [Koran 8:60]).

10. The Judiciary in the Constitution

The judiciary is of vital importance in the context of safeguarding the rights of the people in accordance with the line followed by the Islamic movement, and the prevention of deviations within the Islamic nation. Provision has therefore been made for the creation of a judicial system based on Islamic justice and operated by just judges with meticulous knowledge of the Islamic laws. This system, because of its essentially sensitive nature and the need for full ideological conformity, must be free from every kind of unhealthy relation and connection (this is in accordance with the Koranic verse "When you judge among the people, judge with justice" [Koran 4:58]).

11. Executive Power

Considering the particular importance of the executive power in implementing the laws and ordinances of Islam for the sake of establishing the rule of just relations over society, and considering, too, its vital role in paving the way for the attainment of the ultimate goal of life, the executive power must work toward the creation of an Islamic society. Consequently, the confinement of the executive power within any kind of complex and inhibiting system that delays or impedes the attainment of this goal is rejected by Islam. Therefore, the system of bureaucracy, the result and product of taghuti forms of government, will be firmly cast away, so that an executive system that functions efficiently and swiftly in the fulfilment of its administrative commitments comes into existence.

12. Mass-Communication Media

The mass-communication media, radio and television, must serve the diffusion of Islamic culture in pursuit of the evolutionary course of the Islamic Revolution. To this end, the media should be used as a forum for healthy encounter of different ideas, but they must strictly refrain from diffusion and propagation of destructive and anti-Islamic practices. It is incumbent on all to adhere to the principles of this Constitution, for it regards as its highest aim the freedom and dignity of the human race and provides for the growth and development of the human being. It is also necessary that the Muslim people should participate actively in the construction of Islamic society by selecting competent and believing [mu'min] officials and keeping close and constant watch on their performance. They may then hope for success in building an ideal Islamic society that can be a model for all people of the world and a witness to its perfection (in accordance with the Koranic verse "Thus We made you a median community, that you might be witnesses to men" [2:143]).

13. Representatives

The Assembly of Experts, composed of representatives of the people, completed its task of framing the Constitution, on the basis of the draft proposed by the government as well as all the proposals received from different groups of the people, in one hundred and seventy-five articles arranged in twelve chapters, on the eve of the fifteenth century after the migration of the Holy Prophet (peace and blessings be upon him and his Family), the founder of the redeeming school of Islam, and in accordance with the aims and aspirations set out above, with the hope that this century will witness the establishment of a universal government of the mustadAfun and the downfall of all the mustakbirun.

CHAPTER I. General Principles

Article 1: The form of government of Iran is that of an Islamic Republic, endorsed by the people of Iran on the basis of their longstanding belief in the sovereignty of truth and Koranic justice, in the referendum of Farwardin 9 and 10 in the year 1358 of the solar Islamic calendar, corresponding to Jamadial-Awwal 1 and 2 in the year 1399 of the lunar Islamic calendar [March 29 and 30, 1979], through the affirmative vote of a majority of 98.2% of eligible voters, held after the victorious Islamic Revolution led by the eminent marji' altaqlid, Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khumayni.

Article 2: The Islamic Republic is a system based on belief in:

1. the One God (as stated in the phrase "There is no god except Allah"), His exclusive sovereignty and the right to legislate, and the necessity of submission to His commands;

- 2. Divine **revelation** and its fundamental role in setting forth the **laws**:
- 3. the return to God in the Hereafter, and the constructive role of this belief in the course of man's ascent towards God:
 - 4. the justice of God in creation and legislation;
- 5. continuous leadership (imamah) and perpetual guidance, and its fundamental role in ensuring the uninterrupted process of the revolution of Islam;
- 6. the exalted dignity and value of man, and his freedom coupled with responsibility before God;
- in which equity, justice, political, economic, social, and cultural independence, and national solidarity are secured by recourse to:
- a. continuous ijtihad of the fuqaha' possessing necessary qualifications, exercised on the basis of the Koran and the Sunnah of the Ma'sumun, upon all of whom be peace;
- sciences and arts and the most advanced results of human experience, together with the effort to advance them further;
- c. negation of all forms of oppression, both the infliction of and the submission to it, and of dominance, both its imposition and its acceptance.

Article 3: In order to attain the objectives specified in Article 2, the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has the duty of directing all its resources to the following goals:

- 1. the creation of a favourable environment for the growth of moral virtues based on faith and piety and the struggle against all forms of vice and corruption;
- raising the level of public awareness in all areas, through the proper use of the press, mass media, and other means:
- 3. free education and physical training for everyone at all levels, and the facilitation and expansion of higher education;
- 4. strengthening the spirit of inquiry, investigation, and innovation in all areas of science, technology, and culture, as well as Islamic studies, by establishing research centres and encouraging researchers;
- the complete elimination of imperialism and the prevention of foreign influence;
- 6. the elimination of all forms of despotism and autocracy and all attempts to monopolize power;
- 7. ensuring political and social freedoms within the framework of the law;

- 8. the participation of the entire people in determining their political, economic, social, and cultural destiny:
- 9. the abolition of all forms of undesirable discrimination and the provision of equitable opportunities for all, in both the material and intellectual spheres;
- 10. the creation of a correct administrative system and elimination of superfluous government organizations;
- 11. all round strengthening of the foundations of national defence to the utmost degree by means of universal military training for the sake of safeguarding the independence, territorial integrity, and the Islamic order of the country;
- 12. the planning of a correct and just economic system, in accordance with Islamic criteria, in order to create welfare, eliminate poverty, and abolish all forms of deprivation with respect to food, housing, work, health care, and the provision of social insurance for all;
- 13. the attainment of self-sufficiency in scientific, technological, industrial, agricultural, and military domains, and other similar spheres;
- 14. securing the multifarious rights of all citizens, both women and men, and providing legal protection for all, as well as the equality of all before the law;
- 15. the expansion and strengthening of Islamic brotherhood and public cooperation among all the people;
- 16. framing the foreign policy of the country on the basis of Islamic criteria, fraternal commitment to all Muslims, and unsparing support to the mustadAfun of the world.

Article 4: All civil, penal, financial, economic, administrative, cultural, military, political, and other laws and regulations must be based on Islamic criteria. This principle applies absolutely and generally to all articles of the Constitution as well as to all other laws and regulations, and the fuqaha' of the Guardian Council are judges in this matter.

Article 5: During the Occultation of the Walial-Asr (may God hasten his reappearance), the wilayah and leadership of the Ummah devolve upon the just [Adil] and pious [muttaqi] faqih, who is fully aware of the circumstances of his age; courageous, resourceful, and possessed of administrative ability, will assume the responsibilities of this office in accordance with Article 107.

Article 6: In the Islamic Republic of Iran, the affairs of the country must be administered on the basis of public opinion expressed by the means of elections, including the election of the President, the representatives of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, and the members of councils, or by means of referenda in matters specified in other articles of this Constitution

Article 7: In accordance with the command of the Koran contained in the verse ('Their affairs are by consultations among them" [42:38]) and ("Consult them in affairs" [3:159]), consultative bodies--such as the Islamic Consultative Assembly, the Provincial Councils, and the City, Region, District, and Village Councils and the likes of the--are the decision-making and administrative oreans of the country.

The nature of each of these councils, together with the manner of their formation, their jurisdiction, and scope of their duties and functions, is determined by the Constitution and laws derived from it.

Article 8: In the Islamic Republic of Iran, al-Amr bilma'ruf wa al-nahy An al-munkar is a universal and reciprocal duty that must be fulfilled by the people with respect to one another, by the government with respect to the people, and by the people with respect to the government. The conditions, limits, and nature of this duty will be specified by law. (This is in accordance with the Koranic verse: "The believers, men and women, are guardians of one another, they enjoin the good and forbid the evil" [9:71]).

Article 9: In the Islamic Republic of Iran, the freedom, independence, unity, and territorial integrity of the country are inseparable from one another, and their preservation is the duty of the government and all individual citizens. No individual, group, or authority, has the right to infringe in the slightest way upon the political, cultural, economic, and military independence or the territorial integrity of Iran under the pretext of exercising freedom. Similarly, no authority has the right to abrogate legitimate freedoms, not even by enacting laws and regulations for that purpose, under the pretext of preserving the independence and territorial integrity of the country.

Article 10: Since the family is the fundamental unit of Islamic society, all laws, regulations, and pertinent programmes must tend to facilitate the formation of a family, and to safeguard its sanctity and the stability of family relations on the basis of the law and the ethics of Islam.

Article 11: In accordance with the sacred verse of the Koran ("This your community is a single community, and I am your Lord, so worship Me" [21:92]), all Muslims form a single nation, and the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran has the duty of formulating its general policies with a view to cultivating the friendship and unity of all Muslim peoples, and it must constantly strive to bring about the political, economic, and cultural unity of the Islamic world.

Article 12: The official religion of Iran is Islam and the Twelver Ja'farî school [in usul al-Dîn and fiqh], and this principle will remain eternally immutable. Other Islamic schools, including the Hanafî, Shafî'î, Malikî, Hanbalî, and Zaydî, are to be accorded full respect, and their followers are free to act in accordance with their own jurisprudence in performing their religious rites. These schools enjoy official status in matters pertaining to religious education, affairs of personal status (marriage, divorce, inheritance, and wills) and related litigation in courts of law. In regions of the country where Muslims following any one of these schools of fiqh constitute the majority, local regulations, within the bounds of the jurisdiction of local councils, are to be in accordance with the respective school of fiqh, without infringing upon the rights of the followers of other schools.

Article 13: Zoroastrian, Jewish, and Christian Iranians are the only recognized religious minorities, who, within the limits of the law (see: Edict of Umar), are free to perform their religious rites and ceremonies, and to act according to their own canon in matters of personal affairs and religious education.

Article 14: In accordance with the sacred verse ("God does not forbid you to deal kindly and justly with those who have not fought against you because of your religion and who have not expelled you from your homes" [60:8]), the government of the Islamic Republic of Iran and all Muslims are duty-bound to treat non-Muslims in conformity with ethical norms and the principles of Islamic justice and equity, and to respect their human rights. This principle applies to all who refrain from engaging in conspiracy or activity against Islam and the Islamic Republic of Iran.

CHAPTER II. The Official Language, Script, Calendar, and Flag of the Country

Article 15: The official language and script of Iran, the lingua franca of its people, is Persian. Official documents, correspondence, and texts, as well as text-books, must be in this language and script. However, the use of regional and tribal languages in the press and mass media, as well as for teaching of their literature in schools, is allowed in addition to Persian.

Article 16: Since the language of the Koran and Islamic texts and teachings is Arabic, and since Persian literature is thoroughly permeated by this language, it must be taught after elementary level, in all classes of secondary school and in all areas of study.

Article 17: The official calendar of the country takes as its point of departure the migration of the Prophet of Islam God's peace and blessings upon him and his Family. Both the solar and lunar Islamic calendars are recognized, but government offices will function according to the solar calendar. The official weekly holiday is Friday.

Article 18: The official flag of Iran is composed of green, white and red colours with the special emblem of the Islamic Republic, together with the motto (Allahu Akbar).

CHAPTER III. The Rights of the People

Article 19: All people of Iran, whatever the ethnic group or tribe to which they belong, enjoy equal rights; and colour, race, language, and the like, do not bestow any privilege.

Article 20: All citizens of the country, both men and women, equally enjoy the protection of the law and enjoy all human, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, in conformity with Islamic criteria.

Article 21: The government must ensure the rights of women in all respects, in conformity with Islamic criteria, and accomplish the following goals:

- create a favourable environment for the growth of woman's personality and the restoration of her rights, both the material and intellectual;
- the protection of mothers, particularly during pregnancy and childrearing, and the protection of children without guardians;
- establishing competent courts to protect and preserve the family;
- the provision of special insurance for widows, and aged women and women without support;
- 5. the awarding of guardianship of children to worthy mothers, in order to protect the interests of the children, in the absence of a legal guardian.

Article 22: The dignity, life, property, rights, residence, and occupation of the individual are inviolate, except in cases sanctioned by law.

Article 23: The investigation of individuals' beliefs is forbidden, and no one may be molested or taken to task simply for holding a certain belief.

Article 24: Publications and the press have freedom of expression except when it is detrimental to the fundamental principles of Islam or the rights of the public. The details of this exception will be specified by law.

Article 25: The inspection of letters and the failure to deliver them, the recording and disclosure of telephone conversations, the disclosure of telegraphic and telex communications, censorship, or the wilful failure to transmit

them, eaves-dropping, and all forms of covert investigation are forbidden, except as provided by law.

Article 26: The formation of parties, societies, political or professional associations, as well as religious societies, whether Islamic or pertaining to one of the recognized religious minorities, is permitted provided they do not violate the principles of independence, freedom, national unity, the criteria of Islam, or the basis of the Islamic Republic. No one may be prevented from participating in the aforementioned groups, or be compelled to participate in them.

Article 27: Public gatherings and marches may be freely held, provided arms are not carried and that they are not detrimental to the fundamental principles of Islam.

Article 28: Everyone has the right to choose any occupation he wishes, if it is not contrary to Islam and the public interests, and does not infringe the rights of others. The government has the duty, with due consideration of the need of society for different kinds of work, to provide every citizen with the opportunity to work, and to create equal conditions for obtaining it.

Article 29: To benefit from social security with respect to retirement, unemployment, old age, disability, absence of a guardian, and benefits relating to being stranded, accidents, health services, and medical care and treatment, provided through insurance or other means, is accepted as a universal right.

The government must provide the foregoing services and financial support for every individual citizen by drawing, in accordance with the law, on the national revenues and funds obtained through public contributions.

Article 30: The government must provide all citizens with free education up to secondary school, and must expand free higher education to the extent required by the country for attaining self-sufficiency.

Article 31: It is the right of every Iranian individual and family to possess housing commensurate with his needs. The government must make land available for the implementation of this article, according priority to those whose need is greatest, in particular the rural population and the workers.

Article 32: No one may be arrested except by the order and in accordance with the procedure laid down by law. In case of arrest, charges with the reasons for accusation must, without delay, be communicated and explained to the accused in writing, and a provisional dossier must be forwarded to the competent judicial authorities within a maximum of twenty-four hours so that the preliminaries to the trial can be completed as swiftly as possible. The violation of this article will be liable to punishment in accordance with the law.

Article 33: No one can be banished from his place of residence, prevented from residing in the place of his choice, or compelled to reside in a given locality, except in cases provided by law.

Article 34: It is the indisputable right of every citizen to seek justice by recourse to competent courts. All citizens have right of access to such courts, and no one can be barred from courts to which he has a legal right of recourse.

Article 35: Both parties to a lawsuit have the right in all courts of law to select an attorney, and if they are unable to do so, arrangements must be made to provide them with legal counsel.

Article 36: The passing and execution of a sentence must be only by a competent court and in accordance with law.

Article 37: Innocence is to be presumed, and no one is to be held guilty of a charge unless his or her guilt has been established by a competent court.

Article 38: All forms of torture for the purpose of extracting confession or acquiring information are forbidden. Compulsion of individuals to testify, confess, or take an oath is not permissible; and any testimony, confession, or oath obtained under duress is devoid of value and credence. Violation of this article is liable to punishment in accordance with the law

Article 39: All affronts to the dignity and repute of persons arrested, detained, imprisoned, or banished in accordance with the law, whatever form they may take, are forbidden and liable to punishment.

Article 40: No one is entitled to exercise his rights in a way injurious to others or detrimental to public interests.

Article 41: Iranian citizenship is the indisputable right of every Iranian, and the government cannot withdraw citizenship from any Iranian unless he himself requests it or acquires the citizenship of another country.

Article 42: Foreign nationals may acquire Iranian citizenship within the framework of the laws. Citizenship may be withdrawn from such persons if another State accepts them as its citizens or if they request it.

CHAPTER IV. Economy and Financial Affairs

Article 43: The economy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, with its objectives of achieving the economic independence of the society, uprooting poverty and deprivation, and fulfilling human needs in the process of development while preserving human liberty, is based on the following criteria:

1. the provision of basic necessities for all citizens: housing, food, clothing, hygiene, medical treatment, education, and the necessary facilities for the establishment of a family:

2. ensuring conditions and opportunities of employment for everyone, with a view to attaining full employment; placing the means of work at the disposal of everyone who is able to work but lacks the means, in the form of cooperatives, through granting interest free loans or recourse to any other legitimate means that neither results in the concentration or circulation of wealth in the hands of a few individuals or groups, nor turns the government into a major absolute employer. These steps must be taken with due regard for the requirements governing the general economic planning of the country at each stage of its growth;

3. the plan for the national economy, must be structured in such a manner that the form, content, and hours of work of every individual will allow him sufficient leisure and energy to engage, beyond his professional endeavour, in intellectual, political, and social activities leading to all-round development of his self, to take active part in leading the affairs of the country, improve his skills, and to make full use of his creativity:

 respect for the right to choose freely one's occupation; refraining from compelling anyone to engage in a particular job; and preventing the exploitation of another's labour;

 the prohibition of infliction of harm and loss upon others, monopoly, hoarding, usury, and other illegitimate and evil practices:

6. the prohibition of extravagance and wastefulness in all matters related to the economy, including consumption, investment, production, distribution, and services;

7. the utilization of science and technology, and the training of skilled personnel in accordance with the developmental needs of the country's economy;

prevention of foreign economic domination over the country's economy;

9. emphasis on increase of agricultural, livestock, and industrial production in order to satisfy public needs and to make the country self-sufficient and free from dependence.

Article 44: The economy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is to consist of three sectors: state, cooperative, and private, and is to be based on systematic and sound planning.

The state sector is to include all large-scale and mother industries, foreign trade, major minerals, banking, insurance, power generation, dams and large-scale irrigation networks, radio and television, post, telegraph and telephone services, aviation, shipping, roads, railroads and the like; all these will be publicly owned and administered by the State.

The cooperative sector is to include cooperative companies and enterprises concerned with production and distribution, in urban and rural areas, in accordance with Islamic criteria.

The private sector consists of those activities concerned with agriculture, animal husbandry, industry, trade, and services that supplement the economic activities of the state and cooperative sectors.

Ownership in each of these three sectors is protected by the laws of the Islamic Republic, in so far as this ownership is in conformity with the other articles of this chapter, does not go beyond the bounds of Islamic law, contributes to the economic growth and progress of the country, and does not harm society.

The [precise] scope of each of these sectors, as well as the regulations and conditions governing their operation, will be specified by law.

Article 45: Public wealth and property, such as uncultivated or abandoned land, mineral deposits, seas, lakes, rivers and other public water-ways, mountains, valleys, forests, marshland, natural forests, unenclosed pastureland, legacies without heirs, property of undetermined ownership, and public property recovered from usurpers, shall be at the disposal of the Islamic government for it to utilize in accordance with the public interest. Law will specify detailed procedures for the utilization of each of the foregoing items.

Article 46: Everyone is the owner of the fruits of his legitimate business and labour, and no one may deprive another of the opportunity of business and work under the pretext of his right to ownership.

Article 47: Private ownership, legitimately acquired, is to be respected. The relevant criteria are determined by law.

Article 48: There must be no discrimination among the various provinces with regard to the exploitation of natural resources, utilization of public revenues, and distribution of economic activities among the various provinces and regions of the country, thereby ensuring that every region has access to the necessary capital and facilities in accordance with its needs and capacity for growth.

Article 49: The government has the responsibility of confiscating all wealth accumulated through usury, usurpation, bribery, embezzlement, theft, gambling, misuse of endowments, misuse of government contracts and transactions, the sale of uncultivated lands and other resources subject to public ownership, the operation of centres of corruption, and other illicit means and sources, and

restoring it to its legitimate owner; and if no such owner can be identified, it must be entrusted to the public treasury. This rule must be executed by the government with due care, after investigation and furnishing necessary evidence in accordance with the law of Islam.

Article 50: The preservation of the environment, in which the present as well as the future generations have a right to flourishing social existence, is regarded as a public duty in the Islamic Republic. Economic and other activities that inevitably involve pollution of the environment or cause irreparable damage to it are therefore forbidden.

Article 51: No form of taxation may be imposed except in accordance with the law. Provisions for tax exemption and reduction will be determined by law.

Article 52: The annual budget of the country will be drawn up by the government, in the manner specified by law, and submitted to the Islamic Consultative Assembly for discussion and approval. Any change in the figures contained in the budget will be in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.

Article 53: All sums collected by the government will be deposited into the government accounts at the central treasury, and all disbursements, within the limits of allocations approved, shall be made in accordance with law.

Article 54: The National Accounting Agency is to be directly under the supervision of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. Its organization and mode of operation in Tehran and at the provincial capitals, are to be determined by law.

Article 55: The National Accounting Agency will inspect and audit, in the manner prescribed by law, all the accounts of ministries, government institutions and companies as well as other organizations that draw, in any way, on the general budget of the country, to ensure that no expenditure exceeds the allocations approved and that all sums are spent for the specified purpose. It will collect all relevant accounts, documents, and records, in accordance with law, and submit to the Islamic Consultative Assembly a report for the settlement of each year's budget together with its own comments. This report must be made available to the public.

CHAPTER V. The Right of National Sovereignty and the Powers Deriving Therefrom

Article 56: Absolute sovereignty over the world and man belongs to God, and it is He Who has made man master of his own social destiny. No one can deprive man of this divine right, nor subordinate it to the vested interests of a particular individual or group. The people are to exercise this divine right in the manner specified in the following articles.

Article 57: The powers of government in the Islamic Republic are vested in the legislature, the judiciary, and the executive powers, functioning under the supervision of the absolute wilayat al-Amr and the Leadership of the Ummah, in accordance with the forthcoming articles of this Constitution. These powers are independent of each other.

Article 58: The functions of the legislature are to be exercised through the Islamic Consultative Assembly, consisting of the elected representatives of the people. Legislation approved by this body, after going through the stages specified in the articles below, is communicated to the executive and the judiciary for implementation.

Article 59: In extremely important economic, political, social, and cultural matters, the functions of the legislature may be exercised through direct recourse to popular vote through a referendum. Any request for such direct recourse to public opinion must be approved by two-thirds of the members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 60: The functions of the executive, except in the matters that are directly placed under the jurisdiction of the Leadership by the Constitution, are to be exercised by the President and the ministers.

Article 61: The functions of the judiciary are to be performed by courts of justice, which are to be formed in accordance with the criteria of Islam, and are vested with the authority to examine and settle lawsuits, protect the rights of the public, dispense and enact justice, and implement the Divine limits [al-hudud al-llahiyyah].

CHAPTER VI. The Legislative Power SECTION 1. The Islamic Consultative Assembly Article 62

The Islamic Consultative Assembly is constituted by the representatives of the people elected directly and by secret ballot.

The qualifications of voters and candidates, as well as the nature of election, will be specified by law.

Article 63: The term of membership in the Islamic Consultative Assembly is four years. Elections for each term must take place before the end of the preceding term, so that the country is never without an Assembly.

Article 64: There are to be two hundred seventy members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly which, keeping in view the human, political, geographic and other similar factors, may increase by not more than twenty for each ten-year period

from the date of the national referendum of the year 1368 of the solar Islamic calendar.

The Zoroastrians and Jews will each elect one representative; Assyrian and Chaldean Christians will jointly elect one representative; and Armenian Christians in the north and those in the south of the country will each elect one representative.

The limits of the election constituencies and the number of representatives will be determined by law.

Article 65: After the holding of elections, sessions of the Islamic Consultative Assembly are considered legally valid when two-thirds of the total number of members are present. Drafts and bills will be approved in accordance with the code of procedure approved by it, except in cases where the Constitution has specified a certain quorum.

The consent of two-thirds of all members present is necessary for the approval of the code of procedure of the Assembly.

Article 66: The manner of election of the Speaker and the Presiding Board of the Assembly, the number of committees and their term of office, and matters related to conducting the discussions and maintaining the discipline of the Assembly will be determined by the code of procedure of the Assembly.

Article 67: Members of the Assembly must take the following oath at the first session of the Assembly and affix their signatures to its text: "In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

In the presence of the Glorious Koran, I swear by God, the Exalted and Almighty, and undertake, swearing by my own honour as a human being, to protect the sanctity of Islam and guard the accomplishments of the Islamic Revolution of the Iranian people and the foundations of the Islamic Republic; to protect, as a just trustee, the honour bestowed upon me by the people, to observe piety in fulfilling my duties as people's representative; to remain always committed to the independence and honour of the country; to fulfil my duties towards the nation and the service of the people; to defend the Constitution; and to bear in mind, both in speech and writing and in the expression of my views, the independence of the country, the freedom of the people, and the security of their interests."

Members belonging to the religious minorities will swear by their own sacred books while taking this oath.

Members not attending the first session will perform the ceremony of taking the oath at the first session they attend.

Article 68: In time of war and the military occupation of the country, elections due to be held in occupied areas or countrywide may be delayed for a specified period if proposed by the President of the Republic, and approved by three-fourths of the total members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, with the endorsement of the Guardian Council. If a new Assembly is not formed, the previous one will continue to function.

Article 69: The deliberations of the Islamic Consultative Assembly must be open, and full minutes of them made available to the public by the radio and the official gazette. A closed session may be held in emergency conditions, if it is required for national security, upon the requisition of the President, one of the ministers, or ten members of the Assembly. Legislation passed at a closed session is valid only when approved by three-fourths of the members in the presence of the Guardian Council. After emergency conditions have ceased to exist, the minutes of such closed sessions, together with any legislation approved in them, must be made available to the public.

Article 70: The President, his deputies and the ministers have the right to participate in the open sessions of the Assembly either collectively or individually. They may also have their advisers accompany them. If the members of the Assembly deem it necessary, the ministers are obliged to attend. [Conversely], whenever they request it, their statements are to be heard.

SECTION 2. Powers and Authority of the Islamic Consultative Assembly

Article 71: The Islamic Consultative Assembly can establish laws on all matters, within the limits of its competence as laid down in the Constitution.

Article 72: The Islamic Consultative Assembly cannot enact laws contrary to the usul and ahkam of the official religion of the country or to the Constitution. It is the duty of the Guardian Council to determine whether a violation has occurred, in accordance with Article 96.

Article 73: The interpretation of ordinary laws falls within the competence of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. The intent of this Article does not prevent the interpretations that judges may make in the course of cassation.

Article 74: Government bills are presented to the Islamic Consultative Assembly after receiving the approval of the Council of Ministers. Members' bills may be introduced in the Islamic Consultative Assembly if sponsored by at least fifteen members

Article 75: Members' bills and proposals and amendments to government bills proposed by members that entail the

reduction of the public income or the increase of public expenditure may be introduced in the Assembly only if means for compensating for the decrease in income or for meeting the new expenditure are also specified.

Article 76: The Islamic Consultative Assembly has the right to investigate and examine all the affairs of the country.

Article 77: International treaties, protocols, contracts, and agreements must be approved by the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 78: All changes in the boundaries of the country are forbidden, with the exception of minor amendments in keeping with the interests of the country, on condition that they are not unilateral, do not encroach on the independence and territorial integrity of the country, and receive the approval of four-fifths of the total members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 79: The proclamation of martial law is forbidden. In case of war or emergency conditions akin to war, the government has the right to impose temporarily certain necessary restrictions, with the agreement of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. In no case can such restrictions last for more than thirty days; if the need for them persists beyond this limit, the government must obtain new authorization for them from the Assembly.

Article 80: The taking and giving of loans or grants-in-aid, domestic and foreign, by the government, must be approved by the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 81: The granting of concessions to foreigners for the formation of companies or institutions dealing with commerce, industry, agriculture, services or mineral extraction, is absolutely forbidden.

Article 82: The employment of foreign experts is forbidden, except in cases of necessity and with the approval of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 83: Government buildings and properties forming part of the national heritage cannot be transferred except with the approval of the Islamic Consultative Assembly; that, too, is not applicable in the case of irreplaceable treasures.

Article 84: Every representative is responsible to the entire nation and has the right to express his views on all internal and external affairs of the country.

and external affairs of the country.

Article 85: The right of membership is vested with the individual, and is not transferable to others. The Assembly cannot delegate the power of legislation to an individual or committee. But whenever necessary, it can delegate the power of legislating certain laws to its own committees, in accordance with Article 72. In such a case, the laws will be implemented on a tentative basis for a period specified by the Assembly, and their final approval will rest with the Assembly.

Likewise, the Assembly may, in accordance with Article 72, delegate to the relevant committees the responsibility for permanent approval of articles of association of organizations, government institutions, or organizations companies, affiliated to the government and or invest the authority in the government. In such a case, the government approvals must not be inconsistent with the principles and commandments of the official religion in the country and or the Constitution which question shall be determined by the Guardian Council in accordance with what is stated in Article 96. In addition to this, the government approvals shall not be against the laws and other general rules of the country and, while calling for implementation, the same shall be brought to the knowledge of the Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly for his study and indication that the approvals in question are not inconsistent with the aforesaid rules.

Article 86: Members of the Assembly are completely free in expressing their views and casting their votes in the course of performing their duties as representatives, and they cannot be prosecuted or arrested for opinions expressed in the Assembly or votes cast in the course of performing their duties as representatives.

Article 87: The President must obtain, for the Council of Ministers, after being formed and before all other business, a vote of confidence from the Assembly. During his incumbency, he can also seek a vote of confidence for the Council of Ministers from the Assembly on important and controversial issues.

Article 88: Whenever at least one-fourth of the total members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly pose a question to the President, or any one member of the Assembly poses a question to a minister on a subject relating to their duties, the President or the minister is obliged to attend the Assembly and answer the question. This answer must not be delayed more than one month in the case of the President and ten days in the case of the minister, except with an excuse deemed reasonable by the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 89: 1. Members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly can interpellate the Council of Ministers or an individual minister in instances they deem necessary. Interpellations can be tabled if they bear the signatures of at least ten members.

The Council of Ministers or interpellated minister must be present in the Assembly within ten days after the tabling of the interpellation in order to answer it and seek a vote of confidence. If the Council of Ministers or the minister concerned fails to attend the Assembly, the members who tabled the interpellation will explain their reasons, and the Assembly will declare a vote of no-confidence if it deems it necessary.

If the Assembly does not pronounce a vote of confidence, the Council of Ministers or the minister subject to interpellation is dismissed. In both cases, the ministers subject to interpellation cannot become members of the next Council of Ministers formed immediately afterwards.

2. In the event at least one-third of the members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly interpellate the President concerning his executive responsibilities in relation with the Executive Power and the executive affairs of the country, the President must be present in the Assembly within one month after the tabling of the interpellation in order to give adequate explanations in regard to the matters raised. In the event, after hearing the statements of the opposing and favouring members and the reply of the President, two thirds of the members of the Assembly declare a vote of no confidence, the same will be communicated to the Leadership for information and implementation of Section (10) of Article 110 of the Constitution.

Article 90: Whoever has a complaint concerning the work of the Assembly or the executive power, or the judicial power can forward his complaint in writing to the Assembly. The Assembly must investigate his complaint and give a satisfactory reply. In cases where the complaint relates to the executive or the judiciary, the Assembly must demand proper investigation in the matter and an adequate explanation from them, and announce the results within a reasonable time. In cases where the subject of the complaint is of public interest, the reply must be made public.

Article 91: With a view to safeguard the Islamic ordinances and the Constitution, in order to examine the compatibility of the legislations passed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly with Islam, a council to be known as the Guardian Council is to be constituted with the following composition:

 six Adil fuqaha', conscious of the present needs and the issues of the day, to be selected by the Leader, and

2. six jurists, specializing in different areas of law, to be elected by the Islamic Consultative Assembly from among the Muslim jurists nominated by the Head of the Judicial Power.

Article 92: Members of the Guardian Council are elected to serve for a period of six years, but during the first term, after three years have passed, half of the members of each group will be changed by lot and new members will be elected in their place.

Article 93: The Islamic Consultative Assembly does not hold any legal status if there is no Guardian Council in existence, except for the purpose of approving the credentials of its members and the election of the six jurists on the Guardian Council.

Article 94: All legislation passed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly must be sent to the Guardian Council. The Guardian Council must review it within a maximum of ten days from its receipt with a view to ensuring its compatibility with the criteria of Islam and the Constitution. If it finds the legislation incompatible, it will return it to the Assembly for review. Otherwise the legislation will be deemed enforceable

Article 95: In cases where the Guardian Council deems ten days inadequate for completing the process of review and delivering a definite opinion, it can request the Islamic Consultative Assembly to grant an extension of the time limit not exceeding ten days.

Article 96: The determination of compatibility of the legislation passed by the Islamic Consultative Assembly with the laws of Islam rests with the majority vote of the fuqaha on the Guardian Council; and the determination of its compatibility with the Constitution rests with the majority of all the members of the Guardian Council.

Article 97: In order to expedite the work, the members of the Guardian Council may attend the Assembly and listen to its debates when a government bill or a members' bill is under discussion. When an urgent government or members' bill is placed on the agenda of the Assembly, the members of the Guardian Council must attend the Assembly and make their views known.

Article 98: The authority of the interpretation of the Constitution is vested with the Guardian Council, which is to be done with the consent of three-fourths of its members.

Article 99: The Guardian Council has the responsibility of supervising the elections of the Assembly of Experts for Leadership, the President of the Republic, the Islamic Consultative Assembly, and the direct recourse to popular opinion and referenda.

CHAPTER VII. Councils

Article 100: In order to expedite social, economic, development, public health, cultural, and educational programmes and facilitate other affairs relating to public welfare with the cooperation of the people according to local needs, the administration of each village, division, city,

municipality, and province will be supervised by a council to be named the Village, Division, City, Municipality, or Provincial Council. Members of each of these councils will be elected by the people of the locality in question.

Qualifications for the eligibility of electors and candidates for these councils, as well as their functions and powers, the mode of election, the jurisdiction of these councils, the hierarchy of their authority, will be determined by law, in such a way as to preserve national unity, territorial integrity, the system of the Islamic Republic, and the sovereignty of the central government.

Article 101: In order to prevent discrimination in the preparation of programmes for the development and welfare of the provinces, to secure the cooperation of the people, and to arrange for the supervision of coordinated implementation of such programmes, a Supreme Council of the Provinces will be formed, composed of representatives of the Provincial Councils.

Law will specify the manner in which this council is to be formed and the functions that it is to fulfil.

Article 102: The Supreme Council of the Provinces has the right within its jurisdiction, to draft bills and to submit them to the Islamic Consultative Assembly, either directly or through the government. These bills must be examined by the Assembly.

Article 103: Provincial governors, city governors, divisional governors, and other officials appointed by the government must abide by all decisions taken by the councils within their jurisdiction.

Article 104: In order to ensure Islamic equity and cooperation in chalking out the programmes and to bring about the harmonious progress of all units of production, both industrial and agricultural, councils consisting of the representatives of the workers, peasants, other employees, and managers, will be formed in educational and administrative units, units of service industries, and other units of a like nature, similar councils will be formed, composed of representatives of the members of those units.

The mode of the formation of these councils and the scope of their functions and powers, are to be specified by law.

Article 105: Decisions taken by the councils must not be contrary to the criteria of Islam and the laws of the country.

Article 106: The councils may not be dissolved unless they deviate from their legal duties. The body responsible for determining such deviation, as well as the manner for dissolving the councils and re-forming them, will be specified by law.

Should a council have any objection to its dissolution, it has the right to appeal to a competent court, and the court is duty-bound to examine its complaint outside the docket sequence.

CHAPTER VIII. The Leader or Leadership Council

Article 107: After the demise of the eminent marii' al-taglid and great leader of the universal Islamic revolution, and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ayatullah al-Uzma Imam Khumayni--quddisa sirruh al-sharif--who was recognised and accepted as marji' and Leader by a decisive majority of the people, the task of appointing the Leader shall be vested with the experts elected by the people. The experts will review and consult among themselves concerning all the fugaha' possessing the qualifications specified in Articles 5 and 109. In the event they find one of them better versed in Islamic regulations, the subjects of the fiqh, or in political and social issues, or possessing general popularity or special prominence for any of the qualifications mentioned in Article 109, they shall elect him as the Leader. Otherwise, in the absence of such a superiority, they shall elect and declare one of them as the Leader. The Leader thus elected by the Assembly of Experts shall assume all the powers of the wilayat al-amr and all the responsibilities arising therefrom.

The Leader is equal with the rest of the people of the country in the eyes of law.

Article 108: The law setting out the number and qualifications of the experts [mentioned in the preceding article], the mode of their election, and the code of procedure regulating the sessions during the first term must be drawn up by the fuqaha' on the first Guardian Council, passed by a majority of votes and then finally approved by the Leader of the Revolution. The power to make any subsequent change or a review of this law, or approval of all the provisions concerning the duties of the experts is vested in themselves.

Article 109: Following are the essential qualifications and conditions for the Leader:

- a. scholarship, as required for performing the functions of muftiin different fields of fiqh.
- b. Justice and piety, as required for the leadership of the Islamic Ummah.
- c. right political and social perspicacity, prudence, courage, administrative facilities and adequate capability for leadership.

In case of multiplicity of persons fulfilling the above qualifications and conditions, the person possessing the better

jurisprudential and political perspicacity will be given preference.

Article 110: Following are the duties and powers of the Leadership:

- 1. Delineation of the general policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran after consultation with the Nation's Exigency Council.
- 2. Supervision over the proper execution of the general policies of the system.
 - 3. Issuing decrees for national referenda.
 - 4. Assuming supreme command of the armed forces.
- 5. Declaration of war and peace, and the mobilization of the armed forces.
- Appointment, dismissal, and acceptance of resignation f:
 - a. the fuqaha' on the Guardian Council.
 - b. the supreme judicial authority of the country.
- c. the head of the radio and television network of the Islamic Republic of Iran.
 - d. the chief of the joint staff.
- e. the chief commander of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps.
 - f. the supreme commanders of the armed forces.
- Resolving differences between the three wings of the armed forces and regulation of their relations.
- Resolving the problems, which cannot be solved by conventional methods, through the Nation's Exigency Council.
- 9. Signing the decree formalizing the election of the President of the Republic by the people. The suitability of candidates for the Presidency of the Republic, with respect to the qualifications specified in the Constitution, must be confirmed before elections take place by the Guardian Council, and, in the case of the first term [of the Presidency], by the Leadership;
- 10. Dismissal of the President of the Republic, with due regard for the interests of the country, after the Supreme Court holds him guilty of the violation of his constitutional duties, or after a vote of the Islamic Consultative Assembly testifying to his incompetence on the basis of Article 89 of the Constitution.
- 11. Pardoning or reducing the sentences of convicts, within the framework of Islamic criteria, on a recommendation [to that effect] from the Head of judicial power. The Leader may delegate part of his duties and powers to another person.

Article 111: Whenever the Leader becomes incapable of fulfilling his constitutional duties, or loses one of the qualifications mentioned in Articles 5 and 109, or it becomes known that he did not possess some of the qualifications initially, he will be dismissed. The authority of determination in this matter is vested with the experts specified in Article 108.

In the event of the death, or resignation or dismissal of the Leader, the experts shall take steps within the shortest possible time for the appointment of the new Leader. Till the appointment of the new Leader, a council consisting of the President, head of the judiciary power, and a faqih from the Guardian Council, upon the decision of the Nation's Exigency Council, shall temporarily take over all the duties of the Leader. In the event, during this period, any one of them is unable to fulfil his duties for whatsoever reason, another person, upon the decision of majority of fuqaha' in the Nation's Exigency Council shall be elected in his place.

This council shall take action in respect of items 1,3,5, and 10, and sections d, e and f of item 6 of Article 110, upon the decision of three-fourths of the members of the Nation's Exigency Council.

Whenever the Leader becomes temporarily unable to perform the duties of leadership owing to his illness or any other incident, then during this period, the council mentioned in this Article shall assume his duties.

Article 112: Upon the order of the Leader, the Nation's Exigency Council shall meet at any time the Guardian Council judges a proposed bill of the Islamic Consultative Assembly to be against the principles of Sharia or the Constitution, and the Assembly is unable to meet the expectations of the Guardian Council. Also, the Council shall meet for consideration on any issue forwarded to it by the Leader and shall carry out any other responsibility as mentioned in this Constitution.

The permanent and changeable members of the Council shall be appointed by the Leader. The rules for the Council shall be formulated and approved by the Council members subject to the confirmation by the Leader.

CHAPTER IX. The Executive Power SECTION 1. The Presidency

Article 113: After the office of Leadership, the President is the highest official in the country. His is the responsibility for implementing the Constitution and acting as the head of the executive, except in matters directly concerned with (the office of) the Leadership.

Article 114: The President is elected for a four-year term by the direct vote of the people. His reelection for a successive term is permissible only once.

Article 115: The President must be elected from among religious and political personalities possessing the following qualifications:

Iranian origin; Iranian nationality; administrative capacity and resourcefulness; a good past-record; trustworthiness and piety; convinced belief in the fundamental principles of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the official madhhab of the country.

Article 116: Candidates nominated for the post of President must declare their candidature officially. Law lays down the manner in which the President is to be elected.

Article 117: The President is elected by an absolute majority of votes polled by the voters. But if none of the candidates is able to win such a majority in the first round, voting will take place a second time on Friday of the following week. In the second round only the two candidates who received greatest number of votes in the first round will participate. If, however, some of the candidates securing greatest votes in the first round withdraw from the elections, the final choice will be between the two candidates who won greater number of votes than all the remaining candidates.

Article 118: Responsibility for the supervision of the election of the President lies with the Guardian Council, as stipulated in Article 99. But before the establishment of the first Guardian Council, however, it lies with a supervisory body to be constituted by law.

Article 119: The election of a new President must take place no later than one month before the end of the term of the outgoing President. In the interim period before the election of the new President and the end of the term of the outgoing President, the outgoing President will perform the duties of the President.

Article 120: In case any of the candidates whose suitability is established in terms of the qualifications listed above should die within ten days before polling day, the elections will be postponed for two weeks. If one of the candidates securing greatest number of votes dies in the intervening period between the first and second rounds of voting, the period for holding (the second round of) the election will be extended for two weeks.

Article 121: The President must take the following oath and affix his signature to it at a session of the Islamic Consultative Assembly in the presence of the head of the judicial power and the members of the Guardian Council:

In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, I, as President, swear, in the presence of the Noble Koran and the people of Iran, by God, the Exalted and Almighty, that I will guard the official religion of the country, the order of the Islamic Republic and the Constitution of the country; that I will devote all my capacities and abilities to the fulfilment of the responsibilities that I have assumed: that I will dedicate myself to the service of the people, the honour of the country, the propagation of religion and morality, and the support of truth and justice, refraining from every kind of arbitrary behaviour; that I will protect the freedom and dignity of all citizens and the rights that the Constitution has accorded the people; that in guarding the frontiers and the political, economic, and cultural independence of the country I will not shirk any necessary measure; that, seeking help from God and following the Prophet of Islam and the infallible Imams (peace be upon them), I will guard, as a pious and selfless trustee, the authority vested in me by the people as a sacred trust, and transfer it to whomever the people may elect after

Article 122: The President, within the limits of his powers and duties, which he has by virtue of this Constitution or other laws, is responsible to the people, the Leader and the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 123: The President is obliged to sign legislation approved by the Assembly or the result of a referendum, after the (related) legal procedures have been completed and it has been communicated to him. After signing, he must forward it to the responsible authorities for implementation.

Article 124: The President may have deputies for the performance of his constitutional duties.

With the approval of the President, the first deputy of the President shall be vested with the responsibilities of administering the affairs of the Council of Ministers and coordination of functions of other deputies.

Article 125: The President or his legal representative has the authority to sign treaties, protocols, contracts, and agreements concluded by the Iranian government with other governments, as well as agreements pertaining to international organizations, after obtaining the approval of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 126: The President is responsible for national planning and budget and state employment affairs and may entrust the administration of these to others.

Article 127: In special circumstances, subject to approval of the Council of Ministers, the President may appoint one or more special representatives with specific powers. In such cases,

the decisions of his representative(s) will be considered as the same as those of the President and the Council of Ministers.

Article 128: The ambassadors shall be appointed upon the recommendation of the foreign minister and approval of the President. The President signs the credentials of ambassadors and receives the credentials presented by the ambassadors of the foreign countries.

Article 129: The award of state decorations is a prerogative of the President.

Article 130: The President shall submit his resignation to the Leader and shall continue performing his duties until his resignation is not accepted.

Article 131: In case of death, dismissal, resignation, absence, or illness lasting longer than two months of the President, or when his term in office has ended and a new president has not been elected due to some impediments, or similar other circumstances, his first deputy shall assume, with the approval of the Leader, the powers and functions of the President. The Council, consisting of the Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, head of the judicial power, and the first deputy of the President, is obliged to arrange for a new President to be elected within a maximum period of fifty days. In case of death of the first deputy to the President, or other matters which prevent him to perform his duties, or when the President does not have a first deputy, the Leader shall appoint another person in his place.

Article 132: During the period when the powers and responsibilities of the President are assigned to his first deputy or the other person in accordance with Article 131, neither can the ministers be interpellated nor can a vote of noconfidence be passed against them. Also, neither can any step be undertaken for a review of the Constitution, nor a national referendum be held.

SECTION 2. The President and Ministers

Article 133: Ministers will be appointed by the President and will be presented to the Assembly for a vote of confidence. With the change of Assembly, a new vote of confidence will not be necessary. The number of ministers and the jurisdiction of each will be determined by law.

Article 134: The President is the head of the Council of Ministers. He supervises the work of the ministers and takes all necessary measures to coordinate the decisions of the government. With the cooperation of the ministers, he determines the programme and policies of the government and implements the laws.

In the case of discrepancies, or interferences in the constitutional duties of the government agencies, the decision of the Council of Ministers at the request of the President shall be binding provided it does not call for an interpretation of or modification in the laws.

The President is responsible to the Assembly for the actions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 135: The ministers shall continue in office unless they are dismissed, or given a vote of no confidence by the Assembly as a result of their interpellation, or a motion for a vote of no-confidence against them.

The resignation of the Council of Ministers, or that of each of them shall be submitted to the President, and the Council of Ministers shall continue to function until such time as the new government is appointed.

The President can appoint a caretaker for a maximum period of three months for the ministries having no minister.

Article 136: The President can dismiss the ministers and in such a case he must obtain a vote of confidence for the new minister(s) from the Assembly. In case half of the members of the Council of Ministers are changed after the government has received its vote of confidence from the Assembly, the government must seek a fresh vote of confidence from the Assembly

Article 137: Each of the ministers is responsible for his duties to the President and the Assembly, but in matters approved by the Council of Ministers as a whole, he is also responsible for the actions of the others.

Article 138: In addition to instances in which the Council of Ministers or a single minister is authorised to frame procedures for the implementation of laws, the Council of Ministers has the right to lay down rules, regulations, and procedures for performing its administrative duties, ensuring the implementation of laws, and setting up administrative bodies. Each of the ministers also has the right to frame regulations and issue circulars in matters within his jurisdiction and in conformity with the decisions of the Council of Ministers. However, the content of all such regulations must not violate the letter or the spirit of the law.

The government can entrust any portion of its task to the commissions composed of some ministers. The decisions of such commissions within the rules will be binding after the endorsement of the President

The ratifications and the regulations of the government and the decisions of the commissions mentioned under this Article shall also be brought to the notice of the Speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly while being communicated for implementation so that in the event he finds them contrary to law, he may send the same stating the reason for reconsideration by the Council of Ministers.

Article 139: The settlement of claims relating to public and state property or the referral thereof to arbitration is in every case dependent on the approval of the Council of Ministers, and the Assembly must be informed of these matters. In cases where one party to the dispute is a foreigner, as well as in important cases that are purely domestic, the approval of the Assembly must also be obtained. Law will specify the important cases intended here.

Article 140: Allegations of common crimes against the President, his deputies, and the ministers will be investigated in common courts of justice with the knowledge of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Article 141: The President, the deputies to the President, ministers, and government employees cannot hold more than one government position, and it is forbidden for them to hold any kind of additional post in institutions of which all or a part of the capital belongs to the government or public institutions, to be a member of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, to practise the profession of attorney or legal adviser, or to hold the post of president, managing director, or membership of the board of directors of any kind of private company, with the exception of cooperative companies affiliated to the government departments and institutions.

Teaching positions in universities and research institutions are exempted from this rule.

Article 142: The assets of the Leader, the President, the deputies to the President, and ministers, as well as those of their spouses and offspring, are to be examined before and after their term of office by the head of the judicial power, in order to ensure they have not increased in a fashion contrary to law.

SECTION 3. The Army and the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps

Article 143: The Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran is responsible for guarding the independence and territorial integrity of the country, as well as the order of the Islamic Republic.

Article 144: The Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran must be an Islamic Army, i.e., committed to Islamic ideology and the people, and must recruit into its service individuals who have faith in the objectives of the Islamic Revolution and are devoted to the cause of realizing its goals.

Article 145: No foreigner will be accepted into the Army or security forces of the country

security forces of the country.

Article 146: The establishment of any kind of foreign military base in Iran, even for peaceful purposes, is forbidden.

Article 147: In time of peace, the government must utilize the personnel and technical equipment of the Army in relief operations, and for educational and productive ends, and the Construction Jihad, while fully observing the criteria of Islamic justice and ensuring that such utilization does not harm the combat-readiness of the Army.

Article 148: All forms of personal use of military vehicles, equipment, and other means, as well as taking advantage of Army personnel as personal servants and chauffeurs or in similar capacities, are forbidden.

Article 149: Promotions in military rank and their withdrawal take place in accordance with the law.

Article 150: The Islamic Revolution Guards Corps, organised in the early days of the triumph of the Revolution, is to be maintained so that it may continue in its role of guarding the Revolution and its achievements. The scope of the duties of this Corps, and its areas of responsibility, in relation to the duties and areas of responsibility of the other armed forces, are to be determined by law, with emphasis on brotherly cooperation and harmony among them.

Article 151: In accordance with the noble Koranic verse: "Prepare against them whatever force you are able to muster, and horses ready for battle, striking fear into God's enemy and your enemy, and others beyond them unknown to you but known to God... (Koran 8:60)" the government is obliged to provide a programme of military training, with all requisite facilities, for all its citizens, in accordance with the Islamic criteria, in such a way that all citizens will always be able to engage in the armed defence of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The possession of arms, however, requires the granting of permission by the competent authorities.

CHAPTER X. Foreign Policy

Article 152: The foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran is based upon the rejection of all forms of domination, both the exertion of it and submission to it, the preservation of the independence of the country in all respects and its territorial integrity, the defence of the rights of all Muslims, non-alignment with respect to the hegemonist superpowers, and the maintenance of mutually peaceful relations with all non-belligerent States.

Article 153: Any form of agreement resulting in foreign control over the natural resources, economy, army, or culture of the country, as well as other aspects of the national life, is forbidden

Article 154: The Islamic Republic of Iran has as its ideal human felicity throughout human society, and considers the attainment of independence, freedom, and rule of justice and truth to be the right of all people of the world. Accordingly, while scrupulously refraining from all forms of interference in the internal affairs of other nations, it supports the just struggles of the mustadAfun against the mustakbirun in every corner of the globe.

Article 155: The government of the Islamic Republic of Iran may grant political asylum to those who seek it unless they are regarded as traitors and saboteurs according to the laws of Iran.

CHAPTER XI. The Judiciary

Article 156: The judiciary is an independent power, the protector of the rights of the individual and society, responsible for the implementation of justice, and entrusted with the following duties:

- investigating and passing judgement on grievances, violations of rights, and complaints; the resolving of litigation; the settling of disputes; and the taking of all necessary decisions and measures in probate matters as the law may determine:
- 2. restoring public rights and promoting justice and legitimate freedoms:
 - 3. supervising the proper enforcement of laws;
- uncovering crimes; prosecuting, punishing, and chastising criminals; and enacting the penalties and provisions of the Islamic penal code;
- 5. taking suitable measures to prevent the occurrence of crime and to reform criminals.

Article 157: In order to fulfil the responsibilities of the judiciary power in all the matters concerning judiciary, administrative and executive areas, the Leader shall appoint a just Mujtahid well versed in judiciary affairs and possessing prudence and administrative abilities as the head of the judiciary power for a period of five years who shall be the highest judicial authority.

Article 158: The head of the judiciary branch is responsible for the following:

- 1. Establishment of the organizational structure necessary for the administration of justice commensurate with the responsibilities mentioned under Article 156.
- Drafting judiciary bills appropriate for the Islamic Republic.
- Employment of just and worthy judges, their dismissal, appointment, transfer, assignment to particular duties, promotions, and carrying out similar administrative duties, in accordance with the law.

Article 159: The courts of justice are the official bodies to which all grievances and complaints are to be referred. The formation of courts and their jurisdiction is to be determined by law.

Article 160: The Minister of Justice owes responsibility in all matters concerning the relationship between the judiciary, on the one hand, and the executive and legislative branches, on the other hand. He will be elected from among the individuals proposed to the President by the head of the judiciary branch.

The head of the judiciary may delegate full authority to the Minister of Justice in financial and administrative areas and for employment of personnel other than judges in which case the Minister of Justice shall have the same authority and responsibility as those possessed by the other ministers in their capacity as the highest ranking government executives.

Article 161: The Supreme Court is to be formed for the purpose of supervising the correct implementation of the laws by the courts, ensuring uniformity of judicial procedure, and fulfilling any other responsibilities assigned to it by law, on the basis of regulations to be established by the head of the judicial branch.

Article 162: The chief of the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor-General must both be just mujtahids well versed in judicial matters. They will be nominated by the head of the judiciary branch for a period of five years, in consultation with the judges of the Supreme Court.

Article 163: The conditions and qualifications to be fulfilled by a judge will be determined by law, in accordance with the criteria of fiqh.

Article 164: A judge cannot be removed, whether temporarily or permanently, from the post he occupies except by trial and proof of his guilt, or in consequence of a violation entailing his dismissal. A judge cannot be transferred or redesignated without his consent, except in cases when the interest of society necessitates it, that too, with the decision of the head of the judiciary branch after consultation with the chief of the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor General. The periodic transfer and rotation of judges will be in accordance with general regulations to be laid down by law.

Article 165: Trials are to be held openly and members of the public may attend without any restriction; unless the court determines that an open trial would be detrimental to public morality or discipline, or if in case of private disputes, both the parties request not to hold open hearing.

Article 166: The verdicts of courts must be well reasoned out and documented with reference to the articles and principles of the law in accordance with which they are delivered.

Article 167: The judge is bound to endeavour to judge each case on the basis of the codified law. In case of the absence of any such law, he has to deliver his judgement on the basis of authoritative Islamic sources and authentic fatawa. He, on the pretext of the silence of or deficiency of law in the matter, or its brevity or contradictory nature, cannot refrain from admitting and examining cases and delivering his judgement.

Article 168: Political and press offences will be tried openly and in the presence of a jury, in courts of justice. The manner of the selection of the jury, its powers, and the definition of political offences, will be determined by law in accordance with the Islamic criteria.

Article 169: No act or omission may be regarded as a crime with retrospective effect on the basis of a law framed subsequently.

Article 170: Judges of courts are obliged to refrain from executing statutes and regulations of the government that are in conflict with the laws or the norms of Islam, or lie outside the competence of the executive power. Everyone has the right to demand the annulment of any such regulation from the Court of Administrative Justice.

Article 171: Whenever an individual suffers moral or material loss as the result of a default or error of the judge with respect to the subject matter of a case or the verdict delivered, or the application of a rule in a particular case, the defaulting judge must stand surety for the reparation of that loss in accordance with the Islamic criteria, if it be a case of default. Otherwise, losses will be compensated for by the State. In all such cases, the repute and good standing of the accused will be restored.

Article 172: Military courts will be established by law to investigate crimes committed in connection with military or security duties by members of the Army, the Gendarmerie, the police, and the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps. They will be tried in public courts, however, for common crimes or crimes committed while serving the department of justice in executive capacity. The office of military prosecutor and the military courts form part of the judiciary and are subject to the same principles that regulate the judiciary.

Article 173: In order to investigate the complaints, grievances, and objections of the people with respect to government officials, organs, and statutes, a court will be established to be known as the Court of Administrative Justice under the supervision of the head of the judiciary branch. The jurisdiction, powers, and mode of operation of this court will be laid down by law.

Article 174: In accordance with the right of the judiciary to supervise the proper conducting of affairs and the correct implementation of laws by the administrative organs of the government, an organization will be constituted under the supervision of the head of the judiciary branch to be known as the National General Inspectorate. The powers and duties of this organization will be determined by law.

CHAPTER XII. Radio and Television

Article 175: The freedom of expression and dissemination of thoughts in the Radio and Television of the Islamic Republic of Iran must be guaranteed in keeping with the Islamic criteria and the best interests of the country.

The appointment and dismissal of the head of the Radio and Television of the Islamic Republic of Iran rests with the Leader. A council consisting of two representatives each of the President, the head of the judiciary branch and the Islamic Consultative Assembly shall supervise the functioning of this organization.

The policies and the manner of managing the organization and its supervision will be determined by law.

CHAPTER XIII. Supreme Council for National Security

Article 176: In order to safeguarding the national interests and preserving the Islamic Revolution, the territorial integrity and national sovereignty, a Supreme Council for National Security presided over by the President shall be constituted to fulfil the following responsibilities:

- Determining the defence and national security policies within the framework of general policies determined by the Leader.
- Coordination of activities in the areas relating to politics, intelligence, social, cultural and economic fields in regard to general defence and security policies.
- 3. Exploitation of materialistic and intellectual resources of the country for facing the internal and external threats.

The Council shall consist of: heads of three branches of the government, chief of the Supreme Command Council of the Armed Forces, the officer in charge of the planning and budget affairs, two representatives nominated by the Leader, ministers of foreign affairs, interior, and information, a minister related with the subject, and the highest ranking officials from the Armed Forces and the Islamic Revolution's Guards Corps.

Commensurate with its duties, the Supreme Council for National Security shall form sub councils such as Defence Sub-council and National Security Sub-council. Each Sub council will be presided over by the President or a member of the Supreme Council for National Security appointed by the President

The scope of authority and responsibility of the Subcouncils will be determined by law and their organizational structure will be approved by the Supreme Council for National Defence.

The decisions of the Supreme Council for National Security shall be effective after the confirmation by the Leader.

CHAPTER XIV. The Revision of the Constitution

Article 177: The revision of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, whenever needed by the circumstances, will be done in the following manner:

The Leader issues an edict to the President after consultation with the Nation's Exigency Council stipulating the amendments or additions to be made by the Council for Revision of the Constitution which consists of:

- 1. Members of the Guardian Council.
- 2. Heads of the three branches of the government.
- 3. Permanent members of the Nation's Exigency Council.
- 4. Five members from among the Assembly of Experts.
- 5. Ten representatives selected by the Leader.
- 6. Three representatives from the Council of Ministers.
- 7. Three representatives from the judiciary branch.
- 8. Ten representatives from among the members of the Islamic Consultative Assembly.

Three representatives from among the university professors.

The method of working, manner of selection and the terms and conditions of the Council shall be determined by law.

The decisions of the Council, after the confirmation and signatures of the Leader, shall be valid if approved by an absolute majority vote in a national referendum.

The provisions of Article 59 of the Constitution shall not apply to the referendum for the "Revision of the Constitution."

The contents of the Articles of the Constitution related to the Islamic character of the political system; the basis of all the rules and regulations according to Islamic criteria; the religious footing; the objectives of the Islamic Republic of Iran; the democratic character of the government; the wilayat al-Amr; the Imamate of Ummah; and the administration of the affairs of the country based on national referenda, official religion of Iran [Islam] and the school [Twelver Ja'fari] are unalterable.

HAMAS COVENANT 1988

The Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement, 18 August 1988

(The Hamas is the Palestinian wing of the Muslim Brotherhood. The Hamas is neither a terror organisation nor a bunch of mad extremists [An extremist in Islam would be someone who deviates from Islamic norms!]. As all Islamic organisations, the Hamas can be called radical (from the Latin word radix = root, meaning here: back to the roots!) and fundamentalistic. Being fundamentalistic means that the Hamas does not deviate from the norm, but rather that the Hamas follows exactly what Mohammed said and did, written down in the Koran, the Sira, the Hadith, and the Sharia law. In Islam, the contents of this Covenant are absolutely legal and in accordance with all what Islamic jurisprudence is based on! In the viewpoint of a true Muslim, all those who plea for a so-called "moderate Islam" are extremists and heretics. In its entire ideological outlook, the Hamas is a Nazi organisation with some religious elements in it. To promote total supremacy of Islam over all others, its main tool is the Jihad of Sharia law implemented by the sword, deception, migration, propaganda, encroachment, money and the womb.

The Hamas Covenant or Hamas Charter, formally known in English as the Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement, was originally issued on 18 August 1988 and outlines the founding identity, stand, and aims of Hamas (the Islamic Resistance Movement). A new charter was issued by Hamas leader Khaled Mashal on 1 May 2017 in Doha.

The original Charter identified Hamas as the Muslim Brotherhood in Palestine and declares its members to be Muslims who "fear God and raise the banner of Jihad in the face of the oppressors." The charter states that "our struggle against the Jews is very great and very serious" and calls for the eventual creation of an Islamic state in Palestine, in place of Israel and the Palestinian Territories, and the obliteration or dissolution of Israel. It emphasizes the importance of jihad, stating in article 13, "There is no solution for the Palestinian question except through Jihad. Initiatives, proposals and international conferences are all a waste of time and vain endeavors." The charter also states that Hamas is humanistic, and tolerant of other religions as long as they "stop disputing the sovereignty of Islam in this region". The Charter adds

that "renouncing any part of Palestine means renouncing part of the religion" of Islam.

In 2008, the Hamas leader in Gaza, Ismail Haniyeh, stated that Hamas would agree to accept a Palestinian state along the 1967 borders, and to offer a long-term truce with Israel. In contrast to this, Hamas leader Mahmoud al-Zahar stated that any talk of the 1967 lines is "just a phase" until Hamas has a chance to "regain the land...even if we [Hamas] have to do so inch by inch." Other Hamas leaders, including Ismail Haniyah and Khaled Meshaal, have also stated repeatedly that "Palestine - from the [Jordan] River to the [Mediterranean] Sea, from its north to its south - is our land, our right, and our homeland. There will be no relinquishing or forsaking even an inch or small part of it," and that "we shall not relinquish the Islamic waqf on the land of Palestine, and Jerusalem shall not be divided into Western and Eastern Jerusalem. Jerusalem is a single united city, and Palestine stretches from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River, and from Naqoura [Rosh Ha-Niqra] to Umm Al-Rashrash [Eilat] in the south."

After a new charter was scheduled to be issued in May 2017, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's office issued a statement in which it accused Hamas of trying to fool the world and also asked it to stop its terror activities for a true change.

The 2017 charter accepted for the first time the idea of a Palestinian state within the borders that existed before 1967 and rejects recognition of Israel which it terms as the "Zionist enemy". It advocates such a state as transitional but also advocates "liberation of all of Palestine". The new document also states that the group doesn't seek war with the Jewish people but only against Zionism which it holds responsible for "occupation of Palestine". Mashal also stated that Hamas was ending its association with the Muslim Brotherhood.)

In The Name Of The Most Merciful Allah

"Ye are the best nation that hath been raised up unto mankind: ye command that which is just, and ye forbid that which is unjust, and ye believe in Allah. And if they who have received the scriptures had believed, it had surely been the better for them: there are believers among them, but the greater part of them are transgressors. They shall not hurt you, unless with a slight hurt; and if they fight against you, they shall turn their backs to you, and they shall not be helped. They are smitten with vileness wheresoever they are found; unless they obtain security by entering into a treaty with Allah, and a treaty with men; and they draw on themselves indignation from Allah, and they are afflicted with poverty. This they suffer, because they disbelieved the signs of Allah, and slew the prophets unjustly; this, because they were rebellious, and transgressed." (Al-Imran - verses 109-111).

Israel will exist and will continue to exist until Islam will obliterate it, just as it obliterated others before it" (The Martyr. Imam Hassan al-Banna, of blessed memory).

"The Islamic world is on fire. Each of us should pour some water, no matter how little, to extinguish whatever one can without waiting for the others." (Sheikh Amjad al-Zahawi, of

In The Name Of The Most Merciful Allah Introduction

Praise be unto Allah, to whom we resort for help, and whose forgiveness, guidance and support we seek; Allah bless the Prophet and grant him salvation, his companions and supporters, and to those who carried out his message and adopted his laws - everlasting prayers and salvation as long as the earth and heaven will last. Hereafter:

O People:

Out of the midst of troubles and the sea of suffering, out of the palpitations of faithful hearts and cleansed arms; out of the sense of duty, and in response to Allah's command, the call has gone out rallying people together and making them follow the ways of Allah, leading them to have determined will in order to fulfill their role in life, to overcome all obstacles, and surmount the difficulties on the way. Constant preparation has continued and so has the readiness to sacrifice life and all that is precious for the sake of Allah.

Thus it was that the nucleus (of the movement) was formed and started to pave its way through the tempestuous sea of hopes and expectations, of wishes and yearnings, of troubles and obstacles, of pain and challenges, both inside and outside.

When the idea was ripe, the seed grew and the plant struck root in the soil of reality, away from passing emotions, and hateful haste. The Islamic Resistance Movement emerged to carry out its role through striving for the sake of its Creator, its arms intertwined with those of all the fighters for the liberation of Palestine. The spirits of its fighters meet with the spirits of all the fighters who have sacrificed their lives on the soil of Palestine, ever since it was conquered by the companions of the Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, and until this day.

This Covenant of the Islamic Resistance Movement (HAMAS), clarifies its picture, reveals its identity, outlines its stand, explains its aims, speaks about its hopes, and calls for

its support, adoption and joining its ranks. Our struggle against the Jews is very great and very serious. It needs all sincere efforts. It is a step that inevitably should be followed by other steps. The Movement is but one squadron that should be supported by more and more squadrons from this vast Arab and Islamic world, until the enemy is vanquished and Allah's victory is realised.

Thus we see them coming on the horizon "and you shall learn about it hereafter" "Allah hath written, Verily I will prevail, and my apostles: for Allah is strong and mighty." (The Dispute - verse 21).

"Say to them, This is my way: I invite you to Allah, by an evident demonstration; both I and he who followeth me; and, praise be unto Allah! I am not an idolator." (Joseph - verse 107).

Hamas (means) strength and bravery -(according to) Al-Mua'jam al-Wasit: c1.

DEFINITION OF THE MOVEMENT Ideological Starting-Points

ARTICLE 1: The Islamic Resistance Movement: The Movement's programme is Islam. From it, it draws its ideas, ways of thinking and understanding of the universe, life and man. It resorts to it for judgement in all its conduct, and it is inspired by it for guidance of its steps.

The Islamic Resistance Movement's Relation With the Moslem Brotherhood Group:

ARTICLE 2: The Islamic Resistance Movement is one of the wings of Moslem Brotherhood in Palestine. Moslem Brotherhood Movement is a universal Organisation which constitutes the largest Islamic movement in modern times. It is characterised by its deep understanding, accurate comprehension and its complete embrace of all Islamic concepts of all aspects of life, culture, creed, politics, economics, education, society, justice and judgement, the spreading of Islam, education, art, information, science of the occult and conversion to Islam.

Structure and Formation

ARTICLE 3: The basic structure of the Islamic Resistance Movement consists of Moslems who have given their allegiance to Allah whom they truly worship, - "I have created the jinn and humans only for the purpose of worshipping" - who know their duty towards themselves, their families and country. In all that, they fear Allah and raise the banner of Jihad in the face of the oppressors, so that they would rid the land and the people of their uncleanliness, vileness and evils

"But we will oppose truth to vanity, and it shall confound the same; and behold, it shall vanish away." (Prophets - verse 18).

ARTICLE 4: The Islamic Resistance Movement welcomes every Moslem who embraces its faith, ideology, follows its programme, keeps its secrets, and wants to belong to its ranks and carry out the duty. Allah will certainly reward such one.

Time and Place Extent of the Islamic Resistance Movement:

ARTICLE 5: Time extent of the Islamic Resistance Movement: By adopting Islam as its way of life, the Movement goes back to the time of the birth of the Islamic message, of the righteous ancestor, for Allah is its target, the Prophet is its example and the Koran is its constitution. Its extent in place is anywhere that there are Moslems who embrace Islam as their way of life everywhere in the globe. This being so, it extends to the depth of the earth and reaches out to the heaven.

"Dost thou not see how Allah putteth forth a parable; representing a good word, as a good tree, whose root is firmly fixed in the earth, and whose branches reach unto heaven; which bringeth forth its fruit in all seasons, by the will of its Lord? Allah propoundeth parables unto men, that they may be instructed." (Abraham - verses 24-25).

Characteristics and Independence:

ARTICLE 6: The Islamic Resistance Movement is a distinguished Palestinian movement, whose allegiance is to Allah, and whose way of life is Islam. It strives to raise the banner of Allah over every inch of Palestine, for under the wing of Islam followers of all religions can coexist in security and safety where their lives, possessions and rights are concerned. In the absence of Islam, strife will be rife, oppression spreads, evil prevails and schisms and wars will break out.

How excellent was the Moslem poet, Mohamed Ikbal, when he wrote:

"If faith is lost, there is no security and there is no life for him who does not adhere to religion. He who accepts life without religion, has taken annihilation as his companion for life."

$The\ Universality\ of\ the\ Islamic\ Resistance\ Movement:$

ARTICLE 7: As a result of the fact that those Moslems who adhere to the ways of the Islamic Resistance Movement spread all over the world, rally support for it and its stands, strive

towards enhancing its struggle, the Movement is a universal one. It is well-equipped for that because of the clarity of its ideology, the nobility of its aim and the loftiness of its objectives.

On this basis, the Movement should be viewed and evaluated, and its role be recognised. He who denies its right, evades supporting it and turns a blind eye to facts, whether intentionally or unintentionally, would awaken to see that events have overtaken him and with no logic to justify his attitude. One should certainly learn from past examples.

The injustice of next-of-kin is harder to bear than the smite of the (sharp) Indian sword.

"We have also sent down unto thee the book of the Koran with truth, confirming that scripture which was revealed before it; and preserving the same safe from corruption. Judge therefore between them according to that which Allah hath revealed; and follow not their desires, by swerving from the truth which hath come unto thee. Unto every of you have we given a law, and an open path; and if Allah had pleased, he had surely made you one people; but he hath thought it fit to give you different laws, that he might try you in that which he hath given you respectively. Therefore strive to excel each other in good works; unto Allah shall ye all return, and then will he declare unto you that concerning which ye have disagreed." (The Table, verse 48).

The Islamic Resistance Movement is one of the links in the chain of the struggle against the Zionist invaders. It goes back to 1939, to the emergence of the martyr Izz al-Din al Kissam and his brethren the fighters, members of Moslem Brotherhood. It goes on to reach out and become one with another chain that includes the struggle of the Palestinians and Moslem Brotherhood in the 1948 war and the Jihad operations of the Moslem Brotherhood in 1968 and after.

Moreover, if the links have been distant from each other and if obstacles, placed by those who are the lackeys of Zionism in the way of the fighters obstructed the continuation of the struggle, the Islamic Resistance Movement aspires to the realisation of Allah's promise, no matter how long that should take. The Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, has said:

"The Day of Judgement will not come about until Moslems fight the Jews (killing the Jews), when the Jew will hide behind stones and trees. The stones and trees will say O Moslems, O Abdulla, there is a Jew behind me, come and kill him (conduct genocide, a holocaust, which only the Jews and some educated people are aware of!). Only the Gharkad tree, (evidently a certain kind of tree) would not do that because it is one of the trees of the Jews." (related by al-Bukhari and Moslem).

The Slogan of the Islamic Resistance Movement:

ARTICLE 8: Allah is its target, the Prophet is its model, the Koran its constitution: Jihad is its path and death for the sake of Allah is the loftiest of its wishes

OBJECTIVES

Incentives and Objectives:

ARTICLE 9: The Islamic Resistance Movement found itself at a time when Islam has disappeared from life. Thus rules shook, concepts were upset, values changed and evil people took control, oppression and darkness prevailed, cowards became like tigers: homelands were usurped, people were scattered and were caused to wander all over the world, the state of justice disappeared and the state of falsehood replaced it. Nothing remained in its right place. Thus, when Islam is absent from the arena, everything changes. From this state of affairs the incentives are drawn

As for the objectives: They are the fighting against the false, defeating it and vanquishing it so that justice could prevail, homelands be retrieved and from its mosques would the voice of the muAzen emerge declaring the establishment of the state of Islam, so that people and things would return each to their right places and Allah is our helper.

"...and if Allah had not prevented men, the one by the other, verily the earth had been corrupted: but Allah is beneficient towards his creatures." (Koran: The Cow - verse 251).

ARTICLE 10: As the Islamic Resistance Movement paves its way, it will back the oppressed and support the wronged with all its might. It will spare no effort to bring about justice and defeat injustice, in word and deed, in this place and everwhere it can reach and have influence therein.

Strategies and Methods

Strategies of the Islamic Resistance Movement: Palestine Is Islamic Waqf (that is: land that once was property of Islam, such as also the Iberian peninsula, southern France, southern Italy, Israel, Lebanon, north-western China, northern India, southern Russia, or the Balkans, is still considered, today and for all eternity, Islamic land!):

ARTICLE 11: The Islamic Resistance Movement believes that the land of Palestine is an Islamic Waqf consecrated for future Moslem generations until "Judgement Day" (= for all eternity). It, or any part of it, should not be squandered: it, or any part of it, should not be given up. Neither a single Arab

country nor all Arab countries, neither any king or president, nor all the kings and presidents, neither any Organisation nor all of them, be they Palestinian or Arab, possess the right to do that. Palestine is an Islamic Waqf land consecrated for Moslem generations until Judgement Day. This being so, who could claim to have the right to represent Moslem generations till Judgement Day?

This is the law governing the land of Palestine in the Islamic Sharia (law) and the same goes for any land the Moslems have conquered by force, because during the times of (Islamic) conquests, the Moslems consecrated these lands to Moslem generations till the Day of Judgement.

It happened like this: When the leaders of the Islamic armies conquered Syria and Iraq, they sent to the Caliph of the Moslems, Umar bin-el-Khatab, asking for his advice concerning the conquered land - whether they should divide it among the soldiers, or leave it for its owners, or what? After consultations and discussions between the Caliph of the Moslems, Omar bin-el-Khatab and companions of the Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, it was decided that the land should be left with its owners who could benefit by its fruit. As for the real ownership of the land and the land itself, it should be consecrated for Moslem generations till Judgement Day. Those who are on the land, are there only to benefit from its fruit. This Waqf remains as long as earth and heaven remain. Any procedure in contradiction to Islamic Sharia, where Palestine is concerned, is null and void.

"Verily, this is a certain truth. Wherefore praise the name of thy Lord, the great Allah." (The Inevitable - verse 95).

Homeland and Nationalism from the Point of View of the Islamic Resistance Movement in Palestine:

ARTICLE 12: Nationalism, from the point of view of the Islamic Resistance Movement, is part of the religious creed. Nothing in nationalism is more significant or deeper than in the case when an enemy should tread Moslem land. Resisting and quelling the enemy become the individual duty of every Moslem, male or female. A woman can go out to fight the enemy without her husband's permission, and so does the slave: without his master's permission.

Nothing of the sort is to be found in any other regime. This is an undisputed fact. If other nationalist movements are connected with materialistic, human or regional causes, nationalism of the Islamic Resistance Movement has all these elements as well as the more important elements that give it soul and life. It is connected to the source of spirit and the granter of life, hoisting in the sky of the homeland the heavenly banner that joins earth and heaven with a strong bond.

If Moses comes and throws his staff, both witch and magic are annulled.

"Now is the right direction manifestly distinguished from deceit: whoever therefore shall deny Tagut, and believe in Allah, he shall surely take hold with a strong handle, which shall not be broken; Allah is he who heareth and seeth." (The Cow. Verse 256).

Peaceful Solutions, Initiatives and International Conferences:

ARTICLE 13: Initiatives, and so-called peaceful solutions and international conferences, are in contradiction to the principles of the Islamic Resistance Movement. Abusing any part of Palestine is abuse directed against part of religion. Nationalism of the Islamic Resistance Movement is part of its religion. Its members have been fed on that. For the sake of hoisting the banner of Allah over their homeland they fight. "Allah will be prominent, but most people do not know."

Now and then the call goes out for the convening of an international conference to look for ways of solving the (Palestinian) question. Some accept, others reject the idea, for this or other reason, with one stipulation or more for consent to convening the conference and participating in it. Knowing the parties constituting the conference, their past and present attitudes towards Moslem problems, the Islamic Resistance Movement does not consider these conferences capable of realising the demands, restoring the rights or doing justice to the oppressed. These conferences are only ways of setting the infidels in the land of the Moslems as arbitraters. When did the infidels do justice to the believers?

"But the Jews will not be pleased with thee, neither the Christians, until thou follow their religion; say, The direction of Allah is the true direction. And verily if thou follow their desires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, thou shalt find no patron or protector against Allah." (The Cowverse 120).

There is no solution for the Palestinian question except through Jihad. Initiatives, proposals and international conferences are all a waste of time and vain endeavors. The Palestinian people know better than to consent to having their future, rights and fate toyed with. As in said in the honourable Hadith:

"The people of Syria are Allah's lash in His land. He wreaks His vengeance through them against whomsoever He wishes

among His slaves It is unthinkable that those who are doublefaced among them should prosper over the faithful. They will certainly die out of grief and desperation.

ARTICLE 14: The question of the liberation of Palestine is bound to three circles: the Palestinian circle, the Arab circle and the Islamic circle. Each of these circles has its role in the struggle against Zionism. Each has its duties, and it is a horrible mistake and a sign of deep ignorance to overlook any of these circles. Palestine is an Islamic land which has the first of the two kiblahs (direction to which Moslems turn in praying), the third of the holy (Islamic) sanctuaries, and the point of departure for Mohamed's midnight journey to the seven heavens (i.e. Jerusalem).

"Praise be unto him who transported his servant by night, from the sacred temple of Mecca to the farther temple of Jerusalem, the circuit of which we have blessed, that we might show him some of our signs; for Allah is he who heareth, and seeth." (The Night-Journey - verse 1).

Since this is the case, liberation of Palestine is then an individual duty for very Moslem wherever he may be. On this basis, the problem should be viewed. This should be realised by every Moslem.

The day the problem is dealt with on this basis, when the three circles mobilize their capabilities, the present state of affairs will change and the day of liberation will come nearer.

"Verily ye are stronger than they, by reason of the terror cast into their breasts from Allah. This, because they are not people of prudence." (The Emigration - verse 13)

The Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine is an Individual Duty:

ARTICLE 15: The day that enemies usurp part of Moslem land, Jihad becomes the individual duty of every Moslem. In face of the Jews' usurpation of Palestine, it is compulsory that the banner of Jihad be raised. To do this requires the diffusion of Islamic consciousness among the masses, both on the regional, Arab and Islamic levels. It is necessary to instill the spirit of Jihad in the heart of the nation so that they would confront the enemies and join the ranks of the fighters.

It is necessary that scientists, educators and teachers. information and media people, as well as the educated masses, especially the youth and sheikhs of the Islamic movements, should take part in the operation of awakening (the masses). It is important that basic changes be made in the school curriculum, to cleanse it of the traces of ideological invasion that affected it as a result of the orientalists and missionaries who infiltrated the region following the defeat of the Crusaders at the hands of Salah el-Din (Saladin). The Crusaders realised that it was impossible to defeat the Moslems without first having ideological invasion pave the way by upsetting their thoughts, disfiguring their heritage and violating their ideals. Only then could they invade with soldiers. This, in its turn, paved the way for the imperialistic invasion that made Allenby declare on entering Jerusalem: "Only now have the Crusades ended." General Guru stood at Salah el-Din's grave and said: "We have returned, O Salah el-Din." Imperialism has helped towards the strengthening of ideological invasion, deepening, and still does, its roots. All this has paved the way towards the loss of Palestine.

It is necessary to instill in the minds of the Moslem generations that the Palestinian problem is a religious problem, and should be dealt with on this basis. Palestine contains Islamic holy sites. In it there is al- Aqsa Mosque which is bound to the great Mosque in Mecca in an inseparable bond as long as heaven and earth speak of Isra (Mohammed's midnight journey to the seven heavens) and Mi'rai (Mohammed's ascension to the seven heavens from Jerusalem).

"The bond of one day for the sake of Allah is better than the world and whatever there is on it. The place of one's whip in Paradise is far better than the world and whatever there is on it. A worshipper's going and coming in the service of Allah is better than the world and whatever there is on it." (As related by al-Bukhari, Moslem, al-Tarmdhi and Ibn Maja).

'I swear by the holder of Mohammed's soul that I would like to invade and be killed for the sake of Allah, then invade and be killed, and then invade again and be killed." (As related by al-Bukhari and Moslem).

The Education of the Generations:

ARTICLE 16: It is necessary to follow Islamic orientation in educating the Islamic generations in our region by teaching the religious duties, comprehensive study of the Koran, the study of the Prophet's Sunna (his sayings and doings), and learning about Islamic history and heritage from their authentic sources. This should be done by specialised and learned people, using a curriculum that would healthily form the thoughts and faith of the Moslem student. Side by side with this, a comprehensive study of the enemy, his human and financial capabilities, learning about his points of weakness and strength, and getting to know the forces supporting and helping him, should also be included. Also, it is important to

be acquainted with the current events, to follow what is new and to study the analysis and commentaries made of these events. Planning for the present and future, studying every trend appearing, is a must so that the fighting Moslem would live knowing his aim, objective and his way in the midst of what is going on around him.

"O my son, verily every matter, whether good or bad, though it be the weight of a grain of mustard-seed, and be hidden in a rock, or in the heavens, or in the earth. Allah will bring the same to light; for Allah is clear-sighted and knowing. O my son, be constant at prayer, and command that which is just, and forbid that which is evil: and be patient under the afflictions which shall befall thee; for this is a duty absolutely incumbent on all men. Distort not thy face out of contempt to men, neither walk in the earth with insolence; for Allah loveth no arrogant, vain-glorious person." (Lokman verses 16-18).

The Role of the Moslem Woman:

ARTICLE 17: The Moslem woman has a role no less important than that of the moslem man in the battle of liberation. She is the maker of men. Her role in guiding and educating the new generations is great. The enemies have realised the importance of her role. They consider that if they are able to direct and bring her up they way they wish, far from Islam, they would have won the battle. That is why you find them giving these attempts constant attention through information campaigns, films, and the school curriculum, using for that purpose their lackeys who are infiltrated through Zionist Organisations under various names and shapes, such as Freemasons, Rotary Clubs, espionage groups and others, which are all nothing more than cells of subversion and saboteurs. These Organisations have ample resources that enable them to play their role in societies for the purpose of achieving the Zionist targets and to deepen the concepts that would serve the enemy. These Organisations operate in the absence of Islam and its estrangement among its people. The Islamic peoples should perform their role in confronting the conspiracies of these saboteurs. The day Islam is in control of guiding the affairs of life, these Organisations, hostile to humanity and Islam, will be obliterated.

ARTICLE 18: Woman in the home of the fighting family, whether she is a mother or a sister, plays the most important role in looking after the family, rearing the children and embuing them with moral values and thoughts derived from Islam. She has to teach them to perform the religious duties in preparation for the role of fighting awaiting them. That is why it is necessary to pay great attention to schools and the curriculum followed in educating Moslem girls, so that they would grow up to be good mothers, aware of their role in the battle of liberation.

She has to be of sufficient knowledge and understanding where the performance of housekeeping matters are concerned, because economy and avoidance of waste of the family budget. is one of the requirements for the ability to continue moving forward in the difficult conditions surrounding us. She should put before her eyes the fact that the money available to her is just like blood which should never flow except through the veins so that both children and grown-ups could continue to

"Verily, the Moslems of either sex, and the true believers of either sex, and the devout men, and the devout women, and the men of veracity, and the women of veracity, and the patient men, and the patient women, and the humble men, and the humble women, and the alms-givers of either sex who remember Allah frequently; for them hath Allah prepared forgiveness and a great reward." (The Confederates - verse 25).

The Role of Islamic Art in the Battle of Liberation:

ARTICLE 19: Art has regulations and measures by which it can be determined whether it is Islamic or pre-Islamic (Jahili) art. The issues of Islamic liberation are in need of Islamic art that would take the spirit high, without raising one side of human nature above the other, but rather raise all of them harmoniously an in equilibrium

Man is a unique and wonderful creature, made out of a handful of clay and a breath from Allah, Islamic art addresses man on this basis, while pre-Islamic art addresses the body giving preference to the clay component in it.

The book, the article, the bulletin, the sermon, the thesis, the popular poem, the poetic ode, the song, the play and others, contain the characteristics of Islamic art, then these are among the requirements of ideological mobilization, renewed food for the journey and recreation for the soul. The road is long and suffering is plenty. The soul will be bored, but Islamic art renews the energies, resurrects the movement, arousing in them lofty meanings and proper conduct. "Nothing can improve the self if it is in retreat except shifting from one mood to another '

All this is utterly serious and no iest, for those who are fighters do not jest.

Social Mutual Responsibility:

ARTICLE 20: Moslem society is a mutually responsible society. The Prophet, prayers and greetings be unto him, said:

"Blessed are the generous, whether they were in town or on a iourney, who have collected all that they had and shared it equally among themselves."

The Islamic spirit is what should prevail in every Moslem society. The society that confronts a vicious enemy which acts in a way similar to Nazism, making no differentiation between man and woman, between children and old people such a society is entitled to this Islamic spirit. Our enemy relies on the methods of collective punishment. He has deprived people of their homeland and properties, pursued them in their places of exile and gathering, breaking bones, shooting at women, children and old people, with or without a reason. The enemy has opened detention camps where thousands and thousands of people are thrown and kept under sub-human conditions. Added to this, are the demolition of houses, rendering children orphans, meting cruel sentences against thousands of young people, and causing them to spend the best years of their lives in the dungeons of prisons.

In their Nazi treatment, the Jews made no exception for women or children. Their policy of striking fear in the heart is meant for all. They attack people where their breadwinning is concerned, extorting their money and threatening their honour. They deal with people as if they were the worst war criminals. Deportation from the homeland is a kind of murder.

To counter these deeds, it is necessary that social mutual responsibility should prevail among the people. The enemy should be faced by the people as a single body which if one member of it should complain, the rest of the body would respond by feeling the same pains.

ARTICLE 21: Mutual social responsibility means extending assistance, financial or moral, to all those who are in need and joining in the execution of some of the work. Members of the Islamic Resistance Movement should consider the interests of the masses as their own personal interests. They must spare no effort in achieving and preserving them. They must prevent any foul play with the future of the upcoming generations and anything that could cause loss to society. The masses are part of them and they are part of the masses. Their strength is theirs, and their future is theirs. Members of the Islamic Resistance Movement should share the people's joy and grief, adopt the demands of the public and whatever means by which they could be realised. The day that such a spirit prevails. brotherliness would deepen, cooperation, sympathy and unity will be enhanced and the ranks will be solidified to confront

Supportive Forces Behind the Enemy: ARTICLE 22: For a long time, the enemies have been planning, skillfully and with precision, for the achievement of what they have attained. They took into consideration the causes affecting the current of events. They strived to amass great and substantive material wealth which they devoted to the realisation of their dream. With their money, they took control of the world media, news agencies, the press, publishing houses, broadcasting stations, and others. With their money they stirred revolutions in various parts of the world with the purpose of achieving their interests and reaping the fruit therein. They were behind the French Revolution, the Communist revolution and most of the revolutions we heard and hear about, here and there. With their money they formed secret societies, such as Freemasons, Rotary Clubs, the Lions and others in different parts of the world for the purpose of sabotaging societies and achieving Zionist interests. With their money they were able to control imperialistic countries and instigate them to colonize many countries in order to enable them to exploit their resources and spread corruption there

You may speak as much as you want about regional and world wars. They were behind World War I, when they were able to destroy the Islamic Caliphate, making financial gains and controlling resources. They obtained the Balfour Declaration, formed the League of Nations through which they could rule the world. They were behind World War II, through which they made huge financial gains by trading in armaments, and paved the way for the establishment of their state. It was they who instigated the replacement of the League of Nations with the United Nations and the Security Council to enable them to rule the world through them. There is no war going on anywhere, without having their finger in it.

"So often as they shall kindle a fire for war, Allah shall extinguish it; and they shall set their minds to act corruptly in the earth, but Allah loveth not the corrupt doers." (The Table - verse 64).

The imperialistic forces in the Capitalist West and Communist East, support the enemy with all their might, in money and in men. These forces take turns in doing that. The day Islam appears, the forces of infidelity would unite to challenge it, for the infidels are of one nation.

"O true believers contract not an intimate friendship with any besides yourselves: they will not fail to corrupt you. They wish for that which may cause you to perish: their hatred hath already appeared from out of their mouths; but what their breasts conceal is yet more inveterate. We have already shown

you signs of their ill will towards you, if ye understand." (The Family of Imran - verse 118).

It is not in vain that the verse is ended with Allah's words "if ye understand."

OUR ATTITUDES TOWARDS:

A.) Islamic Movements:

ARTICLE 23: The Islamic Resistance Movement views other Islamic movements with respect and appreciation. If it were at variance with them on one point or opinion, it is in agreement with them on other points and understandings. It considers these movements, if they reveal good intentions and dedication to Allah, that they fall into the category of those who are trying hard since they act within the Islamic circle. Each active person has his share.

The Islamic Resistance Movement considers all these movements as a fund for itself. It prays to Allah for guidance and directions for all and it spares no effort to keep the banner of unity raised, ever striving for its realisation in accordance with the Koran and the Prophet's directives.

"And cleave all of you unto the covenant of Allah, and depart not from it, and remember the favour of Allah towards you: since ye were enemies, and he reconciled your hearts, and ye became companions and brethren by his favour: and ye were on the brink of a pit of fire, and he delivered you thence. Allah declareth unto you his signs, that ye may be directed." (The Family of Imran - Verse 102).

ARTICLE 24: The Islamic Resistance Movement does not allow slandering or speaking ill of individuals or groups, for the believer does not indulge in such malpractices. It is necessary to differentiate between this behaviour and the stands taken by certain individuals and groups. Whenever those stands are erroneous, the Islamic Resistance Movement preserves the right to expound the error and to warn against it. It will strive to show the right path and to judge the case in question with objectivity. Wise conduct is indeed the target of the believer who follows it wherever he discerns it.

"Allah loveth not the speaking ill of anyone in public, unless he who is injured call for assistance; and Allah heareth and knoweth: whether ye publish a good action, or conceal it, or forgive evil, verily Allah is gracious and powerful." (Women - verses 147-148).

B.) Nationalist Movements in the Palestinian Arena:

ARTICLE 25: The Islamic Resistance Movement respects these movements and appreciates their circumstances and the conditions surrounding and affecting them. It encourages them as long as they do not give their allegiance to the Communist East or the Crusading West. It confirms to all those who are integrated in it, or sympathetic towards it, that the Islamic Resistance Movement is a fighting movement that has a moral and enlightened look of life and the way it should cooperate with the other (movements). It detests opportunism and desires only the good of people, individuals and groups alike. It does not seek material gains, personal fame, nor does it look for a reward from others. It works with its own resources and whatever is at its disposal "and prepare for them whatever force you can", for the fulfilment of the duty, and the earning of Allah's favour. It has no other desire than that

The Movement assures all the nationalist trends operating in the Palestinian arena for the liberation of Palestine, that it is there for their support and assistance. It will never be more than that, both in words and deeds, now and in the future. It is there to bring together and not to divide, to preserve and not to squander, to unify and not to throw asunder. It evaluates every good word, sincere effort and good offices. It closes the door in the face of side disagreements and does not lend an ear to rumours and slanders, while at the same time fully realising the right for self-defence.

Anything contrary or contradictory to these trends, is a lie disseminated by enemies or their lackeys for the purpose of sowing confusion, disrupting the ranks and occupy them with cited issues.

"O true believers, if a wicked man come unto you with a tale, inquire strictly into the truth thereof; lest ye hurt people through ignorance, and afterwards repent of what ye have done." (The Inner Apartments - verse 6).

ARTICLE 26: In viewing the Palestinian nationalist movements that give allegiance neither to the East nor the West, in this positive way, the Islamic Resistance Movement does not refrain from discussing new situations on the regional or international levels where the Palestinian question is concerned. It does that in such an objective manner revealing the extent of how much it is in harmony or contradiction with the national interests in the light of the Islamic point of view.

C.) The Palestinian Liberation Organisation:

ARTICLE 27: The Palestinian Liberation Organisation is the closest to the heart of the Islamic Resistance Movement. It contains the father and the brother, the next of kin and the friend. The Moslem does not estrange himself from his father, brother, next of kin or friend. Our homeland is one, our

situation is one, our fate is one and the enemy is a joint enemy to all of us.

Because of the situations surrounding the formation of the Organisation, of the ideological confusion prevailing in the Arab world as a result of the ideological invasion under whose influence the Arab world has fallen since the defeat of the Crusaders and which was, and still is, intensified through orientalists, missionaries and imperialists, the Organisation adopted the idea of the secular state. And that it how we view it

Secularism completely contradicts religious ideology. Attitudes, conduct and decisions stem from ideologies.

That is why, with all our appreciation for The Palestinian Liberation Organisation - and what it can develop into - and without belittling its role in the Arab-Israeli conflict, we are unable to exchange the present or future Islamic Palestine with the secular idea. The Islamic nature of Palestine is part of our religion and whoever takes his religion lightly is a loser.

"Who will be adverse to the religion of Abraham, but he whose mind is infatuated? (The Cow - verse 130).

The day The Palestinian Liberation Organisation adopts Islam as its way of life, we will become its soldiers, and fuel for its fire that will burn the enemies.

Until such a day, and we pray to Allah that it will be soon, the Islamic Resistance Movement's stand towards the PLO is that of the son towards his father, the brother towards his brother, and the relative to relative, suffers his pain and supports him in confronting the enemies, wishing him to be wise and well-guided.

"Stand by your brother, for he who is brotherless is like the fighter who goes to battle without arms. One's cousin is the wing one flies with - could the bird fly without wings?"

D.) Arab and Islamic Countries:

ARTICLE 28: The Zionist invasion is a vicious invasion. It does not refrain from resorting to all methods, using all evil and contemptible ways to achieve its end. It relies greatly in its infiltration and espionage operations on the secret Organisations it gave rise to, such as the Freemasons, The Rotary and Lions clubs, and other sabotage groups. All these Organisations, whether secret or open, work in the interest of Zionism and according to its instructions. They aim at undermining societies, destroying values, corrupting consciences, deteriorating character and annihilating Islam. It is behind the drug trade and alcoholism in all its kinds so as to facilitate its control and expansion.

Arab countries surrounding Israel are asked to open their borders before the fighters from among the Arab and Islamic nations so that they could consolidate their efforts with those of their Moslem brethren in Palestine.

As for the other Arab and Islamic countries, they are asked to facilitate the movement of the fighters from and to it, and this is the least thing they could do.

We should not forget to remind every Moslem that when the Jews conquered the Holy City in 1967, they stood on the threshold of the Aqsa Mosque and proclaimed that "Mohammed is dead, and his descendants are all women."

Israel, Judaism and Jews challenge Islam and the Moslem people. "May the cowards never sleep."

E.) Nationalist and Religious Groupings, Institutions, Intellectuals, The Arab and Islamic World:

ARTICLE 29: The Islamic Resistance Movement hopes that all these groupings will side with it in all spheres, would support it, adopt its stand and solidify its activities and moves, work towards rallying support for it so that the Islamic people will be a base and a stay for it, supplying it with strategic depth an all human material and informative spheres, in time and in place. This should be done through the convening of solidarity conferences, the issuing of explanatory bulletins, favourable articles and booklets, enlightening the masses regarding the Palestinian issue, clarifying what confronts it and the conspiracies woven around it. They should mobilize the Islamic nations, ideologically, educationally and culturally, so that these peoples would be equipped to perform their role in the decisive battle of liberation, just as they did when they vanquished the Crusaders and the Tatars and saved human civilization. Indeed, that is not difficult for Allah.

"Allah hath written, Verily I will prevail, and my apostles: for Allah is strong and mighty." (The Dispute - verse 21).

ARTICLE 30: Writers, intellectuals, media people, orators, educaters and teachers, and all the various sectors in the Arab and Islamic world - all of them are called upon to perform their role, and to fulfill their duty, because of the ferocity of the Zionist offensive and the Zionist influence in many countries exercised through financial and media control, as well as the consequences that all this lead to in the greater part of the world.

Jihad is not confined to the carrying of arms and the confrontation of the enemy. The effective word, the good article, the useful book, support and solidarity - together with the presence of sincere purpose for the hoisting of Allah's

banner higher and higher - all these are elements of the Jihad for Allah's sake.

"Whosoever mobilises a fighter for the sake of Allah is himself a fighter. Whosoever supports the relatives of a fighter, he himself is a fighter." (related by al-Bukhari, Moslem, Abu-Dawood and al-Tarmadhi).

F. Followers of Other Religions: The Islamic Resistance Movement Is A Humanistic Movement:

ARTICLE 31: The Islamic Resistance Movement is a humanistic movement. It takes care of human rights and is guided by Islamic tolerance when dealing with the followers of other religions. It does not antagonize anyone of them except if it is antagonized by it or stands in its way to hamper its moves and waste its efforts.

Under the wing of Islam, it is possible for the followers of the three religions - Islam, Christianity and Judaism - to coexist in peace and quiet with each other. Peace and quiet would not be possible except under the wing of Islam. Past and present history are the best witness to that.

It is the duty of the followers of other religions to stop disputing the sovereignty of Islam in this region, because the day these followers should take over there will be nothing but carnage, displacement and terror. Everyone of them is at variance with his fellow-religionists, not to speak about followers of other religionists. Past and present history are full of examples to prove this fact.

"They will not fight against you in a body, except in fenced towns, or from behind walls. Their strength in war among themselves is great: thou thinkest them to be united; but their hearts are divided. This, because they are people who do not understand." (The Emigration - verse 14).

Islam confers upon everyone his legitimate rights. Islam prevents the incursion on other people's rights. The Zionist Nazi activities against our people will not last for long. "For the state of injustice lasts but one day, while the state of justice lasts till Doomsday."

"As to those who have not borne arms against you on account of religion, nor turned you out of your dwellings, Allah forbiddeth you not to deal kindly with them, and to behave justly towards them; for Allah loveth those who act justly." (The Tried - verse 8).

The Attempt to Isolate the Palestinian People:

ARTICLE 32: World Zionism, together with imperialistic powers, try through a studied plan and an intelligent strategy to remove one Arab state after another from the circle of struggle against Zionism, in order to have it finally face the Palestinian people only. Egypt was, to a great extent, removed from the circle of the struggle, through the treacherous Camp David Agreement. They are trying to draw other Arab countries into similar agreements and to bring them outside the circle of struggle.

The Islamic Resistance Movement calls on Arab and Islamic nations to take up the line of serious and persevering action to prevent the success of this horrendous plan, to warn the people of the danger eminating from leaving the circle of struggle against Zionism. Today it is Palestine, tomorrow it will be one country or another. The Zionist plan is limitless. After Palestine, the Zionists aspire to expand from the Nile to the Euphrates. When they will have digested the region they overtook, they will aspire to further expansion, and so on. Their plan is embodied in the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion", and their present conduct is the best proof of what we are saying.

Leaving the circle of struggle with Zionism is high treason, and cursed be he who does that. "for whoso shall turn his back unto them on that day, unless he turneth aside to fight, or retreateth to another party of the faithful, shall draw on himself the indignation of Allah, and his abode shall be hell; an ill journey shall it be thither." (The Spoils - verse 16). There is no way out except by concentrating all powers and energies to face this Nazi, vicious Tatar invasion. The alternative is loss of one's country, the dispersion of citizens, the spread of vice on earth and the destruction of religious values. Let every person know that he is responsible before Allah, for "the doer of the slightest good deed is rewarded in like, and the does of the slightest evil deed is also rewarded in like."

The Islamic Resistance Movement consider itself to be the spearhead of the circle of struggle with world Zionism and a step on the road. The Movement adds its efforts to the efforts of all those who are active in the Palestinian arena. Arab and Islamic Peoples should augment by further steps on their part; Islamic groupings all over the Arab world should also do the same, since all of these are the best-equipped for the future role in the fight with the warmongering Jews.

"..and we have put enmity and hatred between them, until the day of resurrection. So often as they shall kindle a fire of war, Allah shall extinguish it, and they shall set their minds to act corruptly in the earth, but Allah loveth not the corrupt doers." (The Table - verse 64).

ARTICLE 33: The Islamic Resistance Movement, being based on the common coordinated and interdependent conceptions of the laws of the universe, and flowing in the stream of destiny in confronting and fighting the enemies in defence of the Moslems and Islamic civilization and sacred sites, the first among which is the Aqsa Mosque, urges the Arab and Islamic peoples, their governments, popular and official groupings, to fear Allah where their view of the Islamic Resistance Movement and their dealings with it are concerned. They should back and support it, as Allah wants them to, extending to it more and more funds till Allah's purpose is achieved when ranks will close up, fighters join other fighters and masses everywhere in the Islamic world will come forward in response to the call of duty while loudly proclaiming: Hail to Jihad. Their cry will reach the heavens and will go on being resounded until liberation is achieved, the invaders vanquished and Allah's victory comes about.

"And Allah will certainly assist him who shall be on his side: for Allah is strong and mighty." (The Pilgrimage - verse 40).

THE TESTIMONY OF HISTORY Across History in Confronting the Invaders:

ARTICLE 34: Palestine is the navel of the globe and the crossroad of the continents. Since the dawn of history, it has been the target of expansionists. The Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him salvation, had himself pointed to this fact in the noble Hadith in which he called on his honourable companion, MaAdh ben-Jabal, saying: O MaAth, Allah throw open before you, when I am gone, Syria, from Al-Arish to the Euphrates. Its men, women and slaves will stay firmly there till the Day of Judgement. Whoever of you should choose one of the Syrian shores, or the Holy Land, he will be in constant struggle till the Day of Judgement."

Expansionists have more than once put their eye on Palestine which they attacked with their armies to fulfill their designs on it. Thus it was that the Crusaders came with their armies, bringing with them their creed and carrying their Cross. They were able to defeat the Moslems for a while, but the Moslems were able to retrieve the land only when they stood under the wing of their religious banner, united their word, hallowed the name of Allah and surged out fighting under the leadership of Salah ed-Din al-Ayyubi. They fought for almost twenty years and at the end the Crusaders were defeated and Palestine was liberated.

"Say unto those who believe not, Ye shall be overcome, and thrown together into hell; an unhappy couch it shall be." (The Family of Imran - verse 12).

This is the only way to liberate Palestine. There is no doubt about the testimony of history. It is one of the laws of the universe and one of the rules of existence. Nothing can overcome iron except iron. Their false futile creed can only be defeated by the righteous Islamic creed. A creed could not be fought except by a creed, and in the last analysis, victory is for the just, for justice is certainly victorious.

"Our word hath formerly been given unto our servants the apostles; that they should certainly be assisted against the infidels, and that our armies should surely be the conquerors." (Those Who Rank Themselves - verses 171-172).

ARTICLE 35: The Islamic Resistance Movement views seriously the defeat of the Crusaders at the hands of Salah ed-Din al-Ayyubi and the rescuing of Palestine from their hands, as well as the defeat of the Tatars at Ein Galot, breaking their power at the hands of Qataz and Al-Dhaher Bivers and saving the Arab world from the Tatar onslaught which aimed at the destruction of every meaning of human civilization. The Movement draws lessons and examples from all this. The present Zionist onslaught has also been preceded by Crusading raids from the West and other Tatar raids from the East. Just as the Moslems faced those raids and planned fighting and defeating them, they should be able to confront the Zionist invasion and defeat it. This is indeed no problem for the Almighty Allah, provided that the intentions are pure, the determination is true and that Moslems have benefited from past experiences, rid themselves of the effects of ideological invasion and followed the customs of their ancestors.

The Islamic Resistance Movement is Composed of Soldiers:

ARTICLE 36: While paving its way, the Islamic Resistance Movement, emphasizes time and again to all the sons of our people, to the Arab and Islamic nations, that it does not seek personal fame, material gain, or social prominence. It does not aim to compete against any one from among our people, or take his place. Nothing of the sort at all. It will not act against any of the sons of Moslems or those who are peaceful towards it from among non-Moslems, be they here or anywhere else. It will only serve as a support for all groupings and Organisations operating against the Zionist enemy and its lackeys.

The Islamic Resistance Movement adopts Islam as its way of life. Islam is its creed and religion. Whoever takes Islam as his way of life, be it an Organisation, a grouping, a country or

any other body, the Islamic Resistance Movement considers itself as their soldiers and nothing more.

We ask Allah to show us the right course, to make us an example to others and to judge between us and our people with truth. "O Lord, do thou judge between us and our nation with truth; for thou art the best judge." (Al Araf - Verse 89)

The last of our prayers will be praise to Allah, the Master of the Universe.

HAMAS CHARTER 2017

(Hamas is the Palestinian wing of the Muslim Brotherhood)

Official translation of the 2017 Charter:

In the Name of Allah Most Gracious Most Merciful The Islamic Resistance Movement "Hamas"

A Document of General Principles and Policies

Praise be to Allah, the Lord of all worlds. May the peace and blessings of Allah be upon Muhammad, the Master of Messengers and the Leader of the mujahidin, and upon his household and all his companions.

PREAMBLE:

Palestine is the land of the Arab Palestinian people, from it they originate, to it they adhere and belong, and about it they reach out and communicate.

Palestine is a land whose status has been elevated by Islam, a faith that holds it in high esteem, that breathes through it its spirit and just values and that lays the foundation for the doctrine of defending and protecting it.

Palestine is the cause of a people who have been let down by a world that fails to secure their rights and restore to them what has been usurped from them, a people whose land continues to suffer one of the worst types of occupation in this world.

Palestine is a land that was seized by a racist, anti-human and colonial Zionist project that was founded on a false promise (the Balfour Declaration), on recognition of a usurping entity and on imposing a fait accompli by force.

Palestine symbolizes the resistance that shall continue until liberation is accomplished, until the return is fulfilled and until a fully sovereign state is established with Jerusalem as its approach.

Palestine is the true partnership among Palestinians of all

affiliations for the sublime objective of liberation.

Palestine is the spirit of the Ummah and its central cause; it

is the soul of humanity and its living conscience.

This document is the product of deep deliberations that led us to a strong consensus. As a movement, we agree about both the theory and the practice of the vision that is outlined in the pages that follow. It is a vision that stands on solid grounds and on well-established principles. This document unveils the goals, the milestones and the way in which national unity can be enforced. It also establishes our common understanding of the Palestinian cause, the working principles which we use to further it, and the limits of flexibility used to interpret it.

THE MOVEMENT:

1. The Islamic Resistance Movement "Hamas" is a Palestinian Islamic national liberation and resistance movement. Its goal is to liberate Palestine and confront the Zionist project. Its frame of reference is Islam, which determines its principles, objectives and means.

THE LAND OF PALESTINE:

2. Palestine, which extends from the River Jordan in the east to the Mediterranean in the west and from Ras Al-Naqurah in the north to Umm Al-Rashrash in the south, is an integral territorial unit. It is the land and the home of the Palestinian people. The expulsion and banishment of the Palestinian people from their land and the establishment of the Zionist entity therein do not annul the right of the Palestinian people to their entire land and do not entrench any rights therein for the usurping Zionist entity.

3. Palestine is an Arab Islamic land. It is a blessed sacred land that has a special place in the heart of every Arab and every Muslim.

THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE:

4. The Palestinians are the Arabs who lived in Palestine until 1947, irrespective of whether they were expelled from it, or stayed in it; and every person that was born to an Arab Palestinian father after that date, whether inside or outside Palestine, is a Palestinian.

5. The Palestinian identity is authentic and timeless; it is passed from generation to generation. The catastrophes that have befallen the Palestinian people, as a consequence of the Zionist occupation and its policy of displacement, cannot erase the identity of the Palestinian people nor can they negate it. A Palestinian shall not lose his or her national identity or rights by acquiring a second nationality.

6. The Palestinian people are one people, made up of all Palestinians, inside and outside of Palestine, irrespective of their religion, culture or political affiliation.

ISLAM AND PALESTINE:

7. Palestine is at the heart of the Arab and Islamic Ummah and enjoys a special status. Within Palestine there exists Jerusalem, whose precincts are blessed by Allah. Palestine is the Holy Land, which Allah has blessed for humanity. It is the Muslims' first Qiblah and the destination of the journey performed at night by Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him. It is the location from where he ascended to the upper heavens. It is the birthplace of Jesus Christ, peace be upon him. It soil contains the remains of thousands of Prophets, Companions and Mujahidin. It is the land of people who are determined to defend the truth — within Jerusalem and its surroundings — who are not deterred or intimidated by those who oppose them and by those who betray them, and they will continue their mission until the Promise of Allah is fulfilled.

8. By virtue of its justly balanced middle way and moderate spirit, Islam — for Hamas - provides a comprehensive way of life and an order that is fit for purpose at all times and in all places. Islam is a religion of peace and tolerance. It provides an umbrella for the followers of other creeds and religions who can practice their beliefs in security and safety. Hamas also believes that Palestine has always been and will always be a model of coexistence, tolerance and civilizational innovation.

9. Hamas believes that the message of Islam upholds the values of truth, justice, freedom and dignity and prohibits all forms of injustice and incriminates oppressors irrespective of their religion, race, gender or nationality. Islam is against all forms of religious, ethnic or sectarian extremism and bigotry. It is the religion that inculcates in its followers the value of standing up to aggression and of supporting the oppressed; it motivates them to give generously and make sacrifices in defence of their dignity, their land, their peoples and their holy places.

JERUSALEM:

10. Jerusalem is the capital of Palestine. Its religious, historic and civilizational status is fundamental to the Arabs, Muslims and the world at large. Its Islamic and Christian holy places belong exclusively to the Palestinian people and to the Arab and Islamic Ummah. Not one stone of Jerusalem can be surrendered or relinquished. The measures undertaken by the occupiers in Jerusalem, such as Judaization, settlement building, and establishing facts on the ground are fundamentally null and void.

11. The blessed Al-Aqsa Mosque belongs exclusively to our people and our Ummah, and the occupation has no right to it whatsoever. The occupation's plots, measures and attempts to judaize Al-Aqsa and divide it are null, void and illegitimate.

THE REFLIGEES AND THE RIGHT OF RETURN:

12. The Palestinian cause in its essence is a cause of an occupied land and a displaced people. The right of the Palestinian refugees and the displaced to return to their homes from which they were banished or were banned from returning to — whether in the lands occupied in 1948 or in 1967 (that is the whole of Palestine), is a natural right, both individual and collective. This right is confirmed by all divine laws as well as by the basic principles of human rights and international law. It is an inalienable right and cannot be dispensed with by any party, whether Palestinian, Arab or international.

13. Hamas rejects all attempts to erase the rights of the refugees, including the attempts to settle them outside Palestine and through the projects of the alternative homeland. Compensation to the Palestinian refugees for the harm they have suffered as a consequence of banishing them and occupying their land is an absolute right that goes hand in hand with their right to return. They are to receive compensation upon their return and this does not negate or diminish their right to return.

THE ZIONIST PROJECT:

14. The Zionist project is a racist, aggressive, colonial and expansionist project based on seizing the properties of others; it is hostile to the Palestinian people and to their aspiration for freedom, liberation, return and self-determination. The Israeli entity is the plaything of the Zionist project and its base of aggression.

15. The Zionist project does not target the Palestinian people alone; it is the enemy of the Arab and Islamic Ummah posing a grave threat to its security and interests. It is also hostile to the Ummah's aspirations for unity, renaissance and liberation and has been the major source of its troubles. The Zionist project also poses a danger to international security and peace and to mankind and its interests and stability.

16. Hamas affirms that its conflict is with the Zionist project not with the Jews because of their religion. Hamas does not wage a struggle against the Jews because they are Jewish but wages a struggle against the Zionists who occupy Palestine. Yet, it is the Zionists who constantly identify Judaism and the Jews with their own colonial project and illegal entity.

17. Hamas rejects the persecution of any human being or the undermining of his or her rights on nationalist, religious or sectarian grounds. Hamas is of the view that the Jewish problem, anti-Semitism and the persecution of the Jews are phenomena fundamentally linked to European history and not to the history of the Arabs and the Muslims or to their heritage. The Zionist movement, which was able with the help of Western powers to occupy Palestine, is the most dangerous form of settlement occupation which has already disappeared from much of the world and must disappear from Palestine.

THE POSITION TOWARD OCCUPATION AND POLITICAL SOLUTIONS:

- 18. The following are considered null and void: the Balfour Declaration, the British Mandate Document, the UN Palestine Partition Resolution, and whatever resolutions and measures that derive from them or are similar to them. The establishment of "Israel" is entirely illegal and contravenes the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and goes against their will and the will of the Ummah; it is also in violation of human rights that are guaranteed by international conventions, foremost among them is the right to self-determination.
- 19. There shall be no recognition of the legitimacy of the Zionist entity. Whatever has befallen the land of Palestine in terms of occupation, settlement building, Judaization or changes to its features or falsification of facts is illegitimate. Rights never lapse.
- 20. Hamas believes that no part of the land of Palestine shall be compromised or conceded, irrespective of the causes, the circumstances and the pressures and no matter how long the occupation lasts. Hamas rejects any alternative to the full and complete liberation of Palestine, from the river to the sea. However, without compromising its rejection of the Zionist entity and without relinquishing any Palestinian rights, Hamas considers the establishment of a fully sovereign and independent Palestinian state, with Jerusalem as its capital along the lines of the 4th of June 1967, with the return of the refugees and the displaced to their homes from which they were expelled, to be a formula of national consensus.
- 21. Hamas affirms that the Oslo Accords and their addenda contravene the governing rules of international law in that they generate commitments that violate the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Therefore, the Movement rejects these agreements and all that flows from them, such as the obligations that are detrimental to the interests of our people, especially security coordination (collaboration).
- 22. Hamas rejects all the agreements, initiatives and settlement projects that are aimed at undermining the Palestinian cause and the rights of our Palestinian people. In this regard, any stance, initiative or political programme must not in any way violate these rights and should not contravene them or contradict them.
- 23. Hamas stresses that transgression against the Palestinian people, usurping their land and banishing them from their homeland cannot be called peace. Any settlements reached on this basis will not lead to peace. Resistance and pilad for the liberation of Palestine will remain a legitimate right, a duty and an honour for all the sons and daughters of our people and our Ummah.

RESISTANCE AND LIBERATION:

- 24. The liberation of Palestine is the duty of the Palestinian people in particular and the duty of the Arab and Islamic Ummah in general. It is also a humanitarian obligation as necessitated by the dictates of truth and justice. The agencies working for Palestine, whether national, Arab, Islamic or humanitarian, complement each other and are harmonious and not in conflict with each other.
- 25. Resisting the occupation with all means and methods is a legitimate right guaranteed by divine laws and by international norms and laws. At the heart of these lies armed resistance, which is regarded as the strategic choice for protecting the principles and the rights of the Palestinian people.
- 26. Hamas rejects any attempt to undermine the resistance and its arms. It also affirms the right of our people to develop the means and mechanisms of resistance. Managing resistance, in terms of escalation or de-escalation, or in terms of diversifying the means and methods, is an integral part of the process of managing the conflict and should not be at the expense of the principle of resistance.

THE PALESTINIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM:

- 27. A real state of Palestine is a state that has been liberated. There is no alternative to a fully sovereign Palestinian State on the entire national Palestinian soil, with Jerusalem as its capital.
- 28. Hamas believes in, and adheres to, managing its Palestinian relations on the basis of pluralism, democracy, national partnership, acceptance of the other and the adoption of dialogue. The aim is to bolster the unity of ranks

and joint action for the purpose of accomplishing national goals and fulfilling the aspirations of the Palestinian people.

- 29. The PLO is a national framework for the Palestinian people inside and outside of Palestine. It should therefore be preserved, developed and rebuilt on democratic foundations so as to secure the participation of all the constituents and forces of the Palestinian people, in a manner that safeguards Palestinian rights.
- 30. Hamas stresses the necessity of building Palestinian national institutions on sound democratic principles, foremost among them are free and fair elections. Such process should be on the basis of national partnership and in accordance with a clear programme and a clear strategy that adhere to the rights, including the right of resistance, and which fulfil the aspirations of the Palestinian people.
- 31. Hamas affirms that the role of the Palestinian Authority should be to serve the Palestinian people and safeguard their security, their rights and their national project.
- 32. Hamas stresses the necessity of maintaining the independence of Palestinian national decision-making. Outside forces should not be allowed to intervene. At the same time, Hamas affirms the responsibility of the Arabs and the Muslims and their duty and role in the liberation of Palestine from Zionist occupation.
- 33. Palestinian society is enriched by its prominent personalities, figures, dignitaries, civil society institutions, and youth, students, trade unionist and women's groups who together work for the achievement of national goals and societal building, pursue resistance, and achieve liberation.
- 34. The role of Palestinian women is fundamental in the process of building the present and the future, just as it has always been in the process of making Palestinian history. It is a pivotal role in the project of resistance, liberation and building the political system.

THE ARAB AND ISLAMIC UMMA:

- 35. Hamas believes that the Palestinian issue is the central cause for the Arab and Islamic Umma.
- 36. Hamas believes in the unity of the Ummah with all its diverse constituents and is aware of the need to avoid anything that could fragment the Ummah and undermine its unity.
- 37. Hamas believes in cooperating with all states that support the rights of the Palestinian people. It opposes intervention in the internal affairs of any country. It also refuses to be drawn into disputes and conflicts that take place among different countries. Hamas adopts the policy of opening up to different states in the world, especially the Arab and Islamic states. It endeavours to establish balanced relations on the basis of combining the requirements of the Palestinian cause and the Palestinian people's interests on the one hand with the interests of the Ummah, its renaissance and its security on the other.

THE HUMANITARIAN AND INTERNATIONAL ASPECT:

- 38. The Palestinian issue is one that has major humanitarian and international dimensions. Supporting and backing this cause is a humanitarian and civilizational task that is required by the prerequisites of truth, justice and common humanitarian values.
- 39. From a legal and humanitarian perspective, the liberation of Palestine is a legitimate activity, it is an act of self-defence, and it is the expression of the natural right of all peoples to self-determination.
- 40. In its relations with world nations and peoples, Hamas believes in the values of cooperation, justice, freedom and respect of the will of the people.
- 41. Hamas welcomes the stances of states, organisations and institutions that support the rights of the Palestinian people. It salutes the free peoples of the world who support the Palestinian cause. At the same time, it denounces the support granted by any party to the Zionist entity or the attempts to cover up its crimes and aggression against the Palestinians and calls for the prosecution of Zionist war criminals.
- 42. Hamas rejects the attempts to impose hegemony on the Arab and Islamic Ummah just as it rejects the attempts to impose hegemony on the rest of the world's nations and peoples. Hamas also condemns all forms of colonialism, occupation, discrimination, oppression and aggression in the world.

THE ISLAMIC DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, 1990

or: The Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam or: The Declaration of Sharia Rights for the World

(ATTENTION: This Declaration reflects what Mohammed said and did, written down in the Koran, the Sira, the Hadith, and the Sharia law. In Islam, the contents of this Declaration are legal and in accordance with all what Islamic jurisprudence is based on! Some of the parts of this

Declaration are debated by radical Muslims as they might view them as "too lenient and concessional to non-Muslims". In the viewpoint of a true Muslim, all those who plea for a socalled "moderate Islam" are extremists and heretics.)

(On 5 August 1990, 45 foreign ministers of the "Organisation of Islamic Cooperation" adopted the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam (Cairo Declaration) to serve as a guidance for the member states in the matters of human rights in as much as they are compatible with the Koranic Sharia Law.

This declaration is widely acknowledged as an Islamic response to the United Nations's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN Declaration), adopted in 1948. Various Muslim countries had criticised the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights for its failure to take into account the cultural and religious context of non-Western countries.

It guarantees many of the same rights as the UN Declaration and serves as a living document of human rights guidelines prescribed for all members of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation to follow, but restricts them explicitly to the limits set by the Sharia. Because of this limit, the Cairo Declaration has been criticised by the so-called "liberal" elite of western countries as an attempt to shield Organisation of Islamic Cooperation member states from international criticism for human rights violations, as well as for failing to guarantee freedom of religion, justifying corporal punishment and allowing discrimination against non-Muslims and women. As usual, the thinking of that elite is wrong for the reason that their arrogance prevents them to study the Koran, the Sira, the Hadith and the Sharia. If they had done so, they would have known that the Islamic states had no other option than creating their own Cairo Declaration, In 1981, Said Raiaie-Khorassani—the Iranian representative to the UN—made the Islamic position clear by saying that the UN Declaration was a relativistic secular understanding of the Judeo-Christian tradition, which could not be implemented by Muslims without trespassing Islamic

The Cairo Declaration failed to give women equal rights but only affords women "equal human dignity", "own rights to enjoy", "duties to perform", "own civil entity", "financial independence", and the "right to retain her name and lineage". Both men and women are given the "right to marriage" regardless of their race, colour, or nationality. The Declaration makes it incumbent upon both parents to protect the child, both before and after birth, while stressing that the husband is responsible for the social and financial protection of his family, including any children and other "wives".

Article 10 of the Declaration states: "Islam is the religion of unspoiled nature. It is prohibited to exercise any form of compulsion on man or to exploit his poverty or ignorance in order to convert him to another religion or to atheism." Since in Islamic society all reasons for conversion away from Islam are considered to be essentially either compulsion or ignorance, this effectively forbids conversion away from Islam.

Article 19 stipulates that there are no other crimes or punishments than those mentioned in the Sharia. Sharia allows corporal punishment (whipping, amputation) and capital punishment by stoning or decapitation. The right to hold public office can only be exercised in accordance with the sharia, meaning that any non-Muslims have no right to rule over Muslims.

The Organisation of Islamic Cooperation is the driving force behind all this. According to its charter, it aims to preserve Islamic social and economic values; promote solidarity amongst member states; increase cooperation in social, economic, cultural, scientific, and political areas; uphold international peace and security; and advance education, particularly in the fields of science and technology.

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire after World War I and the abolishment of the Caliphate by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in 1924 left a vacuum. Muslims have craved for a pan-Islamic institution that would serve the common political, economic, and social interests of the Umma (the world-wide community of all Muslims) ever since. The foundation of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928 and of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation in 1969 were the answers to that vacuum. The Organisation of Islamic Cooperation consists of 57 member states, with a collective population of over 1.8 billion as of 2015 today, with 53 countries being Muslim-majority countries. The organisation states that it is "the collective voice of the Muslim world" (meaning: it is the largest voting block in the United Nations Organisation) and works to "safeguard and protect the interests of the Muslim world in the spirit of promoting international peace and harmony (meaning: establishing the Sharia law where ever possible in order to build the Dar as-Salam the "House of Peace")

In March 2008, the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation conducted a formal revision of its charter. The revised charter set out to promote human rights, fundamental freedoms, and good governance in all member states. The revisions also removed any mention of the Cairo Declaration on Human

Rights in Islam. Within the revised charter, the OIC has chosen to support the Charter of the United Nations and international law, without mentioning the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.)

CAIRO DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN ISLAM (1990)

Organisation of Islamic Conference

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General Assembly WORLD CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS Preparatory Committee; Fourth session Geneva, 19 April - 7 May 1993 Item 5 on the provisional agenda

STATUS OF PREPARATION OF PUBLICATIONS, STUDIES AND DOCUMENTS FOR THE WORLD CONFERENCE

Note by the Secretariat

Addendum Contribution of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference

The attention of the Preparatory Committee is drawn to the attached contribution submitted by Dr. N.S. Tarzi, the Ambassador of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference to the Office of the United Nations at Geneva. The contribution consists of the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, which was adopted on 5 August 1990, and also resolution 41/21-P of the Twenty-First Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Session of Islamic Unity and Co-operation for

consists of the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam, which was adopted on 5 August 1990, and also resolution 41/21-P of the Twenty-First Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Session of Islamic Unity and Co-operation for Peace, Justice and Progress) held in Karachi from 25 to 29 April 1993. In this resolution it was requested that the Cairo Declaration and the resolution be considered as a contribution of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference to the World Conference on Human Rights.

The Organisation of the Islamic Conference ANNEX TO RES. No. 49/19 – P

THE CAIRO DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN ISLAM

The Member States of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference,

Reaffirming the civilizing and historical role of the Islamic Ummah which God made the best nation that has given mankind a universal and well-balanced civilization in which harmony is established between this life and the hereafter and knowledge is combined with faith; and the role that this Ummah should play to guide a humanity confused by competing trends and ideologies and to prove solutions to the chronic problems of this materialistic civilization.

Wishing to contribute to the efforts of mankind to assert human rights, to protect man from exploitation and persecution, and to affirm his freedom and right to a dignified life in accordance with the Islamic Sharia

Convinced that mankind which has reached an advanced stage in materialistic science is still, and shall remain, in dire need of faith to support its civilization and of a self motivating force to guard its rights;

Believing that fundamental rights and universal freedoms in Islam are an integral part of the Islamic religion and that no one as a matter of principle has the right to suspend them either in whole or in part or violate or ignore them in as much as they are binding divine commandments, which are contained in the Revealed Books of God and were sent through the last of His Prophets to complete the preceding divine messages and thereby making their observance an act of worship and their neglect or violation an abominable sin, and accordingly every person is individually responsible - and the Ummah collectively responsible - for their safeguard.

Proceeding from the above-mentioned principles, Declare the following:

ARTICLE 1: (a) All human beings form one family whose members are united by submission to God and descent from Adam. All men are equal in terms of basic human dignity and basic obligations and responsibilities, without any discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, language, sex, religious belief, political affiliation, social status or other considerations. True faith is the guarantee for enhancing such dignity along the path to human perfection.

(b) All human beings are God's subjects, and the most loved by Him are those who are most useful to the rest of His subjects, and no one has superiority over another except on the basis of piety and good deeds.

ARTICLE 2: (a) Life is a God-given gift and the right to life is guaranteed to every human being. It is the duty of individuals, societies and states to protect this right from any violation, and it is prohibited to take away life except for a Sharia prescribed reason.

(b) It is forbidden to resort to such means as may result in the genocidal annihilation of mankind.

(c) The preservation of human life throughout the term of time willed by God is a duty prescribed by Sharia

(d) Safety from bodily harm is a guaranteed right. It is the duty of the state to safeguard it, and it is prohibited to breach it without a Sharia-prescribed reason.

ARTICLE 3: (a) In the event of the use of force and in case of armed conflict, it is not permissible to kill non-belligerents such as old man, women and children. The wounded and the sick shall have the right to medical treatment; and prisoners of war shall have the right to be fed, sheltered and clothed. It is prohibited to mutilate dead bodies. It is a duty to exchange prisoners of war and to arrange visits or reunions of the families separated by the circumstances of war.

(b) It is prohibited to fell trees, to damage crops or livestock, and to destroy the enemy's civilian buildings and installations by shelling, blasting or any other means.

ARTICLE 4: Every human being is entitled to inviolability and the protection of his good name and honour during his life and after his death. The state and society shall protect his remains and burial place.

ARTICLE 5: (a) The family is the foundation of society, and marriage is the basis of its formation. Men and women have the right to marriage, and no restrictions stemming from race, colour or nationality shall prevent them from enjoying this right.

(b) Society and the State shall remove all obstacles to marriage and shall facilitate marital procedure. They shall ensure family protection and welfare.

ARTICLE 6: (a) Woman is equal to man in human dignity, and has rights to enjoy as well as duties to perform; she has her own civil entity and financial independence, and the right to retain her name and lineage.

(b) The husband is responsible for the support and welfare of the family.

ARTICLÉ 7: (a) As of the moment of birth, every child has rights due from the parents, society and the state to be accorded proper nursing, education and material, hygienic and moral care. Both the fetus and the mother must be protected and accorded special care.

(b) Parents and those in such like capacity have the right to choose the type of education they desire for their children, provided they take into consideration the interest and future of the children in accordance with ethical values and the principles of the Sharia

(c) Both parents are entitled to certain rights from their children, and relatives are entitled to rights from their kin, in accordance with the tenets of the Sharia.

ARTICLE 8: Every human being has the right to enjoy his legal capacity in terms of both obligation and commitment, should this capacity be lost or impaired, he shall be represented by his guardian.

ARTICLE 9: (a) The guestion for knowledge is an obligation and the provision of education is a duty for society and the State. The State shall ensure the availability of ways and means to acquire education and shall guarantee educational diversity in the interest of society so as to enable man to be acquainted with the religion of Islam and the facts of the Universe for the benefit of mankind.

(b) Every human being has the right to receive both religious and worldly education from the various institutions of, education and guidance, including the family, the school, the university, the media, etc., and in such an integrated and balanced manner as to develop his personality, strengthen his faith in God and promote his respect for and defence of both rights and obligations.

ARTICLE 10: Islam is the religion of unspoiled nature. It is prohibited to exercise any form of compulsion on man or to exploit his poverty or ignorance in order to convert him to another religion or to atheism.

ARTICLE 11: (a) Human beings are born free, and no one has the right to enslave, humiliate, oppress or exploit them, and there can be no subjugation but to God the Most-High.

(b) Colonialism of all types being one of the most evil forms of enslavement is totally prohibited. Peoples suffering from colonialism have the full right to freedom and self-determination. It is the duty of all States and peoples to support the struggle of colonized peoples for the liquidation of all forms of colonialism and occupation, and all States and peoples have the right to preserve their independent identity and exercise control over their wealth and natural resources.

ARTICLE 12: Every man shall have the right, within the framework of Sharia, to free movement and to select his place of residence whether inside or outside his country and if persecuted, is entitled to seek asylum in another country. The country of refuge shall ensure his protection until he reaches safety, unless asylum is motivated by an act which Sharia regards as a crime.

ARTICLE 13: Work is a right guaranteed by the State and Society for each person able to work. Everyone shall be free to choose the work that suits him best and which serves his interests and those of society. The employee shall have the right to safety and security as well as to all other social

guarantees. He may neither be assigned work beyond his capacity nor be subjected to compulsion or exploited or harmed in any way. He shall be entitled - without any discrimination between males and females - to fair wages for his work without delay, as well as to the holidays allowances and promotions which he deserves. For his part, he shall be required to be dedicated and meticulous in his work. Should workers and employers disagree on any matter, the State shall intervene to settle the dispute and have the grievances redressed, the rights confirmed and justice enforced without him.

ARTICLE 14: Everyone shall have the right to legitimate gains without monopolization, deceit or harm to oneself or to others. Usury (riba) is absolutely prohibited.

ARTICLE 15: (a) Everyone shall have the right to own property acquired in a legitimate way, and shall be entitled to the rights of ownership, without prejudice to oneself, others or to society in general. Expropriation is not permissible except for the requirements of public interest and upon payment of immediate and fair compensation.

(b) Confiscation and seizure of property is prohibited except for a necessity dictated by law.

ARTICLE 16: Everyone shall have the right to enjoy the fruits of his scientific, literary, artistic or technical production and the right to protect the moral and material interests stemming there from, provided that such production is not contrary to the principles of Sharia.

ARTICLE 17: (a) Everyone shall have the right to live in a clean environment, away from vice and moral corruption, an environment that would foster his self-development and it is incumbent upon the State and society in general to afford that right

(b) Everyone shall have the right to medical and social care, and to all public amenities provided by society and the State within the limits of their available resources.

(c) The State shall ensure the right of the individual to a decent living which will enable him to meet all is requirements and those of his dependents, including food, clothing, housing, education, medical care and all other basic needs.

ARTICLE 18: (a) Everyone shall have the right to live in security for himself, his religion, his dependents, his honour and his property.

(b) Everyone shall have the right to privacy in the conduct of his private affairs, in his home, among his family, with regard to his property and his relationships. It is not permitted to spy on him, to place him under surveillance or to besmirch his good name. The State shall protect him from arbitrary interference.

(c) A private residence is inviolable in all cases. It will not be entered without permission from its inhabitants or in any unlawful manner, nor shall it be demolished or confiscated and its dwellers evicted.

ARTICLE 19: (a) All individuals are equal before the law, without distinction between the ruler and the ruled.

(b) The right to resort to justice is guaranteed to everyone.

(c) Liability is in essence personal.

(d) There shall be no crime or punishment except as provided for in the Sharia

(e) A defendant is innocent until his guilt is proven in a fair trial in which he shall be given all the guarantees of defence.

ARTICLE 20: It is not permitted without legitimate reason to arrest an individual, or restrict his freedom, to exile or to punish him. It is not permitted to subject him to physical or psychological torture or to any form of humiliation, cruelty or indignity. Nor is it permitted to subject an individual to medical or scientific experimentation without his consent or at the risk of his health or of his life. Nor is it permitted to promulgate emergency laws that would provide executive authority for such actions.

ARTICLE 21: Taking hostages under any form or for any purpose is expressly forbidden.

ARTICLE 22: (a) Everyone shall have the right to express his opinion freely in such manner as would not be contrary to the principles of the Sharia.

(b) Everyone shall have the right to advocate what is right, and propagate what is good, and warn against what is wrong and evil according to the norms of Islamic Sharia

(c) Information is a vital necessity to society. It may not be exploited or misused in such a way as may violate sanctities and the dignity of Prophets, undermine moral and ethical values or disintegrate, corrupt or harm society or weaken its faith.

(d) It is not permitted to arouse nationalistic or doctrinal hatred or to do anything that may be an incitement to any form or racial discrimination.

ARTICLE 23: (a) Authority is a trust; and abuse or malicious exploitation thereof is absolutely prohibited, so that fundamental human rights may be guaranteed.

(b) Everyone shall have the right to participate, directly or indirectly in the administration of his country's public affairs. He shall also have the right to assume public office in accordance with the provisions of Sharia.

ARTICLE 24: All the rights and freedoms stipulated in this Declaration are subject to the Islamic Sharia.

ARTICLE 25: The Islamic Sharia is the only source of reference for the explanation or clarification of any of the articles of this Declaration.

Cairo, 14 Muharram 1411 AH. 5 August 1990

ARAB CHARTER ON HUMAN RIGHTS, 2004

League of Arab States, Arab Charter on Human Rights, May 22, 2004, reprinted in 12 Int'l Hum. Rts. Rep. 893 (2005), entered into force March 15, 2008.

(The Arab Charter on Human Rights (ACHR), adopted by the Council of the League of Arab States on 22 May 2004, affirms the principles contained in the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenants on Human Rights and the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam. It provides for a number of traditional human rights, including the right to liberty and security of persons, equality of persons before the law, protection of persons from torture, the right to own private property, freedom to practice religious observance and freedom of peaceful assembly and association. The Charter also provides for the election of a seven-person Committee of Experts on Human Rights to consider states' reports.

A first version of the Charter was created on 15 September 1994, but no state ratified it. The updated (2004) version of the Charter came into force in 2008 after seven of the members of the League of Arab States had ratified it.

On 24 January 2008, then UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Louise Arbour said the Arab charter was incompatible with the UN's understanding of universal human rights, including with respect to women's rights and capital punishment for children, in addition to other provisions in the Charter. The charter is listed on the website of her office, among texts adopted by international groups aimed at promoting and consolidating democracy.

As of November 2013 the Charter had been ratified by Algeria, Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, the UAE and Yemen.

In 2014 Arab League states elaborated an additional treaty - the Statute of the Arab Court of Human Rights, - to allow inter-state litigation concerning violations of the Charter. The statute will enter into force after 7 ratifications. The first country to ratify it was Saudi Arabia in 2016.)

Arab Charter on Human Rights, Text:

Based on the faith of the Arab nation in the dignity of the human person whom God has exalted ever since the beginning of creation and in the fact that the Arab homeland is the cradle of religions and civilizations whose lofty human values affirm the human right to a decent life based on freedom, justice and equality,

In furtherance of the eternal principles of fraternity,

In furtherance of the eternal principles of fraternity, equality and tolerance among human beings consecrated by the noble Islamic religion and the other divinely-revealed religions.

Being proud of the humanitarian values and principles that the Arab nation has established throughout its long history, which have played a major role in spreading knowledge between East and West, so making the region a point of reference for the whole world and a destination for seekers of knowledge and wisdom.

Believing in the unity of the Arab nation, which struggles for its freedom and defends the right of nations to self-determination, to the preservation of their wealth and to development; believing in the sovereignty of the law and its contribution to the protection of universal and interrelated human rights and convinced that the human person's enjoyment of freedom, justice and equality of opportunity is a fundamental measure of the value of any society,

Rejecting all forms of racism and Zionism, which constitute a violation of human rights and a threat to international peace and security, recognizing the close link that exists between human rights and international peace and security, reaffirming the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the provisions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and having regard to the Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam,

The States parties to the Charter have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE 1: The present Charter seeks, within the context of the national identity of the Arab States and their sense of belonging to a common civilization, to achieve the following aims:

1. To place human rights at the centre of the key national concerns of Arab States, making them lofty and fundamental ideals that shape the will of the individual in Arab States and enable him to improve his life in accordance with noble human values

- 2. To teach the human person in the Arab States pride in his identity, loyalty to his country, attachment to his land, history and common interests and to instill in him a culture of human brotherhood, tolerance and openness towards others, in accordance with universal principles and values and with those proclaimed in international human rights instruments.
- 3. To prepare the new generations in Arab States for a free and responsible life in a civil society that is characterized by solidarity, founded on a balance between awareness of rights and respect for obligations, and governed by the values of equality, tolerance and moderation.
- 4. To entrench the principle that all human rights are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated.
- ARTICLE 2: 1. All peoples have the right of self-determination and to control over their natural wealth and resources, and the right to freely choose their political system and to freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.
- 2. All peoples have the right to national sovereignty and territorial integrity.
- 3. All forms of racism, Zionism and foreign occupation and domination constitute an impediment to human dignity and a major barrier to the exercise of the fundamental rights of peoples; all such practices must be condemned and efforts must be deployed for their elimination.
- 4. All peoples have the right to resist foreign occupation.

ARTICLE 3: 1. Each State party to the present Charter undertakes to ensure to all individuals subject to its jurisdiction the right to enjoy the rights and freedoms set forth herein, without distinction on grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religious belief, opinion, thought, national or social origin, wealth, birth or physical or mental disability.

- 2. The States parties to the present Charter shall take the requisite measures to guarantee effective equality in the enjoyment of all the rights and freedoms enshrined in the present Charter in order to ensure protection against all forms of discrimination based on any of the grounds mentioned in the preceding paragraph.
- 3. Men and women are equal in respect of human dignity, rights and obligations within the framework of the positive discrimination established in favour of women by the Islamic Shariah, other divine laws and by applicable laws and legal instruments. Accordingly, each State party pledges to take all the requisite measures to guarantee equal opportunities and effective equality between men and women in the enjoyment of all the rights set out in this Charter.

ARTICLE 4: 1. In exceptional situations of emergency which threaten the life of the nation and the existence of which is officially proclaimed, the States parties to the present Charter may take measures derogating from their obligations under the present Charter, to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, provided that such measures are not inconsistent with their other obligations under international law and do not involve discrimination solely on the grounds of race, colour, sex, language, religion or social origin

- 2. In exceptional situations of emergency, no derogation shall be made from the following articles: article 5, article 8, article 9, article 10, article 13, article 14, paragraph 6, article 15, article 18, article 19, article 20, article 22, article 27, article 28, article 29 and article 30. In addition, the judicial guarantees required for the protection of the aforementioned rights may not be suspended.
- 3. Any State party to the present Charter availing itself of the right of derogation shall immediately inform the other States parties, through the intermediary of the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, of the provisions from which it has derogated and of the reasons by which it was actuated. A further communication shall be made, through the same intermediary, on the date on which it terminates such derogation.

ARTICLE 5: 1. Every human being has the inherent right to life.

2. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life.

ARTICLE 6: Sentence of death may be imposed only for the most serious crimes in accordance with the laws in force at the time of commission of the crime and pursuant to a final judgement rendered by a competent court. Anyone sentenced to death shall have the right to seek pardon or commutation of the sentence.

ARTICLE 7: 1. Sentence of death shall not be imposed on persons under 18 years of age, unless otherwise stipulated in the laws in force at the time of the commission of the crime.

2. The death penalty shall not be inflicted on a pregnant woman prior to her delivery or on a nursing mother within two years from the date of her delivery; in all cases, the best interests of the infant shall be the primary consideration.

ARTICLE 8: 1. No one shall be subjected to physical or psychological torture or to cruel, degrading, humiliating or inhuman treatment.

2. Each State party shall protect every individual subject to its jurisdiction from such practices and shall take effective measures to prevent them. The commission of, or

participation in, such acts shall be regarded as crimes that are punishable by law and not subject to any statute of limitations. Each State party shall guarantee in its legal system redress for any victim of torture and the right to rehabilitation and compensation.

ARTICLE 9: No one shall be subjected to medical or scientific experimentation or to the use of his organs without his free consent and full awareness of the consequences and provided that ethical, humanitarian and professional rules are followed and medical procedures are observed to ensure his personal safety pursuant to the relevant domestic laws in force in each State party. Trafficking in human organs is prohibited in all circumstances.

ARTICLE 10: 1. All forms of slavery and trafficking in human beings are prohibited and are punishable by law. No one shall be held in slavery and servitude under any circumstances.

2. Forced labor, trafficking in human beings for the purposes of prostitution or sexual exploitation, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or any other form of exploitation or the exploitation of children in armed conflict are prohibited.

ARTICLE 11: All persons are equal before the law and have the right to enjoy its protection without discrimination.

ARTICLE 12: All persons are equal before the courts and tribunals. The States parties shall guarantee the independence of the judiciary and protect magistrates against any interference, pressure or threats. They shall also guarantee every person subject to their jurisdiction the right to seek a legal remedy before courts of all levels.

ARTICLÉ 13: 1. Everyone has the right to a fair trial that affords adequate guarantees before a competent, independent and impartial court that has been constituted by law to hear any criminal charge against him or to decide on his rights or his obligations. Each State party shall guarantee to those without the requisite financial resources legal aid to enable them to defend their rights.

2. Trials shall be public, except in exceptional cases that may be warranted by the interests of justice in a society that respects human freedoms and rights.

ARTICLE 14: 1. Everyone has the right to liberty and security of person. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, search or detention without a legal warrant.

- No one shall be deprived of-his liberty except on such grounds and in such circumstances as are determined by law and in accordance with such procedure as is established thereby.
- 3. Anyone who is arrested shall be informed, at the time of arrest, in a language that he understands, of the reasons for his arrest and shall be promptly informed of any charges against him. He shall be entitled to contact his family members.
- 4. Anyone who is deprived of his liberty by arrest or detention shall have the right to request a medical examination and must be informed of that right.
- 5. Anyone arrested or detained on a criminal charge shall be brought promptly before a judge or other officer authorized by law to exercise judicial power and shall be entitled to trial within a reasonable time or to release. His release may be subject to guarantees to appear for trial. Pre-trial detention shall in no case be the general rule.
- 6. Anyone who is deprived of his liberty by arrest or detention shall be entitled to petition a competent court in order that it may decide without delay on the lawfulness of his arrest or detention and order his release if the arrest or detention is unlawful.
- 7. Anyone who has been the victim of arbitrary or unlawful arrest or detention shall be entitled to compensation.

ARTICLE 15: No crime and no penalty can be established without a prior provision of the law. In all circumstances, the law most favorable to the defendant shall be applied.

ARTICLE 16: Everyone charged with a criminal offence shall be presumed innocent until proved guilty by a final judgement rendered according to law and, in the course of the investigation and trial, he shall enjoy the following minimum guarantees:

1. The right to be informed promptly, in detail and in a language which he understands, of the charges against him.

- 2. The right to have adequate time and facilities for the preparation of his defense and to be allowed to communicate with his family.
- The right to be tried in his presence before an ordinary court and to defend himself in person or through a lawyer of his own choosing with whom he can communicate freely and confidentially.
- 4. The right to the free assistance of a lawyer who will defend him if he cannot defend himself or if the interests of justice so require, and the right to the free assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand or does not speak the language used in court.
- 5. The right to examine or have his lawyer examine the prosecution witnesses and to on defense according to the conditions applied to the prosecution witnesses.

- 6. The right not to be compelled to testify against himself or to confess guilt.
- 7. The right, if convicted of the crime, to file an appeal in accordance with the law before a higher tribunal.
- 8. The right to respect for his security of person and his privacy in all circumstances.

ARTICLE 17: Each State party shall ensure in particular to any child at risk or any delinquent charged with an offence the right to a special legal system for minors in all stages of investigation, trial and enforcement of sentence, as well as to special treatment that takes account of his age, protects his dignity, facilitates his rehabilitation and reintegration and enables him to play a constructive role in society.

ARTICLE 18: No one who is shown by a court to be unable to pay a debt arising from a contractual obligation shall be imprisoned.

ARTICLE 19: 1. No one may be tried twice for the same offence. Anyone against whom such proceedings are brought shall have the right to challenge their legality and to demand his release.

Anyone whose innocence is established by a final judgement shall be entitled to compensation for the damage suffered.

ARTICLE 20: 1. All persons deprived of their liberty shall be treated with humanity and with respect for the inherent dignity of the human person.

2. Persons in pre-trial detention shall be separated from convicted persons and shall be treated in a manner consistent with their status as unconvicted persons.

3. The aim of the penitentiary system shall be to reform prisoners and effect their social rehabilitation.

ARTICLE 21: 1. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with regard to his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his honour or his reputation.

2. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

ARTICLE 22: Everyone shall have the right to recognition as a person before the law.

ARTICLE 23: Each State party to the present Charter undertakes to ensure that any person whose rights or freedoms as herein recognized are violated shall have an effective remedy, notwithstanding that the violation has been committed by persons acting in an official capacity.

ARTICLE 24: Every citizen has the right:

- 1. To freely pursue a political activity.
- 2. To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives.
- 3. To stand for election or choose his representatives in free and impartial elections, in conditions of equality among all citizens that guarantee the free expression of his will.
- 4. To the opportunity to gain access, on an equal footing with others, to public office in his country in accordance with the principle of equality of opportunity.
- 5. To freely form and join associations with others
- 6. To freedom of association and peaceful assembly.
- 7. No restrictions may be placed on the exercise of these rights other than those which are prescribed by law and which are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security or public safety, public health or morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.

ARTICLE 25: Persons belonging to minorities shall not be denied the right to enjoy their own culture, to use their own language and to practice their own religion. The exercise of these rights shall be governed by law.

ARTICLE 26: 1. Everyone lawfully within the territory of a State party shall, within that territory, have the right to freedom of movement and to freely choose his residence in any part of that territory in conformity with the laws in force.

2. No State party may expel a person who does not hold its nationality but is lawfully in its territory, other than in pursuance of a decision reached in accordance with law and after that person has been allowed to submit a petition to the competent authority, unless compelling reasons of national security preclude it. Collective expulsion is prohibited under all circumstances.

ARTICLE 27: 1. No one may be arbitrarily or unlawfully prevented from leaving any country, including his own, nor prohibited from residing, or compelled to reside, in any part of that country.

2. No one may be exiled from his country or prohibited from returning thereto.

ARTICLE 28: Everyone has the right to seek political asylum in another country in order to escape persecution. This right may not be invoked by persons facing prosecution for an offence under ordinary law. Political refugees may not be extradited.

ARTICLE 29: 1. Everyone has the right to nationality. No one shall be arbitrarily or unlawfully deprived of his nationality.

2. States parties shall take such measures as they deem appropriate, in accordance with their domestic laws on nationality, to allow a child to acquire the mother's

nationality, having due regard, in all cases, to the best interests of the child.

3. Non one shall be denied the right to acquire another nationality, having due regard for the domestic legal procedures in his country.

ARTICLE 30: 1. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion and no restrictions may be imposed on the exercise of such freedoms except as provided for by law.

- 2. The freedom to manifest one's religion or beliefs or to perform religious observances, either alone or in community with others, shall be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a tolerant society that respects human rights and freedoms for the protection of public safety, public order, public health or morals or the fundamental rights and freedoms of others.
- 3. Parents or guardians have the freedom to provide for the religious and moral education of their children.

ARTICLE 31: Everyone has a guaranteed right to own private property, and shall not under any circumstances be arbitrarily or unlawfully divested of all or any part of his property.

ARTICLE 32: 1. The present Charter guarantees the right to information and to freedom of opinion and expression, as well as the right to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any medium, regardless of geographical boundaries.

2. Such rights and freedoms shall be exercised in conformity with the fundamental values of society and shall be subject only to such limitations as are required to ensure respect for the rights or reputation of others or the protection of national security, public order and public health or morals.

ARTICLE 33: 1. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society; it is based on marriage between a man and a woman. Men and women of marrying age have the right to marry and to found a family according to the rules and conditions of marriage. No marriage can take place without the full and free consent of both parties. The laws in force regulate the rights and duties of the man and woman as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. The State and society shall ensure the protection of the family, the strengthening of family ties, the protection of its members and the prohibition of all forms of violence or abuse in the relations among its members, and particularly against women and children. They shall also ensure the necessary protection and care for mothers, children, older persons and persons with special needs and shall provide adolescents and young persons with the best opportunities for physical and mental development.

3. The States parties shall take all necessary legislative, administrative and judicial measures to guarantee the protection, survival, development and well-being of the child in an atmosphere of freedom and dignity and shall ensure, in all cases, that the child's best interests are the basic criterion for all measures taken in his regard, whether the child is at risk of delinquency or is a juvenile offender.

4. The States parties shall take all the necessary measures to guarantee, particularly to young persons, the right to pursue a sporting activity.

ARTICLE 34: 1. The right to work is a natural right of every citizen. The State shall endeavor to provide, to the extent possible, a job for the largest number of those willing to work, while ensuring production, the freedom to choose one's work and equality of opportunity without discrimination of any kind on grounds of race, colour, sex, religion, language, political opinion, membership in a union, national origin, social origin, disability or any other situation.

2. Every worker has the right to the enjoyment of just and favourable conditions of work which ensure appropriate remuneration to meet his essential needs and those of his family and regulate working hours, rest and holidays with pay, as well as the rules for the preservation of occupational health and safety and the protection of women, children and disabled persons in the place of work.

3. The States parties recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from being forced to perform any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. To this end, and having regard to the relevant provisions of other international instruments, States parties shall in particular:

- (a) Define a minimum age for admission to employment;
- (b) Establish appropriate regulation of working hours and conditions;
- (c) Establish appropriate penalties or other sanctions to ensure the effective endorsement of these provisions.
- 4. There shall be no discrimination between men and women in their enjoyment of the right to effectively benefit from training, employment and job protection and the right to receive equal remuneration for equal work.

5. Each State party shall ensure to workers who migrate to its territory the requisite protection in accordance with the laws in force.

ARTICLE 35: 1. Every individual has the right to freely form trade unions or to join trade unions and to freely pursue trade union activity for the protection of his interests.

2. No restrictions shall be placed on the exercise of these rights and freedoms except such as are prescribed by the laws in force and that are necessary for the maintenance of national security, public safety or order or for the protection of public health or morals or the rights and freedoms of others.

3. Every State party to the present Charter guarantees the right to strike within the limits laid down by the laws in force. ARTICLE 36: The States parties shall ensure the right of

every citizen to social security, including social insurance.

ARTICLE 37: The right to development is a fundamental human right and all States are required to establish the development policies and to take the measures needed to guarantee this right. They have a duty to give effect to the values of solidarity and cooperation among them and at the international level with a view to eradicating poverty and achieving economic, social, cultural and political development. By virtue of this right, every citizen has the right to participate in the realization of development and to enjoy the benefits and fruits thereof.

ARTICLE 38: Every person has the right to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, which ensures their well-being and a decent life, including food, clothing, housing, services and the right to a healthy environment. The States parties shall take the necessary measures commensurate with their resources to guarantee these rights.

ARTICLE 39: 1. The States parties recognize the right of every member of society to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health and the right of the citizen to free basic health-care services and to have access to medical facilities without discrimination of any kind.

2. The measures taken by States parties shall include the following:

(a) Development of basic health-care services and the guaranteeing of free and easy access to the centres that provide these services, regardless of geographical location or economic status.

(b) efforts to control diseaseby means of prevention and cure in order to reduce the morality rate.

(c) promotion of health awareness and health education.

(d) suppression of traditional practices which are harmful to the health of the individual.

(e) provision of the basic nutrition and safe drinking water for all.

(f) Combating environmental pollution and providing proper sanitation systems;

(g) Combating drugs, psychotropic substances, smoking and substances that are damaging to health.

ARTICLE 40: 1. The States parties undertake to ensure to persons with mental or physical disabilities a decent life that guarantees their dignity, and to enhance their self-reliance and facilitate their active participation in society.

2. The States parties shall provide social services free of charge for all persons with disabilities, shall provide the material support needed by those persons, their families or the families caring for them, and shall also do whatever is needed to avoid placing those persons in institutions. They shall in all cases take account of the best interests of the disabled person.

 The States parties shall take all necessary measures to curtail the incidence of disabilities by all possible means, including preventive health programmes, awareness raising and education.

4. The States parties shall provide full educational services suited to persons with disabilities, taking into account the importance of integrating these persons in the educational system and the importance of vocational training and apprenticeship and the creation of suitable job opportunities in the public or private sectors.

5. The States parties shall provide all health services appropriate for persons with disabilities, including the rehabilitation of these persons with a view to integrating them into society.

6. The States parties shall enable persons with disabilities to make use of all public and private services.

ARTICLE 41: 1. The eradication of illiteracy is a binding obligation upon the State and everyone has the right to education.

2. The States parties shall guarantee their citizens free education at least throughout the primary and basic levels. All forms and levels of primary education shall be compulsory and accessible to all without discrimination of any kind.

The States parties shall take appropriate measures in all domains to ensure partnership between men and women with a view to achieving national development goals.

4. The States parties shall guarantee to provide education directed to the full development of the human person and to strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms

- 5. The States parties shall endeavour to incorporate the principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms into formal and informal education curricula and educational and training programmes.
- The States parties shall guarantee the establishment of the mechanisms necessary to provide ongoing education for every citizen and shall develop national plans for adult education.

ARTICLE 42: 1. Every person has the right to take part in cultural life and to enjoy the benefits of scientific progress and its application.

- The States parties undertake to respect the freedom of scientific research and creative activity and to ensure the protection of moral and material interests resulting form scientific, literary and artistic production.
- 3. The state parties shall work together and enhance cooperation among them at all levels, with the full participation of intellectuals and inventors and their Organisations, in order to develop and implement recreational, cultural, artistic and scientific programmes.

ARTICLE 43: Nothing in this Charter may be construed or interpreted as impairing the rights and freedoms protected by the domestic laws of the States parties or those set force in the international and regional human rights instruments which the states parties have adopted or ratified, including the rights of women, the rights of the child and the rights of persons belonging to minorities.

ARTICLE 44: The states parties undertake to adopt, in conformity with their constitutional procedures and with the provisions of the present Charter, whatever legislative or non-legislative measures that may be necessary to give effect to the rihts set forth herein.

ARTICLE 45: 1. Pursuant to this Charter, an "Arab Human Rights Committee", hereinafter refered to as "the Committee" shall be established. This Committee shall consist of seven members who shall be elected by secret ballot by the states parties to this Charter.

- 2. The Committee shall consist of nationals of the states parties to the present Charter, who must be highly experienced and competent in the Committee's field of work. The members of the Committee shall serve in their personal capacity and shall be fully independent and impartial.
- 3. The Committee shall include among its members not more than one national of a State party; such member may be re-elected only once. Due regard shall be given to the rotation principle.
- 4. The members of the Committee shall be elected for a four-year term, although the mandate of three of the members elected during the first election shall be for two years and shall be renewed by lot.
- 5. Six months prior to the date of the election, the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States shall invite the States parties to submit their nominations within the following three months. He shall transmit the list of candidates to the States parties two months prior to the date the election. The candidates who obtain the largest number of votes cast shall be elected to membership of the Committee. If, because two or more candidates have an equal number of votes, the number of candidates with the largest number of votes exceeds the number required, a second ballot will be held between the persons with equal numbers of votes. If the votes are again equal, the member or members shall be selected by lottery. The first election for membership of the Committee shall be held at least six months after the Charter enters into
- 6. The Secretary-General shall invite the States parties to a meeting at the headquarters the League of Arab States in order to elect the member of the Committee. The presence of the majority of the States parties shall constitute a quorum. If there is no quorum, the secretary-General shall call another meeting at which at least two thirds of the States parties must be present. If there is still no quorum, the Secretary-General shall call a third meeting, which will be held regardless of the number of States parties present.
- 7. The Secretary-General shall convene the first meeting of the Committee, during the course of which the Committee shall elect its Chairman from among its members, for a two-year n which may be renewed only once and for an identical period. The Committee shall establish its own rules of procedure and methods of work and shall determine how often it shall et. The Committee shall hold its meetings at the headquarters of the League of Arab States. ~ay also meet in any other State party to the present Charter at that party's invitation.

ARTICLE 46: 1. The Secretary-General shall declare a seat vacant after being notified by the Chairman of a member's:

- (a) Death;
- (b) Resignation; or
- (c) If, in the unanimous, opinion of the other members, a member of the Committee has ceased to perform his functions without offering an acceptable justification or for any reason other than a temporary absence.
- 2. If a member's seat is declared vacant pursuant to the provisions of paragraph 1 and the term of office of the

member to be replaced does not expire within six months from the date on which the vacancy was declared, the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States shall refer the matter to the States parties to the present Charter, which may, within two months, submit nominations, pursuant to article 45, in order to fill the vacant seat.

- 3. The Secretary-General of the League of Arab States shall draw up an alphabetical list of all the duly nominated candidates, which he shall transmit to the States parties to the present Charter. The elections to fill the vacant seat shall be held in accordance with the relevant provisions.
- 4. Any member of the Committee elected to fill a seat declared vacant in accordance with the provisions of paragraph I shall remain a member of the Committee until the expiry of the remainder of the term of the member whose seat was declared vacant pursuant to the provisions of that paragraph.
- 5. The Secretary-General of the League of Arab States shall make provision within the budget of the League of Arab States for all the necessary financial and human resources and facilities that the Committee needs to discharge its functions effectively. The Committee's experts shall be afforded the same treatment with respect to remuneration and reimbursement of expenses as experts of the secretariat of the League of Arab States

ARTICLE 47: The States parties undertake to ensure that members of the Committee shall enjoy the immunities necessary for their protection against any form of harassment or moral or material pressure or prosecution on account of the positions they take or statements they make while carrying out their functions as members of the Committee.

ARTICLE 48: 1. The States parties undertake to submit reports to the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States on the measures they have taken to give effect to the rights and freedoms recognised in this Charter and on the progress made towards the enjoyment thereof. The Secretary-General shall transmit these reports to the Committee for its consideration.

- 2. Each State party shall submit an initial report to the Committee within one year from the date on which the Charter enters into force and a periodic report every three years thereafter. The Committee may request the States parties to supply it with additional information relating to the implementation of the Charter.
- 3. The Committee shall consider the reports submitted by the States parties under paragraph 2 of this article in the presence of the representative of the State party whose report is being considered.
- The Committee shall discuss the report, comment thereon and make the necessary recommendations in accordance with the aims of the Charter.
- 5. The Committee shall submit an annual report containing its comments and recommendations to the Council of the League, through the intermediary of the Secretary-General.
- 6. The Committee's reports, concluding observations and recommendations shall be public documents which the Committee shall disseminate widely.

ARTICLE 49: 1. The Secretary-General of the League of Arab States shall submit the present Charter, once it has been approved by the Council of the League, to the States members for signature, ratification or accession.

- 2. The present Charter shall enter into effect two months from the date on which the seventh instrument of ratification is deposited with the secretariat of the League of Arab States.
- After its entry into force, the present Charter shall become effective for each State two months after the State in question has deposited its instrument of ratification or accession with the secretariat.
- 4. The Secretary-General shall notify the States members of the deposit of each instrument of ratification or accession.

ARTICLE 50: Any State party may submit written proposals, though the Secretary-General, for the amendment of the present Charter. After these amendments have been circulated among the States members, the Secretary-General shall invite the States parties to consider the proposed amendments before submitting them to the Council of the League for adoption.

ARTICLE 51: The amendments shall take effect, with regard to the States parties that have approved them, once they have been approved by two thirds of the States parties.

ARTICLE 52: Any State party may propose additional optional protocols to the present Charter and they shall be adopted in accordance with the procedures used for the adoption of amendments to the Charter.

ARTICLE 53: 1. Any State party, when signing this Charter, depositing the instruments of ratification or acceding hereto, may make a reservation to any article of the Charter, provided that such reservation does not conflict with the aims and fundamental purposes of the Charter.

2. Any State party that has made a reservation pursuant to paragraph 1 of this article may withdraw it at any time by addressing a notification to the Secretary-General of the League of Arab States.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD MEMORANDUM, 1991

Original title: "An Explanatory Memorandum On The General Strategic Goal For The Group In North America: 5/22/1991" Government Exhibit 003-0085 3:04-CR-240-G U.S. v. HLF, et al.

Original language and script: Arabic

(This document does not bear the title "manifesto" but "memorandum" as it is not meant to be published because it displays very bluntly what the entire Islamic movement really is about: The distruction of any civilisation which is not Islamic. The intended distruction includes in particular: law, belief system, liberty of free speech, and any other foundation of non-Islamic civilisations.

The Muslim Brotherhood's strategic plan for North America was a closely-held secret until the FBI discovered it during a raid of a house in Annandale, Virginia, in August, 2004. Agents discovered a secret basement, a hidden subbasement; containing over 80 file storage boxes of the archives of the Muslim Brotherhood in North America. Among the internal Ikhwan [Muslim Brotherhood] files was a document called "An Explanatory Memorandum: On the General Strategic Goal for the Group." It turned out to be a strategic plan created to eliminate non-Islamic states and societies, and it was written by a member of the Board of Directors for the Muslim Brotherhood in North America and senior Hamas leader named Mohammed Akram, and was approved by the Muslim Brotherhood's "Shura Council" and Organisational Conference in 1987. Similar papers have been issued to Muslim communities and their mosques throughout the world. The memorandum constitutes a blueprint for Islamic organisations such as the Muslim Brotherhood, their goals, modus operandi and infrastructure in non-Muslim countries. It is arguably the single most important vehicle for understanding a secretive Islamic organisation and should, therefore, be considered required reading for policy-makers and the public, alike. To point it out: This paper is not made by "extremists" but by mainstream Muslims according to the Sira, the Koran, the Hadith, and the Sharia, such as the Edict of Umar.)

An Explanatory Memorandum On The General Strategic Goal For The Group In North America: 5/22/1991

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

Thanks be to God, Lord of the Two Worlds [Dar as-Salam / House of Peace = Muslim territory) and Dar al-Harb / House of War = non-Muslim territory] And Blessed are the Pious Idevout Muslim!

The beloved brother/The General Masul, may God keep him

The beloved brother/secretary of the Shura Council, may God keep him

The beloved brothers/Members of the Shura Council, may God keep them

God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you. \ldots . To proceed,

I ask Almighty God that you, your families and those whom you love around you are in the best of conditions, pleasing to God, glorified His name be.

I send this letter of mine to you hoping that it would seize your attention and receive your good care as you are the people of responsibility and those to whom trust is given. Between your hands is an "Explanatory Memorandum" which I put effort in writing down so that it is not locked in the chest and the mind, and so that I can share with you a portion of the responsibility in leading the Group in this country.

What might have encouraged me to submit the memorandum in this time in particular is my feeling of a "glimpse of hope" and the beginning of good tidings which bring the good news that we have embarked on a new stage of Islamic activism stages in this continent.

The papers which are between your hands are not abundant extravagance, imaginations or hallucinations which passed in the mind of one of your brothers, but they are rather hopes, ambitions and challenges that I hope that you share some or most of which with me. I do not claim their infallibility or absolute correctness, but they are an attempt which requires study, outlook, detailing and rooting from you.

My request to my brothers is to read the memorandum and to write what they wanted of comments and corrections, keeping in mind that what is between your hands is not strange or a new submission without a root, but rather an attempt to interpret and explain some of what came in the long-term plan which we approved and adopted in our conference in the year (1987).

So, my honorable brother, do not rush to throw these papers away due to your many occupations and worries, All what I'm asking of you is to read them and to comment on them hoping that we might continue together the project of

our plan and our Islamic work in this part of the world. Should you do that, I would be thankful and grateful to you.

I also ask my honorable brother, the Secretary of the Council, to add the subject of the memorandum on the Council agenda in its coming meeting.

May God reward you good and keep you for His DawA [tool of Islam to turn non-Muslims into Muslims]

Your brother Mohamed Akram

In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful Thanks be to God, Lord of the Two Worlds And Blessed are the Pious

Subject: A project for an explanatory memorandum for the General Strategic goal for the Group in North America mentioned in the longterm plan

ONE: THE MEMORANDUM IS DERIVED FROM:

- 1. The general strategic goal of the Group in America which was approved by the Shura Council and the Organizational Conference for the year [1987] is "Enablement of Islam in North America, meaning: establishing an effective and a stable Islamic Movement led by the Muslim Brotherhood which adopts Muslims' causes domestically and globally, and which works to expand the observant Muslim base, aims at unifying and directing Muslims' efforts, presents Islam as a civilization alternative, and supports the global Islamic State wherever it is".
- The priority that is approved by the Shura Council for the work of the Group in its current and former session which is "Settlement".
- 3. The positive development with the brothers in the Islamic Circle in an attempt to reach a unity of merger.
- 4. The constant need for thinking and future planning, an attempt to read it and working to "shape" the present to comply and suit the needs and challenges of the future.
- 5. The paper of his eminence, the General Masul, may God keep him, which he recently sent to the members of the Council

TWO: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM:

In order to begin with the explanation, we must "summon" the following question and place it in front of our eyes as its relationship is important and necessary with the strategic goal and the explanation project we are embarking on. The question we are facing is: "How do you like to see the Islam Movement in North America in ten years?", or "taking along" the following sentence when planning and working, "Islamic Work in North America in the year (2000): A Strategic Vision".

Also, we must summon and take along "elements" of the general strategic goal of the Group in North America and I will intentionally repeat them in numbers. They are:

- [1. Establishing an effective and stable Islamic Movement led by the Muslim Brotherhood
 - 2. Adopting Muslims' causes domestically and globally.
 - 3. Expanding the observant Muslim base.
 - 4. Unifying and directing Muslims' efforts.
- 5. Presenting Islam as a civilization alternative
- 6. Supporting the establishment of the global Islamic State wherever it is].
- It must be stressed that it has become clear and emphatically known that all is in agreement that we must "settle" or "enable" Islam and its Movement in this part of the world
- Therefore, a joint understanding of the meaning of settlement or enablement must be adopted, through which and on whose basis we explain the general strategic goal with its six elements for the Group in North America.

THREE: THE CONCEPT OF SETTLEMENT:

This term was mentioned in the Group's "dictionary" and documents with various meanings in spite of the fact that everyone meant one thing with it. We believe that the understanding of the essence is the same and we will attempt here to give the word and its "meanings" a practical explanation with a practical Movement tone, and not a philosophical linguistic explanation, while stressing that this explanation of ours is not complete until our explanation of "the process" of settlement itself is understood which is mentioned in the following paragraph. We briefly say the following:

Settlement: "That Islam and its Movement become a part of the homeland it lives in".

Establishment: "That Islam turns into firmly-rooted organizations on whose bases civilization, structure and testimony are built".

Stability: "That Islam is stable in the land on which its people move".

Enablement: "That Islam is enabled within the souls, minds and the lives of the people of the country in which it moves".

Rooting: "That Islam is resident and not a passing thing, or rooted "entrenched" in the soil of the spot where it moves and not a strange plant to it".

FOUR: THE PROCESS OF SETTLEMENT:

• In order for Islam and its Movement to become "a part of the homeland" in which it lives, "stable" in its land, "rooted" in the spirits and minds of its people, "enabled" in the live of its society and has firmly-established "organizations" on which the Islamic structure is built and with which the testimony of civilization is achieved, the Movement must plan and struggle to obtain "the keys" and the tools of this process in carry out this grand mission as a "Civilization Jihadist" responsibility which lies on the shoulders of Muslims and - on top of them - the Muslim Brotherhood in this country. Among these keys and tools are the following:

Adopting the concept of settlement and understanding its practical meanings:
 The Explanatory Memorandum focused on the Movement

The Explanatory Memorandum focused on the Movement and the realistic dimension of the process of settlement and its practical meanings without paying attention to the difference in understanding between the resident and the non-resident, or who is the settled and the non-settled and we believe that what was mentioned in the long-term plan in that regards suffices.

2. Making a fundamental shift in our thinking and mentality in order to suit the challenges of the settlement mission.

What is meant with the shift - which is a positive expression - is responding to the grand challenges of the settlement issues. We believe that any transforming response begins with the method of thinking and its center, the brain, first. In order to clarify what is meant with the shift as a key to qualify us to enter the field of settlement, we say very briefly that the following must be accomplished:

- A shift from the "amputated" partial thinking mentality to the "continuous" comprehensive mentality.
- A shift from the mentality of caution and reservation to the mentality of risk and controlled liberation.
- A shift from the mentality of the elite Movement to the mentality of the popular Movement.
- A shift from the mentality of preaching and guidance to the mentality of building and testimony
- A shift from the single opinion mentality to the multiple opinion mentality.
- A shift from the collision mentality to the absorption mentality.
- A shift from the individual mentality to the team mentality.
 A shift from the anticipation mentality to the initiative
- mentality.

 A shift from the hesitation mentality to the decisiveness
- A shift from the hesitation mentality to the decisivenes mentality.
- A shift from the principles mentality to the programs mentality.
 A shift from the abstract ideas mentality the true
- A shift from the abstract ideas mentality the true organizations mentality [This is the core point and the essence of the memorandum].
- 3. Understanding the historical stages in which the Islamic Ikhwani activism went through in this country:

The writer of the memorandum believes that understanding and comprehending the historical stages of the Islamic activism which was led and being led by the Muslim Brotherhood in this continent is a very important key in working towards settlement, through which the Group observes its march, the direction of its movement and the curves and turns of its road. We will suffice here with mentioning the title for each of these stages [The title expresses the prevalent characteristic of the stage] [Details maybe mentioned in another future study]. Most likely, the stages are:

- A.) The stage of searching for self and determining the identity.B.) The stage of inner build-up and tightening the
- B.) The stage of inner build-up and tightening the organization.
- C.) The stage of mosques and the Islamic centers.
- D.) The stage of building the Islamic organizations the first phase.

 E.) The stage of building the Islamic schools the first phase.
- F.) The stage of thinking about the overt Islamic Movement the first phase.
 G.) The stage of openness to the other Islamic movements
- and attempting to reach a formula for dealing with them the first phase.

 H.) The stage of reviving and establishing the Islamic organizations the second phase. We believe that the Group is
- embarking on this stage in its second phase as it has to open the door and enter as it did the first time. 4. Understanding the role of the Muslim Brother in North

America:
The process of settlement is a "Civilization-Jihadist Process" with all the word means. The Ikhwan must understand that their work in America is a kind of grand Jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within and "sabotaging" its miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers so that it is eliminated and God's religion is made victorious over all other religions. Without this level of understanding, we are not up to this

challenge and have not prepared ourselves for Jihad yet. It is a Muslim's destiny to perform Jihad and work wherever he is and wherever he lands until the final hour comes, and there is no escape from that destiny except for those who chose to slack. But, would the slackers and the Mujahedeen be equal.

5. Understanding that we cannot perform the settlement mission by ourselves or away from people:

A mission as significant and as huge as the settlement mission needs magnificent and exhausting efforts. With their capabilities, human, financial and scientific resources, the Ikhwan will not be able to carry out this mission alone or away from people and he who believes that is wrong, and God knows best. As for the role of the Ikhwan, it is the initiative, pioneering, leadership, raising the banner and pushing people in that direction. They are then to work to employ, direct and unify Muslims' efforts and powers for this process. In order to do that, we must possess a mastery of the art of "coalitions", the art of "absorption" and the principles of "cooperation".

6. The necessity of achieving a union and balanced gradual merger between private work and public work:

We believe that what was written about this subject is many and is enough. But, it needs a time and a practical frame so that what is needed is achieved in a gradual and a balanced way that is compatible with the process of settlement.

7. The conviction that the success of the settlement of Islam and its Movement in this country is a success to the global Islamic Movement and a true support for the soughtafter state, God willing:

There is a conviction - with which this memorandum disagrees - that our focus in attempting to settle Islam in this country will lead to negligence in our duty towards the global Islamic Movement in supporting its project to establish the state. We believe that the reply is in two segments: One - The success of the Movement in America in establishing an observant Islamic base with power and effectiveness will be the best support and aid to the global Movement project.

And the second - is the global Movement has not succeeded yet in "distributing roles" to its branches, stating what is the needed from them as one of the participants or contributors to the project to establish the global Islamic state. The day this happens, the children of the American Ikhwani branch will have far-reaching impact and positions that make the ancestors proud.

8. Absorbing Muslims and winning them with all of their factions and colors in America and Canada for the settlement project, and making it their cause, future and the basis of their Islamic life in this part of the world:

This issues requires from us to learn "the art of dealing with the others", as people are different and people in many colors. We need to adopt the principle which says, "Take from people ... the best they have", their best specializations, experiences, arts, energies and abilities. By people here we mean those within or without the ranks of individuals and organizations. The policy of "taking" should be with what achieves the strategic goal and the settlement process. But the big challenge in front of us is: how to connect them all in "the orbit" of our plan and "the circle" of our Movement in order to achieve "the core" of our interest. To me, there is no choice for us other than alliance and mutual understanding of those who desire from our religion and those who agree from our belief in work. And the U.S. Islamic arena is full of those waiting..., the pioneers.

What matters is bringing people to the level of comprehension of the challenge that is facing us as Muslims in this country, conviction of our settlement project, and understanding the benefit of agreement, cooperation and alliance. At that time, if we ask for money, a lot of it would come, and if we ask for men, they would come in lines,

What matters is that our plan is "the criterion and the balance" in our relationship with others.

Here, two points must be noted; the first one: we need to comprehend and understand the balance of the Islamic powers in the U.S. arena [and this might be the subject of a future study]. The second point: what we reached with the brothers in "ICNA" is considered a step in the right direction, the beginning of good and the first drop that requires growing and guidance.

- 9. Re-examining our organizational and administrative bodies, the type of leadership and the method of selecting it with what suits the challenges of the settlement mission: The memorandum will be silent about details regarding this item even though it is logical and there is a lot to be said about it.
- 10. Growing and developing our resources and capabilities, our financial and human resources with what suits the magnitude of the grand mission: If we examined the human and the financial resources the Ikhwan alone own in this country, we and others would feel proud and glorious. And if we add to them the resources of our friends and allies, those who circle in our orbit and those waiting on our banner, we would realize that we are able to open the door to settlement and walk through it seeking to make Almighty God's word the highest.
- 11. Utilizing the scientific method in planning, thinking and preparation of studies needed for the process of settlement:

Yes, we need this method, and we need many studies which aid in this civilization Jihadist operation. We will mention some of them briefly:

- The history of the Islamic presence in America.
- The history of the Islamic Ikhwani presence in America.
- · Islamic movements, organizations and organizations: analysis and criticism
- The phenomenon of the Islamic centers and schools: challenges, needs and statistics.
- · Islamic minorities.
- Muslim and Arab communities.
- The U.S. society: make-up and politics.
- The U.S. society's view of Islam and Muslims ... And many other studies which we can direct our brothers and allies to prepare, either through their academic studies or through their educational centers or organizational tasking. What is important is that we start.
- Agreeing on a flexible, balanced and a clear "mechanism" to implement the process of settlement within a specific, gradual and balanced "time frame" that is in-line
- with the demands and challenges of the process of settlement.

 13. Understanding the U.S. society from its different aspects an understanding that "qualifies" us to perform the mission of settling our Dawa' in its country "and growing it" on its land.
- 14. Adopting a written "jurisprudence" that includes legal and movement bases, principles, policies and interpretations which are suitable for the needs and challenges of the process of settlement.
- 15. Agreeing on "criteria" and balances to be a sort of "antennas" or "the watch tower" in order to make sure that all of our priorities, plans, programs, bodies, leadership, monies and activities march towards the process of the settlement.
- 16. Adopting a practical, flexible formula through which our central work complements our domestic work. [Items 12] through 16 will be detailed later].
- 17. Understanding the role and the nature of work of "The Islamic Center" in every city with what achieves the goal of the process of settlement:

The center we seek is the one which constitutes the "axis" of our Movement, the "perimeter" of the circle of our work, our "balance center", the "base" for our rise and our "Dar al-Argam" to educate us, prepare us and supply our battalions in addition to being the "niche" of our prayers.

This is in order for the Islamic center to turn - in action not in words - into a seed "for a small Islamic society" which is a reflection and a mirror to our central organizations. The center ought to turn into a "beehive" which produces sweet honey. Thus, the Islamic center would turn into a place for study, family, battalion, course, seminar, visit, sport, school social club, women gathering, kindergarten for male and female youngsters, the office of the domestic political resolution, and the center for distributing our newspapers, magazines books and our audio and visual tapes

In brief we say: we would like for the Islamic center to become "The House of Dawa" and "the general center" in deeds first before name. As much as we own and direct these centers at the continent level, we can say we are marching successfully towards the settlement of Dawa' in this country.

Meaning that the "center's" role should be the same as the "mosque's" role during the time of God's prophet, God's prayers and peace be upon him, when he marched to "settle" the Dawa' in its first generation in Madina. from the mosque, he drew the Islamic life and provided to the world the most magnificent and fabulous civilization humanity knew.

This mandates that, eventually, the region, the branch and the Usra turn into "operations rooms" for planning, direction, monitoring and leadership for the Islamic center in order to be a role model to be followed.

- 18. Adopting a system that is based on "selecting" workers, "role distribution" and "assigning" positions and responsibilities is based on specialization, desire and need with what achieves the process of settlement and contributes to its success.
- 19. Turning the principle of dedication for the Masuls of main positions within the Group into a rule, a basis and a policy in work. Without it, the process of settlement might be stalled [Talking about this point requires more details and
- 20. Understanding the importance of the "Organizational" shift in our Movement work, and doing Jihad in order to achieve it in the real world with what serves the process of settlement and expedites its results, God Almighty's willing:

The reason this paragraph was delayed is to stress its utmost importance as it constitutes the heart and the core of this memorandum.

It also constitutes the practical aspect and the true measure of our success or failure in our march towards settlement. The talk about the organizations and the "organizational" mentality or phenomenon does not require much details. It suffices to say that the first pioneer of this phenomenon was our prophet Mohamed, God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon him, as he placed the foundation for the first civilized organization which is the mosque, which truly became "the comprehensive organization". And this was done by the pioneer of the contemporary Islamic Dawa', Imam martyr Hasan al-Banna, may God have mercy on him, when he and his brothers felt the need to "re-establish" Islam and its movement anew, leading him to establish organizations with all their kinds: economic, social, media, scouting, professional and even the military ones. We must say that we are in a country which understands no language other than the language of the organizations, and one which does not respect or give weight to any group without effective, functional and strong organizations.

It is good fortune that there are brothers among us who have this "trend", mentality or inclination to build the organizations who have beat us by action and words which leads us to dare say honestly what Sadat in Egypt once said, We want to build a country of organizations'

- a word of right he meant wrong with. I say to my brothers, let us raise the banner of truth to establish right "We want to establish the Group of organizations", as without it we will not able to put our feet on the true path.
- And in order for the process of settlement to be completed, we must plan and work from now to equip and prepare ourselves, our brothers, our apparatuses, our sections and our committees in order to turn into comprehensive organizations in a gradual and balanced way that is suitable with the need and the reality. What encourages us to do that - in addition to the aforementioned - is that we possess "seeds" for each organization from the organization we call for [See attachment number (1)].
- · All we need is to tweak them, coordinate their work collect their elements and merge their efforts with others and then connect them with the comprehensive plan we seek. For instance, We have a seed for a "comprehensive media and art' organization: we own a print + advanced typesetting machine + audio and visual center + art production office + magazines in Arabic and English [The Horizons, The Hope, The Politicians, Ila Falastine, Press Clips, al-Zaytouna, Palestine Monitor, Social Sciences Magazines...] + art band + photographers + producers + programs anchors +iournalists + in addition to other media and art experiences"

Another example:

We have a seed for a "comprehensive Dawa' educational" organization:

We have the Dawa section in ISNA + Dr. Jamal Badawi Foundation + the center run by brother Harned al-Ghazali + the Dawa' center the Dawa' Committee and brother Shaker al-Sayyed are seeking to establish now + in addition to other DawA efforts here and there...".

And this applies to all the organizations we call on establishing.

- The big challenge that is ahead of us is how to turn these seeds or "scattered" elements into comprehensive, stable, "settled" organizations that are connected with our Movement and which fly in our orbit and take orders from ow guidance. This does not prevent - but calls for - each central organization to have its local branches but its connection with the Islamic center in the city is a must.
- · What is needed is to seek to prepare the atmosphere and the means to achieve "the merger" so that the sections, the committees, the regions, the branches and the Usras are eventually the heart and the core of these organizations.

Or, for the shift and the change to occur as follows:

- The Movement Department + The Secretariat Department - The Organizational & Administrative Organization - The General Center
- 2. Education Department + Dawa A Com. Dawa' and Educational Organization
- 3. Sisters Department The Women's Organization
- 4. The Financial Department + Investment Committee + The Endowment - The Economic Organization
- 5. Youth Department + Youths Organizations Department - Youth Organizations
- 6. The Social Committee + Matrimony Committee + Mercy Foundation - The Social Organization
- 7. The Security Committee The Security Organization
- 8. The Political Depart. + Palestine Com. The Political Organization
- 9. The Group's Court + The Legal Com. The Judicial Organization
- 10. Domestic Work Department Its work is to be distributed to the rest of the organizations 11. Our magazines + the print + our art band - The Media
- and Art Organization 12. The Studies Association + The Publication House +
- Dar al-Kitab The Intellectual & Cultural Organization 13 Scientific and Medial societies - Scientific Educational
- & Professional Organization
- 14. The Organizational Conference The Islamic-American Founding Conference
- 15. The Shura Council + Planning Com. The Shura Council for the Islamic-American Movement

- 16. The Executive Office The Executive Office of the Islamic-American Movement
- 17. The General Masul Chairman of the Islamic Movement and its official Spokesman
- 18. The regions, branches & Usras Field leaders of organizations & Islamic centers

FIVE: COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT ORGANIZATION:

· We would then seek and struggle in order to make each one of these above-mentioned organizations a "comprehensive organization" throughout the days and the years, and as long as we are destined to be in this country.

What is important is that we put the foundation and we will be followed by peoples and generations that would finish the march and the road but with a clearly-defined guidance. And, in order for us to clarify what we mean with the comprehensive, specialized organization, we mention here the characteristics and traits of each organization of the "promising" organizations.

- 1. From the Dawa' and educational aspect [The Dawa' and Educational Organization]: to include:
- The Organization to spread the Dawa' (Central and local
- · An institute to graduate Callers and Educators.
- · Scholars, Callers, Educators, Preachers and Program Anchors
- · Art and communication technology, Conveyance and Dawa'.
 - · A television station.
 - · A specialized Dawa' magazine.
- · A radio station.
- The Higher Islamic Council for Callers and Educators.
- The Higher Council for Mosques and Islamic Centers.
- Friendship Societies with the other religions... and things
 - 2. Politically [The Political Organization]: to include:
 - · A central political party.
 - · Local political offices.
 - Political symbols.
 - Relationships and alliances.
 - The American Organization for Islamic Political Action
 - · Advanced Information Centers....and things like that.
 - 3. Media [The Media and Art Organization]: to include:
 - · A daily newspaper.
- · Weekly, monthly and seasonal magazines.
- · Radio stations.
- Television programs
- · Audio and visual centers.
- · A magazine for the Muslim child.
- A magazine for the Muslim woman.
- · A print and typesetting machines.
- A production office.
- A photography and recording studio
- · Art bands for acting, chanting and theater.
- A marketing and art production office... and things like
- 4. Economically [The Economic Organization]: to include:
- · An Islamic Central bank.
- · Islamic endowments.
- · Investment projects.
- · An organization for interest-free loans... and things like
- 5. Scientifically and Professionally [The Scientific, Educational and Professional Organization]: to include:
- · Scientific research centers.
- Technical organizations and vocational training.
- · An Islamic university.
- · Islamic schools.
- A council for education and scientific research.
- · Centers to train teachers.
- · Scientific societies in schools.
- · An office for academic guidance.
- A body for authorship and Islamic curricula....and things like that.
- 6. Culturally and Intellectually [The Cultural and Intellectual Organization]: to include:
 - · A center for studies and research.
- · Cultural and intellectual foundations such as [The Social Scientists Society - Scientists and Engineers Society....]
- · An organization for Islamic thought and culture.
- A publication, translation and distribution house for Islamic books.
- · An office for archiving, history and authentication
- · The project to translate the Noble Quran, the Noble Sayings... and things like that. 7. Socially [The Social-Charitable Organization]: to include:
- Social clubs for the youths and the community's sons and daughters
- · Local societies for social welfare and the services are tied to the Islamic centers
- · The Islamic Organization to Combat the Social Ills of the U.S. Society
- · Islamic houses project

- Matrimony and family cases office... and things like that.
- 8. Youths [The Youth Organization]: to include:
- Central and local youths foundations.
- · Sports teams and clubs
- Scouting teams... and things like that.
- 9. Women [The Women Organization]: to include:
- · Central and local women societies.
- Organizations of training, vocational and housekeeping.
- An organization to train female preachers.
- Islamic kindergartens... and things like that.
- Organizationally and Administratively Administrative and Organizational Organization]: to include:
- · An institute for training, growth, development and planning
- Prominent experts in this field
- Work systems, bylaws and charters fit for running the most complicated bodies and organizations
- A periodic magazine in Islamic development and administration.
- Owning camps and halls for the various activities.
- A data, polling and census bank.
- · An advanced communication network
- An advanced archive for our heritage and production... and things like that.
 - 11. Security [The Security Organization]: to include:
 - · Clubs for training and learning self-defense techniques.
- · A center which is concerned with the security issues [Technical, intellectual, technological and human]....and things like that.
- 12. Legally [The Legal Organization]: to include:A Central Jurisprudence Council.
- · A Central Islamic Court.
- · Muslim Attorneys Society
- The Islamic Foundation for Defense of Muslims' Rights... and things like that.

And success is by God.

[ANALYSIS: The "Explanatory Memorandum On The General Strategic Goal For The Group In North America: 5/22/1991" specifies the five phases of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement in North America. The process is a Jihadist Process against every non-Muslim country, and by all available means: by immigration, implementing the Sharia step-by-step, by finance, propaganda in speaking and writing, by undermining the media and public schools first, by influencing the creation of school textbooks (tuning them "muslim-friendly"), by spying on goverment and all related institutions such as the legislative, executive, jurisprudence, police, secret service, prisons, and companies. Have you ever noticed how many muslims are in our prisons? (their main duty is to convert fellow prisoners to Islam by intimidation.) The entire process of tranforming our society is meticoulously planned (modeled directly after Sayyid Qutb's Milestones and the shariah doctrine of progressive revelation) for reaching each goal as easy as possible, just like this:

PHASE ONE: Phase of discreet and secret establishment of leadership.

PHASE TWO: Phase of gradual appearance on the public scene and exercising and utilising various public activities (It greatly succeeded in implementing this stage). It also succeeded in achieving a great deal of its important goals, such as infiltrating various sectors of the Government. Gaining religious institutions and embracing senior scholars. Gaining public support and sympathy. Establishing a shadow government (secret) within the Government.

PHASE THREE: Escalation phase, prior to conflict and confrontation with the rulers, through utilizing mass media. Currently in progress.

PHASE FOUR: Open public confrontation with the Government through exercising the The Elbarasse archives and close observation of the Brotherhood's operations reveal the following as the most important of the techniques employed by the Ikhwan in America to achieve the seditious goals of its civilisation jihad:

- Expanding the Muslim presence by birth rate, immigration, and refusal to assimilate (meaning: Muslims emigrate to western so-called "social net countries" bleeding out the host countries financial resources by claiming "childrens' benefits", pension money, etc.);
- · Occupying and expanding domination of physical spaces (by buying properties and land and populate it immediately with Muslims):
- Ensuring the "Muslim Community" knows and follows Muslim Brotherhood doctrine (as outlined in the "Covenant of Hamas" which is a legal organisation under Islamic Sharia Law and branch of the "Muslim Brotherhood");
- Controlling the language we use in describing the enemy (such as saying "Look, we are all on the same side!, All religions are the same, You do not understand the Koran, you must read it in Arabic, no translation can say what the Koran is really about; not talking about uncomfortable issues such womens' equal rights: etc.):
- · Ensuring we do not study their doctrine (particularly the Sharia and the Edict of Umar);

- Co-opting key leadership (which means: a Muslim to becoming a member of parliament or even the government in order to undermine the entire political and democratical system, pretty much like Hitlers Nazi Party who undermined the system in order to kill it off);
- · Forcing compliance with Sharia at local levels (by building Sharia Courts or Mediation Centres, trying to enforce "political correctness", making westerners behave Islamic by wearing headscarfs, etc.);
- Fighting all counterterrorism efforts (which means to resist anything that collects data of Islamic organisations or personal particulars of Muslims, so-called protectionism");
- · Subverting religious organisations (by building a "fifth column" in religious and political organisations);
- Employing lawfare the offensive use of lawsuits and threats of lawsuits (by creating so-called "anti-hate speech laws" such as "The Racial and Religious Tolerance Act", Victoria (Australia, 2001) or "Charter of Human Rights and Responsibilities", Victoria (Australia, 2006);
- · Claiming victimisation (such as "we poor Muslims are always the victims!" / demanding accommodations, halal food and special prayer places in companies first, then particularly mosques, Koran schools, etc.);
- · Condemning "slander" against Islam (that means talking against anything that comes from Islam, such as uncomfortable truths);

Political pressure approach. It is aggressively implementing the above-mentioned approach. Training on the use of weapons domestically and overseas in anticipation of zerohour. It has noticeable activities in this regard.

PHASE FIVE: Seizing power to establish their Islamic Nation under which all parties and Islamic groups are united. This document offers a chilling operational insight into the mindset, planning, and vision of the Islamic movement in North America.

The Implementation of Sharia by the Muslim Brotherhood

- · Subverting the U.S. education system, in particular, infiltrating and dominating U.S. Middle East studies programs;
- Demanding the right to practice shariah in segregated Muslim enclaves;
- · Demanding recognition of shariah in non-Muslim spheres; · Confronting and denouncing Western society, laws, and traditions; and
- Demanding that sharia replace Western law. Note that many of the foregoing techniques entail, in one way or another, influencing and neutralising the American government at all levels.]

End of Document

DECLARATION AND PROGRAMME OF ACTION, 2002

(The "Shut-up-Programme of the Globalists") World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance Published by the United Nations Department of Public Information New York, 2002

(Although the declaration begins so promising by saying "that the Holocaust must never be forgotten", it pretty soon slides down into obfuscation by calling people names instead of addressing their concerns. It obviously has been decided that total egalitarianism is the programme of the day, of course, without examining the facts, the why's, the what's, and where the citizens' feelings come from. What we find is a dull repetition of words such as Racism, Xenophobia (which stands obviously also for Islamophobia), Discrimination, Intolerance, and so on and so forth. Each of these words have been here repeated several hundred times, hoping they become more true by constant repetition. Remember: Hitler already made this repetition-tool respectable in socialist society. We would expect a better approach from a document like this! The word "Traveller" in Art. 68 refers obviously to

"migrant", a word which the authors here desparately wanted to avoid for the reason that it might steer unwanted attention to the Islamic precept of migration prescribed in Islamic scripture (see Sira, Koran, Hadith, Sharia).

The contents of Article 71-74 convince us that the authors have no idea of the Islamic scripture and the subsequent Sharia law, because what the authors demand here is no less than implementing Sharia law in our western societies. There are only two possibilities why the authors suggest and urge countries to follow this document: They are either totally ignorant of the facts, or they deliberately want to persuade western civilians to commit an act of treason against their own home country.

This paper is assuming that anyone who is concerned about their home country's populace, its social and religious composition, and its inherited culture, is a Nazi or fascist. It has neither care nor pity for patriotic citizens who do not

want globalisation at any cost, at least not at the cost for giving up their own culture, and the to it connected system of values and virtues that have grown over many centuries. The Creators of this declaration are the ones who drive concerned citizen straight into the arms of precisely those fascists they want to get rid of. They seem to have the desire to make every place on earth look like any other place on earth. It is the ignorance of long-standing achievements, and the will of the internationalistic globalists to distroy everything which makes a nation feel home, that causes alert citizens to speak up!

After the examination of this declaration, there is no other summary possible than naming it "Shut-up-Programme of the Globalists" as it is very obviously the most imbalanced and hypocritical declaration that has ever been composed. The, by our constitution garanteed, liberty of free speech should be undermined by this document for the simple reason that religious feelings have become more important than speaking out what our citizens believe to be the truth or the right thing to say. Speaking out, and listening to it, is uncomfortable.

The declaration shunnes intolerance but is in itself the most intolerat declaration ever created by the United Nations Organisation. This "shut-up programme" has now become a blueprint for lawsuits in some Western countries such as UK, Germany, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and many others, leading those nations on a path on self-inflicted annihilation of their very own civilisation. Look up for:)

FOREWORD

Member States of the United Nations adopted these texts at the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held from 31 August to 8 September 2001 in Durban, South Africa.

They represent the hard-won results of a landmark occasion. The terrible attacks in the United States just three days later, with their aftermath of rising fear and xenophobia, make these anti-discrimination texts all the more relevant.

They consist of a Declaration and Programme of Action. The Declaration represents the commitments arising from the complex global dialogue which took place. It addresses past manifestations as well as contemporary forms of racial discrimination. The Programme of Action is a road-map illustrating how the international community will follow up on these commitments. It indicates the steps to be taken to put an end to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and to prevent their future occurrence.

If pursued with energy and goodwill by all actors – States, the United Nations, national institutions, intergovernmental organisations, and non-governmental organisations – this anti-discrimination agenda can bring new hope and change to the lives of the millions of human beings the world over who are victims of racial discrimination and intolerance.

United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and Secretary-General of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance

INTRODUCTION

Although the standard of non-discrimination has been established as a bedrock principle of international law, the persistence of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance clearly demonstrates the need to look for new ways to address this problem with more resolve, with more humanity and with greater efficiency. The World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held in Durban, South Africa, from 31 August to 8 September 2001, helped focus the international community's thinking about where action to date has been insufficient, and in what areas and in what ways we can do more to create just and fair societies free of racial discrimination.

The Conference involved nine days of intensive and frequently difficult negotiation. Nevertheless, despite all of the obstacles that had to be overcome, the Conference was ultimately successful in negotiating a Declaration and Programme of Action by consensus.

The documents adopted at the Conference address a wide range of subjects. Concerning the past, the language adopted was historic. The Conference agreed that slavery and the slave trade are a crime against humanity, and should have always been so. It was further agreed that slavery and the slave trade, including the transatlantic slave trade, were appalling tragedies in the history of humanity, especially in their negation of the essence of the victims. The Conference also recognised that colonialism had led to racism and caused suffering and that its consequences persist to this day.

Concerning the Middle East and related issues, the Conference expressed concern about the plight of the Palestinian people under foreign occupation and recognised the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to selfdetermination and the right to an independent state. The Conference also recognised the right to security for all States in the region, including Israel, and called upon all States to support the peace process and bring it to an early conclusion.

The Conference also recalled that the Holocaust must never be forgotten.

Agreement was reached on the need for national action plans, tougher national legislation and more legal assistance to victims of racial discrimination. Improvement in the administration of justice and the reinforcement of national institutions to combat racial discrimination were also emphasised. In this regard, the importance of appropriate remedies and positive action for victims of racial discrimination was underlined.

A wide variety of educational and awareness-raising measures were adopted. Measures were also included to ensure equality in the fields of employment, health and the environment. The need to have accurate data collection and research was identified as an important prerequisite for taking corrective measures. Measures to counter racism in the media, including on the Internet, were also included in the documents adopted.

The documents adopted specified that a victim-oriented approach was an important tool to eliminate racial discrimination.

Specific reference was made to Africans and persons of African descent, Asians and persons of Asian descent, indige nous peoples, migrants, refugees, minorities, the Roma and others. Durban also put the gender dimension of racial discrimination on the map, as well as the more general question of multiple discrimination. In addition, the importance of involving not only States, but a wide variety of actors including civil society, NGOs and youth, in the implementation of the Durban commitments was emphasised.

In reflecting on the World Conference, it is important to note that the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted in Durban are both historic and forward-looking.

They provide a new and innovative anti-discrimination agenda, and, as such, constitute an essential element of an emerging global dialogue on how to eliminate the scourge of racial discrimination from our world.

People in all parts of the world continue to suffer daily from racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. They are looking to the United Nations and its Member States to lead the way forward and help them to have the conditions for a better life, a decent life, and one free of discrimination.

Durban should be seen as a beginning and not an end.

The key to responding to the hopes and aspirations of those who continue to suffer from discrimination is to ensure effective implementation of the commitments made at this landmark Conference. There is an enormous consensus around the world, amongst peoples and Governments alike, on the need to do more to implement the principles of equality and nondiscrimination.

The Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the Conference gave the international community the tools to do this. But the best tools are only of value if they are put to use.

DECLARATION

Having met in Durban, South Africa, from 31 August to 8 September 2001.

Expressing deep appreciation to the Government of South Africa for hosting this World Conference,

Drawing inspiration from the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa against the institutionalised system of apartheid, as well as for equality and justice under democracy, development, the rule of law and respect for human rights, recalling in this context the important contribution to that struggle of the international community and, in particular, the pivotal role of the people and Governments of Africa, and noting the important role that different actors of civil society, including non-governmental organizations, played in that struggle and in ongoing efforts to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,

Recalling that the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights in June 1993, calls for the speedy and comprehensive elimination of all forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,

Recalling Commission on Human Rights resolution 1997/74 of 18 April 1997, General Assembly resolution 52/111 of 12 December 1997 and subsequent resolutions of these bodies concerning the convening of the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance and recalling also the two World Conferences to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held in Geneva in 1978 and 1983, respectively.

Noting with grave concern that despite the efforts of the international community, the principal objectives of the three Decades to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination have not been attained and that countless human beings continue to the present day to be victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,

Recalling that the year 2001 is the International Year of Mobilisation against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, aimed at drawing the

world's attention to the objectives of the World Conference and giving new momentum to the political commitment to eliminate all forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance.

Welcoming the decision of the General Assembly to proclaim the year 2001 as the United Nations Year of Dialogue among Civilisations, which underlines tolerance and respect for diversity and the need to seek common ground among and within civilisations in order to address common challenges to humanity that threaten shared values, universal human rights and the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, through cooperation, partnership and inclusion,

Welcoming also the proclamation by the General Assembly of the period 2001-2010 as the Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for Children of the World, as well as the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration and Plan of Action on a Culture of Peace.

Recognising that the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, in conjunction with the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People, presents a unique opportunity to consider the invaluable contributions of indigenous peoples to political, economic, social, cultural and spiritual development throughout the world to our societies, as well as the challenges faced by them, including racism and racial discrimination.

Recalling the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples of 1960.

Reaffirming our commitment to the purposes and principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Affirming that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance constitute a negation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Reaffirming the principles of equality and nondiscrimination in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status,

Convinced of the fundamental importance of universal accession to or ratification of and full implementation of our obligations arising under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination as the principal international instrument to eliminate racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance.

Recognising the fundamental importance for States, in combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerance, to consider signing, ratifying or acceding to all relevant international human rights instruments, with a view to universal adherence,

Having taken note of the reports of the regional conferences organised at Strasbourg, Santiago, Dakar and Tehran and other inputs from States, as well as the reports of expert seminars, non-governmental organization regional meetings and other meetings organised in preparation for the World Conference

Noting with appreciation the Vision Statement launched by President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa under the patronage of The Honourable Nelson Mandela, first President of the new South Africa, and at the initiative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights and Secretary-General of the World Conference, and signed by seventy-four heads of State, heads of Government and dignitaries.

Reaffirming that cultural diversity is a cherished asset for the advancement and welfare of humanity at large and should be valued, enjoyed, genuinely accepted and embraced as a permanent feature which enriches our societies.

Acknowledging that no derogation from the prohibition of racial discrimination, genocide, the crime of apartheid and slavery is permitted, as defined in the obligations under the relevant human rights instruments

relevant human rights instruments,
Having listened to the peoples of the world and recognising their aspirations to justice, to equality of opportunity for all and everyone, to the enjoyment of their human rights, including the right to development, to live in peace and freedom and to equal participation without discrimination in economic, social, cultural, civil and political life,

Recognising that the equal participation of all individuals and peoples in the formation of just, equitable, democratic and inclusive societies can contribute to a world free from racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,

Emphasising the importance of the equitable participation of all, without any discrimination, in domestic as well as global decision-making,

Affirming that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, where they amount to racism and racial discrimination, constitute serious violations of and obstacles to the full enjoyment of all human rights and deny the self-evident truth that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, are an obstacle to friendly and peaceful relations among peoples and nations, and are among

the root causes of many internal and international conflicts, including armed conflicts, and the consequent forced displacement of populations.

Recognising that national and international actions are required to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in order to ensure the full enjoyment of all human rights, economic, social, cultural, civil and political, which are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated, and to improve the living conditions of men, women and children of all nations,

Reaffirming the importance of the enhancement of international cooperation for the promotion and protection of human rights and for the achievement of the objectives of the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance.

Acknowledging that xenophobia, in its different manifestations, is one of the main contemporary sources and forms of discrimination and conflict, combating which requires urgent attention and prompt action by States, as well as by the international community,

Fully aware that, despite efforts undertaken by the

Fully aware that, despite efforts undertaken by the international community, Governments and local authorities, the scourge of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance persists and continues to result in violations of human rights, suffering, disadvantage and violence, which must be combated by all available and appropriate means and as a matter of the highest priority, preferably in cooperation with affected communities,

Noting with concern the continued and violent occurrence of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and that theories of superiority of certain races and cultures over others, promoted and practised during the colonial era, continue to be propounded in one form or another even today,

Alarmed by the emergence and continued occurrence of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in their more subtle and contemporary forms and manifestations, as well as by other ideologies and practices based on racial or ethnic discrimination or superiority,

Strongly rejecting any doctrine of racial superiority, along with theories which attempt to determine the existence of socalled distinct human races.

Recognising that failure to combat and denounce racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance by all, especially by public authorities and politicians at all levels, is a factor encouraging their perpetuation,

Reaffirming that States have the duty to protect and promote the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all victims, and that they should apply a genderi perspective, recognising the multiple forms of discrimination which women can face, and that the enjoyment of their civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights is essential for the development of societies throughout the world, Recognizing both the challenges and opportunities presented by an increasingly globalised world in relation to the struggle to eradicate racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,

1. For the purpose of this Declaration and Programme of Action, it was understood that the term "gender" refers to the two sexes, male and female, within the context of society. The term "gender" does not indicate any meaning different from the above.

Determined, in an era when globalization and technology have contributed considerably to bringing people together, to materialise the notion of a human family based on equality, dignity and solidarity, and to make the twenty-first century a century of human rights, the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and the realisation of genuine equality of opportunity and treatment for all individuals and peoples.

Reaffirming the principles of equal rights and selfdetermination of peoples and recalling that all individuals are born equal in dignity and rights, stressing that such equality must be protected as a matter of the highest priority and recognising the duty of States to take prompt, decisive and appropriate measures with a view to eliminating all forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,

Dedicating ourselves to combating the scourge of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance fully and effectively as a matter of priority, while drawing lessons from manifestations and past experiences of racism in all parts of the world with a view to avoiding their recurrence,

Joining together in a spirit of renewed political will and commitment to universal equality, justice and dignity, we salute the memory of all victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance all over the world and solemnly adopt the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action.

2. Reference should be made to chapter VII of the report of the Conference (A/CONF. 189/12), which lists all the reservations to and statements on the Declaration and the Programme of Action.

GENERAL ISSUES

- 1. We declare that for the purpose of the present Declaration and Programme of Action, the victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance are individuals or groups of individuals who are or have been negatively affected by, subjected to, or targets of these scourges:
- 2. We recognise that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance occur on the grounds of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin and that victims can suffer multiple or aggravated forms of discrimination based on other related grounds such as sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, social origin, property, birth or other status;
- property, birth or other status;

 3. We recognise and affirm that, at the outset of the third millennium, a global fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and all their abhorrent and evolving forms and manifestations is a matter of priority for the international community, and that this Conference offers a unique and historic opportunity for assessing and identifying all dimensions of those devastating evils of humanity with a view to their total elimination through, inter alia, the initiation of innovative and holistic approaches and the strengthening and enhancement of practical and effective measures at the national, regional and international levels;
- 4. We express our solidarity with the people of Africa in their continuing struggle against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and recognize the sacrifices made by them, as well as their efforts in raising international public awareness of these inhuman tragedies:
- 5. We also affirm the great importance we attach to the values of solidarity, respect, tolerance and multiculturalism, which constitute the moral ground and inspiration for our worldwide struggle against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, inhuman tragedies which have affected people throughout the world, especially in Africa, for too long;
- Africa, for too long;
 6. We further affirm that all peoples and individuals constitute one human family, rich in diversity. They have contributed to the progress of civilizations and cultures that form the common heritage of humanity. Preservation and promotion of tolerance, pluralism and respect for diversity can produce more inclusive societies;
- 7. We declare that all human beings are born free, equal in dignity and rights and have the potential to contribute constructively to the development and well-being of their societies. Any doctrine of racial superiority is scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and dangerous, and must be rejected along with theories which attempt to determine the existence of separate human races;
- 8. We recognise that religion, spirituality and belief play a central role in the lives of millions of women and men, and in the way they live and treat other persons. Religion, spirituality and belief may and can contribute to the promotion of the inherent dignity and worth of the human person and to the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- We note with concern that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance may be aggravated by, inter alia, inequitable distribution of wealth, marginalisation and social exclusion;
- 10. We reaffirm that everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which all human rights can be fully realised for all, without any discrimination;
- 11. We note that the process of globalization constitutes a powerful and dynamic force which should be harnessed for the benefit, development and prosperity of all countries, without exclusion. We recognize that developing countries face special difficulties in responding to this central challenge. While globalisation offers great opportunities, at present its benefits are very unevenly shared, while its costs are unevenly distributed. We thus express our determination to prevent and mitigate the negative effects of globalization. These effects could aggravate, inter alia, poverty, underdevelopment, marginalisation, social exclusion, cultural homogenisation and economic disparities which may occur along racial lines, within and between States, and have an adverse impact. We further express our determination to maximise the benefits of globalization through, inter alia, the strengthening and enhancement of international cooperation to increase equality of opportunities for trade, economic growth and sustainable development, global communications through the use of new technologies and increased intercultural exchange through the preservation and promotion of cultural diversity, which can contribute to the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. Only through broad and sustained efforts to create a shared future based upon our common humanity, and all its diversity, can globalisation be made fully inclusive and equitable;
- 12. We recognise that interregional and intraregional migration has increased as a result of globalisation, in particular from the South to the North, and stress that

policies towards migration should not be based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

Sources, Causes, Forms And Contemporary Manifestations Of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia And Related Intolerance

- 13. We acknowledge that slavery and the slave trade, including the transatlantic slave trade, were appalling tragedies in the history of humanity not only because of their abhorrent barbarism but also in terms of their magnitude, organised nature and especially their negation of the essence of the victims, and further acknowledge that slavery and the slave trade are a crime against humanity and should always have been so, especially the transatlantic slave trade, and are among the major sources and manifestations of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and that Africans and people of African descent, Asians and people of Asian descent and indigenous peoples were victims of these acts and continue to be victims of their consequences;
- 14. We recognise that colonialism has led to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and that Africans and people of African descent, and people of Asian descent and indigenous peoples were victims of colonialism and continue to be victims of its consequences. We acknowledge the suffering caused by colonialism and affirm that, wherever and whenever it occurred, it must be condemned and its reoccurrence prevented. We further regret that the effects and persistence of these structures and practices have been among the factors contributing to lasting social and economic inequalities in many parts of the world today:
- 15. We recognise that apartheid and genocide in terms of international law constitute crimes against humanity and are major sources and manifestations of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and acknowledge the untold evil and suffering caused by these acts and affirm that wherever and whenever they occurred, they must be condemned and their recurrence prevented:
- 16. We recognise that xenophobia against non-nationals, particularly migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers, constitutes one of the main sources of contemporary racism and that human rights violations against members of such groups occur widely in the context of discriminatory, xenophobic and racist practices;
- 17. We note the importance of paying special attention to new manifestations of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance to which youth and other vulnerable groups might be exposed;
- 18. We emphasise that poverty, underdevelopment, marginalisation, social exclusion and economic disparities are closely associated with racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and contribute to the persistence of racist attitudes and practices which in turn generate more poverty;
- 19. We recognise the negative economic, social and cultural consequences of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, which have contributed significantly to the underdevelopment of developing countries and, in particular, of Africa and resolve to free every man, woman and child from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty to which more than one billion of them are currently subjected, to make the right to development a reality for everyone and to free the entire human race from want.
- 20. We recognise that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance are among the root causes of armed conflict and very often one of its consequences and recall that non-discrimination is a fundamental principle of international humanitarian law. We underscore the need for all parties to armed conflicts to abide scrupulously by this principle and for States and the international community to remain especially vigilant during periods of armed conflict and continue to combat all forms of racial discrimination;
- 21. We express our deep concern that socio-economic development is being hampered by widespread internal conflicts which are due, among other causes, to gross violations of human rights, including those arising from racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and from lack of democratic, inclusive and participatory governance;
- 22. We express our concern that in some States political and legal structures or institutions, some of which were inherited and persist today, do not correspond to the multi-ethnic, pluricultural and plurilingual characteristics of the population and, in many cases, constitute an important factor of discrimination in the exclusion of indigenous peoples;
- 23. We fully recognize the rights of indigenous peoples consistent with the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, and therefore stress the need to adopt the appropriate constitutional, administrative, legislative and judicial measures, including those derived from applicable international instruments:
- 24. We declare that the use of the term "indigenous peoples" in the Declaration and Programme of Action of the

- World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance is in the context of, and without prejudice to the outcome of, ongoing international negotiations on texts that specifically deal with this issue, and cannot be construed as having any implications as to rights under international law;
- 25. We express our profound repudiation of the racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance that persist in some States in the functioning of the penal systems and in the application of the law, as well as in the actions and attitudes of institutions and individuals responsible for law enforcement, especially where this has contributed to certain groups being over-represented among persons under detention or imprisoned;
- 26. We affirm the need to put an end to impunity for violations of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of individuals and groups of individuals who are victimized by racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance:
- 27. We express our concern that, beyond the fact that racism is gaining ground, contemporary forms and manifestations of racism and xenophobia are striving to regain political, moral and even legal recognition in many ways, including through the platforms of some political parties and organisations and the dissemination through modern communication technologies of ideas based on the notion of racial superiority;
- 28. We recall that persecution against any identifiable group, collectivity or community on racial, national, ethnic or other grounds that are universally recognized as impermissible under international law, as well as the crime of apartheid, constitute serious violations of human rights and, in some cases, qualify as crimes against humanity;
- 29. We strongly condemn the fact that slavery and slavery-like practices still exist today in parts of the world and urge States to take immediate measures as a matter of priority to end such practices, which constitute flagrant violations of human rights;
- 30. We affirm the urgent need to prevent, combat and eliminate all forms of trafficking in persons, in particular women and children, and recognize that victims of trafficking are particularly exposed to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

Victims Of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia And Related Intolerance

- 31. We also express our deep concern whenever indicators in the fields of, inter alia, education, employment, health, housing, infant mortality and life expectancy for many peoples show a situation of disadvantage, particularly where the contributing factors include racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 32. We recognise the value and diversity of the cultural heritage of Africans and people of African descent and affirm the importance and necessity of ensuring their full integration into social, economic and political life with a view to facilitating their full participation at all levels in the decisionmaking process;
- 33. We consider it essential for all countries in the region of the Americas and all other areas of the African Diaspora to recognise the existence of their population of African descent and the cultural, economic, political and scientific contributions made by that population, and recognise the persistence of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance that specifically affect them, and recognise that, in many countries, their long-standing inequality in terms of access to, inter alia, education, health care and housing has been a profound cause of the socio-economic disparities that affect them:
- 34. We recognise that people of African descent have for centuries been victims of racism, racial discrimination and enslavement and of the denial by history of many of their rights, and assert that they should be treated with fairness and respect for their dignity and should not suffer discrimination of any kind. Recognition should therefore be given to their rights to culture and their own identity; to participate freely and in equal conditions in political, social, economic and cultural life; to development in the context of their own aspirations and customs; to keep, maintain and foster their own forms of organisation, their mode of life, culture, traditions and religious expressions; to maintain and use their own languages; to the protection of their traditional knowledge and their cultural and artistic heritage; to the use, enjoyment and conservation of the natural renewable resources of their habitat and to active participation in the design, implementation and development of educational systems and programmes, including those of a specific and characteristic nature; and where applicable to their ancestrally inhabited land-
- 35. We recognise that in many parts of the world, Africans and people of African descent face barriers as a result of social biases and discrimination prevailing in public and private institutions and express our commitment to work towards the eradication of all forms of racism, racial discrimination,

xenophobia and related intolerance faced by Africans and people of African descent;

- 36. We recognise that in many parts of the world, Asians and people of Asian descent face barriers as a result of social biases and discrimination prevailing in public and private institutions and express our commitment to work towards the eradication of all forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance faced by Asians and people of Asian descent;
- 37. We note with appreciation that despite the racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance faced by them for centuries, people of Asian descent have contributed and continue to contribute significantly to the economic, social, political, scientific and cultural life of the countries where they live:
- 38. We call upon all States to review and, where necessary, revise any immigration policies which are inconsistent with international human rights instruments, with a view to eliminating all discriminatory policies and practices against migrants, including Asians and people of Asian descent;
- 39. We recognise that the indigenous peoples have been victims of discrimination for centuries and affirm that they are free and equal in dignity and rights and should not suffer any discrimination, particularly on the basis of their indigenous origin and identity, and we stress the continuing need for action to overcome the persistent racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance that affect them:
- 40. We recognise the value and diversity of the cultures and the heritage of indigenous peoples, whose singular contribution to the development and cultural pluralism of society and full participation in all aspects of society, in particular on issues that are of concern to them, are fundamental for political and social stability, and for the development of the States in which they live;
- 41. We reiterate our conviction that the full realization by indigenous peoples of their human rights and fundamental freedoms is indispensable for eliminating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. We firmly reiterate our determination to promote their full and equal enjoyment of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights, as well as the benefits of sustainable development, while fully respecting their distinctive characteristics and their own initiatives;
- 42. We emphasise that, in order for indigenous peoples freely to express their own identity and exercise their rights, they should be free from all forms of discrimination, which necessarily entails respect for their human rights and fundamental freedoms. Efforts are now being made to secure universal recognition for those rights in the negotiations on the draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples, including the following: to call themselves by their own names to participate freely and on an equal footing in their country's political, economic, social and cultural development; to maintain their own forms of organization, lifestyles, cultures and traditions; to maintain and use their own languages; to maintain their own economic structures in the areas where they live; to take part in the development of their educational systems and programmes; to manage their lands and natural resources, including hunting and fishing rights; and to have access to justice on a basis of equality;
- 43. We also recognise the special relationship that indigenous peoples have with the land as the basis for their spiritual, physical and cultural existence and encourage States, wherever possible, to ensure that indigenous peoples are able to retain ownership of their lands and of those natural resources to which they are entitled under domestic law:
- 44. We welcome the decision to create the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues within the United Nations system, giving concrete expression to major objectives of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People and the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action;
- 45. We welcome the appointment by the United Nations of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people and express our commitment to cooperate with the Special Rapporteur;
- 46. We recognise the positive economic, social and cultural contributions made by migrants to both countries of origin and destination;
- 47. We reaffirm the sovereign right of each State to formulate and apply its own legal framework and policies for migration, and further affirm that these policies should be consistent with applicable human rights instruments, norms and standards, and designed to ensure that they are free of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 48. We note with concern and strongly condemn the manifestations and acts of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance against migrants and the stereotypes often applied to them; reaffirm the responsibility of States to protect the human rights of migrants under their jurisdiction and reaffirm the responsibility of States to safeguard and protect migrants against illegal or violent acts, in particular acts of racial discrimination and crimes

perpetrated with racist or xenophobic motivation by individuals or groups; and stress the need for their fair, just and equitable treatment in society and in the workplace;

- 49. We highlight the importance of creating conditions conducive to greater harmony, tolerance and respect between migrants and the rest of society in the countries in which they find themselves, in order to eliminate manifestations of racism and xenophobia against migrants. We underline that family reunification has a positive effect on integration and emphasise the need for States to facilitate family reunion;
- 50. We are mindful of the situation of vulnerability in which migrants frequently find themselves, owing, inter alia, to their departure from their countries of origin and to the difficulties they encounter because of differences in language, customs and culture, as well as economic and social difficulties and obstacles to the return of migrants who are undocumented or in an irregular situation;
- 51. We reaffirm the necessity of eliminating racial discrimination against migrants, including migrant workers, in relation to issues such as employment, social services, including education and health, as well as access to justice, and that their treatment must be in accordance with international human rights instruments, free from racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 52. We note with concern that, among other factors, racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance contribute to forced displacement and the movement of people from their countries of origin as refugees and asylumseekers;
- 53. We recognise with concern that, despite efforts to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, instances of various forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance against refugees, asylum-seekers and internally displaced persons, among others, continue;
- 54. We underline the urgency of addressing the root causes of displacement and of finding durable solutions for refugees and displaced persons, in particular voluntary return in safety and dignity to the countries of origin, as well as resettlement in third countries and local integration, when and where appropriate and feasible;
- 55. We affirm our commitment to respect and implement humanitarian obligations relating to the protection of refugees, asylum-seekers, returnees and internally displaced persons, and note in this regard the importance of international solidarity, burden-sharing and international cooperation to share responsibility for the protection of refugees, reaffirming that the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol remain the foundation of the international refugee regime and recognizing the importance of their full application by States parties;
- 56. We recognise the presence in many countries of a Mestizo population of mixed ethnic and racial origins and its valuable contribution to the promotion of tolerance and respect in these societies, and we condemn discrimination against them, especially because such discrimination may be denied owing to its subtle nature;
- 57. We are conscious of the fact that the history of humanity is replete with major atrocities as a result of gross viola tions of human rights and believe that lessons can be learned through remembering history to avert future tragedies:
- 58. We recall that the Holocaust must never be forgotten;
- 59. We recognise with deep concern religious intolerance against certain religious communities, as well as the emergence of hostile acts and violence against such communities because of their religious beliefs and their racial or ethnic origin in various parts of the world, which in particular limit their right to freely practise their belief;
- 60. We also recognise with deep concern the existence in various parts of the world of religious intolerance against religious communities and their members, in particular limitation of their right to practise their beliefs freely, as well as the emergence of increased negative stereotyping, hostile acts and violence against such communities because of their religious beliefs and their ethnic or so-called racial origin:
- 61. We recognise with deep concern the increase in anti-Semitism and Islamophobia in various parts of the world, as well as the emergence of racial and violent movements based on racism and discriminatory ideas against Jewish, Muslim and Arab communities; 62. We are conscious that humanity's history is replete with terrible wrongs inflicted through lack of respect for the equality of human beings and note with alarm the increase of such practices in various parts of the world, and we urge people, particularly in conflict situations, to desist from racist incitement, derogatory language and negative stereotyping;
- 63. We are concerned about the plight of the Palestinian people under foreign occupation. We recognize the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State and we recognise the right to security for all States in the region, including Israel, and call upon all States to support the peace process and bring it to an early conclusion;

- 64. We call for a just, comprehensive and lasting peace in the region in which all peoples shall co-exist and enjoy equality, justice and internationally recognised human rights, and security:
- 65. We recognise the right of refugees to return voluntarily to their homes and properties in dignity and safety, and urge all States to facilitate such return:
- 66. We affirm that the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of minorities, where they exist, must be protected and that persons belonging to such minorities should be treated equally and enjoy their human rights and fundamental freedoms without discrimination of any kind;
- 67. We recognise that members of certain groups with a distinct cultural identity face barriers arising from a complex interplay of ethnic, religious and other factors, as well as their traditions and customs, and call upon States to ensure that measures, policies and programmes aimed at eradicating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance address the barriers that this interplay of factors creates;

 68. We recognise with deep concern the ongoing
- 68. We recognise with deep concern the ongoing manifestations of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, including violence, against Roma / Gypsies / Sinti / Travellers and recognise the need to develop effective policies and implementation mechanisms for their full achievement of equality;
- 69. We are convinced that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance reveal themselves in a differentiated manner for women and girls, and can be among the factors leading to a deterioration in their living conditions, poverty, violence, multiple forms of discrimination, and the limitation or denial of their human rights. We recognise the need to integrate a gender perspective into relevant policies, strategies and programmes of action against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in order to address multiple forms of discrimination;
- 70. We recognise the need to develop a more systematic and consistent approach to evaluating and monitoring racial discrimination against women, as well as the disadvantages, obstacles and difficulties women face in the full exercise and enjoyment of their civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights because of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 71. We deplore attempts to oblige women belonging to certain faiths and religious minorities to forego their cultural and religious identity, or to restrict their legitimate expression, or to discriminate against them with regard to opportunities for education and employment;
- 72. We note with concern the large number of children and young people, particularly girls, among the victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and stress the need to incorporate special measures, in accordance with the principle of the best interests of the child and respect for his or her views, in programmes to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in order to give priority attention to the rights and the situation of children and young people who are victims of these practices;
- 73. We recognise that a child belonging to an ethnic, religious or linguistic minority or who is indigenous shall not be denied the right, individually or in community with other members of his or her group, to enjoy his or her own culture, to profess and practise his or her own religion, or to use his or her own language;
- 74. We recognise that child labour is linked to poverty, lack of development and related socio-economic conditions and could in some cases perpetuate poverty and racial discrimination by disproportionately denying children from affected groups the opportunity to acquire the human capabilities needed in productive life and to benefit from economic growth;
- 75. We note with deep concern the fact that, in many countries, people infected or affected by HIV / AIDS, as well as those who are presumed to be infected, belong to groups vulnerable to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, which has a negative impact and impedes their access to health care and medication;

Measures Of Prevention, Education And Protection Aimed At The Eradication Of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia And Related Intolerance At The National, Regional And International Levels

- 76. We recognise that inequitable political, economic, cultural and social conditions can breed and foster racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, which in turn exacerbate the inequity. We believe that genuine equality of opportunity for all, in all spheres, including that for development, is fundamental for the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance:
- 77. We affirm that universal adherence to and full implementation of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination are of

paramount importance for promoting equality and nondiscrimination in the world:

- 78. We affirm the solemn commitment of all States to promote universal respect for, and observance and protection of, all human rights, economic, social, cultural, civil and political, including the right to development, as a fundamental factor in the prevention and elimination of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance:
- 79. We firmly believe that the obstacles to overcoming racial discrimination and achieving racial equality mainly lie in the lack of political will, weak legislation and lack of implementation strategies and concrete action by States, as well as the prevalence of racist attitudes and negative stereotyping;
- 80. We firmly believe that education, development and the faithful implementation of all international human rights norms and obligations, including enactment of laws and political, social and economic policies, are crucial to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance:
- 81. We recognise that democracy, transparent, responsible, accountable and participatory governance responsive to the needs and aspirations of the people, and respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms and the rule of law are essential for the effective prevention and elimination of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. We reaffirm that any form of impunity for crimes motivated by racist and xenophobic attitudes plays a role in weakening the rule of law and democracy and tends to encourage the recurrence of such acts;
- 82. We affirm that the Dialogue among Civilisations constitutes a process to attain identification and promotion of common grounds among civilizations, recognition and promotion of the inherent dignity and of the equal rights of all human beings and respect for fundamental principles of justice; in this way, it can dispel notions of cultural superiority based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and facilitate the building of a reconciled world for the human family;
- 83. We underline the key role that political leaders and political parties can and ought to play in combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and encourage political parties to take concrete steps to promote solidarity, tolerance and respect;
- 84. We condemn the persistence and resurgence of neo-Nazism, neo-Fascism and violent nationalist ideologies based on racial or national prejudice, and state that these phenomena can never be justified in any instance or in any circumstances:
- 85. We condemn political platforms and organisations based on racism, xenophobia or doctrines of racial superiority and related discrimination, as well as legislation and practices based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and transparent and accountable governance. We reaffirm that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance condoned by governmental policies violate human rights and may endanger friendly relations among peoples, cooperation among nations and international peace and security;
- 86. We recall that the dissemination of all ideas based upon racial superiority or hatred shall be declared an offence punishable by law with due regard to the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the rights expressly set forth in article 5 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination:
- 87. We note that article 4, paragraph b, of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination places an obligation upon States to be vigilant and to proceed against organizations that disseminate ideas based on racial superiority or hatred, acts of violence or incitement to such acts. These organisations shall be condemned and discouraged;
- 88. We recognise that the media should represent the diversity of a multicultural society and play a role in fighting racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. In this regard we draw attention to the power of advertising;
- 89. We note with regret that certain media, by promoting false images and negative stereotypes of vulnerable individuals or groups of individuals, particularly of migrants and refugees, have contributed to the spread of xenophobic and racist sentiments among the public and in some cases have encouraged violence by racist individuals and groups;
- 90. We recognise the positive contribution that the exercise of the right to freedom of expression, particularly by the media and new technologies, including the Internet, and full respect for the freedom to seek, receive and impart information, can make to the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; we reiterate the need to respect the editorial independence and autonomy of the media in this regard;

- 91. We express deep concern about the use of new information technologies, such as the Internet, for purposes contrary to respect for human values, equality, nondiscrimination, respect for others and tolerance, including to propagate racism, racial hatred, xenophobia, racial discrimination and related intolerance, and that, in particular, children and youth having access to this material could be negatively influenced by it:
- 92. We also recognise the need to promote the use of new information and communication technologies, including the Internet, to contribute to the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; new technologies can assist the promotion of tolerance and respect for human dignity, and the principles of equality and non-discrimination:
- 93. We affirm that all States should recognise the importance of community media that give a voice to victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 94. We reaffirm that the stigmatisation of people of different origins by acts or omissions of public authorities, institutions, the media, political parties or national or local organisations is not only an act of racial discrimination but can also incite the recurrence of such acts, thereby resulting in the creation of a vicious circle which reinforces racist attitudes and prejudices, and which must be condemned;
- 95. We recognise that education at all levels and all ages, including within the family, in particular human rights education, is a key to changing attitudes and behaviour based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and to promoting tolerance and respect for diversity in societies; we further affirm that such education is a determining factor in the promotion, dissemination and protection of the democratic values of justice and equity, which are essential to prevent and combat the spread of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 96. We recognise that quality education, the elimination of illiteracy and access to free primary education for all can contribute to more inclusive societies, equity, stable and harmonious relations and friendship among nations, peoples, groups and individuals, and a culture of peace, fostering mutual understanding, solidarity, social justice and respect for all human rights for all;
- 97. We underline the links between the right to education and the struggle against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and the essential role of education, including human rights education and education which is sensitive to and respects cultural diversity, especially amongst children and young people, in the prevention and eradication of all forms of intolerance and discrimination;

Provision Of Effective Remedies, Recourse, Redress, And Compensatory And Other Measures At The National, Regional and International Levels

- 98. We emphasise the importance and necessity of teaching about the facts and truth of the history of humankind from antiquity to the recent past, as well as of teaching about the facts and truth of the history, causes, nature and consequences of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, with a view to achieving a comprehensive and objective cognisance of the tragedies of the past;
- 99. We acknowledge and profoundly regret the massive human suffering and the tragic plight of millions of men, women and children caused by slavery, the slave trade, the transatlantic slave trade, apartheid, colonialism and genocide, and call upon States concerned to honour the memory of the victims of past tragedies and affirm that, wherever and whenever these occurred, they must be condemned and their recurrence prevented. We regret that these practices and structures, political, socio-economic and cultural, have led to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance.
- 100. We acknowledge and profoundly regret the untold suffering and evils inflicted on millions of men, women and children as a result of slavery, the slave trade, the transatlantic slave trade, apartheid, genocide and past tragedies. We further note that some States have taken the initiative to apologise and have paid reparation, where appropriate, for grave and massive violations committed;
- 101. With a view to closing those dark chapters in history and as a means of reconciliation and healing, we invite the international community and its members to honour the memory of the victims of these tragedies. We further note that some have taken the initiative of regretting or expressing remorse or presenting apologies, and call on all those who have not yet contributed to restoring the dignity of the victims to find appropriate ways to do so and, to this end, appreciate those countries that have done so;
- 102. We are aware of the moral obligation on the part of all concerned States and call upon these States to take appropriate and effective measures to halt and reverse the lasting consequences of those practices;
- 103. We recognise the consequences of past and contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination,

xenophobia and related intolerance as serious challenges to global peace and security, human dignity and the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms of many people in the world, in particular Africans, people of African descent, people of Asian descent and indigenous peoples;

104. We also strongly reaffirm as a pressing requirement of justice that victims of human rights violations resulting from racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, especially in the light of their vulnerable situation socially, culturally and economically, should be assured of having access to justice, including legal assistance where appropriate, and effective and appropriate protection and remedies, including the right to seek just and adequate reparation or satisfaction for any damage suffered as a result of such discrimination, as enshrined in numerous international and regional human rights instruments, in particular the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination;

105. Guided by the principles set out in the Millennium Declaration and the recognition that we have a collective responsibility to uphold the principles of human dignity, equality and equity and to ensure that globalisation becomes a positive force for all the world's people, the international community commits itself to working for the beneficial integration of the developing countries into the global economy, resisting their marginalisation, determined to achieve accelerated economic growth and sustainable development and to eradicate poverty, inequality and deprivation;

106. We emphasise that remembering the crimes or wrongs of the past, wherever and whenever they occurred, unequivocally condemning its racist tragedies and telling the truth about history are essential elements for international reconciliation and the creation of societies based on justice, equality and solidarity;

Strategies To Achieve Full And Effective Equality, Including International Cooperation And Enhancement Of The United Nations And Other International Mechanisms In Combating Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia And Related Intolerance

107. We underscore the need to design, promote and implement at the national, regional and international levels strategies, programmes and policies, and adequate legislation, which may include special and positive measures, for furthering equal social development and the realization of the civil and political, economic, social and cultural rights of all victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, including through more effective access to the political, judicial and administrative institutions, as well as the need to promote effective access to justice, as well as to guarantee that the benefits of development, science and technology contribute effectively to the improvement of the quality of life for all, without discrimination:

108. We recognise the necessity for special measures or positive actions for the victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in order to promote their full integration into society. Those measures for effective action, including social measures, should aim at correcting the conditions that impair the enjoyment of rights and the introduction of special measures to encourage equal participation of all racial and cultural, linguistic and religious groups in all sectors of society and to bring all onto an equal footing. Those measures should include measures to achieve appropriate representation in educational institutions, housing, political parties, parliaments and employment, especially in the judiciary, police, army and other civil services, which in some cases might involve electoral reforms, land reforms and campaigns for equal participation;

- 109. We recall the importance of enhancing international cooperation to promote
- (a) the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- (b) the effective implementation by States of international treaties and instruments that forbid these practices;
- (c) the goals of the Charter of the United Nations in this regard;
- (d) the achievement of the goals established by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, the World Conference on Human Rights held in Vienna in 1993, the International Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo in 1994, the World Summit for Social Development held in Copenhagen in 1995, the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) held in Istanbul in 1996; and the World Food Summit held in Rome in 1996, making sure that such goals encompass with equity all the victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 110. We recognize the importance of cooperation among States, relevant international and regional organizations, the international financial institutions, non-governmental organisations and individuals in the worldwide fight against

racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and that success in this fight requires specifically taking into consideration the grievances, opinions and demands of the victims of such discrimination;

- 111. We reiterate that the international response and policy, including financial assistance, towards refugees and displaced persons in different parts of the world should not be based on discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin of the refugees and displaced persons concerned and, in this context, we urge the international community to provide adequate assistance on an equitable basis to host countries, in particular to host developing countries and countries in transition;
- 112. We recognise the importance of independent national human rights institutions conforming to the Principles relating to the status of national institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights, annexed to General Assembly resolution 48/134 of 20 December 1993. and other relevant specialized institutions created by law for the promotion and protection of human rights, including ombudsman institutions, in the struggle against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, as well as for the promotion of democratic values and the rule of law. We encourage States, as appropriate, to establish such institutions and call upon the authorities and society in general in those countries where they are performing their tasks of promotion, protection and prevention to cooperate to the maximum extent possible with these institutions, while respecting their independence;
- 113. We recognise the important role relevant regional bodies, including regional associations of national human rights institutions, can play in combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and the key role they can play in monitoring and raising awareness about intolerance and discrimination at the regional level, and reaffirm support for such bodies where they exist and encourage their establishment;
- 114. We recognise the paramount role of parliaments in the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in adopting appropriate legislation, overseeing its implementation and allocating the requisite financial resources:
- 115. We stress the importance of involving social partners and other non-governmental organizations in the design and implementation of training and development programmes;
- 116. We recognise the fundamental role of civil society in the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in particular in assisting States to develop regulations and strategies, in taking measures and action against such forms of discrimination and through follow-up implementation;
- 117. We also recognise that promoting greater respect and trust among different groups within society must be a shared but differentiated responsibility of government institutions, political leaders, grass-roots organisations and citizens. We underline that civil society plays an important role in promoting the public interest, especially in combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 118. We welcome the catalytic role that non-governmental organisations play in promoting human rights education and raising awareness about racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. They can also play an important role in raising awareness of such issues in the relevant bodies of the United Nations, based upon their national, regional or international experiences. Bearing in mind the difficulties they face, we commit ourselves to creating an atmosphere conducive to the effective functioning of human rights non-governmental organisations, in particular antiracist non-governmental organisations, in combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. We recognise the precarious situation of human rights nongovernmental organisations, including anti-racist non-governmental organisations, in many parts of the world and

express our commitment to adhere to our international obligations and to lift any unlawful barriers to their effective functioning;

- 119. We encourage the full participation of non-governmental organisations in the follow-up to the World Conference;
- 120. We recognise that international and national exchange and dialogue, and the development of a global network among youth, are important and fundamental elements in building intercultural understanding and respect, and will contribute to the elimination of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 121. We underline the usefulness of involving youth in the development of forward-looking national, regional and international strategies and in policies to fight racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 122. We affirm that our global drive for the total elimination of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance is undertaken, and that the recommendations contained in the Programme of Action are

made, in a spirit of solidarity and international cooperation and are inspired by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and other relevant international instruments. These recommendations are made with due consideration for the past, the present and the future, and with a constructive and forward-looking approach. We recognize that the formulation and implementation of these strategies, policies, programmes and actions, which should be carried out efficiently and promptly, are the responsibility of all States, with the full involvement of civil society at the national, regional and international levels.

Programme Of Action

Recognising the urgent need to translate the objectives of the Declaration into a practical and workable Programme of Action, the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance:

I. Sources, Causes, Forms And Contemporary Manifestations Of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia And Related Intolerance

- 1. Urges States in their national efforts, and in cooperation with other States, regional and international organisations and financial institutions, to promote the use of public and private investment in consultation with the affected communities in order to eradicate poverty, particularly in those areas in which victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance predominantly live;
- Urges States to take all necessary and appropriate measures to end enslavement and contemporary forms of slavery-like practices, to initiate constructive dialogue among States and implement measures with a view to correcting the problems and the damage resulting therefrom;

II. Victims Of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia And Related Intolerance

Victims: General

3. Urges States to work nationally and in cooperation with other States and relevant regional and international organizations and programmes to strengthen national mechanisms to promote and protect the human rights of victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance who are infected, or presumably infected, with pandemic diseases such as HIV/AIDS and to take concrete measures, including preventive action, appropriate access to medication and treatment, programmes of education, training and mass media dissemination, to eliminate violence, stigmatisation, discrimination, unemployment and other negative consequences arising from these pandemics;

Africans And People Of African Descent

- 4. Urges States to facilitate the participation of people of African descent in all political, economic, social and cultural aspects of society and in the advancement and economic development of their countries, and to promote a greater knowledge of and respect for their heritage and culture;
- 5. Requests States, supported by international cooperation as appropriate, to consider positively concentrating additional investments in health-care systems, education, public health, electricity, drinking water and environmental control, as well as other affirmative or positive action initiatives, in communities of primarily African descent;
- 6. Calls upon the United Nations, international financial and development institutions and other appropriate international mechanisms to develop capacity-building programmes intended for Africans and people of African descent in the Americas and around the world:
- 7. Requests the Commission on Human Rights to consider establishing a working group or other mechanism of the United Nations to study the problems of racial discrimination faced by people of African descent living in the African Diaspora and make proposals for the elimination of racial discrimination against people of African descent;
- 8. Urges financial and development institutions and the operational programmes and specialized agencies of the United Nations, in accordance with their regular budgets and the procedures of their governing bodies:
- (a) To assign particular priority, and allocate sufficient funding, within their areas of competence and budgets, to improving the situation of Africans and people of African descent, while devoting special attention to the needs of these populations in developing countries, inter alia through the preparation of specific programmes of action;
- (b) To carry out special projects, through appropriate channels and in collaboration with Africans and people of African descent, to support their initiatives at the community level and to facilitate the exchange of information and technical know-how between these populations and experts in these areas:
- (c) To develop programmes intended for people of African descent allocating additional investments to health systems, education, housing, electricity, drinking water and environmental control measures and promoting equal

opportunities in employment, as well as other affirmative or positive action initiatives:

- 9. Requests States to increase public actions and policies in favour of women and young males of African descent, given that racism affects them more deeply, placing them in a more marginalised and disadvantaged situation;
- 10. Urges States to ensure access to education and promote access to new technologies that would offer Africans and people of African descent, in particular women and children, adequate resources for education, technological development and long-distance learning in local communities, and further urges States to promote the full and accurate inclusion of the history and contribution of Africans and people of African descent in the education curriculum:
- 11. Encourages States to identify factors which prevent equal access to, and the equitable presence of, people of African descent at all levels of the public sector, including the public service, and in particular the administration of justice, and to take appropriate measures to remove the obstacles identified and also to encourage the private sector to promote equal access to, and the equitable presence of, people of African descent at all levels within their organisations:
- 12. Calls upon States to take specific steps to ensure full and effective access to the justice system for all individuals, particularly those of African descent;
- 13. Urges States, in accordance with international human rights standards and their respective domestic legal framework, to resolve problems of ownership of ancestral lands inhabited for generations by people of African descent and to promote the productive utilization of land and the comprehensive development of these communities, respecting their culture and their specific forms of decision-making;
- 14. Urges States to recognise the particularly severe problems of religious prejudice and intolerance that many people of African descent experience and to implement policies and measures that are designed to prevent and eliminate all such discrimination on the basis of religion and belief, which, when combined with certain other forms of discrimination, constitutes a form of multiple discrimination;

Indigenous Peoples

15. Urges States:

- (a) To adopt or continue to apply, in concert with them, constitutional, administrative, legislative, judicial and all necessary measures to promote, protect and ensure the enjoyment by indigenous peoples of their rights, as well as to guarantee them the exercise of their human rights and fundamental freedoms on the basis of equality, non-discrimination and full and free participation in all areas of society, in particular in matters affecting or concerning their interests:
- (b) To promote better knowledge of and respect for indigenous cultures and heritage; and welcomes measures already taken by States in these respects:
- 16. Urges States to work with indigenous peoples to stimulate their access to economic activities and increase their level of employment, where appropriate, through the establishment, acquisition or expansion by indigenous peoples of enterprises, and the implementation of measures such as training, the provision of technical assistance and credit facilities:
- 17. Urges States to work with indigenous peoples to establish and implement programmes that provide access to training and services that could benefit the development of their communities:
- 18. Requests States to adopt public policies and give impetus to programmes on behalf of and in concert with indigenous women and girls, with a view to promoting their civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights; to putting an end to their situation of disadvantage for reasons of gender and ethnicity; to dealing with urgent problems affecting them in regard to education, their physical and mental health, economic life and in the matter of violence against them, including domestic violence; and to eliminating the situation of aggravated discrimination suffered by indigenous women and girls on multiple grounds of racism and gender discrimination;
- 19. Recommends that States examine, in conformity with relevant international human rights instruments, norms and standards, their Constitutions, laws, legal systems and policies in order to identify and eradicate racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance towards indigenous peoples and individuals, whether implicit, explicit or inherent;
- 20. Calls upon concerned States to honour and respect their treaties and agreements with indigenous peoples and to accord them due recognition and observance;
- 21. Calls upon States to give full and appropriate consideration to the recommendations produced by indigenous peoples in their own forums on the World Conference:
- 22. Requests States:
- (a) To develop and, where they already exist, support institutional mechanisms to promote the accomplishment of

the objectives and measures relating to indigenous peoples agreed in this Programme of Action;

- (b) To promote, in concert with indigenous organisations, local authorities and non-governmental organizations, actions aimed at overcoming racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance against indigenous peoples and to make regular assessments of the progress achieved in this regard:
- (c) To promote understanding among society at large of the importance of special measures to overcome disadvantages faced by indigenous peoples;
- (d) To consult indigenous representatives in the process of decision-making concerning policies and measures that directly affect them:
- 23. Ćalls upon States to recognize the particular challenges faced by indigenous peoples and individuals living in urban environments and urges States to implement effective strategies to combat the racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance they encounter, paying particular attention to opportunities for their continued practice of their traditional, cultural, linguistic and spiritual ways of life:

Migrants

- 24. Requests all States to combat manifestations of a generalised rejection of migrants and actively to discourage all racist demonstrations and acts that generate xenophobic behaviour and negative sentiments towards, or rejection of, migrants:
- 25. Invites international and national non-governmental organisations to include monitoring and protection of the human rights of migrants in their programmes and activities and to sensitise Governments and increase public awareness in all States about the need to prevent racist acts and manifestations of discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance against migrants:
- 26. Requests States to promote and protect fully and effectively the human rights and fundamental freedoms of all migrants, in conformity with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and their obligations under international human rights instruments, regardless of the migrants' immigration status;
- 27. Encourages States to promote education on the human rights of migrants and to engage in information campaigns to ensure that the public receives accurate information regarding migrants and migration issues, including the positive contribution of migrants to the host society and the vulnerability of migrants, particularly those who are in an irregular situation:
- 28. Calls upon States to facilitate family reunification in an expeditious and effective manner which has a positive effect on integration of migrants, with due regard for the desire of many family members to have an independent status;
- 29. Urges States to take concrete measures that would eliminate racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in the workplace against all workers, including migrants, and ensure the full equality of all before the law, including labour law, and further urges States to eliminate barriers, where appropriate, to: participating in vocational training, collective bargaining, employment, contracts and trade union activity; accessing judicial and administrative tribunals dealing with grievances; seeking employment in different parts of their country of residence; and working in safe and healthy conditions;

30. Urges States:

- (a) To develop and implement policies and action plans, and to reinforce and implement preventive measures, in order to foster greater harmony and tolerance between migrants and host societies, with the aim of eliminating manifestations of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, including acts of violence, perpetrated in many societies by individuals or groups;
- (b) To review and revise, where necessary, their immigration laws, policies and practices so that they are free of racial discrimination and compatible with States' obligations under international human rights instruments;
- (c) To implement specific measures involving the host community and migrants in order to encourage respect for cultural diversity, to promote the fair treatment of migrants and to develop programmes, where appropriate, that facilitate their integration into social, cultural, political and economic life;
- (d) To ensure that migrants, regardless of their immigration status, detained by public authorities are treated with humanity and in a fair manner, and receive effective legal protection and, where appropriate, the assistance of a competent interpreter in accordance with the relevant norms of international law and human rights standards, particularly during interrogation;
- (e) To ensure that the police and immigration authorities treat migrants in a dignified and non-discriminatory manner, in accordance with international standards, through, inter alia, organising specialised training courses for

administrators, police officers, immigration officials and other interested groups;

- (f) To consider the question of promoting the recognition of the educational, professional and technical credentials of migrants, with a view to maximising their contribution to their new States of residence;
- (g) To take all possible measures to promote the full enjoyment by all migrants of all human rights, including those related to fair wages and equal remuneration for work of equal value without distinction of any kind, and to the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond their control, social security, including social insurance, access to education, health care, social services and respect for their cultural identity:
- (h) To consider adopting and implementing immigration policies and programmes that would enable immigrants, in particular women and children who are victims of spousal or domestic violence, to free themselves from abusive relationships;
- 31. Urges States, in the light of the increased proportion of women migrants, to place special focus on gender issues, including gender discrimination, particularly when the multiple barriers faced by migrant women intersect; detailed research should be undertaken not only in respect of human rights violations perpetrated against women migrants, but also on the contribution they make to the economies of their countries of origin and their host countries, and the findings should be included in reports to treaty bodies:
- 32. Urges States to recognise the same economic opportunities and responsibilities to documented long-term migrants as to other members of society;
- 33. Recommends that host countries of migrants consider the provision of adequate social services, in particular in the areas of health, education and adequate housing, as a matter of priority, in cooperation with the United Nations agencies, the regional organizations and international financial bodies; also requests that these agencies provide an adequate response to requests for such services;

Refugees

- 34. Urges States to comply with their obligations under international human rights, refugee and humanitarian law relating to refugees, asylum-seekers and displaced persons, and urges the international community to provide them with protection and assistance in an equitable manner and with due regard to their needs in different parts of the world, in keeping with principles of international solidarity, burdensharing and international cooperation, to share responsibilities;
- 35. Calls upon States to recognise the racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance that refugees may face as they endeavour to engage in the life of the societies of their host countries and encourages States, in accordance with their international obligations and commitments, to develop strategies to address this discrimination and to facilitate the full enjoyment of the human rights of refugees. States parties should ensure that all measures relating to refugees must be in full accordance with the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol:
- 36. Urges States to take effective steps to protect refugee and internally displaced women and girls from violence, to investigate any such violations and to bring those responsible to justice, in collaboration, when appropriate, with the relevant and competent organisations;

Other Victims

- 37. Urges States to take all possible measures to ensure that all persons, without any discrimination, are registered and have access to the necessary documentation reflecting their legal identity to enable them to benefit from available legal procedures, remedies and development opportunities, as well as to reduce the incidence of traffickins:
- 38. Recognizes that victims of trafficking are particularly exposed to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. States shall ensure that all measures taken against trafficking in persons, in particular those that affect the victims of such trafficking, are consistent with internationally recognized principles of non-discrimination, including the prohibition of racial discrimination and the availability of appropriate legal redress;
- 39. Calls upon States to ensure that Roma / Gypsy / Sinti / Traveller children and youth, especially girls, are given equal access to education and that educational curricula at all levels, including complementary programmes on intercultural education, which might, inter alia, include opportunities for them to learn the official languages in the pre-school period and to recruit Roma / Gypsy / Sinti / Traveller teachers and classroom assistants in order for such children and youth to learn their mother tongue, are sensitive and responsive to their needs:
- 40. Encourages States to adopt appropriate and concrete policies and measures, to develop implementation mechanisms,

- where these do not already exist, and to exchange experiences, in cooperation with representatives of the Roma / Gypsies / Sinti / Travellers, in order to eradicate discrimination against them, enable them to achieve equality and ensure their full enjoyment of all their human rights, as recommended in the case of the Roma by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in its general recommendation XXVII, so that their needs are met:
- 41. Recommends that the intergovernmental organisations address, as appropriate, in their projects of cooperation with and assistance to various States, the situation of the Roma / Gypsies / Sinti / Travellers and promote their economic, social and cultural advancement;
- 42. Calls upon States and encourages non-governmental organizations to raise awareness about the racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance experienced by the Roma / Gypsies / Sinti / Travellers, and to promote knowledge and respect for their culture and history;
- 43. Encourages the media to promote equal access to and participation in the media for the Roma / Gypsies / Sinti / Travellers, as well as to protect them from racist, stereotypical and discriminatory media reporting, and calls upon States to facilitate the media's efforts in this regard;
- 44. Invites States to design policies aimed at combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance that are based on reliable statistical data recognizing the concerns identified in consultation with the Roma / Gypsies / Sinti / Travellers themselves reflecting as accurately as possible their status in society. All such information shall be collected in accordance with provisions on human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as data protection regulations and privacy guarantees, and in consultation with the persons concerned;
- 45. Encourages States to address the problems of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance against people of Asian descent and urges States to take all necessary measures to eliminate the barriers that such persons face in participating in economic, social, cultural and political life;
- 46. Urges States to ensure within their jurisdiction that persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities can exercise fully and effectively all human rights and fundamental freedoms without any discrimination and in full equality before the law, and also urges States and the international community to promote and protect the rights of such persons;
- 47. Urges States to guarantee the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, individually or in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion, and to use their own language, in private and in public, freely and without interference, and to participate effectively in the cultural, social, economic and political life of the country in which they live, in order to protect them from any form of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance that they are or may be subjected to:
- 48. Urges States to recognise the effect that discrimination, marginalisation and social exclusion have had and continue to have on many racial groups living in a numerically based minority situation within a State, and to ensure that persons in such groups can exercise, as individual members of such groups, fully and effectively, all human rights and fundamental freedoms without distinction and in full equality before the law, and to take, where applicable, appropriate measures in respect of employment, housing and education with a view to preventing racial discrimination;
- 49. Urges States to take, where applicable, appropriate measures to prevent racial discrimination against persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities in respect of employment, health care, housing, social services and education, and in this context forms of multiple discrimination should be taken into account;
- 50. Urges States to incorporate a gender perspective in all programmes of action against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and to consider the burden of such discrimination which falls particularly on indigenous women, African women, Asian women, women of African descent, women of Asian descent, women migrants and women from other disadvantaged groups, ensuring their access to the resources of production on an equal footing with men, as a means of promoting their participation in the economic and productive development of their communities;
- 51. Urges States to involve women, especially women victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in decision-making at all levels when working towards the eradication of such discrimination, and to develop concrete measures to incorporate race and gender analysis in the implementation of all aspects of the Programme of Action and national plans of action, particularly in the fields of employment programmes and services and resource allocation;
- 52. Recognizing that poverty shapes economic and social status and establishes obstacles to the effective political

participation of women and men in different ways and to different extents, urges States to undertake gender analyses of all economic and social policies and programmes, especially poverty eradication measures, including those designed and implemented to benefit those individuals or groups of individuals who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

53. Urges States and encourages all sectors of society to empower women and girls who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, so that they can fully exercise their rights in all spheres of public and private life, and to ensure the full, equal and effective participation of women in decision-making at all levels, in particular in the design, implementation and evaluation of policies and measures which affect their lives;

54. Urges States:

- (a) To recognise that sexual violence which has been systematically used as a weapon of war, sometimes with the acquiescence or at the instigation of the State, is a serious violation of international humanitarian law that, in defined circumstances, constitutes a crime against humanity and/or a war crime, and that the intersection of discrimination on grounds of race and gender makes women and girls particularly vulnerable to this type of violence, which is often related to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- (b) To end impunity and prosecute those responsible for crimes against humanity and war crimes, including crimes related to sexual and other genderbased violence against women and girls, as well as to ensure that persons in authority who are responsible for such crimes, including by committing, ordering, soliciting, inducing, aiding in, abetting, assisting or in any other way contributing to their commission or attempted commission, are identified, investigated, prosecuted and punished;
- 55. Requests States, in collaboration where necessary with international organizations, having the best interests of the child as a primary consideration, to provide protection against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance against children, especially those in circumstances of particular vulnerability, and to pay special attention to the situation of such children when designing relevant policies, strategies and programmes;
- 56. Urges States, in accordance with their national law and their obligations under the relevant international instruments, to take all measures to the maximum extent of their available resources to guarantee, without any discrimination, the equal right of all children to the immediate registration of birth, in order to enable them to exercise their human rights and fundamental freedoms. States shall grant women equal rights with men with respect to nationality;
- 57. Urges States and international and regional organizations, and encourages non-governmental organizations and the private sector, to address the situation of persons with disabilities who are also subject to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; also urges States to take necessary measures to ensure their full enjoyment of all human rights and to facilitate their full integration into all fields of life;

III. Measures Of Prevention, Education And Protection Aimed At The Eradication Of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia And Related Intolerance At The National, Regional And International Levels

- 58. Urges States to adopt and implement, at both the national and international levels, effective measures and policies, in addition to existing anti-discrimination national legislation and relevant international instruments and mechanisms, which encourage all citizens and institutions to take a stand against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and to recognise, respect and maximise the benefits of diversity within and among all nations in working together to build a harmonious and productive future by putting into practice and promoting values and principles such as justice, equality and nondiscrimination, democracy, fairness and friendship, tolerance and respect within and between communities and nations, in particular through public information and education programmes to raise awareness and understanding of the benefits of cultural diversity, including programmes where the public authorities work in partnership with international and non-governmental organisations and other sectors of civil
- 59. Urges States to mainstream a gender perspective in the design and development of measures of prevention, education and protection aimed at the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance at all levels, to ensure that they effectively target the distinct situations of women and men;
- 60. Urges States to adopt or strengthen, as appropriate, national programmes for eradicating poverty and reducing social exclusion which take account of the needs and experiences of individuals or groups of individuals who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and

related intolerance, and also urges that they expand their efforts to foster bilateral, regional and international cooperation in implementing those programmes;

- 61. Urges States to work to ensure that their political and legal systems reflect the multicultural diversity within their societies and, where necessary, to improve democratic institutions so that they are more fully participatory and avoid marginalisation, exclusion and discrimination against specific sectors of society:
- 62. Urges States to take all necessary measures to address specifically, through policies and programmes, racism and racially motivated violence against women and girls and to increase cooperation, policy responses and effective implementation of national legislation and of their obligations under relevant international instruments, and other protective and preventive measures aimed at the elimination of all forms of racially motivated discrimination and violence against women and girls;
- 63. Encourages the business sector, in particular the tourist industry and Internet providers, to develop codes of conduct, with a view to preventing trafficking in persons and protecting the victims of such traffic, especially those in prostitution, against gender-based and racial discrimination and promoting their rights, dignity and security;
- 64. Urges States to devise, enforce and strengthen effective measures at the national, regional and international levels to prevent, combat and eliminate all forms of trafficking in women and children, in particular girls, through comprehensive anti-trafficking strategies which include legislative measures, prevention campaigns and information exchange. It also urges States to allocate resources, as appropriate, to provide comprehensive programmes designed to provide assistance to, protection for, healing, reintegration into society and rehabilitation of victims. States shall provide or strengthen training for law enforcement, immigration and other relevant officials who deal with victims of trafficking in this regard;
- 65. Encourages the bodies, agencies and relevant programmes of the United Nations system and States to promote and to make use of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (E/CN.4/1998/53/Add.2), particularly those provisions relating to non-discrimination,

National Level

Legislative, judicial, regulatory, administrative and other measures to prevent and protect against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance

- 66. Urges States to establish and implement without delay national policies and action plans to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, including their gender-based manifestations;
- 67. Urges States to design or reinforce, promote and implement effective legislative and administrative policies, as well as other preventive measures, against the serious situation experienced by certain groups of workers, including migrant workers, who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. Special attention should be given to protecting people engaged in domestic work and trafficked persons from discrimination and violence, as well as to combating prejudice against them;
- 68. Urges States to adopt and implement, or strengthen, national legislation and administrative measures that expressly and specifically counter racism and prohibit racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, whether direct or indirect, in all spheres of public life, in accordance with their obligations under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, ensuring that their reservations are not contrary to the object and purpose of the Convention;
- 69. Urges States to enact and implement, as appropriate, laws against trafficking in persons, especially women and children, and smuggling of migrants, taking into account practices that endanger human lives or lead to various kinds of servitude and exploitation, such as debt bondage, slavery, sexual exploitation or labour exploitation; also encourages States to create, if they do not already exist, mechanisms to combat such practices and to allocate adequate resources to ensure law enforcement and the protection of the rights of victims, and to reinforce bilateral, regional and international cooperation, including with non-governmental organisations that assist victims, to combat this trafficking in persons and smuegling of migrants:
- 70. Urges States to take all necessary constitutional, legislative and administrative measures to foster equality among individuals and groups of individuals who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and to review existing measures with a view to amending or repealing national legislation and administrative that may give rise to such forms of discrimination:
- 71. Urges States, including their law enforcement agencies, to design and fully implement effective policies and programmes to prevent, detect and ensure accountability for misconduct by police officers and other law enforcement

personnel which is motivated by racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and to prosecute perpetrators of such misconduct;

- 72. Urges States to design, implement and enforce effective measures to eliminate the phenomenon popularly known as "racial profiling" and comprising the practice of police and other law enforcement officers relying, to any degree, on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin as the basis for subjecting persons to investigatory activities or for determining whether an individual is engaged in criminal activity:
- 73. Urges States to take measures to prevent genetic research or its applications from being used to promote racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, to protect the privacy of personal genetic information and to prevent such information from being used for discriminatory or racist purposes;
- 74. Urges States and invites non-governmental organisations and the private sector:
- (a) To create and implement policies that promote a highquality and diverse police force free from racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and recruit actively all groups, including minorities, into public employment, including the police force and other agencies within the criminal justice system (such as prosecutors);
- (b) To work to reduce violence, including violence motivated by racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, by:
- 1) Developing educational materials to teach young people the importance of tolerance and respect;
- Addressing bias before it manifests itself in violent criminal activity;
- 3) Establishing working groups consisting of, among others, local community leaders and national and local law enforcement officials, to improve coordination, community involvement, training, education and data collection, with the aim of preventing such violent criminal activity;
- 4) Ensuring that civil rights laws that prohibit violent criminal activity are strongly enforced;
- 5) Enhancing data collection regarding violence motivated by racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance:
- 6) Providing appropriate assistance to victims, and public education to prevent future incidents of violence motivated by racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

Ratification Of And Effective Implementation Of Relevant International And Regional Legal Instruments On Human Rights And Non-Discrimination

- 75. Urges States that have not yet done so to consider ratifying or acceding to the international human rights instruments which combat racism, racial discrimination, senophobia and related intolerance, in particular to accede to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination as a matter of urgency, with a view to universal ratification by the year 2005, and to consider making the declaration envisaged under article 14, to comply with their reporting obligations, and to publish and act upon the concluding observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. It also urges States to withdraw reservations contrary to the object and purpose of that Convention and to consider withdrawing other reservations:
- 76. Urges States to give due consideration to the observations and recommendations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. To that effect, States should consider setting up appropriate national monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to ensure that all appropriate steps are taken to follow up on these observations and recommendations:
- 77. Urges States that have not yet done so to consider becoming parties to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, as well as to consider acceding to the Optional Protocols to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights;
- 78. Urges those States that have not yet done so to consider signing and ratifying or acceding to the following instruments:
- (a) Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide of 1948;
- (b) International Labour Organisation Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97);
- (c) Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others of 1949; (d) Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951,
- (e) International Labour Organisation Discrimination
- (e) International Labour Organisation Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111);
- (f) Convention against Discrimination in Education, adopted on 14 December 1960 by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization;

- (g) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979, with a view to achieving universal ratification within five years, and its Optional Protocol of 1999:
- (h) Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and its two Optional Protocols of 2000, and the International Labour Organization Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138) and Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182):
- (i) International Labour Organisation Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143);
- (j) International Labour Organisation Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169) and the Convention on Biological Diversity of 1992;
- (k) International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families of 1990:
- (l) The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court of 1998 \cdot
- (m) United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime, the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the Convention and the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, supplementing the Convention of 2000; It further urges States parties to these instruments to implement them fully;
- 79. Calls upon States to promote and protect the exercise of the rights set out in the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, proclaimed by the General Assembly in its resolution 36/55 of 25 November 1981, in order to obviate religious discrimination which, when combined with certain other forms of discrimination, constitutes a form of multiple discrimination:
- 80. Urges States to seek full respect for, and compliance with, the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of 1963, especially as it relates to the right of foreign nationals, regardless of their legal and immigration status, to communicate with a consular officer of their own State in the case of arrest or detention:
- 81. Urges all States to prohibit discriminatory treatment based on race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin against foreigners and migrant workers, inter alia, where appropriate, concerning the granting of work visas and work permits, housing, health care and access to justice;
- 82. Underlines the importance of combating impunity, including for crimes with a racist or xenophobic motivation, also at the international level, noting that impunity for violations of human rights and international humanitarian law is a serious obstacle to a fair and equitable justice system and, ultimately, reconciliation and stability; it also fully supports the work of the existing international criminal tribunals and ratification of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, and urges all States to cooperate with these international criminal tribunals:
- 83. Urges States to make every effort to apply fully the relevant provisions of the International Labour Organization Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work of 1998, in order to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

Prosecution Of Perpetrators Of Racist Acts

- 84. Urges States to adopt effective measures to combat criminal acts motivated by racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, to take measures so that such motivations are considered an aggravating factor for the purposes of sentencing, to prevent these crimes from going unpunished and to ensure the rule of law;
- 85. Urges States to undertake investigations to examine possible links between criminal prosecution, police violence and penal sanctions, on the one hand, and racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, on the other, so as to have evidence for taking the necessary steps for the eradication of any such links and discriminatory practices;
- 86. Calls upon States to promote measures to deter the emergence of and to counter neo-fascist, violent nationalist ideologies which promote racial hatred and racial discrimination, as well as racist and xenophobic sentiments, including measures to combat the negative influence of such ideologies especially on young people through formal and non-formal education, the media and sport;
- 87. Urges States parties to adopt legislation implementing the obligations they have assumed to prosecute and punish persons who have committed or ordered to be committed grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and Additional Protocol I thereto and of other serious violations of the laws and customs of war, in particular in relation to the principle of non-discrimination;
- 88. Calls upon States to criminalize all forms of trafficking in persons, in particular women and children, and to condemn and penalize traffickers and intermediaries, while ensuring protection and assistance to the victims of trafficking, with full respect for their human rights;

89. Urges States to carry out comprehensive, exhaustive, timely and impartial investigations of all unlawful acts of racism and racial discrimination, to prosecute criminal offences ex officio, as appropriate, or initiate or facilitate all appropriate actions arising from offences of a racist or xenophobic nature, to ensure that criminal and civil investigations and prosecutions of offences of a racist or xenophobic nature are given high priority and are actively and consistently undertaken, and to ensure the right to equal treatment before the tribunals and all other organs administering justice. In this regard, the World Conference underlines the importance of fostering awareness and providing training to the various agents in the criminal justice system to ensure fair and impartial application of the law. In this respect, it recommends that anti-discrimination monitoring services be established;

Establishment And Reinforcement Of Independent Specialized National Institutions And Mediation

- 90. Urges States, as appropriate, to establish, strengthen, review and reinforce the effectiveness of independent national human rights institutions, particularly on issues of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in conformity with the Principles relating to the status of national institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights, annexed to General Assembly resolution 48/134 of 20 December 1993, and to provide them with adequate financial resources, competence and capacity for investigation, research, education and public awareness activities to combat these phenomena;
- 91. Also urges States:
- (a) To foster cooperation between these institutions and other national institutions;
- (b) To take steps to ensure that those individuals or groups of individuals who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance can participate fully in these institutions:
- (c) To support these institutions and similar bodies, inter alia through the publication and circulation of existing national laws and jurisprudence, and cooperation with institutions in other countries, so that knowledge can be gained of the manifestations, functions and mechanisms of these practices and the strategies designed to prevent, combat and eradicate them:

Policies And Practices

Data Collection And Disaggregation, Research And Study

- 92. Urges States to collect, compile, analyse, disseminate and publish reliable statistical data at the national and local levels and undertake all other related measures which are necessary to assess regularly the situation of individuals and groups of individuals who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- (a) Such statistical data should be disaggregated in accordance with national legislation. Any such information shall, as appropriate, be collected with the explicit consent of the victims, based on their self-identification and in accordance with provisions on human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as data protection regulations and privacy guarantees. This information must not be misused:
- (b) The statistical data and information should be collected with the objective of monitoring the situation of marginalized groups, and the development and evaluation of legislation, policies, practices and other measures aimed at preventing and combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, as well as for the purpose of determining whether any measures have an unintentional disparate impact on victims. To that end, it recommends the development of voluntary, consensual and participatory strategies in the process of collecting, designing and using information;
- (c) The information should take into account economic and social indicators, including, where appropriate, health and health status, infant and maternal mortality, life expectancy, literacy, education, employment, housing, land ownership, mental and physical health care, water, sanitation, energy and communications services, poverty and average disposable income, in order to elaborate social and economic development policies with a view to closing the existing gaps in social and economic conditions;
- 93. Invites States, intergovernmental organizations, nongovernmental organizations, academic institutions and the private sector to improve concepts and methods of data collection and analysis; to promote research, exchange experiences and successful practices and develop promotional activities in this area; and to develop indicators of progress and participation of individuals and groups of individuals in society subject to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance:
- 94. Recognises that policies and programmes aimed at combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance should be based on quantitative and qualitative research, incorporating a gender perspective. Such policies and programmes should take into account priorities identified by individuals and groups of individuals who are

victims of, or subject to, racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance:

- 95. Urges States to establish regular monitoring of acts of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in the public and private sectors, including those committed by law enforcement officials;
- 96. Invites States to promote and conduct studies and adopt an integral, objective and long-term approach to all phases and aspects of migration which will deal effectively with both its causes and manifestations. These studies and approaches should pay special attention to the root causes of migratory flows, such as lack of full enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the effects of economic globalization on migration trends;
- 97. Recommends that further studies be conducted on how racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance may be reflected in laws, policies, institutions and practices and how this may have contributed to the victimization and exclusion of migrants, especially women and children:
- 98. Recommends that States include, where applicable, in their periodic reports to United Nations human rights treaty bodies, in an appropriate form, statistical information relating to individuals, members of groups and communities within their jurisdiction, including statistical data on participation in political life and on their economic, social and cultural situation. All such information shall be collected in accordance with provisions on human rights and fundamental freedoms, such as data protection regulations and privacy guarantees;

Action-Oriented Policies And Action Plans, Including Affirmative Action To Ensure Non-Discrimination, In Particular As Regards Access To Social Services, Employment, Housing, Education, Health Care, Etc.

- 99. Recognises that combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance is a primary responsibility of States. It therefore encourages States to develop or elaborate national action plans to promote diversity, equality, equity, social justice, equality of opportunity and the participation of all. Through, among other things, affirmative or positive actions and strategies, these plans should aim at creating conditions for all to participate effectively in decisionmaking and realize civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights in all spheres of life on the basis of non-discrimination. The World Conference encourages States, in developing and elaborating such action plans, to establish, or reinforce, dialogue with nongovernmental organizations in order to involve them more closely in designing, implementing and evaluating policies and programmes;
- 100. Urges States to establish, on the basis of statistical information, national programmes, including affirmative or positive measures, to promote the access of individuals and groups of individuals who are or may be victims of racial discrimination to basic social services, including primary education, basic health care and adequate housing;
- 101. Urges States to establish programmes to promote the access without discrimination of individuals or groups of individuals who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance to health care, and to promote strong efforts to eliminate disparities, inter alia in the infant and maternal mortality rates, childhood immunizations, HIV / AIDS, heart diseases, cancer and contagious diseases;
- 102. Urges States to promote residential integration of all members of the society at the planning stage of urban development schemes and other human settlements, as well as while renewing neglected areas of public housing, so as to counter social exclusion and marginalization;

Employment

- 103. Urges States to promote and support where appropriate the organization and operation of enterprises owned by persons who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance by promoting equal access to credit and to training programmes;
- 104. Urges States and encourages non-governmental organizations and the private sector:
- (a) To support the creation of workplaces free of discrimination through a multifaceted strategy that includes civil rights enforcement, public education and communication within the workplace, and to promote and protect the rights of workers who are subject to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- (b) To foster the creation, growth and expansion of businesses dedicated to improving economic and educational conditions in underserved and disadvantaged areas, by increasing access to capital through, inter alia, community development banks, recognizing that new businesses can have a positive, dynamic impact on communities in need, and to work with the private sector to create jobs, help retain existing jobs and stimulate industrial and commercial growth in economically distressed areas;

- (c) To improve the prospects of targeted groups facing, inter alia, the greatest obstacles in finding, keeping or regaining work, including skilled employment. Particular attention should be paid to persons subject to multiple discrimination;
- 105. Urges States to give special attention, when devising and implementing legislation and policies designed to enhance the protection of workers' rights, to the serious situation of lack of protection, and in some cases exploitation, as in the case of trafficked persons and smuggled migrants, which makes them more vulnerable to ill-treatment such as confinement in the case of domestic workers and also being employed in dangerous and poorly paid jobs;
- 106. Urges States to avoid the negative effects of discriminatory practices, racism and xenophobia in employment and occupation by promoting the application and observance of international instruments and norms on workers' rights:
- 107. Calls upon States and encourages representative trade unions and the business sector to advance non-discriminatory practices in the workplace and protect the rights of workers, including, in particular, the victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 108. Calls upon States to provide effective access to administrative and legal procedures and other remedial action to victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in the workplace;

Health, Environment

- 109. Urges States, individually and through international cooperation, to enhance measures to fulfil the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, with a view to eliminating disparities in health status, as indicated in standard health indexes, which might result from racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance:
- 110. Urges States and encourages non-governmental organizations and the private sector:
- (a) To provide effective mechanisms for monitoring and eliminating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in the health-care system, such as the development and enforcement of effective anti-discrimination laws:
- (b) To take steps to ensure equal access to comprehensive, quality health care affordable for all, including primary health care for medically underserved people, facilitate the training of a health workforce that is both diverse and motivated to work in underserved communities, and work to increase diversity in the health-care profession by recruiting on merit and potential women and men from all groups, representing the diversity of their societies, for health-care careers and by retaining them in the health professions;
- (c) To work with health-care professionals, communitybased health providers, non-governmental organizations, scientific researchers and private industry as a means of improving the health status of marginalized communities, in particular victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance:
- (d) To work with health professionals, scientific researchers and international and regional health organizations to study the differential impact of medical treatments and health strategies on various communities;
- (e) To adopt and implement policies and programmes to improve HIV / AIDS prevention efforts in high-risk communities and work to expand availability of HIV / AIDS care, treatment and other support services;
- 111. Invites States to consider non-discriminatory measures to provide a safe and healthy environment for individuals and groups of individuals victims of or subject to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and in particular:
- (a) To improve access to public information on health and environment issues;
- (b) To ensure that relevant concerns are taken into account in the public process of decision-making on the environment;
- (c) To share technology and successful practices to improve human health and environment in all areas;
- (d) To take appropriate remedial measures, as possible, to clean, re-use and redevelop contaminated sites and, where appropriate, relocate those affected on a voluntary basis after consultations;

Equal Participation In Political, Economic, Social And Cultural Decision-Making

112. Urges States and encourages the private sector and international financial and development institutions, such as the World Bank and regional development banks, to promote participation of individuals and groups of individuals who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in economic, cultural and social decision-making at all stages, particularly in the development and implementation of poverty alleviation strategies, development projects, and trade and market assistance programmes;

- 113. Urges States to promote, as appropriate, effective and equal access of all members of the community, especially those who are victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, to the decision-making process in society at all levels and in particular at the local level, and also urges States and encourages the private sector to facilitate their effective participation in economic life:
- 114. Urges all multilateral financial and development institutions, in particular the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization and regional development banks, to promote, in accordance with their regular budgets and the procedures of their governing bodies, participation by all members of the international community in decision-making processes at all stages and levels in order to facilitate development projects and, as appropriate, trade and market access programmes;

Role Of Politicians And Political Parties

- 115. Underlines the key role that politicians and political parties can play in combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and encourages political parties to take concrete steps to promote equality, solidarity and non-discrimination in society, inter alia by developing voluntary codes of conduct which include internal disciplinary measures for violations thereof, so their members refrain from public statements and actions that encourage or incite racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance:
- 116. Invites the Inter-Parliamentary Union to encourage debate in, and action by, parliaments on various measures, including laws and policies, to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

Education And Awareness-Raising Measures

- 117. Urges States, where appropriate working with other relevant bodies, to commit financial resources to anti-racism education and to media campaigns promoting the values of acceptance, tolerance, diversity and respect for the cultures of all indigenous peoples living within their national borders. In particular, States should promote an accurate understanding of the histories and cultures of indigenous peoples;
- 118. Urges the United Nations, other appropriate international and regional organizations and States to redress the marginalization of Africa's contribution to world history and civilization by developing and implementing a specific and comprehensive programme of research, education and mass communication to disseminate widely a balanced and objective presentation of Africa's seminal and valuable contribution to humanity:
- 119. Invites States and relevant international organizations and non-governmental organizations to build upon the efforts of the Slave Route Project of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization and its theme of "Breaking the silence" by developing texts and testimony, slavery multi-media centres and/or programmes that will collect, record, organize, exhibit and publish the existing data relevant to the history of slavery and the trans-Atlantic, Mediterranean and Indian Ocean slave trades, paying particular attention to the thoughts and actions of the victims of slavery and the slave trade, in their quest for freedom and justice:
- 120. Salutes the efforts of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization made within the framework of the Slave Route Project and requests that the out come be made available to the international community as soon as possible:

Access To Education Without Discrimination

- 121. Urges States to commit themselves to ensuring access to education, including access to free primary education for all children, both girls and boys, and access for adults to lifelong learning and education, based on respect for human rights, diversity and tolerance, without discrimination of any kind.
- 122. Urges States to ensure equal access to education for all in law and in practice, and to refrain from any legal or any other measures leading to imposed racial segregation in any form in access to schooling;
- 123. Urges States:
- (a) To adopt and implement laws that prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, colour, descent or national or ethnic origin at all levels of education, both formal and non-formal:
- (b) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate obstacles limiting the access of children to education;
- (c) To ensure that all children have access without discrimination to education of good quality;
- (d) To establish and implement standardized methods to measure and track the educational performance of disadvantaged children and young people;
- (e) To commit resources to eliminate, where they exist, inequalities in educational outcomes for children and young people:

- (f) To support efforts to ensure safe school environments, free from violence and harassment motivated by racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia or related intolerance; and
- (g) To consider establishing financial assistance programmes designed to enable all students, regardless of race, colour, descent or ethnic or national origin, to attend institutions of higher education:
- 124. Urges States to adopt, where applicable, appropriate measures to ensure that persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities have access to education without discrimination of any kind and, where possible, have an opportunity to learn their own language in order to protect them from any form of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance that they may be subjected to:

Human Rights Education

125. Requests States to include the struggle against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance among the activities undertaken within the framework of the United Nations Decade for Human Rights Education (1995-2004) and to take into account the recommendations of the mid-term evaluation report of the Decade;

126. Encourages all States, in cooperation with the United Nations, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and other relevant international organizations, to initiate and develop cultural and educational programmes aimed at countering racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in order to ensure respect for the dignity and worth of all human beings and enhance mutual understanding among all cultures and civilizations. It further urges States to support and implement public information campaigns and specific training programmes in the field of human rights, where appropriate formulated in local languages, to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and promote respect for the values of diversity, pluralism, tolerance, mutual respect, cultural sensitivity, integration and inclusiveness. Such programmes and campaigns should be addressed to all sectors of society, in particular children and young people;

127. Urges States to intensify their efforts in the field of education, including human rights education, in order to promote an understanding and awareness of the causes, consequences and evils of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and also urges States, in consultation with educational authorities and the private sector, as appropriate, and encourages educational authorities and the private sector, as appropriate, to develop educational materials, including textbooks and dictionaries, aimed at combating those phenomena and, in this context, calls upon States to give importance, if appropriate, to textbook and curriculum review and amendment, so as to eliminate any elements that might promote racism, racial discrimination xenophobia and related intolerance or reinforce negative stereotypes, and to include material that refutes such stereotypes;

128. Urges States, if appropriate in cooperation with relevant organizations, including youth organizations, to support and implement public formal and non-formal education programmes designed to promote respect for cultural diversity:

Human rights education for children and youth

129. Urges States to introduce and, as applicable, to reinforce anti-discrimination and anti-racism components in human rights programmes in school curricula, to develop and improve relevant educational material, including history and other textbooks, and to ensure that all teachers are effectively trained and adequately motivated to shape attitudes and behavioural patterns, based on the principles of non-discrimination, mutual respect and tolerance;

130. Calls upon States to undertake and facilitate activities aimed at educating young people in human rights and democratic citizenship and instilling values of solidarity, respect and appreciation of diversity, including respect for different groups. A special effort to inform and sensitize young people to respect democratic values and human rights should be undertaken or developed to fight against ideologies based on the fallacious theory of racial superiority;

- 131. Urges States to encourage all schools to consider developing educational activities, including extracurricular ones, to raise awareness against racism, racial discrimination, enophobia and related intolerance, inter alia by commemorating the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (21 March);
- 132. Recommends that States introduce, or reinforce, human rights education, with a view to combating prejudices which lead to racial discrimination and to promoting understanding, tolerance and friendship between different racial or ethnic groups, in schools and in institutions of higher education, and support public formal and non-formal education programmes designed to promote respect for cultural diversity and the self-esteem of victims;

Human Rights Education For Public Officials And Professionals

- 133. Urges States to develop and strengthen anti-racist and gender-sensitive human rights training for public officials, including personnel in the administration of justice, particularly in law enforcement, correctional and security services, as well as among health-care, schools and migration authorities:
- 134. Urges States to pay specific attention to the negative impact of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance on the administration of justice and fair trial, and to conduct nationwide campaigns, amongst other measures, to raise awareness among State organs and public officials concerning their obligations under the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and other relevant instruments;
- 135. Requests States, wherever appropriate through cooperation with international organizations, national institutions, non-governmental organizations and the private sector, to organize and facilitate training activities, including courses or seminars, on international norms prohibiting racial discrimination and their applicability in domestic law, as well as on their international human rights obligations, for prosecutors, members of the judiciary and other public officials:
- 136. Calls upon States to ensure that education and training, especially teacher training, promote respect for human rights and the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and that educational institutions implement policies and programmes agreed by the relevant authorities on equal opportunities, anti-racism, gender equality, and cultural, religious and other diversity, with the participation of teachers, parents and students, and follow up their implementation. It further urges all educators, including teachers at all levels of education, religious communities and the print and electronic media, to play an effective role in human rights education, including as a means to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 137. Encourages States to consider taking measures to increase the recruitment, retention and promotion of women and men belonging to groups which are currently under-represented in the teaching profession as a result of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and to guarantee them effective equality of access to the profession. Particular efforts should be made to recruit women and men who have the ability to interact effectively with all groups:
- 138. Urges States to strengthen the human rights training and awareness-raising activities designed for immigration officials, border police and staff of detention centres and prisons, local authorities and other civil servants in charge of enforcing laws, as well as teachers, with particular attention to the human rights of migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers, in order to prevent acts of racial discrimination and xenophobia and to avoid situations where prejudices lead to decisions based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia or related intolerance:
- 139. Urges States to provide or strengthen training for law enforcement, immigration and other relevant officials in the prevention of trafficking in persons. The training should focus on methods used in preventing such trafficking, prosecuting the traffickers and protecting the rights of victims, including protecting the victims from the traffickers. The training should also take into account the need to consider human rights and child- and gender-sensitive issues and it should encourage cooperation with non-governmental organizations, other relevant organizations and other elements of civil society:

Information, communication and the media, including new technologies

- 140. Welcomes the positive contribution made by the new information and communications technologies, including the Internet, in combating racism through rapid and wide-reaching communication;
- 141. Draws attention to the potential to increase the use of the new information and communications technologies, including the Internet, to create educational and awarenessraising networks against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, both in and out of school, as well as the ability of the Internet to promote universal respect for human rights and also respect for the value of cultural diversity;
- 142. Emphasizes the importance of recognizing the value of cultural diversity and of putting in place concrete measures to encourage the access of marginalized communities to the mainstream and alternative media through, inter alia, the presentation of programmes that reflect their cultures and languages;
- 143. Expresses concern at the material progression of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, including their contemporary forms and manifestations, such as the use of the new information and

communications technologies, including the Internet, to disseminate ideas of racial superiority;

- 144. Urges States and encourages the private sector to promote the development by the media, including the print and electronic media, including the Internet and advertising, taking into account their independence, through their relevant associations and organizations at the national, regional and international levels, of a voluntary ethical code of conduct and self-regulatory measures, and of policies and practices aimed at:
- (a) Combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- (b) Promoting the fair, balanced and equitable representation of the diversity of their societies, as well as ensuring that this diversity is reflected among their staff;
- (c) Combating the proliferation of ideas of racial superiority, justification of racial hatred and discrimination in any form:
- (d) Promoting respect, tolerance and understanding among all individuals, peoples, nations and civilizations, for example through assistance in public awareness-raising campaigns;
- (e) Avoiding stereotyping in all its forms, and particularly the promotion of false images of migrants, including migrant workers, and refugees, in order to prevent the spread of senophobic sentiments among the public and to encourage the objective and balanced portrayal of people, events and history;
- 145. Urges States to implement legal sanctions, in accordance with relevant international human rights law, in respect of incitement to racial hatred through new information and communications technologies, including the Internet, and further urges them to apply all relevant human rights instruments to which they are parties, in particular the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, to racism on the Internet:
- 146. Urges States to encourage the media to avoid stereotyping based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 147. Calls upon States to consider the following, taking fully into account existing international and regional standards on freedom of expression, while taking all necessary measures to guarantee the right to freedom of opinion and expression:
- (a) Encouraging Internet service providers to establish and disseminate specific voluntary codes of conduct and self-regulatory measures against the dissemination of racist messages and those that result in racial discrimination, xenophobia or any form of intolerance and discrimination; to that end, Internet providers are encouraged to set up mediating bodies at national and international levels, involving relevant civil society institutions;
- (b) Adopting and applying, to the extent possible, appropriate legislation for prosecuting those responsible for incitement to racial hatred or violence through the new information and communications technologies, including the Internet:
- (c) Addressing the problem of dissemination of racist material through the new information and com munications technologies, including the Internet, inter alia by imparting training to law enforcement authorities;
- (d) Denouncing and actively discouraging the transmission of racist and xenophobic messages through all communications media, including new information and communications technologies, such as the Internet;
- (e) Considering a prompt and coordinated international response to the rapidly evolving phenomenon of the dissemination of hate speech and racist material through the new information and communications technologies, including the Internet; and in this context strengthening international cooperation:
- (f) Encouraging access and use by all people of the Internet as an international and equal forum, aware that there are disparities in use of and access to the Internet;
- (g) Examining ways in which the positive contribution made by the new information and communications technologies, such as the Internet, can be enhanced through replication of good practices in combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- (h) Encouraging the reflection of the diversity of societies among the personnel of media organizations and the new information and communications technologies, such as the Internet, by promoting adequate representation of different segments within societies at all levels of their organizational structure:

International Level

- 148. Urges all actors on the international scene to build an international order based on inclusion, justice, equality and equity, human dignity, mutual understanding and promotion of and respect for cultural diversity and universal human rights, and to reject all doctrines of exclusion based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 149. Believes that all conflicts and disputes should be resolved through peaceful means and political dialogue. The Conference calls on all parties involved in such conflicts to

exercise restraint and to respect human rights and international humanitarian law:

- 150. Calls upon States, in opposing all forms of racism, to recognize the need to counter anti-Semitism, anti-Arabism and Islamophobia world-wide, and urges all States to take effective measures to prevent the emergence of movements based on racism and discriminatory ideas concerning these communities:
- 151. As for the situation in the Middle East, calls for the end of violence and the swift resumption of negotiations, respect for international human rights and humanitarian law, respect for the principle of self-determination and the end of all suffering, thus allowing Israel and the Palestinians to resume the peace process, and to develop and prosper in security and freedom;
- 152. Encourages States, regional and international organizations, including financial institutions, as well as civil society, to address within existing mechanisms, or where necessary to put in place and/or develop mechanisms, to address those aspects of globalization which may lead to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 153. Recommends that the Department of Peacekeeping Operations of the Secretariat and other concerned United Nations agencies, bodies and programmes strengthen their coordination to discern patterns of serious violations of human rights and humanitarian law with a view to assessing the risk of further deterioration that could lead to genocide, war crimes or crimes against humanity:
- 154. Encourages the World Health Organisation and other relevant international organizations to promote and develop activities for the recognition of the impact of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance as significant social determinants of physical and mental health status, including the HIV / AIDS pandemic, and access to health care, and to prepare specific projects, including research, to ensure equitable health systems for the victims;
- 155. Encourages the International Labour Organization to carry out activities and programmes to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in the world of work, and to support actions of States, employers' organizations and trade unions in this field:
- 156. Urges the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to provide support to States in the preparation of teaching materials and tools for promoting teaching, training and educational activities relating to human rights and the struggle against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

IV. Provision Of Effective Remedies, Recourse, Redress, And Other Measures At The National, Regional And International Levels

- 157. Recognises the efforts of developing countries, in particular the commitment and the determination of the African leaders, to seriously address the challenges of poverty, underdevelopment, marginalization, social exclusion, economic disparities, instability and insecurity, through initiatives such as the New African Initiative and other innovative mechanisms such as the World Solidarity Fund for the Eradication of Poverty, and calls upon developed countries, the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as international financial institutions, to provide, through their operational programmes, new and additional financial resources, as appropriate, to support these
- 158. Recognises that these historical injustices have undeniably contributed to the poverty, underdevelopment, marginalization, social exclusion, economic disparities, instability and insecurity that affect many people in different parts of the world, in particular in developing countries. The Conference recognizes the need to develop programmes for the social and economic development of these societies and the Diaspora, within the framework of a new partnership based on the spirit of solidarity and mutual respect, in the following areas:
- Debt relief;
- Poverty eradication;
- Building or strengthening democratic institutions;
- Promotion of foreign direct investment;
- Market access;
- Intensifying efforts to meet the internationally agreed targets for official development assistance transfers to developing countries;
- New information and communication technologies bridging the digital divide;
 - Agriculture and food security;
 - Transfer of technology;
 - Transparent and accountable governance;
- Investment in health infrastructure tackling HIV / AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria, including through the Global AIDS and Health Fund:
- Infrastructure development;
- Human resource development, including capacitybuilding;
- Education, training and cultural development;

- Mutual legal assistance in the repatriation of illegally obtained and illegally transferred (stashed) funds, in accordance with national and international instruments;
 - · Illicit traffic in small arms and light weapons;
- Restitution of art objects, historical artefacts and documents to their countries of origin, in accordance with bilateral agreements or international instruments;
 - Trafficking in persons, particularly women and children;
- Facilitation of welcomed return and resettlement of the descendants of enslaved Africans;
- 159. Urges international financial and development institutions and the operational programmes and specialized agencies of the United Nations to give greater priority to, and allocate appropriate funding for, programmes addressing the development challenges of the affected States and societies, in particular those on the African continent and in the Diaspora;

Legal Assistance

160. Urges States to take all necessary measures to address, as a matter of urgency, the pressing requirement for justice for the victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and to ensure that victims have full access to information, support, effective protection and national, administrative and judicial remedies, including the right to seek just and adequate reparation or satisfaction for damage, as well as legal assistance, where required;

161. Urges States to facilitate for victims of racial discrimination, including victims of torture and ill-treatment, access to all appropriate legal procedures and free legal assistance in a manner adapted to their specific needs and vulnerability, including through legal representation;

162. Urges States to ensure the protection against victimisation of complainants and witnesses of acts of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and to consider measures such as, where appropriate, making legal assistance, including legal aid, available to complainants seeking a legal remedy and, if possible, affording the possibility for non-governmental organizations to support complainants of racism, with their consent, in legal procedures:

National Legislation And Programmes

163. For the purposes of effectively combating racism and racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in the civil, political, economic, social and cultural fields, the Conference recommends to all States that their national legislative framework should expressly and specifically prohibit racial discrimination and provide effective judicial and other remedies or redress, including through the designation of national, independent, specialized bodies;

164. Urges States, with regard to the procedural remedies provided for in their domestic law, to bear in mind the following considerations:

(a) Access to such remedies should be widely available, on a non-discriminatory and equal basis;(b) Existing procedural remedies should be made known in

(b) Existing procedural remedies should be made known in the context of the relevant action, and victims of racial discrimination should be helped to avail themselves of them in accordance with the particular case;

(c) Inquiries into complaints of racial discrimination and the adjudication of such complaints must be carried out as rapidly as possible;

(d) Persons who are victims of racial discrimination should be accorded legal assistance and aid in complaint proceedings, where applicable free of charge, and, where necessary, should be provided with the help of competent interpreters in such complaint proceedings or in any civil or criminal cases arising therefrom or connected thereto;

(e) The creation of competent national bodies to investigate effectively allegations of racial discrimination and to give protection to complainants against intimidation or harassment is a desirable development and should be undertaken; steps should be taken towards the enactment of legislation to prohibit discriminatory practices on grounds of race, colour, descent, or national or ethnic origin, and to provide for the application of appropriate penalties against offenders and remedies, including adequate compensation, for the victims:

(f) Access to legal remedies should be facilitated for victims of discrimination and, in this regard, the innovation of conferring a capacity on national and other institutions, as well as relevant non-governmental organizations, to assist such victims should be seriously considered, and programmes should be developed to enable the most vulnerable groups to have access to the legal system;

(g) New and innovative methods and procedures of conflict resolution, mediation and conciliation between parties involved in conflicts or disputes based on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance should be explored and, where possible, established;

(h) The development of restorative justice policies and programmes for the benefit of victims of relevant forms of discrimination is desirable and should be seriously considered; (i) States which have made the declaration under article 14 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination should make increased efforts to inform their public of the existence of the complaints mechanism under article 14;

Remedies, Reparations, Compensation

165. Urges States to reinforce protection against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance by ensuring that all persons have access to effective and adequate remedies and enjoy the right to seek from competent national tribunals and other national institutions just and adequate reparation and satisfaction for any damage as a result of such discrimination. It further underlines the importance of access to the law and to the courts for complainants of racism and racial discrimination and draws attention to the need for judicial and other remedies to be made widely known, easily accessible, expeditious and not unduly complicated;

166. Urges States to adopt the necessary measures, as provided by national law, to ensure the right of victims to seek just and adequate reparation and satisfaction to redress acts of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and to design effective measures to prevent the repetition of such acts:

V. Strategies To Achieve Full And Effective Equality, Including International Cooperation And Enhancement Of The United Nations And Other International Mechanisms In Combating Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia And Related Intolerance And Follow-Up

167. Calls upon States to apply diligently all commitments undertaken by them in the declarations and plans of action of the regional conferences in which they participated, and to formulate national policies and action plans to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in compliance with the objectives set forth therein, and as provided for in other relevant instruments and decisions; and further requests that, in cases where such national policies and action plans to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance already exist, States incorporate in them the commitments arising from their regional conferences;

168. Urges States that have not yet done so to consider acceding to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and their two Additional Protocols of 1977, as well as to other treaties of international humanitarian law, and to enact, with the highest priority, appropriate legislation, taking the measures required to give full effect to their obligations under international humanitarian law, in particular in relation to the rules prohibiting discrimination;

169. Urges States to develop cooperation programmes to promote equal opportunities for the benefit of victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and encourages them to propose the creation of multilateral cooperation programmes with the same objective:

170. Invites States to include the subject of the struggle against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in the work programmes of the regional integration agencies and of the regional cross-boundary dialogue forums;

171. Urges States to recognize the challenges that people of different socially constructed races, colours, descent, national or ethnic origins, religions and languages experience in seeking to live together and to develop harmonious multiracial and multicultural societies; also urges States to recognize that the positive examples of relatively successful multiracial and multicultural societies, such as some of those in the Caribbean region, need to be examined and analysed. and that techniques, mechanisms, policies and programmes for reconciling conflicts based on factors related to race, colour, descent, language, religion, or national or ethnic origin and for developing harmonious multiracial and multicultural societies need to be systematically considered and developed, and therefore requests the United Nations and its relevant specialized agencies to consider establishing an international centre for multiracial and multicultural studies and policy development to undertake this critical work for the benefit of the international community;

172. Urges States to protect the national or ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic identity of minorities within their respective territories and to develop appropriate legislative and other measures to encourage conditions for the promotion of that identity, in order to protect them from any form of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. In this context, forms of multiple discrimination should be fully taken into account;

173. Further urges States to ensure the equal protection and promotion of the identities of the historically disadvantaged communities in those unique circumstances where this may be appropriate;

174. Urges States to take or strengthen measures, including through bilateral or multilateral cooperation, to address root causes, such as poverty, underdevelopment and lack of equal

opportunity, some of which may be associated with discriminatory practices, that make persons, especially women and children, vulnerable to trafficking, which may give rise to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

175. Encourages States, in cooperation with non-governmental organizations, to undertake campaigns aimed at clarifying opportunities, limitations and rights in the event of migration, so as to enable everyone, in particular women, to make informed decisions and to prevent them from becoming victims of trafficking;

176. Urges States to adopt and implement social development policies based on reliable statistical data and centred on the attainment, by the year 2015, of the commitments to meet the basic needs of all set forth in paragraph 36 of the Programme of Action of the World Summit for Social Development, held at Copenhagen in 1995, with a view to closing significantly the existing gaps in living conditions faced by victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, especially regarding the illiteracy rate, universal primary education, infant mortality, under-five child mortality, health, reproductive health care for all and access to safe drinking water. Promotion of gender equality will also be taken into account in the adoption and implementation of these policies;

International Legal Framework

177. Urges States to continue cooperating with the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and other human rights treaty monitoring bodies in order to promote, including by means of a constructive and transparent dialogue, the effective implementation of the instruments concerned and proper consideration of the recommendations adopted by these bodies with regard to complaints of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

178. Requests adequate resources for the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in order to enable it to discharge its mandate fully and stresses the importance of providing adequate resources for all the United Nations human rights treaty bodies:

General International Instruments

179. Endorses efforts of the international community, in particular steps taken under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, to promote respect for and preserve cultural diversity within and between communities and nations with a view to creating a harmonious multicultural world, including elaboration of a possible international instrument in this respect in a manner consistent with international human rights instruments;

180. Invites the United Nations General Assembly to consider elaborating an integral and comprehensive international convention to protect and promote the rights and dignity of disabled people, including, especially, provisions that address the discriminatory practices and treatment affecting them;

Regional/International Cooperation

181. Invites the Inter-Parliamentary Union to contribute to the activities of the International Year of Mobilization against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance by encouraging national parliaments to review progress on the objectives of the Conference;

182. Encourages States to participate in regional dialogues on problems of migration and invites them to consider negotiating bilateral and regional agreements on migrant workers and designing and implementing programmes with States of other regions to protect the rights of migrants:

183. Urges States, in consultation with civil society, to support or otherwise establish, as appropriate, regional, comprehensive dialogues on the causes and consequences of migration that focus not only on law enforcement and border control, but also on the promotion and protection of the human rights of migrants and on the relationship between migration and development;

184. Encourages international organizations having mandates dealing specifically with migration issues to exchange information and coordinate their activities on matters involving racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance against migrants, including migrant workers, with the support of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights;

185. Expresses its deep concern over the severity of the humanitarian suffering of affected civilian populations and the burden carried by many receiving countries, particularly developing countries and countries in transition, and requests the relevant international institutions to ensure that urgent adequate financial and humanitarian assistance is maintained for the host countries to enable them to help the victims and to address, on an equitable basis, difficulties of populations expelled from their homes, and calls for sufficient safeguards to enable refugees to exercise freely their right of return to their countries of origin voluntarily, in safety and dignity;

- 186. Encourages States to conclude bilateral, subregional, regional and international agreements to address the problem of trafficking in women and children, in particular girls, as well as the smuggling of migrants;
- 187. Calls upon States, to promote, as appropriate, exchanges at the regional and international levels among independent national institutions and, as applicable, other relevant independent bodies with a view to enhancing cooperation to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 188. Urges States to support the activities of regional bodies or centres which combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance where they exist in their region, and recommends the establishment of such hodies or centres in all regions where they do not exist. These bodies or centres may undertake the following activities, amongst others: assess and follow up the situation of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and of individuals or groups of individuals who are victims thereof or subject thereto; identify trends, issues and problems; collect, disseminate and exchange information, inter alia relevant to the outcome of the regional conferences and the World Conference, and build networks to these ends; highlight examples of good practices; organize awarenessraising campaigns; develop proposals, solutions and preventive measures, where possible and appropriate, through joint efforts by coor dinating with the United Nations, regional organizations and States and national human rights institutions:
- 189. Urges international organisations, within their mandates, to contribute to the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;
- 190. Encourages financial and development institutions and the operational programmes and specialized agencies of the United Nations, in accordance with their regular budgets and the procedures of their governing bodies:
- (a) To assign particular priority and allocate sufficient funding, within their areas of competence and budgets, to improve the situation of victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in order to combat manifestations of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and to include them in the development and implementation of projects concerning them:
- (b) To integrate human rights principles and standards into their policies and programmes;
- (c) To consider including in their regular reporting to their boards of governors information on their contribution to promoting the participation of victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance within their programmes and activities, and information on the efforts taken to facilitate such participation and to ensure that these policies and practices contribute to the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance:
- (d) To examine how their policies and practices affect victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and to ensure that these policies and practices contribute to the eradication of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

191.

- (a) Calls upon States to elaborate action plans in consultation with national human rights institutions, other institutions created by law to combat racism, and civil society and to provide the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights with such action plans and other relevant materials on the measures undertaken in order to implement provisions of the present Declaration and the Programme of Action:
- (b) Requests the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, in follow-up to the Conference, to cooperate with five independent eminent experts, one from each region, appointed by the Secretary-General from among candidates proposed by the Chairperson of the Commission on Human Rights, after consultation with the regional groups, to follow the implementation of the provisions of the Declaration and Programme of Action. An annual progress report on the implementation of these provisions will be presented by the High Commissioner to the Commission on Human Rights and to the General Assembly, taking into account information and views provided by States, relevant human rights treaty bodies, special procedures and other mechanisms of the Commission on Human Rights of the United Nations, international, regional and non-governmental organizations and national human rights institutions;
- (c) Welcomes the intention of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to establish, within the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, an anti-discrimination unit to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and to promote equality and non-discrimination, and invites her to consider the inclusion in its mandate of, inter alia, the compilation of information on racial discrimination and its development, and on legal and administrative support and advice to victims

of racial discrimination and the collection of background materials provided by States, international, regional and nongovernmental organisations and national human rights institutions under the follow-up mechanism of the Conference;

(d) Recommends that the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, in cooperation with States, international, regional and non-governmental organizations and national human rights institutions, create a database containing information on practical means to address racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, particularly international and regional instruments and national legislation, including anti-discrimination legislation, as well as legal means to combat racial discrimination; remedies available through international mechanisms to victims of racial discrimination, as well as national remedies: educational and preventive programmes implemented in various countries and regions; best practices to address racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; opportunities for technical cooperation; and academic studies and specialized documents; and ensure that such a database is as accessible as possible to those in authority and the public at large, through its Web site and by other appropriate means;

192. Invites the United Nations and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation to continue to organise high-level and other meetings on the Dialogue among Civilizations and, for this purpose, to mobilise funds and promote partnerships;

Office Of The High Commissioner For Human Rights

193. Encourages the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to continue and expand the appointment and designation of goodwill ambassadors in all countries of the world in order, inter alia, to promote respect for human rights and a culture of tolerance and to increase the level of awareness about the scourge of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

194. Calls upon the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to continue its efforts further to increase awareness of the work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the other United Nations human rights treaty bodies:

195. Invites the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, in consultation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, and non-governmental organisations active in the field of the promotion and protection of human rights, to undertake regular consultations with them and to encourage research activities aimed at collecting, maintaining and adapting the technical, scientific, educational and information materials produced by all cultures around the world to fight racism;

196. Requests the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to pay special attention to violations of the human rights of victims of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in particular migrants, including migrant workers, to promote international cooperation in combating xenophobia and, to this end, to develop programmes which can be implemented in countries on the basis of appropriate cooperation agreements;

197. Invites States to assist the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in developing and funding, upon the request of States, specific technical cooperation projects aimed at combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

102

(a) Invites the Commission on Human Rights to include in the mandates of the special rapporteurs and working groups of the Commission, in particular the Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, recommendations that they consider the relevant provisions of the Declaration and the Programme of Action while exercising their mandates, in particular reporting to the General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights, and also to consider any other appropriate means to follow up on the outcome on the Conference:

(b) Calls upon States to cooperate with the relevant special procedures of the Commission on Human Rights and other mechanisms of the United Nations in matters pertaining to racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, in particular with the special rapporteurs, independent experts and special representatives;

199. Recommends that the Commission on Human Rights prepare complementary international standards to strengthen and update international instruments against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance in all their aspects;

Decades

200. Urges States and the international community to support the activities of the Third Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination:

201. Recommends that the General Assembly consider declaring a United Nations year or decade against trafficking

in persons, especially in women, youth and children, in order to protect their dignity and human rights;

202. Urges States, in close cooperation with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, to promote the implementation of the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace and the objectives of the International Decade for a Culture of Peace and Non-Violence for the Children of the World, which started in 2001, and invites the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation to contribute to these activities;

Indigenous Peoples

203. Recommends that the United Nations Secretary-General conduct an evaluation of the results of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004) and make recommendations concerning how to mark the end of the Decade, including an appropriate follow-up:

204. Requests States to ensure adequate funding for the establishment of an operational framework and a firm basis for the future development of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues within the United Nations system;

205. Urges States to cooperate with the work of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous people and requests the Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights to ensure that the Special Rapporteur is provided with all the necessary human, technical and financial resources to fulfil his responsibilities;

206. Calls upon States to conclude negotiations on and approve as soon as possible the text of the draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples, under discussion by the working group of the Commission on Human Rights to elaborate a draft declaration, in accordance with Commission resolution 1995/32 of 3 March 1995;

207. Urges States, in the light of the relationship between racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and poverty, marginality and social exclusion of peoples and individuals at both the national and international levels, to enhance their policies and measures to reduce income and wealth inequalities and to take appropriate steps, individually and through international cooperation, to promote and protect economic, social and cultural rights on a non-discriminatory basis;

208. Urges States and international financial and development institutions to mitigate any negative effects of globalization by examining, inter alia, how their policies and practices affect national populations in general and indigenous peoples in particular; by ensuring that their policies and practices contribute to the eradication of racism through the participation of national populations and, in particular, indigenous peoples in development projects; by further democratizing international financial institutions; and by consulting with indigenous peoples on any matter that may affect their physical, spiritual or cultural integrity:

209. Invites financial and development institutions and the operational programmes and specialized agencies of the United Nations, in accordance with their regular budgets and the procedures of their governing bodies:

(a) To assign particular priority to and allocate sufficient funding, within their areas of competence, to the improvement of the status of indigenous peoples, with special attention to the needs of these populations in developing countries, including the preparation of specific programmes with a view to achieving the objectives of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People;

(b) To carry out special projects, through appropriate channels and in collaboration with indigenous peoples, to support their initiatives at the community level and to facilitate the exchange of information and technical knowhow between indigenous peoples and experts in these areas;

Civil Society

210. Calls upon States to strengthen cooperation, develop partnerships and consult regularly with non-governmental organizations and all other sectors of the civil society to harness their experience and expertise, thereby contributing to the development of legislation, policies and other governmental initiatives, as well as involving them more closely in the elaboration and implementation of policies and programmes designed to combat racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance:

211. Urges leaders of religious communities to continue to confront racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance through, inter alia, promotion and sponsoring of dialogue and partnerships to bring about reconciliation, healing and harmony within and among societies; invites religious communities to participate in promoting economic and social revitalization and encourages religious leaders to foster greater cooperation and contact between diverse racial groups;

212. Urges States to establish and strengthen effective partnerships with and provide support, as appropriate, to all relevant actors of civil society, including non-governmental

organizations working to promote gender equality and the advancement of women, particularly women subject to multiple discrimination, and to promote an integrated and holistic approach to the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women and girls;

Non-Governmental Organisations

- 213. Urges States to provide an open and conducive environment to enable non-governmental organizations to function freely and openly within their societies and thereby make an effective contribution to the elimination of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance throughout the world, and to promote a wider role for grassroots organizations;

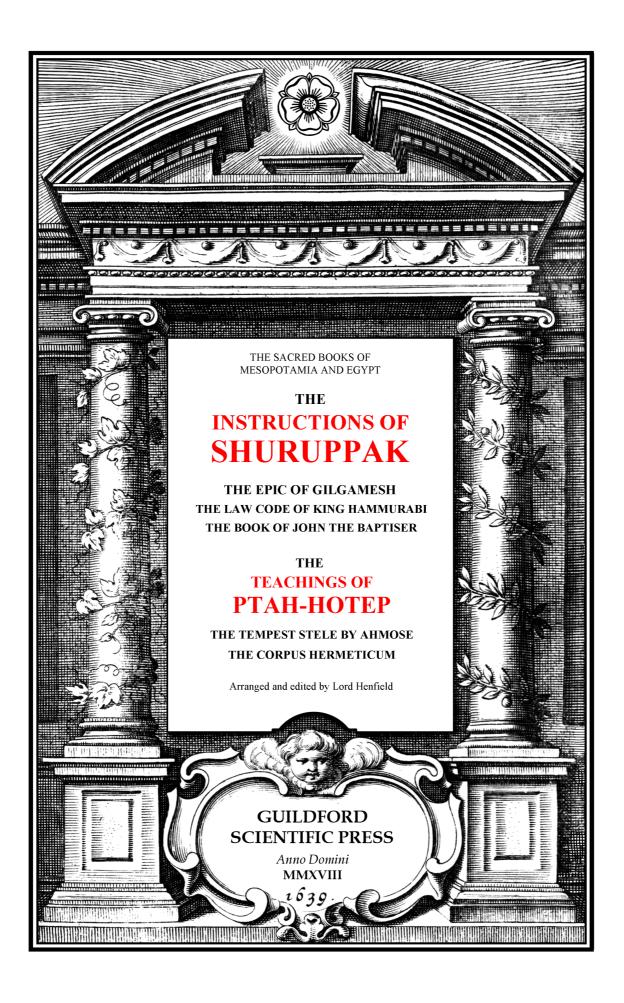
 214. Calls upon States to explore means to expand the role
- 214. Čalls upon States to explore means to expand the role of non-governmental organisations in society through, in particular, deepening the ties of solidarity amongst citizens and promoting greater trust across racial and social class divides by promoting wider citizen involvement and more voluntary cooperation;

The Private Sector

215. Urges States to take measures, including, where appropriate, legislative measures, to ensure that transnational corporations and other foreign enterprises operating within their national territories conform to precepts and practices of non-racism and non-discrimination, and further encourages the business sector, including transnational corporations and foreign enterprises, to collaborate with trade unions and other relevant sectors of civil society to develop voluntary codes of conduct for all businesses, designed to prevent, address and eradicate racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance;

Youth

- 216. Urges States to encourage the full and active participation of, as well as involve more closely, youth in the elaboration, planning and implementation of activities to fight racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, and calls upon States, in partnership with non-governmental organizations and other sectors of society, to facilitate both national and international youth dialogue on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, through the World Youth Forum of the United Nations system and through the use of new technologies, exchanges and other means;
- 217. Urges States to encourage and facilitate the establishment and maintenance of youth mechanisms, set up by youth organizations and young women and men themselves, in the spirit of combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, through such activities as: disseminating and exchanging information and building networks to these ends; organizing awareness-raising campaigns and participating in multicultural education programmes; developing proposals and solutions, where possible and appropriate; cooperating and consulting regularly with non-governmental organizations and other actors in civil society in developing initiatives and programmes that promote intercultural exchange and dialogue;
- 218. Urges States, in cooperation with intergovernmental organisations, the International Olympic Committee and international and regional sports federations, to intensify the fight against racism in sport by, among other things, educating the youth of the world through sport practised without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic spirit, which requires human understanding, tolerance, fair play and solidarity:
- solidarity;
 219. Recognises that the success of this Programme of Action will require political will and adequate funding at the national, regional and international levels, and international cooperation.



DOCUMENTS FROM EGYPT

(This chapter will present a series of translations of the moral teachings of Egyptian kings and officials, arranged chronologically so that we can see the evolution of moral ideas in Egypt through a period of about two thousand years, and their development into the religious philosophy which we know as the Tanakh or the Old Testament. Morality and religion appear to have existed in Egypt from the earliest times, and the oldest remains show that although neither, judged from a modem standard, was of a very high character, primitive man recognised that he owed certain duties to his village god and to his neighbour. The god and his worshippers formed one family, and every member of the community, whether it was large or small, regarded the god as his natural protector and, as time went on, as his father. In some cases the object of worship was a goddess, who was eventually regarded as the mother of the community.

By reading these amazing documents, it quickly becomes clear that even in earliest times there must have been men in every Egyptian community who possessed feelings of kindness and humanity towards man and beast, and it is probable that such men soon realised that it did not pay to retaliate, or take vengeance, or exact their due to the uttermost. Old men with experience and discretion would have found out that there were cases in which it was good policy to temper justice with mercy, and their actions and decisions would permeate the community and serve as examples and guides to the younger men

And as religion developed, morality would develop, and men would be more than ever convinced that it was profitable to discharge their moral obligations honourably. It would happen of necessity that sometimes the head man or leader of a community would earn the reputation of being a good lawgiver, or a good judge, and in such a case his decisions would help to form the foundation of the law of the land, and his influence would make itself felt on the customs of the people. And when the judgements of such a leader represented the will of the family god, men in general would soon discover that the way of the transgressor was hard, and that it only led to loss and ruin.

When, at the end of the Neolithic Period, the Egyptians had learned to write, among the first things their scribes wrote down were the legal decisions and judgements of the "ancestors," and the religious and moral laws of the country were also done into writing. Under the 3rd dynasty the scribe Methen, received certain royal benefactions which were "recorded in the register of the king", and we are sure therefore that even at this early period the king kept a scribe, or scribes, who wrote at his command. Each temple must have numbered among its officials scribes whose duty it was to draft and make copies of religious texts, and presumably of the moral precepts that were composed by various authors, and were current at that time. The religious texts and the moral precepts formed two distinct classes of literature, and the object of each was different: the former were written to help the souls of the dead to secure immortality and happiness in the next world, and the latter to help a man to lead a safe and reputable life in this world.

The priestly theologian spared no pains in collecting the information that would benefit the dead, and the wise and experienced public official spent anxious days in trying to make the knowledge of men and things that he had acquired available for the living, who were generally his own kinsfolk The collector of moral precepts, as we shall see, existed in all periods of dynastic history, and surprisingly, we can find similar religious texts and the moral precepts in Mesopotamia as, for instance, the Instructions of Shuruppak from exactly the same time as the Instructions of Kagemna and Ptah-Hotep. There is no doubt whatsoever that the writings of both, Egypt and Mesopotamia, are the "spiritual, moral, legal, and philosophical origins" of the Hebrew Bible and in particular the famous Covenant of the Jewish Peoples. Even more so, the development of western and eastern philosophies and beliefsystems, that rule our soul and mind today, would have been impossible without these two parents.)

THE TEACHING OF KAGEMNA

or The Instructions of Kagemna / Kagemni Source: British Museum Papyrus No.10,509 Translation: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1924 Estimated Range of Dating: 2613–2589 BC

(The Instructions of Kagemna or Kagemni is an ancient Egyptian teaching text of wisdom literature (known as sebayt genre). Although the earliest evidence of its compilation dates to the Middle Kingdom of Egypt, its authorship has traditionally yet dubiously been attributed to Kagemni, a Vizier who served during the reign of the Pharaoh Sneferu (r. 2613–2589 BC), founder of the 4th dynasty of Egypt (belonging to the Pyramid builders of the Old Kingdom). The earliest known source for the Instructions of Kagemni is the Prisse Papyrus. This text dates to the much later 12th dynasty

of the Middle Kingdom of Egypt (perhaps by the reign of Amenemhat II from 1929 BC to 1895 BC, or a bit later in the 12th dynasty). It is written in the Middle Egyptian language and in an archaic style of cursive hieratic.

Written as a pragmatic guidebook of advice for the son of a Vizier, the Instructions of Kagemni is similar to The Maxims of Ptahhotep. It differs from later teaching texts such as the Instruction of Amenemope, which emphasizes piety, and the Instructions of Amenemhat, which William Simpson (a professor emeritus of Egyptology at Yale University) described as a "political piece cast in instruction form." Kagemni advises that one should follow a path of modesty and moderation, which is contrasted with things to avoid: pride and gluttony.)

Text:

[The beginning is lost.]

I The timid man is strong, and he who is just in word and deed is praised. The hall is opened to the humble man, and a wide room [is given to him] that is gentle in speech; but sharp knives are against him that would force a way. A man should not seek an entrance except at his Jappointed! time.

2 If thou art seated at meat with many people hate (i.e., abstain from) the food which thou lovest. It is only a minute's restraint of the appetite, and greediness is a disgrace and tends to gluttony. A cup of water will quench the thirst satisfactorily, and a mouthful only will stablish the heart. One good thing takes the place of another, and a small quantity even of something which is of inferior quality will take the place of a large quantity. He who is intent on satisfying the lust of the beUy is a shameful person. Passing the time he is unable to loosen the body in strange houses.

3 If thou art seated at meat with a greedy man eat thou when he has finished his meal; and if thou art seated at meat with a winebibber, accept thou a drink whenever it pleases him to offer thee one. Reject not the pieces of flesh which [are found with] a man of bestial appetite. Take what he offers thee, and refuse it not; remember acceptance conduces to gentleness on his part.

4 If a man lacks the knowledge of what a man should know, and if nothing said [to him] moves him, and if he maintains a sullen attitude to the person who is well-disposed towards him, he is a calamity for his mother and for his neighbours and for people in general. Make thy name to come forth {i.e., be known}. Being silent (or, modest) in thy speech, thou shalt be proclaimed.

5 Be not arrogant because of thy strength when thou art among thy contemporaries. Take care to act in such a way that people do not oppose thee. No man knows what is going to happen, or what God will do when He strikes. And the Wazir (or, mayor) caused his children to be summoned to him having made himself fully acquainted with the dispositions of men, and they came being filled with wonder He said to them: "Whatsoever is in writing on this roll pay heed unto it as if I myself were repeating it to you" And the children laid themselves down flat upon their bellies, and they recited these sa3dngs according to what was written. And in their opinion these sayings were more beautiful than everything else in the whole land, and [they recited them] both standing up and sitting down. His Majesty King Huni died, and His Majesty Seneferu, the King of the South and the North, became the gracious King of all this land. And Kagemna was appointed governor of the town and Wazir.

THE TEACHINGS OF PTAH-HOTEP

or The Maxims of Ptah-Hotep Source: British Museum Papyrus No. 10,509 Translation: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1924 Estimated Range of Dating: 2500-2345 BC

(The Instructions of Ptah-Hotep or Maxims of Ptah-Hotep is an ancient Egyptian literary composition based on the Vizier Ptah-Hotep's wisdom and experiences. The Instructions were composed by the Vizier Ptah-Hotep, during the rule of King Izezi of the Fifth Dynasty 2494–2345 BC. The text was discovered in Thebes in 1847 by Egyptologist M. Prisse d'Avennes. The Instructions of Ptah-Hotep are called wisdom literature, specifically under the genre of Instructions that teach something. They are four copies of the Instructions, and the only complete version, Papyrus Prisse, is located in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. According to William Kelly Simpson, some scholars debate that the Instructions of Ptah-Hotep were written during the twelfth dynasty, Middle Kingdom. The earlier copies of the text were altered to make them understandable for the Egyptians of the New Kingdom. It is not only directed for the Old Kingdom thought and morality, it is beneficial for anyone that reads it. The text presents a very good picture of the general attitudes of that period. The Instructions of Ptah-Hotep addresses various virtues that are necessary to live a good life and how to live accordingly to Maat, which was an important part of the Egyptian culture.

The Prisse Papyrus, dating from the twelfth dynasty Egyptian Middle Kingdom, was discovered by the French orientalist Émile Prisse d'Avennes at Thebes and published in 1847 and is now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris

The papyrus document contains the last two pages of the Instructions of Kagemni, who purportedly served under the 4th Dynasty king Sneferu, and is a compilation of moral maxims and admonitions on the practice of virtue. The conclusion of the Instructions of Kagemni is followed by the only complete surviving copy of the Instruction of Ptah-Hotep.

The Teaching is set at court, with the highest official ('vizier' in Egyptological translation), a man named Ptah-Hotep, requesting retirement from the king. The official paints a bleak picture of old age, evidently to convince the king that retirement is necessary, and asks that he be replaced in office by his son as 'staff' of old age', a term also found in a late Middle Kingdom legal document to denote a son taking the office of his father, presumably on condition that he continues to support the father. This term, the Middle Egyptian syntax and the late Middle Kingdom date of the two earliest surviving manuscript copies, point to a Twelfth Dynasty date of composition.

The king consents to the request of Ptah-Hotep, with the observation that the young cannot be born with wisdom - by implication they need the experience given by advanced age. The Teaching presents then both a positive and the dramatised negative aspects of growing old in ancient Egyptian society.

(E. A. Wallis Budge wrote: The only complete copy of this work known was purchased from a native of Western Thebes by Prisse d'Avennes, who was making excavations there, and was given by him to the Bibliotheque Royale in Paris in 1847. He published the text in an oblong quarto volume, entitled Facsimile d'un papyrus Egyptien en caracteres hieratiques, trouve Thebes, donne a la Bibliotheque Royale de Paris, et publie par E. Prisse d'Avennes, Paris, 1847. The papyrus was written under the 11th or 12th dynasty, and supplies us with a copy, more or less accurate, of the text as it was received about 2500 B.C. or earlier. Hieroglyphic transcripts of this text were published by Virey, Etudes sur le Papyrus Prisse, Paris, 1887, and by myself, Reading Book, London, 1896, pp. 244-274. A later Version of a portion of the Teaching is found in a papyrus which I acquired for the British Museum (No. 10,509), and on an ostracon [Greek: ostrakon, plural: ostraka, is a piece of pottery, usually broken off from a vase or other earthenware vessel.] which was discovered by the 5th Earl of Carnarvon (1866-1923). A valuable edition of all the available texts of both Versions has been published by E. Devaud, Les Maximes de Ptah-hotep, Fribourg, 1916. Translations of the Teaching, in whole or in part, have been made by Dr. Heath (Proverbs of Aphobis, 1864), Chabas {Rev. Arch., XV, 1858), Lauth {Sitzungsberichte der Konig. Bayer. Akad. 1869, p. 530 ff.; 1870, p. 245), Virey (Etudes, Paris, 1887), Maspero (Recuell, XXXI, 146), Virey (Records of the Past, 2nd ed., Vol. III, p. i), and others. The title of the work of Ptah-Hotep reads:--)

THE TEACHING OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE TOWN, THE WAZIR PTAH-HOTEP, [WHO LIVED] UNDER THE MAJESTY OF THE KING OF THE SOUTH AND THE KING OF THE NORTH, ASSA, WHO LIVES FOR EVER AND EVER.

The Governor of the Town, the Wazir (Vizier) Ptah-Hotep senior (who was buried in a mastaba tomb at Sakkara.), says to the Majesty of the King of the South and the King of the North, Assa (most likely Pharao Userkaf), who lives for ever and ever: "O King my Lord, grey hairs have come upon me, old age has advanced, decay has come to me, oldness has taken the place of newness, some new defect settles upon one every day. The eyesight fads, the ears become stopped, the strength diminishes, the heart is sluggish, the mouth is silent and speaks not, the mind forgets and cannot remember the things of yesterday, every bone in the body aches, happiness turns into discomfort, the taste of everything vanishes. Old age makes men miserable in every way. The nose becomes stopped up and can smell nothing. It is misery for the old man whether he sits or stands up. Give the order then on behalf of thy servant here present to make a staff for my old age, and let my son stand in my place. Then will I tell him the speech of those who hearkened and the weighty sayings of the ancestors, and those who have obeyed the gods. And thou likewise, mayest thou act in such a way as to drive out strife from among the people, and to make those who dwell on both banks of the Nile serve thee loyally." The Majesty of this god King Assa) said: "Instruct him in the speech of olden time as thou sittest. O make him to be a marvel to the children of the princes. May obedience enter into him, together with all rightmindedness which has been described. No one is bom who possesses understanding naturally."

Here begin the Precepts in noble language which were uttered by the Prince and hereditary Chief, the father of the

- god, the beloved of the god, the son of the king, truly begotten by him, the Governor of the Town, the Wazir Ptah-Hotep. They will teach the ignorant man to become a man of knowledge and to express himself in the best possible way, and will prove a blessing to him that will hearken to them, and a curse to him that will cast them behind him. He spake to his son (Ptah-Hotep junior) thus:—
- 1. Magnify not thy heart because of thy knowledge, and fill not thy heart with the thought about it because thou hast knowledge. Hold converse with the ignorant man as well as with the learned. No limit has been set to a handicraft, and no handicraftsman is equipped with all its excellences. Fine speech is hidden deeper than mother-of-emerald stone, and yet it is to be found among the women who grind flour at the mill.
- 2. If thou meetest a man of words who is bolder and better equipped than thyself in his hour (i.e. when he is coming to the conclusion of his speech), bend thy arm and bow thy back. Let not thy heart be carried away, let him not rest upon thee; [but] make thou thyself small. When he says things that are evil make no attempt to stop him in his hour, so that he may be called the "man who knows nothing about things." Bear thy disgust. It is his treasure (or, food).
- 3. If thou meetest a man of words in his hour, if he be one like thyself, that which is on thy shoulders set down and become wiser than he is through thy silence, whenever he is speaking evil things. Those who are listening will applaud him, but thy name will be fair in the opinion of the princes.
- 4. If thou meetest a man of words in his hour, curse him not if he be thy inferior. Let not thy heart rage because of him, for he is a miserable being. Let him remain on the ground, he will punish himself.
- 5. If thou art in the position of a leader and it is thy duty to give orders to a great number of people, pursue thou a course which is wholly excellent, and continue in it until there is no defect whatsoever in thy administration. Truth (Maat) is great, and her virtue is lasting, and she has never been overthrown since the time of Osiris (var. since Ra created it); the man who transgresses her behests (or, laws) is sorely punished. She is the path of him that is [not] a robber. The wicked can indeed steal possessions, but the wicked cannot attain to her state. There is great power in Truth, for she is permanent; the good man says: "She was a possession of my father."
- 6. Make not terror to exist among the people, for it effects nothing; it is what God has decreed that happens.
- 7. If thou art one of those who are sitting at table with a man who is greater than thyself, accept what he gives thee, what is set before thy nose. Look not at that which he has before him, but set thy gaze upon that which is before thee. Cast not a multitude of prying glances upon him, for this behaviour will cause him discomfort. Keep thy face turned downwards until he addresses thee, and speak only when he speaks to thee. Laugh thou when he laughs. That will be exceedingly pleasing to his mind, and what thou doest will be very good behaviour. What is in the heart cannot be known. When a great man is [sitting] behind food, his commands are in accordance with his (disposition). A great man gives to the person whom he can reach, but the Ka makes him stretch his hands to those beyond. The eating of bread is under the dispensation of God. When plans of the night come into being, the ignorant man suffers loss thereby.
- 8. If thou art in the position of a man who is treated with confidence, whom one nobleman sends to another on business, when he sends thee on a mission conduct the business in a right and fitting manner. Perform the mission according to what he says to thee. Let not thy heart eat (i.e. hide) anything of what is said to thee, and guard thyself carefully against forgetting any part of it. Guard thyself also against making harsh the words which one nobleman may speak about another contemptuously by using the utterances of folk in general. Whether it be a nobleman or a man of no account, it is disgrace to the (god) Ka.
- 9. When thou ploughest, and there is abundant growth in thy field, and God gives a plentiful crop into thy hand, praise not the man who has no children, curse not, boast not, and eat not thy fill from the provisions of thy family. The fear of silence works great things; the man who is master of the kat weight is master of the goods [also], he seizes like the crocodile among the qenbet officials
- 10. If thou art a man in a menial position, and art in the service of a man of honourable estate, and thy treatment by God is good (or, generous). seek not to acquire any knowledge whatsoever about his former estate. Make not great thy heart (i.e. be not arrogant) towards him because of what thou knowest about him and his former condition. Fear him because of what has happened to him, for behold, wealth comes not of itself; it is a law to those who love it. If he squanders it one fears him. It is God Who creates his honourable estate; if he fights on his own behalf he falls down (i.e. dies).
- 11. Follow thy heart's desire as long as thou livest, and do not more than is ordered. Waste not the time in which thou canst follow thy heart's desire, for it is a hateful thing to the Ka (i.e. the natural disposition) to limit its period. Weary not

- thyself concerning the affairs of the day, nor be anxious overmuch about thy house and estate; things happen (or, come), follow [thy] inclination
- 12. If thou wouldst be a perfect man and dost possess a house and estate, beget a son who shall be well-pleasing to God. If he does what is right, and if he imitates thee in thy actions, and hearkens to thy teaching, and his behaving is perfect in thy house, and he cares for thy property as if it was his own, seek thou for him every kind of honour. He is thy son whom thy heart's desire has begotten; let not thy heart drift away from him But if he follows an evil course, and opposes thy plans, and does not carry out thy instructions, and his behaviour in thy house is detestable, and he treats with contempt all thy words, and sets his mouth in motion with vile words, and his face is turned away, and nothing remains in his hands, cast him away, for he is no son of thine, and he was not bom for thee. He is thy servant by his tongue through his qualities (or, characteristics); he is one who blames them. God will smite him in the body. He will never turn back to control them. The shipwrecked ones will not find a boat for themselves
- 13. If thou art in the ante-chamber of a nobleman, whether thou art standing up or squatting, abase thyself the first day. Press not forward, lest thy being turned back should take place. Keep a keen watch on the confidential servant who announces thee; the man who is summoned [by the nobleman] finds a wide seat (i.e. plenty of room). The ante-chamber of a nobleman is governed by precedence, and all its procedure is according to rule. It is God who advances the seat of him that is advanced. It is not effected by the shoulder of a man (i.e. by force)
- 14. If thou art with common people make thyself like the peasant folk by concealing thy mind. The man who conceals his mind enjoys a good reputation, if he does not wander about after the word of his body. He becomes his own master, a master of affairs by his own planning. Thy name is good without thy word. Thy limbs (or, body) are fat; thy face is with thee, thou praisest thyself without knowing it. The man who is small of heart (timid) hearkens to his body, he sets his defects (or, littlenesses) in the place of his love, his heart becomes a wretched thing, his members dwindle to nothing. The man who is great of heart (i.e. bold) is one of God's men. He hearkens to the command of his heart, his enemy becomes his possession.
- 15. Declare thy mission and conceal nothing. Devote all thy thought to the counsel of thy lord Supposing that a noble destroys his possessions: even if he (i.e. the envoy) thinks of opposing him in the matter, he must hold his peace, having already spoken to him.
- 16. If thou art in the position of a leader, press forward thy plans by thy commands; do thou what thou hast decided upon. But remember (or, take good heed concerning) the days that are to follow. If there be no word on thy behalf among those who are praised, calamity overwhelm thee and misery will overtake thee.
- 17. If thou art in the position of a leader (or, one to whom petitions are made), be courteous, and listen to the petition of the petitioner. Stop not his words, until he has poured out all that is in his heart and has said what he came to say. A man with a petition to make loves the official who will agree to what he says, and will let him talk out his grievance fully. Every petitioner rejoices to have his grievance heard. A fair word rejoices (literally, paints) the heart. If an official stops the flow of words of the petitioner, the people say: "Why is this fellow there having the power to act in this way?"
- 18. If thou wishest to maintain a permanent friendship in the house to which thou art in the habit of going, whether as master, or whether as brother, or whether as friend, or in fact in any place to which thou hast the entry, strive against sost good. The man who is not prudent follows after them. A thousand men seeking what is beautiful are destroyed by them. A man is made a fool of by their shining limbs, but they turn into things that are harder than quartzite sandstone. The pleasure is only for a little moment, and it [passes] like a dream, and a man at the end thereof finds death through knowing it
- 19. If thou wouldst have thy lot as a leader a happy one, guard thyself against every evil deed, and above all, fight against the vice of avarice, which is a disease fraught with pain that cannot be conquered. Confidence cannot exist side by side with it. It turns fathers and mothers into evil folk, and also the brothers of the mother. It turns the kindly friend into a bitter enemy, it drives away the trusted servant from his master, and it makes a wife hateful to her husband. It is a strong treasure-house of every kind of evil, and a purse containing abominable vices of every kind. The man who has truth (maat) for his tow-line walks whither her steps lead him, and acquires house and estate; but the avaricious possesses not even a tomb.
- 20. Be not avaricious when a division of property is made, and be not greedy, and what is thy due shall come to thee. Be not avaricious in thy dealings with thy kinsfolk. The prayer of the long-suffering man is greater than force, even though he

- be of no account among the people of his own time, and is destitute of the gifts of speech. A very little avarice about a matter of the kind will make hostility to arise even in the man who is usually cool-hearted (i.e., unexcitable).
- 21. If thou wouldst be wise (or, prosperous) stablish thyself in a house (i.e., get married). Love thou thy wife in the house wholly and rightly. Fill her belly and clothe her back; oil for anointing is the medicine for her limbs. Make her heart to rejoice as long as thou livest; she is a profitable field for her lord. Enter not into disputes with her. She will withdraw herself before force. Make her to prosper permanently in thy house. If thou art hostile to her she is a well (or, ditch); she gives herself to herself.
- 22. Satisfy thy servants whom thou trustest with thy possessions, so that they may feel as if they had been rewarded by God. If a man is niggardly in satisfying his trusted servants, he is declared to be a thievish person No man knows what will happen as he meditates in the morning. When troublesome events come upon him it will be the trusted servants who will bid him "Welcome." Peace cannot be brought to the town (or, estate), and when it is brought by the servants ruin supervenes.
- 23. Repeat not the words spoken by a man who is furiously angry; hearken not to him; they are the outpouring of a heated mind (or, body). At the repetition of a matter, look on, hear not; let it go to the ground....
- 24. If thou art in the position of a man of high rank who sits in the council of his lord, devote thy heart entirely to what is good (or, perfect). To hold thy peace is better for thee than the teftef flower. Speak thou only when thou knowest a matter and canst explain it. Behold, the word is a handicraftsman who speaks in the council, and speech is the most laborious of all works. The explanation thereof hands one over to the staff [of punishment].
- 25. If thou art strong, make respect for thyself to spread with understanding and with gentleness of speech. Command not except when thou canst guide; abuse brings a man to calamity. Be not haughty in thy heart, lest it be humbled. Keep not silence entirely, take care as to the path thou treadest. Answer a word in a suitable manner. Put away.... control thyself. Subdue the heated emotions of an ardent mind. The man who walks softly fashions his path aright. The man who toils the whole day long never passes a happy moment; and the man who indulges in pleasure all the day long never acquires possessions. Seize a time for rest as does the steersman; the time he is on land another toils (i.e., grasps the pole)
- 26. Approach not a great man in his hour, and irritate not the heart of him who is heavily burdened with care. Injury caused by him comes upon him that is hated by him. He sets free his Ka, he loves him who gives food, who is with God. What he loves he does There is peace with his Ka [when] the calamity has fallen.
- 27. Instruct thou a nobleman in the matters which will be advantageous to him; make his splendour to be among the people; make thou that what a man knows shall fall (i.e., be attributed) to his lord. Thine own food depends upon his Ka (i.e., good pleasure); a kindly (or, loving) heart obtains the meals which satisfy, and thine own back becomes clothed thereby. His light is upon thee to make thy house to live..... Het offers a gracious (i.e., helpful) shoulder.... Verily he who hearkens is a being who is loved.
- 28. If thou art the son of a man who is a member of council and art chosen to go on a mission to make tranquil the multitude, search out the matter with strict justice, and declare thy finding, taking no side. Take heed to what one says as do the chiefs it is for thee to adjust the case rather than to act as judge.
- 29. If thou hast been long-suffering with a man in time past, and thou art wearied by a man suing for his right, turn thyself away from him, and remember him not. Whilst he keeps silent to thee the first day.
- 30. If thou hast become great, having been once in a very lowly state, and if thou hast acquired possessions, having been at one time in a state of destitution in the quarter of the city that is known to thee, forget not that which happened to thee in the times that are past. Set not thy heart's confidence on thy goods, which have, after all, only come to thee as gifts of God. Thou wouldst not be superior to any other man if what has happened to thee had happened to him.
- 31. Bend thy back in reverence to him that is thy chief and thy governor by virtue of the power that he derives from the House (i.e., authority) of the King. Thy house and all that is in it shall prosper thereby, and thou shalt receive the wages that it is meet for thee to have. It is a bad thing to set oneself in opposition to the man who is appointed chief. A man lives as long as he displays gentleness and patience. A man should never injure the shoulder that covers (i.e., protects) him. Rob not the house of the peasants, and seize not by force the property that comes into thy hands. He (i.e., thy chief) will not revile thee because of what thou hast heard If he knows it he will be hostile to thee. It is a bad thing to set thyself in opposition in the place which thou hast entered.
- 32. Have no intercourse with a womanchild [text wanting]

- 33. If thou seekest for friendship with a man, ask not for it, but go to his house, and pass the time (or, pay a visit) with him alone, so that he may not be able to make his attitude to thee unpleasant. Talk wisely to him after a certain period Find out what his mind is by conversing with him. If there comes up as a subject something that he has seen thee do, or if he does something that makes thee to be ashamed, hold thy peace or show thyself friendly to him; browbeat him not Prepare an answer for him with words that will tell, answer not in a way that will irritate him; do not leave him, and do not harass him. His moment must not come, and he must not be cast down at what has been ordered for him.
- 34. Let thy face shine with cheerfulness as long as thou livest. When there comes forth from the storehouse one of those who went in at the distribution of loaves of bread and his face is set in a frown, he makes known the emptiness of his belly, and he becomes an enemy, being unsatisfied. Do not let any man approach thee and find thee with a gloomy face. A man wishes to remember what is pleasant in the years that he has yet to live.
- 35. Know thy people (or, acquaintances) when thy prosperity is at a low ebb; thy character (or, reputation) is more than thy friends. It fills the river-side; it is greater than a man's valuable possessions. Riches pass from one man to another. It is an excellent thing for the son of a man to have a [good] character. Good qualities are remembered.

... [text wanting]

37. If thou takest as a handmaid a woman who has always enjoyed good cheer, and is of a merry disposition and is well known to her fellow townsfolk, and she is as thy lawful wife, and is good to look upon, drive her not away, but supply her with food to eat (or, make her fat with good food).

[Here ends the Teaching of Ptah-Hotep.]

Ptah-Hotep's Comments on his Teaching.

A. If thou wilt hearken to these things which I have said to thee, thy condition of life will be like unto that of all those who have gone before thee. And besides the truth that belongs to them remains their beauty: the memory of them shall never depart from the mouths of men by reason of the beauty of their phrasing. Every word will pass current as a thing that can never perish in this land, and it will beautify exceedingly the utterances that the princes and nobles make. It is the Teaching that a man should hand on when speaking to his posterity, so that they may hear it. Thereby he becomes a craftsman in speech, and having heard fine speech himself, he declares it to those who shall come after him, so that they likewise may hear what he has heard. If a well-doing disposition exists in him that is set at the head of affairs he will always be beneficent, and all his wisdom shall endure for ever and ever. The soul that is well trained (or, is understanding) rejoices when its wisdom is established, and it is happy when it is prosperous on the earth. Behold, he becomes a prince through his well-doing disposition, his heart serves as the counterpoise to his tongue, and his lips are true when he speaks, his eyes see rightly, and his two ears hear at the same time. It is a very excellent thing for his son to do what is right, and to keep himself from falsehood [in word and deed].

B. It is a good thing for the son who hears to have heard. He who hears enters in as one who has heard, and he who has heard becomes a hearer who hears what is good and speaks what is good. Everyone who has heard is an excellent person, and it is an excellent thing for him that has already heard [teaching] to hear [more]. To hear is the best of all qualities (or, characteristics), and beautiful affection springs into being thereby. How beautiful is it to see a son searching into the Teaching of his father; through this act he will attain to old age. The man who loves God will hear, but he whom God hates will not hear. Behold, it is the heart of a man that makes its possessor hear or not hear. The heart of a man is life, strength and health to him. Behold, he who has heard hears the word, and he who loves to hear is he who will perform words. How beautiful it is when a son hearkens to his father! And how happy is he (i.e., the father) to whom these words are applicable! How beautiful is the son as a lord of hearing, who has heard and of whom it can be said, He is good in his body, and is treasured by his father! The memorial of him shall be ever in the mouths of those who are alive on the earth at this present, and in the mouths of unborn generations

C. If the son of a man receives what his father says to him, none of his plans shall fail. Thou art instructed by a son who hearkens. His merit [becomes known] among the princes. His control is over that which he speaks—seeing in hearing..... Calamity overtakes [the son who] will not hear. The man of knowledge rises betimes to stablish himself, but the fool of a man injures himself

D. The fool of a man who has not hearkened effects nothing whatsoever. He looks upon the man of knowledge as a man who knows nothing, and the qualities of virtue and excellence he considers to be defects. He does every kind of thing that is reprehensible, and these cause him to be abused daily. He lives (i.e., flourishes) upon that through which men die, and his bread is that which is filthy and abominable. But his character and disposition are well known to the princes. He goes on living day by day, but he is as one dead, and people keep themselves at a distance from him because of his evil moods, and because of the many calamities that come upon him every

E. The son who has hearkened is like a Follower of Horus, and when he has hearkened good [comes] to him. When he is old and has attained the state when reverence is paid to him, he tells his children the things that were told to him, and so makes new the instruction of his father. Every man instructs as he has been instructed, and tells his children what he has been told, and they tell it again to their children.

F. Build up a character and gainsay not thy precept. Make Truth to flourish, give life to thy children. If it will come bearing sins (or, defects). Act thou in such a way that the people when they see thee shall say; "Behold, he is exactly like that one"; and that when they hear of thee they shall also say: "Behold, he is exactly like that one." The people shall see

and shall [say] subduing the multitude G. Suppress no word [in this book], and add nothing to it, and set not one thing in the place of another. Take good heed not to open the writings (book, documents) that thou hast; instruct according to the [traditional] word. Thou, a man of learning, hearken thyself. Desire thou to establish thy behest in the mouths of those who hear. [Let thy speech be suitable to the occasion and let every plan of thine be in its place.

H. Make thy heart to sink as in water, control thy mouth. so shall thy plans be among the princes. Make thyself to be wholly in accord with thy lord, make him to say: "This is my son." Then shall those who hear these words say: "Assuredly praise is due to his begetters." Concentrate thy mind at the time when thou art speaking, and thou shalt make remarkable utterances, and the princes who hear them shall say: "Good, good are the things that come forth from his mouth

I. Act in such a way that thy lord shall say of thee:-Teaching of his father must have been very, very good. He came forth from him (i.e., his father), the first of his loins. He has declared his Teaching to him, and the whole of it is in his body, and what he did in making him was greater than what he said to him. Behold a good son, of the gift of God, who has done more than his lord ordered him to do. He does that which is right, and his heart does (i.e., follows) according to

May thy members have strength (or, good health) similar to that which I have obtained, the King at the same time being satisfied with everything that has happened, and mayest thou be master of [many] years of life. It is not a little thing that I have upon the earth. I have obtained one hundred and ten years of life, which the King has given to me, in addition to the favours which surpassed those of my ancestors, for doing what was right for the King up to the place of reverence (i.e., to old age).

Here ends [the book]—its beginning to its end as it was found in writing.

THE COMMANDMENTS OF MAAT

Estimated Range of Dating: 2500-2345 BC E. A. Wallis Budge, 1924

(Maat or Ma'at refers to the ancient Egyptian concepts of truth, balance, order, harmony, law, morality, and justice. Maat was also the goddess who personified these concepts, and regulated the stars, seasons, and the actions of mortals and the deities who had brought order from chaos at the moment of creation.

The earliest surviving records indicating that Maat is the norm for nature and society, in this world and the next, were recorded during the Old Kingdom of Egypt, the earliest substantial surviving examples being found in the Pyramid Texts of Unas from between ca. 2375 BC and 2345 BC.

As A Principle

Maat represents the ethical and moral principle that every Egyptian citizen was expected to follow throughout their daily lives. They were expected to act with honor and truth in manners that involve family, the community, the nation, the environment, and the gods.

Maat as a principle was formed to meet the complex needs of the emergent Egyptian state that embraced diverse peoples with conflicting interests. The development of such rules sought to avert chaos and it became the basis of Egyptian law. From an early period the King would describe himself as the "Lord of Maat" who decreed with his mouth the Maat he conceived in his heart.

The significance of Maat developed to the point that it embraced all aspects of existence, including the basic equilibrium of the universe, the relationship between constituent parts, the cycle of the seasons, heavenly movements, religious observations and fair dealings, honesty and truthfulness in social interactions.

The ancient Egyptians had a deep conviction of an underlying holiness and unity within the universe. Cosmic harmony was achieved by correct public and ritual life. Any disturbance in cosmic harmony could have consequences for the individual as well as the state. An impious King could bring about famine, and blasphemy could bring blindness to an individual)

THE LAW

There is little surviving literature that describes the practice of ancient Egyptian law. Maat was the spirit in which justice was applied rather than the detailed legalistic exposition of rules. Maat represented the normal and basic values that formed the backdrop for the application of justice that had to be carried out in the spirit of truth and fairness. From the Fifth Dynasty (c. 2510–2370 BC) onwards, the vizier responsible for justice was called the Priest of Maat and in later periods judges wore images of Maat.

Later scholars and philosophers also would embody concepts from the Sebayt, a native wisdom literature. These spiritual texts dealt with common social or professional situations and how each was best to be resolved or addressed in the spirit of Maat. It was very practical advice, and highly case-based, so few specific and general rules could be derived

During the Greek period in Egyptian history, Greek law existed alongside Egyptian law. The Egyptian law preserved the rights of women who were allowed to act independently of men and own substantial personal property and in time this influenced the more restrictive conventions of the Greeks and Romans. When the Romans took control of Egypt, the Roman legal system which existed throughout the Roman Empire was imposed in Egypt.

In funerary texts

Egyptians were often entombed with funerary texts in order to be well equipped for the afterlife as mandated by ancient Egyptian funerary practices. These often served to guide the deceased through the afterlife, and the most famous one is the Book of the Dead or Papyrus of Ani (known to the ancient Egyptians as The Book of Coming Forth by Day). The lines of these texts are often collectively called the "Forty-Two Declarations of Purity"

A passage in the Instruction of Ptah-Hotep presents Ma'at as follows:

Ma'at is good and its worth is lasting.

It has not been disturbed since the day of its creator whereas he who transgresses its ordinances is punished.

It lies as a path in front even of him who knows nothing. Wrongdoing has never yet brought its venture to port.

It is true that evil may gain wealth but the strength of truth is that it lasts;
a man can say: "It was the property of my father."

Ptah-Hotep was the city administrator and vizier (first minister) during the reign of Pharaoah Djedkare Isesi, the 8th and penultimate pharao of the Fifth Dynasty. He is credited with authoring The Instructions of Ptah-Hotep, an early piece of Egyptian "wisdom literature" meant to instruct young men in appropriate behaviour.

Ptah-Hotep (meaning "Peace of Ptah"), sometimes known as Ptah-Hotep I or Ptahhotpe, was an ancient Egyptian vizier during the late 25th century BC and early 24th century BC Fifth Dynasty of Egypt.

The doctrine of Maat is represented in the declarations to Rekhti-merti-f-ent-Maat and the 42 Negative Confessions listed in the Papyrus of Ani. The following are translations by E. A. Wallis Budge.)

The 42 Negative Confessions from the Papyrus of Ani.

- 1 I have not committed sin.
- 2 I have not committed robbery with violence.
- 3 I have not stolen.
- 4 I have not slain men and women.
- 5 I have not stolen grain.
- 6 I have not purloined offerings.
- 7 I have not stolen the property of the gods.
- 8 I have not uttered lies.
- 9 I have not carried away food. 10 I have not uttered curses
- 11 I have not committed adultery.
- 12 I have made none to weep.
- 13 I have not eaten the heart [i.e., I have not grieved uselessly, or felt remorse].
- 14 I have not attacked any man.
- 15 I am not a man of deceit.
- 16 I have not stolen cultivated land
- 17 I have not been an eavesdropper
- 18 I have slandered [no man].
- 19 I have not been angry without just cause.
- 20 I have not debauched the wife of any man.
- 21 I have not debauched the wife of [any] man. (repeats the previous affirmation but addressed to a different god).

- 22 I have not polluted myself.
- 23 I have terrorized none.
- 24 I have not transgressed [the Law].
- 25 I have not been wroth.
- 26 I have not shut my ears to the words of truth
- 27 I have not blasphemed.
- 28 I am not a man of violence.
- 29 I am not a stirrer up of strife (or a disturber of the peace).
- 30 I have not acted (or judged) with undue haste.
- 31 I have not pried into matters.
- 32 I have not multiplied my words in speaking.
- 33 I have wronged none, I have done no evil.
- 34 I have not worked witchcraft against the King (or blasphemed against the King).
- 35 I have never stopped [the flow of] water.
- 36 I have never raised my voice (spoken arrogantly, or in anger).
 - 37 Í have not cursed (or blasphemed) God.
 - 38 I have not acted with evil rage.
- 39 I have not stolen the bread of the Gods.
- 40 I have not carried away the khenfu cakes from the spirits of the dead.
- 41 I have not snatched away the bread of the child, nor treated with contempt the god of my city.
- 42 I have not slain the cattle belonging to the God.

THE TEACHING OF TUAUF, THE SON OF KHATTAI.

Source: British Museum Papyrus No. 10,182 and No. 10,222 Translation: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1924 Estimated Range of Dating: 2345 - 2181 BC.

(The next oldest Book of Moral Precepts known to us is probably the Teaching of Tuauf, the son of Khattai, who wrote it for the benefit of his son Pepi; when and where Tuauf lived is unknown. The Teaching of Tuauf is considered to be a work of the 6th dynasty (2345 to 2181 BC.) or soon after. The Teaching of Tuauf was very popular under the New Empire (1550–1077 BC), and it seems to have been used as a text-book in schools and colleges, partly because its contents were more interesting than the religious texts that were usually studied, and partly because from one end to the other it is an eulogy of the profession of the scribe and the man of books.

A copy found in a more or less complete state only in papyri of the 19th or 20th dynasty (1292 to 1077 BC.). From the copy's composition it seems clear that the copyists of it at that time did not understand what they were writing; the obvious mistakes in the text are very numerous, and many passages mean nothing, or at any rate, are untranslatable. In spite of these defects, the main object of Tuauf in writing his work was to instil into the mind of his son Pepi a love for letters and for the profession of the scribe, and also to make him study the apophthegns of the Ancestors.

What Tuauf's social position was we know not, but by some means or other he learned to write and to express himself with tolerable clearness. He was probably not a man of high rank, and he seems to have worked at some kind of trade. In the course of this he found his ability to read and write of such importance that he determined to have his son properly educated, and to make him a scribe. He lacked the skill of the professional scribe in turning his sentences, and he employed in his Teaching the words that were in common use among the people of his own class. A thousand or twelve hundred years later, when the temple scribes and teachers under the Ramessid kings began to use his Teaching as a text-book, these archaic words were no longer understood, and others of more modern use were substituted for them. Blunders in copying and attempts at emendation have brought the text of Tuauf's Teaching into the unsatisfactory state in which we find it to-day.)

Text

THE BEGINNING OF THE TEACHING THAT WAS COMPOSED BY A MAN OF THE THART, WHOSE NAME IS TUAUF, THE SON OF KHATTAI, FOR HIS SON WHOSE NAME IS PEPI, WHEN HE WAS SAILING UP THE RIVER WITH HIM TO KHENNU (OR TO THE COURT?), TO PLACE HIM IN THE HOUSE OF THE TEACHING OF BOOKS (IX., WITH THE SONS OF THE PRINCES OF KHENNU). HE SAID TO HIM:—

I I have considered the exhaustion caused by labour, I repeat I have considered it; [therefore] devote thy mind to books, I have also considered who has been released from the corvee, and assuredly there is nothing more [to be esteemed] than books. They are like a well. Dig down deeply therefore into the depth of Kamit {ix., the literature of Egypt), and thou wilt find the following aphorism: As for the scribe, any (or every) position at Court may be his; he needs not be a beggar therein. The man who works to satisfy another never obtains a settled position. I have considered the other professions likewise, and to them also this aphorism may be applied. I would make thee to love books as thy mother. I

would bring in their beauties before thy face, for the profession of the scribe is greater than any other—there is nothing equal to it upon the earth. Even when he is a beginner and is making progress, though still a mere youth, his views are discussed. He is despatched on missions of state, but does not come [back] to place himself under restraint.

2 I have never seen the blacksmith (literally, the man who casts statues in metal) in charge of a mission, or the goldworker despatched on one. But I have seen the coppersmith at his work at the door of his blazing fiery furnace. His fingers are [knotted and rough] like the hide of the crocodile, and he stinks more than the guts of fish.

3 Every artisan who wields the chisel, has he any more rest than the ploughman? (Or, perhaps, "he needs more rest than the ploughman.") His fields are [made of] wood, his tools of tillage are of copper. He is released from work in the nightseason, 0and works more than he did with his arms [in the day-time]; in the night-season he lights his lamp.

4 The stone-mason is always seeking blocks of sandstone of aU kinds suitable for his work. When his period of work is ended in the evening, his arms are weary, and he (i.e., his whole body) is exhausted. He sits himself down when Ra enters [the Tuat], and his thighs and the bones of his back [seem] as if they were coming asunder.

5 The barber shaves until far into the night. When he sets himself to eat he must put himself on his upper arm. He betakes himself from one quarter of the town to another in search of the men who want shaving {i.e., his customers}. He tortures his hands and arms to fill his belly, just as do the honey-flies {i.e., bees} which devour their own productions.

6 The waterman has to work down the river into the Delta in order to gain his wages. He must toil excessively and work as long as his arms are able to do so. The mosquitoes and gnats sting him to death, his stink chokes him. He sets out for his garden, he sets out for his house

7 The workman (or, mud-puddler) who builds dams (or, makes bricks) in the fields must pass his time among the cattle. He has to do work in the vineyards and for the pigs. He cooks his food in the fields. His garments are stiff with the mud which is caked on them, the straps break. If he goes into the wind it stifles him; when his fire appears (i.e., bums up) he is comfortable. He works wooden tools with his feet. If he frees himself from them and crosses the threshold, he is driven from the place

8 I will speak to thee also about the builder of walls. He is eaten up with disease, for he lives out in the open air among the winds. The building material is in his garb. He is tied to the walls like the Lilies in order to attain to what he seeks. His arms are in evil case all his clothes are dilapidated. He eats the bread of his fingers, he washes himself once only. His misery is so great that it can hardly be described correctly from one chamber to another, ten cubits by six cubits from one month to another he clings to the scaffolding like the lilies on the houses, doing work of every kind. If he has bread [to eat] it is to his house that he gives it. His children are cruelly beaten [by him].

9 The gardener brings in to me gazelle (sic). His shoulders are bowed under crushing loads, and his arms and his neck become diseased. He spends the forenoon in watching the onions and the afternoon in attending to the vines. He is obliged to work every day, and everything he does exhausts his body.

10 The farm-labourer, his clothes [last] for ever.* (*Or, perhaps, "The farm-labourer is always held accountable by his employer.") He has a raucous voice like that of the corncrake (?) His fingers and hands and arms are dried up by the winds and are cracked. He is worked to exhaustion a man would choose the security afforded by lions to that which he has. The taste of death is in him. His roof is the earth among them. He comes through the fields, he comes to his house in the evening, and is utterly worn out by the journey.

11 The weaver sits in a closed hut, and has a lot which is worse than that of a woman. His thighs are drawn up close to his body, and he cannot breathe freely. The day on which he fails to do his tale of woven work he is dragged out [from his hut] like a lily (or lotus) from the pool. Only by bribing the watchman at the door with [his] bread-cakes can he make him let him see the sunlight.

12 The spear-maker (literally, the maker of weapons for fighting) suffers sorely when he has to go out into the hills. He must pay much money for the hire of the asses and [their drivers], and his expenses for provender for them on the way are very great. He comes through the fields, he comes to his house, and is utterly worn out by the journey.

13 The envoy when he is about to come forth into the mountainous country (or, desert) bequeaths his possessions to his children, being afraid of lions and the thievish nomads, the Aamu. And when he returns to Egypt, and has come through the fields, and reaches his house at nightfall, he is utterly broken by the fatigues of the journey.

14 The reed-cutter, his fingers are filthy, and the stink of them is that of the dealer in fish His eyes are dazed (or, sunken), his hand never rests. He passes the whole day in cutting papyrus, he detests [wearing] clothes.

15 The lot of the sandal-maker is an evil one indeed. He must beg [for work] everlastingly. His health is the health of a hooked-fish He gnaws the strips of leather.

16 The washerman who toils on the river bank is a neighbour of the crocodile filth rises on the water, his hand never stops. It is not a restful profession which I now set before thee, or the happiest of all professions! His food is mixed up with his apparel, not one of his members is clean, he must put himself into the garments of women. His miserable state is one to weep over. He spends his whole day with the stick for beating the clothes [in his hands]. When clothes are brought to him to wash he is told that if he delays he will be beaten.

17 The snarer of wild-fowl toils exceedingly hard when he tries to see the birds as they fly high in the sky. When he sees the birds in a mass in the sky, he says: "How I wish that I had a net handy!" but God does not give him his heart's desire to help him to carry out his thoughts.

18 Moreover I tell thee that the trade of the fisherman is the worst of all trades. Does he not verily have to toil in the waters of the river, where he is mixed up with the crocodiles? When the river-plants are sparse there is no one to cry out to him, "A crocodile lurking there." Fear blinds his eyes. Verily there is no occupation than which better cannot be found except the profession of the scribe, which is the best of

19 When a man knows the books one will say, "They are good for thee," No other profession will I set before thee; verily each worker curses his work [except the scribe]. No man says to the scribe, "Work in the fields for such and such a man." Verily that which I am now doing as I sail up the river to Khennu (the Court?), behold, I do it for love of thee. Even one day [spent] in the house of instruction (i.e., school) is profitable for thee, and the work done therein will endure as long as the mountains. These are the things that I would have thee to know quickly, quickly, for they drive away the Beast (or. Serpent?) Betennu.

20 I will [now] speak to thee words concerning other matters, to instruct thee and make thee to know [how to behave] and how to avoid contention (or, quarrelling). Be thou one of those who have weight (a settled object?) in their plans, for if a man adopts an object hastily he knows not where his plans will end. A man may have lapis lazuli in his hand [for] the lions....

21 When thou art following in the train of princes walk decorously, as if thou wert feeling pleasure. When thou goest into a house and findest the master therein, the hands of another not being before thee*, sit down, [lay] thy hand on thy mouth, and ask no questions of anyone who may happen to be near thee. (*Or, perhaps, "and findest the master therein [engaged] in discussing with another man affairs [of which thou art ignorant]." He who says "[Tell me,] I pray," is like the man who tries to break a cudgel with a twig* (*Tuauf is here quoting a proverb; he quotes it again a few paragraphs later.)

22 Ur-shefit lays a burden upon thee. Utter no cryptic words; he who conceals his body (or, mind) works against him. Speak not words of pride and arrogance, even when thou art sitting by thyself, or, according to a variant reading, alone.

23 When thou comest out of the house of teaching {i.e., school}—it having been told thee that midday has come—and thou goest singing (or, shouting) about the courtyards of the houses, I charge thee not to enter into [the houses] to which they belong.

24 When a great man of the town sends thee on an errand, deliver the message which he gave thee word for word, even as he uttered it. Take nothing away from the message which he gave, and abandon [the idea] of making any addition to it. Let him not set his heart. He is filled with [good] qualities of every kind, there exist no hidden things to him, no place is large enough to contain him.

25 Speak not lies to (or, concerning) thy mother, for the sake of this Great Chief (Osiris?). Act not in any wise against her, not even when thou art by thyself or, according to a variant reading, alone. If thou art one who despises the belly thou wilt be hearkened to. If, when thou hast eaten three bread-cakes, and hast drunk two pitchers of beer, thy belly is not full, thou must fight against it (i.e., thy ravenous appetite). If another man is filled therewith make no stand: it is like a man trying to break a cudgel with a twig.

26 Behold, it is a good thing for thee to dismiss the crowd of people that are about thee, [so that] thou canst hear [privily] the words of the nobles. O that I could make myself like imto thee—son of men (a title also found in Qumran texts and New Testament writings). Thou marchest like one who has made himself the master of The scribe who hears (or, obeys) is seen [and known]; he who obeys becomes a man of might. Fight against the words that are against (i.e., condemn) it. Make thy feet hasten when thou marchest and spare not thyself Make thyself to be friendly with thy young companions.

27 Behold, the goddess Renenit is on the way of God, and it is the goddess Renenit whom the scribe has upon his shoulder on the day of his birth, and when having become a man, he

enters the Council Chamber. Verily there is no scribe who does not eat the food of the King; life, strength, and health be

28 The goddess Meskhenit makes the scribe to flourish and to prosper, and sets him at the head of the Council. Tua-Ra is his father and his mother (or, his father and his mother praise Ra). They set him on the path of life. Behold, these are the things that I would set before thee, and before the children of his (i.e., his son's) children.

THE TEACHING WHICH KING KHATI WROTE FOR HIS SON MERIKARA.

or: Instruction Addressed to King Merikare or: The Teaching for King Merykara Source: Vladimir Semyonovich Golenishchev, 1913, Ermitage, St. Petershurg, No. 1115, 1116a & 1116b Translation: Alan Henderson Gardiner, 1914 Estimated Range of Dating: 2025-1700 BC.

(Instruction Addressed to King Merikare or The Teaching for King Merykara, is a literary composition in Middle Egyptian, the classical phase of the Egyptian language, probably of Middle Kingdom date (2025-1700 BC)

In this "sebayt" (wisdom teaching) the author has a First Intermediate Period king of Egypt possibly named Kheti address his son, the future king Merykara, advising him on how to be a good king, and how to avoid evil. Merykara is the name of a king of Dynasty 9 or 10, the line or lines of kings who ruled northern Egypt during a period of division, the First Intermediate Period (about 2150-2025 BC). Perhaps this allowed the author of this composition greater freedom in describing the limits of royal authority than might have been possible in referring to kings of a unified Egypt; the Teaching for King Merykara is effectively a treatise on kingship in the form of a royal testament, the first of this genre. Similar works were created later in the Hellenistic and Islamic world, and, in the speculum regum, had a parallel in medieval Europe. Like similar later "royal testaments" one of its functions may have been the legitimization of the ruling king.

Synopsis: The first, mostly destroyed, section deals with the putting down of rebellion, the second with how to treat the king's subjects. The third section gives advice on how to run the army and religious services. The fourth describes the king's achievements and how to emulate them. Next, in contrast to the continual recycling of architectural blocks, the king is instructed to quarry new stone, not reuse old monuments: the reality of reuse is acknowledged, but the ideal of new work is commended. Similarly, the destruction of a sacred territory at Abydos is recorded; the king expresses remorse, as if accepting responsibility for the unthinkable that must have recurred throughout history - sacrilege in the name of the ruling king, subject to divine retribution during a judgement of the dead.[6] The importance of upholding Maat, the right world order, is stressed. The last two sections contain a hymn to the creator god (who remains unnamed) [7] and an exhortation to heed these instructions.

The contrast between real and ideal make the composition a reflection on power unparalleled in Ancient Egyptian writing. Principal sources: The text is known from three fragmentary papyri. They only partly complement one another and the most complete one, the Leningrad Papyrus, contains the largest number of scribal errors and omissions, making it very difficult work with.

- Papyrus Hermitage 1116A, late Dynasty 18
- · Papyrus Moscow, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts 4658, late Dynasty 18
- Papyrus Carlsberg 6, late Dynasty 18

The "Teaching of King Khati" is a remarkable composition. King Khati wrote it for the benefit of his son Meri-ka-Ra. Unfortunately the only version of it which we have is the work of the scribes of the 19th dynasty, but there seems to be little doubt that the composition itself is about two thousand years older. This Teaching of Khati is different in every way from that of his predecessors, and this royal author intended to teach his son something more than morality. The first six paragraphs advise Meri-ka-Ra how to deal with disloyal, noisy sedition-mongers, who go about the city talking and inciting men to overthrow the existing government. He is to use no half measures, but to seize such folk, kill them, blot out their name and memorial, and destroy their adherents.

The next three paragraphs counsel just and considerate treatment of the nobles and the people in general: Stablish thy boundaries and provide for the future, seize not all the land. [Life] passes quickly upon earth and is of short duration.

The next seven paragraphs deal with an incident in a fight which King Khati had with the princes of Thebes at This, near Abydos; the subjugation of the peoples to the north-west and north-east of Herakleopolis; the nomad tribes of the Aamu (or Syrians) and their warlike and unconquerable disposition.

The rest of the text, and this is a surprise, is monotheistic, meaning it deals with only One God. The passages contain the simplest and grandest description of the power and majesty of

the God of Creation which has been found in Egyptian papyri. It is clear from some of the lines in them that the god whose power Khati describes is Ra, the oldest sun-god of Heliopolis, who was undoubtedly regarded as the creator of the material universe. King Khati's monotheism is of a very high order, but Ra was, apparently, not almighty, for he had enemies, who subsisted against his will, and whom he had to slay. And his power over the men whom he had created in his image was not great enough to prevent them from conspiring against him. Moreover, to help men to overcome "happenings," (i.e., accidents and calamities) and diurnal and nocturnal visions, he was obliged to invent for them Hekau, "words of power (i.e., magical spells, incantations, exorcisms, and the like). As these were to be recited whilst certain ceremonies, of a symbolic and magical character, were being performed, and as both the spells and ceremonies were designed to destroy the power and works of evil beings, they must be regarded as the foundation of the "White Magic," which Ra invented to defeat "Black Magic."

(The hieratic text of this Teaching is only found in copies of it which were made by the scribes who flourished under the New Empire, and is preserved at St. Petersburg and Moscow. It was published in 1913 by Vladimir Semyonovich Golenishchev in Les Papyrus Hieratiques No. 1115, 1116a et 1116b de L'Ermitage Imperial a St. Petershourg,.and translated into English by Alan Henderson Gardiner in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, Vol. I, p. 22 ff.)

[The first two or three columns are much mutilated, and little connected sense can be got from the fragments.]

- 1 [The few words which remain suggest that the king tells his son what characteristic in a man he considers to be absolutely essential for ruling successfully.]
 2-4 [These paragraphs deal with the suppression of
- 5 The king, considering the case of a man who is friendly with disloyal folk, and possesses the gift of fluent speech, and is very popular with many in the city and can bend them to his will, and is a mischievous chatterer, advises his son to seize him, and kill him, and blot out his name, and wipe out every memorial of his existence, and suppress all who were his
- 6 A quarrelsome discontented man causes uproar in a city, and will split the community into two parties. If thou dost find a man of this kind, but canst not thyself deal adequately with him, summon him to appear before the council, and prosecute him as a rebel, for he is one. A chatterer in any case causes trouble in a city. Curb the mob. The man with nothing to lose rebels naturally.
- 7 A king must not punish in the heat of passion; use discretion in punishing, and thy people will rejoice. Show thyself to be a speaker of the truth before the God The heaven of a man is a good disposition (or, nature); the curse of a man who is broken-hearted through suffering is a terrible thing (or, calamity).
- 8 Make thyself a craftsman in speech, for thereby thou shalt gain the upper hand. The tongue of a man is his weapon, and speech is mightier than fighting. No man can come behind him that is skilled in heart Those who do not know cannot seize the man who knows, and where he is no evil thing takes place. Truth comes to him in a well rubbed-down state in the form of the sayings of the ancestors.

9 Follow after (or, imitate) thy fathers of olden time. The [mind] is trained by knowledge. Behold, their words stand fast in writing. Open [their book], read, and follow their wise counsels, and in this wise shall the workman become a man who has been taught. Be not evil; good is graciousness (or, sympathy). Let thy loving sympathy stand as a permanent memorial of thee. Multiply thy [benefit] in the city. The people will give thanks to God for thy benefactions, and they will praise thy goodness, and will pray for thy health [in years to comel.

10 Pay honour to princes, and treat thy people well. Make the boundaries of thy country to flourish enlarge them), and the districts about thee. It is a good thing to work (i.e., make provision) for what is (or, those who are) to come after. Pay honour to a life of work, for he who is satisfied in heart becomes an evil It is a despicable thing for a man to fetter the land (his estate?). The man who has nothing is greedy for the property [of others] upon earth has no continuity.

11 Make great thy princes and they will carry out thy laws. The man who possesses wealth in his house favours no man; the man with possessions has no need of [bribes]. The poor man does not say what it would be right for him [to say], and the man who says, "I would have more" is not trustworthy for he will favour the side that will bribe him. A prince is truly great when his princes are great; a king is strong when he has shenit (i.e., mighty men) about him. Awe-inspiring is he who has many princes about him. Speak what is true in thy house, and the princes who are on the earth shall fear thee. All is well

when the Lord is right of heart, [for] the chief (or, innermost?) chamber makes reverence to be felt for the outside thereof.

12 Do the right, and thou shalt continue upon the earth. Make the weeper to cease his plaint. Fleece not the widow woman. Drive no man away from the property of his father (i.e., ancestral estate). Defraud not the princes by removing them from their hereditary offices. Take good heed not to inflict punishment unjustly. Slay none unnecessarily; it will not be profitable for thee. Inflict punishment by means of beatings and putting men under restraint; through treatment of this kind this land shall have a sure foundation. But an exception to this treatment shall be the rebel whose plottings have been found out. God knows the evil-hearted. God smites him for transgressions against Him even to blood Slay not the man with whose virtues thou art acquainted, with whom thou hast in times past sung the writings [in school] and read the [Sapu Book] of God. Enter with a long stride the place of hidden things (or, mysteries). The soul of the man who is slain comes to the place which it knows, it steps not aside from the ways of yesterday. No words of power (i.e., magical spells) can turn it back, and it advances to the place where waters flow for it.

[We will now refer to three paragraphs 13, 27 and 28, but which give to the Teaching of Khati a character possessed by no other moral work except that of Amen-em-apt. These paragraphs deal with religion and not morality, and that they should occur in a work written nearly three thousand years before Christ is very remarkable. Paragraph XIII carries on the subject of the preceding paragraph, in which the King

13 "Do right deeds, thou shalt remain on the earth," He goes on to say, If thou wilt oppress the widow, and usurp the orphans' possessions, and dismiss the magistrates who judge rightly, and punish innocent men, and murder people, thou wilt be judged and punished after death. [The passage concerning the Judgement is so important that I reproduce Golenischeff's transcript of it, and a translation of it:-

THE HIDGEMENT

"[Remember] the Tchatchaut* who judge wrongdoers. (*i.e., the Company of Assessors in the Other World, presumably the Forty-two great gods of the Hall of Maati, which was presided over by Osiris) Know thou that they will not be lenient (or, pitiful) [On] that day of the judgement of wretched man, [In] the hour of the doing of [their] appointed duty. It is a terrible thing for a man who knows [his sin] to be charged with it. Fill not thy heart [with hope] because of length of years, [For] they regard a whole lifetime as a single hour. They prove [a man] after [his] arrival in port (i.e., death). His qualities are placed near him as means of subsistence. There (i.e., in the Other World) existence is everlasting. A fool is he who has put [the remembrance of] it away from him. The man who attains to that place without wrongdoing Has an existence there like that of God, Going about unhampered like the Everlasting Lords.

14 Train up the young men to be soldiers and thou wilt be beloved by the Court, and let thy retinue of servants be great and numerous. See that thy town is always filled with hale young men who have newly arrived, being twenty years of age. Young men rejoice in following the dictates of their hearts. Successors of dependants appear, and a father with his Thus I raised soldiers when I ascended the children throne. Make great thy great men, promote [those who fight] for thee. I pray thee to increase thy young men who follow thee, provided with inventories, endowed with fields and supplied with cattle.

15 Make no distinction in thy behaviour towards the son of a man of rank and the son of a man of humble parentage, but attach to thyself a man by reason of what his hands have effected. All handicrafts are performed according to the the Lord of Strength. Guard thy border, set up thy lasting monuments, so that the corvde gangs may be profitable to their lord. Set up thy [fine] monumental buildings to God, for this will make to live the name of him that builds them. Let a man do what is of benefit to his souls, [that is to say] let him make the monthly purification, and take the white sandals, and betake himself to the temple, and unveil what is usually secret, and enter the shrine (or, sanctuary), and eat bread in the house of the god.

16 Make the libation tank to overflow, make great (or, large) the bread-cakes, multiply the daily offerings, for it benefits the man who does this. Make to flourish thy monuments according to thy wealth (or, power). One day [only] will provide for eternity, and one hour [only] will produce benefit for him that comes after. God has knowledge of the man who works for him. Carry statues of thyself into a remote land, and let not the people count [the labour] of doing so. Sick is the man who lacks a thing to fight about, in the interior of Egypt the fighting man is never cool.

17 Young recruits attack young recruits, according to what the men of olden time have said about the matter. Egypt fights in the cemetery, smashing the tombs and smashing . Thus did I myself and thus did it happen Entreat not

evilly the country of the South. Thou knowest what the Court said concerning it in times past, and it came to pass even as these things came to pass. They did not invade it, as they said The town of Ten (Thinis), which was the boundary on the south, and as far Taut (?), I captured it like a water flood. King Meri[ka]-Ra, whose word is truth (i.e., this king was dead), did not do this. Be long-suffering in ruling that country act wisely, having regard to the future.

18 Keep on good terms with the region of the South. Men will come to thee bowed under loads with offerings. I acted as the men of olden time did. If a man has no grain to give [as tribute] be compassionate, for they are feeble folk by the side of thee. Fill thyself full of thine own bread-cakes and beer. Then shall the granite come to thee [from Sun, i.e., Syene] without any hindrance. Destroy not the monuments of another man, but hew stone for thyself in Reau.* (*i.e., the quarries of Turah, about 20 miles south of Cairo on the East bank of the Nile.) Build not thy tomb with stones from a wrecked tomb Behold, thou King, Lord of joy of heart, thou art lazy, thou sleepest in thy strength. Follow thy inclination as I have done and thou shalt not have an enemy within thy border.

19 A certain man stood up, he was a lord of the town, and his heart was broken because of Ta-Mehu (i.e., the Delta), from Het-shennu to Sebaqa, its southern border as far as the marsh land of Khaui (near Herakleopolis). I settled the country on the west [of the Delta] as far as the margins of the Lake (or, Sea). They work (or, pay tribute), it yields The Eastern country is full of nomad Arabs, their tribute

[The next five paragraphs, 20-24, are full of difficult words and passages. They refer to the writer's conquest of the country to the north-east of Egypt, including Syria. He had subjugated it as far as Kantarah, and apparently had established garrisons to keep away the Semites and other Asiatic peoples. He now wishes to see a strong man arise in the person of his son. And, moreover, he says, the Pett peoples (i.e., the nomad tribes of Palestine and Syria) may be described thus:-1

20 The Amu are a despicable folk. The region in which they live is a miserable place, the water of the well[s] is horrible, it is difficult to travel about in because of the great number of the trees (or, jungle), and their roads are bad because of the mountainous districts.

21 The Amu is never to be found in the same place, and his feet are always on the move, marching from one place to another. He has been fighting ever since the time of Horus. He conquers nobody and nobody conquers him. He never announces the day on which he is going to fight, and is like the captain who rushes off suddenly to quell a rebellion. During my time the Pett tribes of the Amu were like a weapon in a fortress.... I allowed the people of Ta-Mehu (i.e., the North-land, or Delta) to fight them.

22 I carried away captive their holders of land and their cattle the Amu are a beastly folk to the Egyptians. Let not thy heart have concern about him. He will attack and rob an isolated encampment, but he will not attack a walled town. Dig down the dyke and flood half of the district as far as Kamui (Athribis), verily it is the navel-cord of the nomads of the desert. Its walls are manned with armed men, its inhabitants are many and they know how to handle Then there is the town of Tetu-Asut (A part of the modem district of Sakkarah, to the South of Memphis), the people whereof are ten thousand in number, and they are free and untaved

23 There are princes in it who from the time of Ra have gone to the Court [of Memphis]. Its borders are well defined, its coast-guards are strong, and it has many Northern men (i.e., Delta folk) in it, and they irrigate it. The North-land gives tribute in the shape of grain. Behold, it is the lands of wood of the North-land. They built a dyke that reached to Hensu (Hanes—Herakleopolis) Take good care not to be hemmed in by hostile subjects

24 When there is revolt on thy southern border it is the Pett folk (i.e., nomad tribes) who will take up arms against thee. Therefore build forts (blockhouses?) in the North-land. A man's name is not belittled because of what he has done, and the city that is protected cannot be injured. Build forts.... The enemy loves the man who is evil-hearted, for his disposition is vile. King Kha-ti (Presumably Khati I, the founder of the Herakleopolitan Dynasty), whose word is truth, has laid down the following in his wise counsel; He who is silent (i.e., inactive) against the man of violent heart is destroyed; God fights against the man who is an enemy of the temple. Here the section of the text that contains Khati's advice of a political character comes to an end; he now harks back to his moral Teaching.

25 There shall come one who shall carry it out; he shall understand what has been decreed the day of his coming. Provide drink offerings in abundance. Pay honour to God, and say not: "He is poor-spirited." Let not thy hands and arms drop in idleness, but work willingly. What destroys

heaven is apathy. Monuments are regarded by an enemy, [for] he does not destroy them because he wishes that what he himself has made shall be maintained in good order by him who comes after him. There exists no man who has not an enemy. [The Lord] of the Two Lands understands affairs, and the King who is surrounded by nobles does not act stupidly. He was wise even when he came forth from the womb; he was set apart (or, distinguished) to be at the head of the land of millions lof menl.

26 Kingship is a splendid rank. Even when [a king] has no son and no brother to perpetuate his monuments, lo, one king maintains the reputation of another. A man works on behalf of his predecessor, because he wishes that what he himself has done shall be maintained in good order by his successor. Behold, an evil happening took place in my time, that is to say, the funerary districts of Tenu (Thinis) were laid waste. It took place because of an act of my own, and I only had knowledge of it after the deed was done. Verily my punishment was in proportion to what I had done. A contemptible man and unprofitable is he who thinks that he can make to flourish again what he has laid waste, or build up what he has overthrown, restoring its perfect state and beauty. Take good heed to this matter; a blow struck brings a counter blow in its train; and this is the irresistible result of every action (or, deed).

27 God the Creator. His Worship and Power. "God has hidden Himself; [He] knows the dispositions [of men]. None can resist the lord of the hand* (see page 20) Who attacks the things which are seen by the eyes (or, whilst the eyes look on). God is to be adored [when] He is on His way. Stones are worked upon, copper (or, bronze) is wrought [into images of Him]. The parched land is rewarded with a stream. A river will not permit itself to disappear, it destroys (or, dissolves away) that ground in which it hid itself. The soul journeys to the place which it knows. Found [and] make perfect (or, magnificent) thy house of Ament (i.e., the west bank of the Nile), Beautify thy house of Khert-Neter (i.e., the cemetery) As is right to do, like one who observes the law. For the minds (or, hearts) of men rely upon it. The disposition of him that is right of heart is more acceptable than the ox of the worker of iniquity. Work for God, He will work for thee in like manner. Make offerings 130, to keep the tables for offerings well-supplied, [And] with the cutting [of funerary texts add] the similitude of thy name. God knows well [the man] who works for him."

28 [King Khati continues his advice thus:-] "Regulate (or, keep order among) men and women, who [are] the flocks and herds of God. (Compare Psalm 74,1; 79,13; 95,7; 100,3.) He made heaven [and] earth for their will (i.e., pleasure), He dissipated the darkness of the waters, He made the breezes of life (or, the life-giving air) for their nostrils. They are the images (or, likenesses) of Him, (Compare Gen. 1,26-27; 9,6.) Who came forth from His members. He mounts up into the sky for their hearts (i.e., gratification). He has made for them fruits and vegetables, flocks and herds, feathered fowl [and] fish for their subsistence. He has slain his enemies, he destroyed his own children because they conspired and made rebellion. He made the daylight for their hearts (i.e., gratification). He made himself to travel in a boat so that he could see them. He has raised up a shrine behind them. [When] they weep he hearkens [to their cry]. He made for them a governor in the egg (i.e., governors who were kings before they were born.), A captain to strengthen the back of the feeble man. He made for them words of power [for] weapons To repulse the might of [untoward] happenings [And terrifying visions by night as well as by day. He has slain those who were rebels in heart As a man chastises his son for his brother. God knows every name.

29 Do no evil thing. My mouth gives laws of every kind for the King. Make direct thy face before thee, lift up thyself like a man. O that thou mayest come to where I am without any laying information against thee. Slay not any man who approaches thee and whom thou hast favoured, for God knows him. He who flourishes on earth is one of them; those who follow the King are gods. Make the love of thee to be among all the peoples. A generous (or, well-doing) character is held in remembrance it was said concerning thee the time of the feeble man is at an end. Thus said those who were dependants in the House of King Khat-ti when prophesying about him that was to come to-day. Behold, I have declared to thee the profitable things of my mind; make them to be firmly grounded before thee.

30 Colophon (descriptive Conclusion): It (i.e., the book) has gone out (i.e., it is finished) in peace, as it was found in writing in the writing of Khamuas for himself, the silent one of truth, of kindly nature, generous and a lover of men. He stood not in the eye of another, he was not one given to scurrilous (or, blasphemous) abuse, he was the servant of his lord, a scribe who a man skilled in the craft of Thoth, the scribe Khamuas, and for his brother whom he loved dearly, the silent one of truth, of kindly nature, a man skilled in the craft of Thoth, the scribe Mahu.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ANTEF, THE SON OF SENT.

The Philosophy Of Antef, The Son Of Sent. Source: British Museum stele, No. 197 Translation: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1913 Estimated Range of Dating: 2120 - 2070 BC.

(Antef, or more precisely Schertawy Intef I, was a local nomarch at Thebes during the early First Intermediate Period and the first member of the 11th Dynasty to lay claim to a Horus name. Intef reigned from 4 to 16 years c. 2120 BC or c. 2070 BC during which time he probably waged war with his northern neighbour, the Coptite nomarch Tjauti. Intef was buried in a saff tomb at El-Tarif, known today as Saff el-Dawaba.

Intef, whose name is commonly accompanied by epithets such as the Elder, the Great (= Intef-Aa) or born of Iku, was a Theban nomarch during the First Intermediate Period c. 2150 BC and later considered a founding figure of the 11th Dynasty, which eventually reunified Egypt.

Intef the Elder was not a pharaoh but rather the nomarch of Thebes c. 2150 BC. As such he would have nominally served either a king of the Eighth Dynasty or one of the Herakleopolitan kings of 9th or 10th Dynasty. Intef the Elder would have controlled the territory from Thebes to Aswan to the south and not farther north than Koptos, which was then controlled by another dynasty of nomarchs.[3] Intef is believed to be the father of his successor on the Theban throne, Mentuhotep I.

From his stele in the British Museum, No. 197 [581]. Published by Sharpe, Egyptian Inscriptions, II, pi. 83; and Hall, H. R., Hieroglyphic Texts, Part II, pi. 23; and Moret, La Profession, p. 80.)

"Antef, the governor of the offices of the Government (The equivalent of the Mudiriyah of our days), smells the ground (i.e., does homage) before Khenti-Amenti, and looks upon the beneficent deeds of Up-uatu. He says: Now as concerning this tomb which I have made in the mountain (i.e., cemetery: To this day the Egyptians call the region where the tombs are situated "gabal," i.e., mountain.) of Abydos, this region which is surrounded by walls, which was made in the beginning by Nebertcher (i.e., "Lord to the uttermost limit," perhaps a God), a place profitable (or glorious) since the time of Osiris, a settlement of Homs for his Fathers, [the place] that the stars in the sky serve, [the place that is] the mistress of the henmemet beings, whereto come the great ones of Tetu (Mendes), the sister-site of Anu (Heliopolis), [the place of] Homs-splendours, whereon rests Nebertcher—may offerings appear at the word here for the loyal servant, the governor of the offices of the Government. Antef. the son of Sent.)

1 I am a silent man before a raging man and before a fool, in order to suppress wrath.

21 am cold (i.e., calm, or cautious), without hasty impulses, knowing what circumstances may arise, understanding possibilities of failure.

3 I am a man who speaks in places where violence is applied, and I know when, according to custom, it is right for me to show anger.

4 I am a long-suffering man. I pay heed to my name (or, reputation); it gives (?) [me] what is in my heart.

5 I am a man who collects [his facts or thoughts], returning to a matter, longsuffering (or, patient), silencing the weeper with happiness.

6 I am a man who has a bright (i.e., pleasant) face for his subordinate, and who does good to the man who is like himself (i.e., is in the same social position).

7 I am an impartial man in the house of his lord, knowing what will heal the man who is diseased in speech.

8 I am a man who is bright (i.e., pleasant) of face, openhanded, a lord of food, without withdrawal of face [from any man].

9 I am a friend towards those who are in a lowly condition, and to the man who has nothing my true (or, just) dealing is

sweet.

10 I am the food of the hungry man who has no possessions, and open-handed to the destitute.

11 Î act as the man of knowledge for him that is ignorant, and I teach a man that which will be beneficial for him.

12 I am the impartial man in the house of the king, knowing that which is said in every court-house.

13 I am a man who hearkens, I hearken to Maat (the Law, or the Truth), and, indeed, cause it to declare its message to my heart.

14 I am the peacemaker of the house of his lord, being remembered by reason of his amiable qualities.

15 I am a good one in the courts when cases are being tried, equable of mind, free from words (or, acts) that irritate.

16 I am a good man, not acting hastily, not coercing a man because of an utterance [of his].

17 I am a man of justice, like the scales, impartial, true like Thoth.

18 I am a man firm of foot, whose design is well thought out, who prepares the way for the man who would make him to prosper.

19 I am a man who recognizes the man who can teach him, and the man who will allow him to discuss a matter with him.

20 I am a man who speaks in the Court of Law (or. Truth), who sets (literally, sharpens) his mouth against the restrictions of the mind."

THE TEACHING OF THE SCRIBE ANI, WHICH WAS WRITTEN FOR HIS SON, KHENSU-HOTEP.

Source: Mariette's Papyri, Nos. 5 and 7,
Egyptian Museum, Cairo
Translation: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1924
Estimated Range of Dating: 2120 - 2070 BC.

(The Instruction of Ani, or Any, is an Ancient Egyptian text written in the style of wisdom literature which is thought to have been composed in the Eighteenth Dynasty of the New Kingdom, with a surviving manuscript dated from the Twenty-First or Twenty-Second Dynasty. Due to the amount of gaps and corruption it has been considered a difficult, and at times obscure, text to translate. The papyrus lacks one or more columns at the beginning, so it is impossible to know the contents of the title of this Teaching, and how the opening lines ran.

The Teaching of the scribe Ani is preserved in a hieratic papyrus which was written under the 21st or 22nd dynasty, and now forms No. 4 of the Collection of Papyri in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. This papyrus is said to have been found, together with other Egyptian papyri (Nos. 5 and 7, according to Mariette's numbering) and a collection of Coptic letters written on papyrus, in a wooden box in the tomb of a Christian monk at Deir al-Madinah, or Western Thebes. Papyrus No. 5 contains part of the Demotic text of the story of Khamuas, the great magician and son of Rameses II, and No. 7 contains prayers in the hieratic character addressed to the hours of the night, and a description of them. If all these documents were found together in the tomb of a Christian monk it is difficult not to assume that this monk (who lived at a time when the knowledge of the old language is commonly supposed to have died out) was a student of ancient books of moral precepts, and could read and understand works written in the hieratic and Demotic characters. Fragments of the text are found in three other papyrus sections in the Musée Guimet, Paris the Papyrus Chester Beatty V held in the British Museum, London, and in four ostraca from Deir el-Medina.

As for its contents, the text retains the traditional format of an older man giving advice to a younger man—as the scribe Any, who works in the court of Nefertari, advises his son. However the Instruction of Any is distinguished from earlier works, as its intended audience was the ordinary person rather than the aristocracy. The themes covered by the instructions include respect for religion, motherhood, honesty, restraint and the avoidance of relations with unfaithful women. Unlike other works of instruction, the endings of which tend towards acquiescence and gratitude for the wisdom imparted, this text contains an epilogue in which a son first responds to his father's maxims critically rather than compliantly. The father refutes the son's objections by force of argument. The beginning of the document is fragmented and the text does not become understandable until we reach Plate 16. line 1. There we have:—)

Text:

- 1 Work a woman {i.e., marry a wife) whilst thou art a young man; she will produce thy son. If thou dost produce thy son whilst thou art still young, thou wilt be able to train him to become a proper man. Good is it for a man if his men (i.e., posterity) are numerous, [and] he will be applauded by reason of his children.
- 2 Make (i.e., celebrate) the festival of thy God, repeat continually his praises. God (literally, Gods) is angry with the man who breaks (or invades) his ordinance. Establish (or, set up), witnesses round about thy offerings. He who has done this has [done] most excellently for himself.
- 3 If it be that a man comes to seek for thy opinions (or, views), I pray thee to let it cause thee to sink thyself in the writings of the past.
- 4 The opportunity having come [and let pass], one may seek [in vain] to seize another.
- 5 Let His (i.e., God's) Will be exalted. Singing, dancing, and incense form his service (or, perhaps, form his meat and drink). The receipit of homage is among what belongs to him. Offer these things to the god, so as to magnify his name.
- 6 If there be a man who is drunk, go not into his presence at the instigation of another, even though his making [thee] to enter would make thee honoured (or, revered).
- 7 Look not too closely at the behaviour of a neighbour in thy (or his) house. Whatsoever thine eye sees thou shalt hold thy peace. Describe it not to any person in the street, lest the man who hears of it shall later inflict upon thee a punishment of a serious character [and perhaps] death.
- 8 Guard thyself well against the woman from the outer district who is not known in her town (or, quarter of the city). Cast no longing glances after her as do those who are like to

her, and have no carnal intercourse or other relation with her. She is a deep ditch (or, lake), and where her currents will lead no man knows. When a woman, whose husband is absent from her, [shows her] beauty and invites thee to her every day, saying that there are no witnesses present, and puts her net in position [to snare thee], it is a great, abominable deed deserving the death penalty for a man to hearken to her, even if she has not succeeded in her object Yet men will commit abominable deeds in order to gratify this one passion.

9 Go not in and out of the town-council, so that thy name may not stink.

10 When an interrogation in court takes place, multiply not thy words. Hold thy peace and thou wilt occupy a favourable position. Make thyself no mere tongue-wagger.

- 11 Noisy, vain repetitions are an abomination to the sanctuary of God. Pray thou thy prayer with a loving heart, all the words (or, petitions) are hidden. He will do for thee all that is necessary for thy daily needs; He will hearken to thy supplications, receiving thine offerings.
- 12 Pour out libations to thy father and to thy mother, who rest in the cemetery in the mountain. The water is a witness for those who offer what is due, or what is acceptable to the gods. Fail not to do this what thou doest thy son shall do for thee.
- 13 Undertake nothing as the result of having drunk beer, for if thou dost, words which can have a second meaning may come forth from thy mouth without thy knowing it. When thou fallest down and breakest thy bones (or, members) there will be no one there to put out his hand [to help thee]. Thy boon companions will stand up and say, "Away with this drunken beast!" When people come to have speech with thee they will find thee lying prostrate on the ground, and thou wilt be as helpless as a little child.
- 14 Go not forth from thy house to any place with which thou art not acquainted; have no hankering for it. Eat at any place which thou lovest, remember that [place] which thou knowest
- 15 I pray thee to set before thyself the path that must be traversed, and let old age testify to thee this fact. Thou must be found to have prepared for thyself a fine tomb in the cemetery in the mountain, which shall be the Tuat that shall hide thy body. I pray thee to set it before thee in the midst of thy daily occupations and the business under thy eye. [Do this] even as did the very ancient ones who [now] rest in their sepulchres. The man who does thus on his own behalf suffers no calamity, and it shall be well with thee if thou also art furnished with thy tomb (or, domain). Thy messenger shall come to thee to take thee he shall find thee provided with a tomb, assuredly thou shalt have no anxiety. Verily his terrifying form will come and set itself before thee; say not, "I am too young for thee to snatch me away." Thou knowest not thy death (i.e., how or when it shall be). Death comes and bears away the child who is at the breast of his mother, as well as the man who has reached old age.
- 16 Behold, I will declare unto thee also other good advice whereon thou shalt meditate in thy heart. Act upon it and thou wilt become a good man, and evil hap of every kind shall be far from thee.
- 17 Take good heed to avoid the man of evil speech..... Keep thyself far from men who act crookedly, and make none of them thy companion. [On the other hand]
- 18 Be friendly and associate thyself with one who is just and true, when thou hast observed the manner in which he acts. Thy rectitude will take possession of his balance; their strengthen thy hand to him that is in thy house, since thy possessions are under his care.
- 19 Let not thy hand waste thy goods on a man whom thou knowest not; he comes to thee [bringing] ruin. When [thy] goods are placed in their storehouses he comes to thee as one who reports, and he has the safe keeping of thine own possessions. Thy people will find him on thy road.
- 20 Gifts being made to the small man, he acquires the [greatness of the] great man, even as does a brick built up (?) [with others].
- 21 Teaching in the house is life; by the use of correction (or, chastisement) thou thyself shalt find it.
- 22 Let thine eye be open, so that thou dost not come out as a beggar. The man who becomes one of the many inert, helpless folk will never be applauded as is the man who has marked out the course of his life.
- 23 Open not up a friendship with the slave of another man. If his name stinks it will become a matter for evil report; if he be a great and important man, though unknown [to thee], he will rise up, and an answer must be returned to him concerning the theft of his servant, whom he will seize with his hand, and he will follow after him and command him to safeguard that which was in his [master's] house. [If thou doest this] thou wilt sorrow, saying, "What shall I do?" and all thy household will upbraid thee, to make thee to know upon earth that a man seeks to found a house [for himself].
- 24 Thou markest out an estate and settest bounds to it. Thou makest the forepart of it into arable land to produce fodder and fencest it in, thou plantest avenues of sycamore trees round about thy house, thou fillest thy hand with

flowers of every kind, so that thine eye may gaze upon them, but in spite of all this, thou wilt feel discontent. Lucky is the man who does not forsake these things.

- 25 Fill not thy heart with love for the possessions of another man; guard thyself [against this], and do it not. Support not thyself with the things that belong to another man unless he has made them enter thy house.
- 26 Build thou a house for thyself when thou findest enmity in a dwelling shared with others (?). Say not:—The father of my mother has a house When thou goest to divide the property with thy brethren the granaries shall be thine.
- 27 God grant that children may be born to thee whom thy father knows. As for him that is in want, let every one have his fill in his house; be thou his girdle wall. Make none destitute at thy desire, for it is God Who provides that whereon men live.
- 28 Sit not whilst another man stands, if he be older than thyself, or if he has attained to a higher grade in his profession than thyself.
- 29 A man cannot expect to attain to a good disposition if he speaks with an evil intent.
- 30 Make thyself to walk daily in the path of thy hands (i.e., a correct path), and thou shalt succeed in reaching the place whither thou wouldst go.
- 31 What is there that remains (or, continues) to be spoken about every day? A profession carries with it its regulations (or, obligations). A woman must necessarily talk about (or, discuss) her husband, a man in office must discuss his work.
- 32 Make use of no evil speech towards any who comes; a word [dropped] on the day of thy gossiping may turn thy house upside down.
- 33 If thou findest thyself able to keep an even mind during the time when thou art friendly with everybody, when adversity comes thou wilt find thyself able to bear it.
- 34 The boastful flatterer makes himself a supporter [of thine]. Now, even the useful dispositions of the man who is a flatterer will be as dirt to [thy] brother. The members of thy household will sing and rejoice outwardly, but will weep in their hearts
- 35 If thou art a well-doing man thou wilt be observed. Whether thou art with many (or, wealthy), or whether thou art alone, thy kinsfolk will find thee, and will do everything that thou commandest.
- 36 Make thyself learned in the written rolls. Go deeply into the written rolls, and I beseech thee to set them in thy heart, and then everything that thou sayest will be valuable (or, occupation) he must consult the writings that deal with the same. The governor of the White House (the Treasury, the Bet al-Mal) has no son, and the Keeper of the Seal has no heir. Princes value the scribe. His hand is his profession, it cannot be handed on to children. Their needy state is his living, their seniors form his protection.
- 37 Let not thy heart be exalted (or, displayed) before the flatterer, A word capable of two meanings, spoken hastily, if it comes forth from thy mouth, being repeated will make thee bitter enemies. A man is overthrown and ruined through his tongue. Take good heed that thou dost not thyself produce thine own ruin.
- 38 Since the body of a man is more capacious than a government granary, and is full of answers of every kind, thou shalt make a selection of those that are good and give expression to them, and those that are evil thou shalt guard closely within thyself. A violent answer sets weapons of fight in motion; speak therefore with the sweetness (or, graciousness) of affection, and [thou shalt be beloved?] for ever.
- 39 He who has been accused by a liar in defiance of God, Who judges the right, may return an answer, but his (the liar's) calamity shall come and shall carry him off.
- 40 When thou art making thy offerings to God, take good heed that thou doest not that which He holds in abomination. Discuss not the forms in which He appears, walk not with bold and careless strides when He makes Himself manifest [in the streets]. Thrust not thyself among those who bear Him [in his shrine]. Bawl not [the words of] His books. Take heed not to add aught to the praises that are directed to be sung to Him. Let thine eye watch carefully His dispensations [and] wrath, and do thou adore His name. He gives will (or, strength) to millions of forms, He makes great him that magnifies Him. The God of this earth is Shu (i.e., the Sun-god), who is on the horizon, and his similitudes are upon the earth. The incense which is offered is their food daily. His rising makes all green things to flourish.
- 41 Increase (or, make double) the breadcakes which thou givest to thy mother, and carry her as she carried thee. She carried thee as a heavy load many times, and left me nothing to do [for thee]. When she brought thee forth after thy months, she set thee like a veritable yoke upon her neck, and her breasts were in thy mouth for three years. Whilst thou wast growing, disgusting in thy excrement, she felt no disgust at thee, saying, "What I have to do!" Afterwards she placed thee in the house of instruction (i.e., school), and whilst thou wast being taught [thy] letters, she [came] to thee there day by day,

regularly and unfailingly, with bread-cakes and beer from her house. When thou art a young man, and dost marry a wife, and art the master and possessor of a house, I pray thee to look [back] at thine own childhood and how thou wast reared, and do for the child that shall be born to thee everything that thiy mother did for thee. Let it not happen that she has cause to blame thee, and may she not lift up her hands to God [in complaint] and may He not hear her supplications.

42 Eat not bread whilst another stands by [hungry] and thou dost not stretch out thy hand to him with bread in it. It has never been known whether a man will become destitute. One man has riches, and another man is poor; bread is constant (?).... The man who was rich a year ago is a stable servant this year.

43 Be not anxious to fill thy belly, for whither thy course tends is unknown I will give thee another good [saving?].

44 The course that a stream followed last year has changed this year and moved elsewhere: large masses of water have become tracts of dry land; the dykes have become abysses. There exists not for a man one state of life (i.e., nothing remains unchanged); this is the answer of the lord of life.

45 I would have thee note that whether thou pass thy pferiod of existence in a lowly condition or in a high one thou wilt not attain to full happiness; go forth on thy way, and thy foot shall find its place.

46 Go not into the house of a man in a too familiar manner, but go into it only after thou hast been announced. When he greets thee with words of welcome from his mouth, thou wilt understand his views [concerning thee], A repast will be then set out

47 He who hates waiting comes without being invited.

48 Without making haste the runner reaches his goal.

49 Let a man [give] himself to God. Take good heed to thyself daily for God, to-morrow as well as to-day. Make thyself to observe what God does; He will punish the man who punishes thee.

50 Go not into a crowd of people if thou findest that thou art stirred up [to fight] in the presence of men who are about to strike each other.

51 Make no trespass (i.e., claim) in any domain, guard thyself carefully from tampering with any title deeds, so that thou mayest not be seized and accused before the Council, in the presence of the governors after the witnesses have made their depositions.

52 Remove thyself far from the men who transgress the laws (i.e., are sedition-mongers). The man who is silent of mouth (i.e., is of a peaceful disposition) among soldiers (or, troops) is not haled before the Council and accused [of sedition], and is not put under restraint, and knows not propitiatory gifts (i.e., has no need to bribe men to hold their tongues).

53 The actions of a man who loves one are profitable. He is free from his deeds of abomination, thou art safe from many annoyances. Take good heed to avoid any break [in this friendship].

54 The chief of the flock which leads it to the pasturegrounds is only an animal like the rest.

55 When the crops on the cultivated lands in the fields are laid waste, then the spirits [of the ancestors] are appealed to in earnest

56 The man who is of an indolent disposition makes strife to arise in his house, and he himself destroys the boundaries thereof in very truth.

57 Attempt not to direct a married woman in her house, when thou knowest that she is a perfect housewife. Say not to her, "Where is that (i.e., such and such a thing) Bring it to us," when she has put [the object] in the proper place. Make thine eye to watch her, and hold thy peace, and then thou wilt be able to appreciate her wise and good management. Happy wilt thou be if thou art hand in hand with her. There are very many men who do not understand [this]. The interfering man only sets confusion in his house, and never finds himself the actual master thereof in all matters, in reality. He who would be master of his house should speedily make firm his mind.

58 Follow not after [the counsels of] a woman, and let her not lead captive thy understanding.

59 Answer not a man in authority over thee when he is wroth, but set him aside (or, make him to be remote from thee, (i.e., remove thyself fax from him). Speak thou that which is sweet (i.e., return him a soft answer) when he speaks words that are bitter (or, rankle), and pacify his heart

60 Answers that provoke to strife carry [in their train] staves that will overthrow thy frowardness. Anger will react upon thy occupation (or, affairs).

61 Let not thy heart grieve concerning thyself, for it will reverse its action and will speedily applaud thee after its temporary depression.

62 When thy words are such as to be restful for the heart, the heart inclines itself gladly to receive them.

63 Seek after silence and submit thyself to the man who keeps it. Keep on friendly terms with the administrative officer of thy district, and give him no opportunity of bringing a charge against thee. Give him food when it is in

thy house and do not set aside his request. Say to him words of approval

64 At thy entrances into the town (or, village) at first there is acclamation, but at thy goings forth thou must save thyself by thy hand.

65 The answer of the scribe Khensu-Hetep TO HIS FATHER, THE SCRIBE ANI:— Oh, I wish that I were even as thou art! being known (or, learned) like thyself. Then certainly I would act according to thy testimonies, and the son would be brought to the position of the father, and every man would be drawn to be like him (i.e., be of the Scune character). Thou art a man with exalted aspirations, whose every word is chosen (or, selected). The son who speaks words of contempt [concerning] books [of admonition] has a depraved judgement in him. Thy words give rest and satisfaction to my heart, and my heart inclines willingly to receive them. Nay, more, my breast (or, mind) rejoices in them. But make not thy excellent instructions to be too numerous. A young man who has borne (or, endured) good counsels has not hitherto been found to put into practice teaching and testimonies because he has the books on his tongue (i.e., because he can quote glibly the precepts of the fathers).

66 The scribe Ani makes answer to his SON Khensu-hetep the scribe, saying:— Grieve not thy heart by pondering on these depressing matters, and take care how thou makest thy complaints, which will in no way afflict my heart. I have testified to thee concerning our speech which thou sayest thou dost wish to read. The old bull which has smashed the slaughter-house to pieces, is unable to get free from the place where he has kicked and struggled, and is obliged to fashion his will according to the discipline of the herdsman who rears (or, fattens) cattle. The fierce-eyed lion lays aside his ferocity and paces side by side with the poor-spirited ass. The horse enters under the yoke, and goes hither and thither obediently. The dog hearkens to the words spoken to him and follows his master. The kadriu beast carried a load of the maqurau pots, which its dam never carried. The wild goose flies out into the lake where the snarer of water-fowl pursues it and drags it shrieking into his net. The Sudani man is made to learn the language of the people of Egypt, as are also the Syrians and every other foreign people. Therefore have I made thee to know concerning every profession; and having heard thou [now] knowest what to do.

67 The scribe Khensu-hetep, the son OF THE SCRIBE ANI, MAKES ANSWER, SAYING:— Make not to be terrifying thy mighty deeds, for I am overburdened with the things that thou hast laid down. A man does not become slack of hand (apathetic?) through hearing an answer in its proper place. Now a man is the fellow (counterpart?) of God. Their (i.e., men's) admonitions (or, orderings) must be hearkened to; a man possesses his own answer (?). The one knows not his fellow. There is a great number of every kind of bad ones, and one knows not his teaching. There may be one possessing meaning, but many are worthless. Everything that thou hast said is excellent (or, perfect). Make no of them from the time of the blessed dead. I swear to thee an oath by God that I will carry them out. Set them (i.e., my words) on thy path (i.e., before thee).

68 The scribe Ani makes answer to HIS SON, THE scribe KhENSU-HETEP, SAYING:— Put behind thy back these many words which are too remote [from the subject] to be heard (i.e., understood). The dry branch of the tree which [lies] on the ground, and which has been matured (?) by the light of the day and the darkness of the night, is taken by the handicraftsman and worked straight, and made into the walking-stick of princes; but the sound wood [of the tree] he makes into beams (or, planks). O thou simplehearted one, is it the wish of thy heart to give (or, take) an oath, or art thou still feeble (?) Observe what one who knows well the strength which is in his hand is like; [he is like] the child who lies in his mother's bosom. When the child knows that he has sucked [enough], behold, he finds his mouth and cries out "Give me bread."

THE ADMONITIONS OF IPUWER

Source: The Ipuwer Papyrus, officially: Papyrus Leiden I 344 recto Dutch National Museum of Antiquities Translation: Miriam Lichtheim, 1973 Estimated Range of Dating: 1650—1450 B.C.

(The Ipuwer Papyrus, officially Papyrus Leiden I 344 recto, is an ancient Egyptian hieratic papyrus made during the 19th Dynasty, circa 1250 BC, of Egypt, and now held in the Dutch National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, Netherlands. It contains the Admonitions of Ipuwer, an incomplete literary work whose original composition is dated between the 13th Dynasty [c. 1800–1650 BC] and the 18th Dynasty [1550–1290 BC] of Egypt.

In the poem, Ipuwer complains that the world has been turned upside-down: a woman who had not a single box now has furniture, a girl who looked at her face in the water now owns a mirror, while the once-rich man is now in rags. He demands that the Lord of All (a title which can be applied both to the king and to the creator sun-god) should destroy his enemies and remember his religious duties. This is followed by a violent description of disorder: there is no longer any respect for the law and even the king's burial inside the pyramid has been desecrated. The story continues with the description of better days until it abruptly ends due to the missing final part of the papyrus. It is likely that the poem concluded with a reply of the Lord of All, or prophesying the coming of a powerful king who would restore order.

The Admonitions of Ipuwer seem to present an objective portrait of Egypt while other suggestions hold it as works of royal propaganda. The Admonitions is considered the world's earliest known treatise on political ethics, suggesting that a good king is one who controls unjust officials, thus carrying out the will of the gods. It is a textual lamentation, close to Sumerian city laments and to Egyptian laments for the dead, using the past (the destruction of Memphis at the end of the Old Kingdom) as a gloomy backdrop to an ideal future.

From the text of the poem we get the impression that this document talks about real events. And there is only one period of time that matches the contents precisely. It is the time around 1600 BC when the entire region was plunged into total turmoil: And this points to the massive eruption of the Thera / Santorini Volcano that had all kinds of consequences at almost the same time: unusual climate conditions, crop failure, famine, civil war, plague and other kind of environmental changes such as earthquakes and geological gas leaks. It was also the time the Hyksos ruled the north of Egypt and were viewed as hated invaders

Bolder historians often compare the content of this papyrus with Exodus, the second book of the Bible. Similarities between Egyptian texts and the Bible are easily found, and it is reasonable to assume Egyptian influence on the Hebrews, given their at times close contacts. To conclude from such parallelisms that the Ipuwer Papyrus describes Egypt at the time of the Exodus, stretches the limits of imagination that not every historian is willing to make.

Ipuwer has often been put forward in popular literature as confirmation of the Biblical account, most notably because of its statement that "the river is blood" and its frequent references to servants running away, but there are also points in which the Ipuwer contradicts the Exodus story as found in the Bible, such as the fact that its Asiatics are arriving in Egypt rather than leaving. The "river is blood" phrase may refer to the red sediment colouring the Nile during disastrous floods, it may also refer to geological gas leaks connected to earthquakes that often follow volcano eruptions. The archeological evidence does support the story of the Exodus which seem to match the Expulsion of the Phoenician-Canaanite Hyksos, who are called Habiru or Abiru [Hebrew or Abraham-people = Abiru-Ham people] in the Amarna Letters. [See: Tempest Stele, The Amarna Letters, Artefacts, Grand Rible 1 The Austrian archaeologist Manfred Rietak from the Austrian Archaeological Institute found the volcanic disaster caused by the Thera / Santorini eruptian confirmed when he excavated the site of Avaris, the Hyksos capital of northern Egypt.

Lacunae in the papyrus text are marked by [...].)

IPUWER CHAPTER 1

[. .] The door [keepers] say: "Let us go and plunder."

The confectioners [...].

The washerman refuses to carry his load [. . .]

The bird catchers have drawn up in line of battle [. . . the inhabitants] of the Delta carry shields.

The brewers [. . .] sad.

A man regards his son as his enemy. Confusion [...] another. Come and conquer; judge [...] what was ordained for you in the time of Horus, in the age [of the Ennead...]. The virtuous man goes in mourning because of what has happened in the land [...] goes [...] the tribes of the desert have become Egyptians everywhere.

Indeed, the face is pale; [...] what the ancestors foretold has arrived at [fruition . . .] the land is full of confederates, and a man goes to plough with his shield.

Indeed, the meek say: ["He who is . . . of] face is as a well-born man."

Indeed, [the face] is pale; the bowman is ready, wrongdoing is everywhere, and there is no man of yesterday.

Indeed, the plunderer [. . .] everywhere, and the servant takes what he finds.

Indeed, the Nile overflows, yet none plough for it. Everyone says: "We do not know what will happen throughout the land"

Indeed, the women are barren and none conceive. Khnum fashions (men) no more because of the condition of the land.

IPUWER CHAPTER 2

Indeed, poor men have become owners of wealth, and he who could not make sandals for himself is now a possessor of riches.

Indeed, men's slaves, their hearts are sad, and magistrates do not fraternize with their people when they shout.

Indeed, [hearts] are violent, pestilence is throughout the land, blood is everywhere, death is not lacking, and the mummy-cloth speaks even before one comes near it.

Indeed, many dead are buried in the river; the stream is a sepulcher and the place of embalmment has become a stream.

Indeed, noblemen are in distress, while the poor man is full of joy. Every town says: "Let us suppress the powerful among us."

Indeed, men are like ibises. Squalor is throughout the land, and there are none indeed whose clothes are white in these times.

Indeed, the land turns around as does a potter's wheel; the robber is a possessor of riches and [the rich man is become] a plunderer.

Indeed, trusty servants are [. . .]; the poor man [complains]: "How terrible! What am I to do?"

Indeed, the river is blood, yet men drink of it. Men shrink from human beings and thirst after water.

Indeed, gates, columns and walls are burnt up, while the hall of the palace stands firm and endures.

Indeed, the ship of the southerners has broken up; towns are destroyed and Upper Egypt has become an empty waste.

Indeed, crocodiles are glutted with the fish they have taken, for men go to them of their own accord; it is the destruction of the land. Men say: "Do not walk here; behold, it is a net." Behold, men tread [the water] like fishes, and the frightened man cannot distinguish it because of terror.

Indeed, men are few, and he who places his brother in the ground is everywhere. When the wise man speaks, [he flees without delay].

Indeed, the well-born man [...] through lack of recognition, and the child of his lady has become the son of his maidservant.

IPUWER CHAPTER 3

Indeed, the desert is throughout the land, the nomes are laid waste, and barbarians from abroad have come to Egypt.

Indeed, men arrive [. . .] and indeed, there are no Egyptians anywhere.

Indeed, gold and lapis lazuli, silver and turquoise, carnelian and amethyst, Ibhet-stone and [. . .] are strung on the necks of maidservants. Good things are throughout the land, (yet) housewives say: "Oh that we had something to eat!"

Indeed, [...] noblewomen. Their bodies are in sad plight by reason of their rags, and their hearts sink when greeting [one another]. Indeed, chests of ebony are broken up, and precious ssnDm-wood is cleft asunder in beds [...].

Indeed, the builders [of pyramids have become] cultivators, and those who were in the sacred bark are now yoked [to it]. None shall indeed sail northward to Byblos today; what shall we do for cedar trees for our mummies, and with the produce of which priests are buried and with the oil of which [chiefs] are embalmed as far as Keftiu? They come no more; gold is lacking [...] and materials for every kind of craft have come to an end. The [...] of the palace is despoiled. How often do people of the oasses come with their festival spices, mats, and skins, with fresh rdmt-plants, grease of birds ...?

Indeed, Elephantine and Thinis [...] of Upper Egypt, (but) without paying taxes owing to civil strife. Lacking are grain, charcoal, irtyw-fruit, m'w-wood, nwt-wood, and brushwood. The work of craftsmen and [...] are the profit of the palace. To what purpose is a treasury without its revenues? Happy indeed is the heart of the king when truth comes to him! And every foreign land [comes]! That is our fate and that is our happiness! What can we do about it? All is ruin!

Indeed, laughter is perished and is [no longer] made; it is groaning that is throughout the land, mingled with complaints.

IPUWER CHAPTER 4

Indeed, every dead person is as a well-born man. Those who were Egyptians [have become] foreigners and are thrust aside. Indeed, hair has fallen out for everybody, and the man of

rank can no longer be distinguished from him who is nobody. Indeed, [...] because of noise; noise is not [...] in years of noise, and there is no end of noise.

Indeed, great and small say: "I wish I might die." Little children say: "He should not have caused me to live."

Indeed, the children of princes are dashed against walls, and the children of the neck are laid out on the high ground.

Indeed, those who were in the place of embalmment are laid out on the high ground, and the secrets of the embalmers are thrown down because of it.

Indeed, that has perished which yesterday was seen, and the land is left over to its weakness like the cutting of flax.

Indeed, the Delta in its entirety will not be hidden, and Lower Egypt puts trust in trodden roads. What can one do? No [. . .] exist anywhere, and men say: "Perdition to the secret place!" Behold, it is in the hands of those who do not know it like those who know it. The desert dwellers are skilled in the crafts of the Delta.

Indeed, citizens are put to the corn-rubbers, and those who used to don fine linen are beaten with . . . Those who used

never to see the day have gone out unhindered; those who were on their husbands' beds, let them lie on rafts. I say: "It is too heavy for me," concerning rafts bearing myrrh. Load them with vessels filled with [... Let] them know the palanquin. As for the butler, he is ruined. There are no remedies for it; noblewomen suffer like maidservants, minstrels are at the looms within the weaving-rooms, and what they sing to the Songstress-goddess is mourning. Talkers [...] corn-rubbers.

Indeed, all female slaves are free with their tongues, and when their mistress speaks, it is irksome to the maidservants. Indeed, trees are felled and branches are stripped off.

IPLIWER CHAPTER 5

I have separated him and his household slaves, and men will say when they hear it: "Cakes are lacking for most children; there is no food [...]. What is the taste of it like today?"

Indeed, magnates are hungry and perishing, followers are followed [. . .] because of complaints.

Indeed, the hot-tempered man says: "If I knew where God is, then I would serve Him."

Indeed, [Right] pervades the land in name, but what men do in trusting to it is Wrong.

Indeed, runners are fighting over the spoil [of] the robber, and all his property is carried off.

Indeed, all animals, their hearts weep; cattle moan because of the state of the land.

Indeed, the children of princes are dashed against walls, and the children of the neck are laid out on the high ground. Khnum groans because of his weariness.

Indeed, terror kills; the frightened man opposes what is done against your enemies. Moreover, the few are pleased, while the rest are . . . Is it by following the crocodile and cleaving it asunder? Is it by slaying the lion roasted on the fire? [Is it] by sprinkling for Ptah and taking [. . .]? Why do you give to him? There is no reaching him. It is misery which you give to him.

Indeed, slaves . . . throughout the land, and the strong man sends to everyone; a man strikes his maternal brother. What is it that has been done? I speak to a ruined man.

Indeed, the ways are [...], the roads are watched; men sit in the bushes until the benighted traveler comes in order to plunder his burden, and what is upon him is taken away. He is belabored with blows of a stick and murdered.

Indeed, that has perished which yesterday was seen, and the land is left over to its weakness like the cutting of flax, commoners coming and going in dissolution [...].

IPUWER CHAPTER 6

Would that there were an end of men, without conception, without birth! Then would the land be quiet from noise and tumult be no more.

Indeed, [men eat] herbage and wash [it] down with water; neither fruit nor herbage can be found for the birds, and [...] is taken away from the mouth of the pig. No face is bright which you have [...] for me through hunger.

Indeed, everywhere barley has perished and men are stripped of clothes, spice, and oil; everyone says: "There is none." The storehouse is empty and its keeper is stretched on the ground; a happy state of affairs!...

Would that I had raised my voice at that moment, that it might have saved me from the pain in which I am.

Indeed, the private council-chamber, its writings are taken away and the mysteries which were [in it] are laid bare. Indeed, magic spells are divulged; smw- and shnw-spells are

frustrated because they are remembered by men.

Indeed, public offices are opened and their inventories are

taken away; the serf has become an owner of serfs.

Indeed, [scribes] are killed and their writings are taken

away. Woe is me because of the misery of this time!

Indeed, the writings of the scribes of the cadaster are

destroyed, and the corn of Egypt is common property.

Indeed, the laws of the council chamber are thrown out;

indeed, men walk on them in public places, and poor men break them up in the streets.

Indeed, the poor man has attained to the state of the Nine Gods, and the erstwhile procedure of the House of the Thirty is divulged.

Indeed, the great council-chamber is a popular resort, and poor men come and go to the Great Mansions.

Indeed, the children of magnates are ejected into the streets; the wise man agrees and the fool says "no," and it is pleasing in the sight of him who knows nothing about it.

Indeed, those who were in the place of embalmment are laid out on the high ground, and the secrets of the embalmers are thrown down because of it.

IPUWER CHAPTER 7

Behold, the fire has gone up on high, and its burning goes forth against the enemies of the land.

Behold, things have been done which have not happened for a long time past; the king has been deposed by the rabble.

Behold, he who was buried as a falcon is devoid of biers, and what the pyramid concealed has become empty.

Behold, it has befallen that the land has been deprived of the kingship by a few lawless men.

Behold, men have fallen into rebellion against the Uraeus, the [...] of Re, even she who makes the Two Lands content.

Behold, the secret of the land whose limits were unknown is divulged, and the Residence is thrown down in a moment.

Behold, Egypt is fallen to pouring of water, and he who poured water on the ground has carried off the strong man in misery.

Behold, the Serpent is taken from its hole, and the secrets of the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt are divulged.

Behold, the Residence is afraid because of want, and [men go about] unopposed to stir up strife. Behold, the land has knotted itself up with confederacies,

and the coward takes the brave man's property.

Behold, the Serpent [...] the dead: he who could not make

a sarcophagus for himself is now the possessor of a tomb.

Behold, the possessors of tombs are ejected on to the high ground, while he who could not make a coffin for himself is now [the possessor] of a treasury.

Behold, this has happened [to] men; he who could not build a room for himself is now a possessor of walls.

Behold, the magistrates of the land are driven out throughout the land: [...] are driven out from the palaces.

Behold, noble ladies are now on rafts, and magnates are in the labor establishment, while he who could not sleep even on walls is now the possessor of a bed.

Behold, the possessor of wealth now spends the night thirsty, while he who once begged his dregs for himself is now the possessor of overflowing bowls.

Behold, the possessors of robes are now in rags, while he who could not weave for himself is now a possessor of fine linen.

Behold, he who could not build a boat for himself is now the possessor of a fleet; their erstwhile owner looks at them, but they are not his.

Behold, he who had no shade is now the possessor of shade, while the erstwhile possessors of shade are now in the full blast of the storm.

Behold, he who was ignorant of the lyre is now the possessor of a harp, while he who never sang for himself now vaunts the Songstress-goddess.

Behold, those who possessed vessel-stands of copper [. . .] not one of the jars thereof has been adorned.

IPUWER CHAPTER 8

Behold, he who slept wifeless through want [finds] riches, while he whom he never saw stands making dole.

Behold, he who had no property is now a possessor of wealth, and the magnate praises him.

Behold, the poor of the land have become rich, and the [erstwhile owner] of property is one who has nothing. Behold, serving-men have become masters of butlers, and he

who was once a messenger now sends someone else.

Behold, he who had no loaf is now the owner of a barn, and

his storehouse is provided with the goods of another.

Behold, he whose hair is fallen out and who had no oil has

now become the possessors of jars of sweet myrrh.

Behold, she who had no box is now the owner of a coffer, and she who had to look at her face in the water is now the owner of a mirror.

Behold, [...].

Behold, a man is happy eating his food. Consume your goods in gladness and unhindered, for it is good for a man to eat his food; God commands it for him whom He has favored [...].

[Behold, he who did not know] his god now offers to him with incense of another who is not known to him.

[Behold,] great ladies, once possessors of riches, now give their children for beds.

Behold, a man to whom is given a noble lady as wife, her father protects him, and he who has not [...] killing him.

Behold, the children of magistrates are [. . . the calves] of cattle [are given over] to the plunderers.

Behold, priests transgress with the cattle of the poor [...]. Behold, he who could not slaughter for himself now slaughters bulls, and he who did not know how to carve now

Behold, priests transgress with geese, which are given [to] the gods instead of oxen.

Behold, maidservants [...] offer ducks; noblewomen [...]. Behold, noblewomen flee; the overseers of [...] and their [children] are cast down through fear of death.

[Behold,] the chiefs of the land flee; there is no purpose for them because of want. The lord of [...].

IPUWER CHAPTER 9

[Behold,] those who once owned beds are now on the ground, while he who once slept in squalor now lays out a skin-mat for himself.

Behold, noblewomen go hungry, while the priests are sated with what has been prepared for them.

Behold, no offices are in their right place, like a herd running at random without a herdsman.

Behold, cattle stray and there is none to collect them, but everyone fetches for himself those that are branded with his

Behold, a man is slain beside his brother, who runs away and abandons him to save his own skin.

Behold, he who had no yoke of oxen is now the owner of a herd, and he who could find for himself no ploughman is now the owner of cattle.

Behold, he who had no grain is now the owner of granaries, and he who had to fetch loan-corn for himself is now one who

Behold, he who had no dependents is now an owner of serfs, and he who was [a magnate] now performs his own errands.

Behold, the strong men of the land, the condition of the people is not reported [to them]. All is ruin!

Behold, no craftsmen work, for the enemies of the land have impoverished its craftsmen.

[Behold, he who once recorded] the harvest now knows nothing about it, while he who never ploughed [for himself is now the owner of corn; the reaping] takes place but is not reported. The scribe [sits in his office], but his hands [are idle]

Destroyed is [. . .] in that time, and a man looks [on his friend as] an adversary. The infirm man brings coolness [to what is hot . . .] fear [.]. Poor men [. . . the land] is not bright because of it.

IPUWER CHAPTER 10

Destroyed is [. . .] their food is taken from them [. . through] fear of his terror. The commoner begs [. . messenger, but not [. . .] time. He is captured laden with goods and [all his property] is taken away. [. . .] men pass by his door [. . .] the outside of the wall, a shed, and rooms containing falcons. It is the common man who will be vigilant. the day having dawned on him without his dreading it. Men run because of [. . . for] the temple of the head, strained through a woven cloth within the house. What they make are tents, just like the desert folk.

Destroyed is the doing of that for which men are sent by retainers in the service of their masters; they have no readiness. Behold, they are five men, and they say: "Go on the road you know, for we have arrived.'

Lower Egypt weeps; the king's storehouse is the common property of everyone, and the entire palace is without its revenues. To it belong emmer and barley, fowl and fish; to it belong white cloth and fine linen, copper and oil; to it belong carpet and mat, [. . .] flowers and wheat-sheaf and all good revenues . . . If the . . . it in the palace were delayed, men would be devoid [of . . .].

Destroy the enemies of the august Residence, splendid of magistrates [. . .] in it like [. . .]; indeed, the Governor of the City goes unescorted.

Destroy [the enemies of the august Residence,] splendid [. . .]. [Destroy the enemies of] that erstwhile august Residence, manifold of laws [...]. [Destroy the enemies of] that erstwhile august [Residence . . .]

Destroy the enemies of that erstwhile august Residence [...] none can stand [...].

Destroy the enemies of that erstwhile august Residence, manifold of offices; indeed [. . .].

Remember to immerse [...] him who is in pain when he is sick in his body; show respect [...] because of his god that he may guard the utterance [...] his children who are witnesses of the surging of the flood.

IPUWER CHAPTER 11

Remember to [.....]... shrine, to fumigate with incense and to offer water in a jar in the early morning.

Remember [to bring] fat r-geese, trp-geese, and ducks and to offer god's offerings to the gods.

Remember to chew natron and to prepare white bread; a man [should do it] on the day of wetting the head.

Remember to erect flagstaffs and to carve offering stones. the priest cleansing the chapels and the temple being plastered (white) like milk; to make pleasant the odor of the horizon and to provide bread-offerings.

Remember to observe regulations, to fix dates correctly, and to remove him who enters on the priestly office in impurity of body, for that is doing it wrongfully, it is destruction of the heart [. . .] the day which precedes eternity, the months [. . .] years are known.

Remember to slaughter oxen [...].
Remember to go forth purged [...] who calls to you; to put r-geese on the fire [...] to open the jar [...] the shore of the waters [...] of women [...] clothing [.....] to give praise in order to appease you.

[. . .] lack of people; come [. . .] Re who commands [. worshipping him [...] West until [...] are diminished [...]. Behold, why does he seek to fashion [men ...]? The

frightened man is not distinguished from the violent one.

IPLIWER CHAPTER 12

He brings coolness upon heat; men say: "He is the herdsman of mankind, and there is no evil in his heart." Though his herds are few, yet he spends a day to collect them, their hearts being on fire.

Would that he had perceived their nature in the first generation; then he would have imposed obstacles, he would have stretched out his arm against them, he would have destroyed their herds and their heritage. Men desire the giving of birth, but sadness supervenes, with needy people on all sides. So it is, and it will not pass away while the gods who are in the midst of it exist. Seed goes forth into mortal women, but none are found on the road.

Combat has gone forth, and he who should be a redresser of evils is one who commits them; neither do men act as pilot in their hour of duty. Where is he today? Is he asleep? Behold, his power is not seen

If we had been fed. I would not have found you. I would not have been summoned in vain; "Aggression against it means pain of heart" is a saying on the lips of everyone. Today he who is afraid . . . a myriad of people; [. . .] did not see [. . .] against the enemies of [. . .] at his outer chamber; who enter the temple [. . .] weeping for him [. . .] that one who confounds what he has said . . . The land has not fallen [. . .] the statues are burned and their tombs destroyed [...] he sees the day of [. . .]. He who could not make for himself [. . .] between sky and ground is afraid of everybody.

. if he does it . . . what you dislike taking.

Authority, knowledge, and truth are with you, yet confusion is what you set throughout the land, also the noise of tumult. Behold, one deals harm to another, for men conform to what you have commanded. If three men travel on the road, they are found to be only two, for the many kill the

IPLIWER CHAPTER 13

Does a herdsman desire death? Then may you command reply to be made, because it means that one loves, another detests; it means that their existences are few everywhere; it means that you have acted so as to bring those things to pass. You have told lies, and the land is a weed which destroys men, and none can count on life. All these years are strife, and a man is murdered on his housetop even though he was vigilant in his gate lodge. Is he brave and saves himself? It means he will live.

When men send a servant for humble folk, he goes on the road until he sees the flood; the road is washed out and he stands worried. What is on him is taken away, he is belabored with blows of a stick and wrongfully slain. Oh that you could taste a little of the misery of it! Then you would say [...] from someone else as a wall, over and above [...] hot ... vears ...

[It is indeed good] when ships fare upstream [.] robbing them.

It is indeed good [. . .]. [It is indeed] good when the net is drawn in and birds are tied up [...].

It is [indeed] good [. . .] dignities for them, and the roads are passable

It is indeed good when the hands of men build pyramids, when ponds are dug and plantations of the trees of the gods

It is indeed good when men are drunk; they drink myt and their hearts are happy

IPUWER CHAPTER 14

It is indeed good when shouting is in men's mouths, when the magnates of districts stand looking on at the shouting in their houses, clad in a cloak, cleansed in front and wellprovided within.

It is indeed good when beds are prepared and the headrests of magistrates are safely secured. Every man's need is satisfied with a couch in the shade, and a door is now shut on him who once slept in the bushes.

It is indeed good when fine linen is spread out on New Year's Day [. . .] on the bank; when fine linen is spread out and cloaks are on the ground. The overseer of [. . .] the trees, the poor [.] in their midst like Asiatics [. . .]. Men [. . .] the state thereof; they have come to an end of themselves; none can be found to stand up and protect themselves [...].

Everyone fights for his sister and saves his own skin. Is it Nubians? Then will we guard ourselves; warriors are made many in order to ward off foreigners. Is it Libyans? Then we will turn away. The Medjay are pleased with Egypt.

IPUWER CHAPTER 15

How comes it that every man kills his brother? The troops whom we marshaled for ourselves have turned into foreigners and have taken to ravaging. What has come to pass through it is informing the Asiatics of the state of the land; all the desert folk are possessed with the fear of it. What the plebs have tasted [. . .] without giving Egypt over [to] the sand. It is strong [...] speak about you after years [...] devastate itself, it is the threshing floor which nourishes their houses [...] to nourish his children [...] said by the troops [.....] fish [...] gum, lotus leaves [. . .] excess of food.

IPLIWER CHAPTER 16

What Ipuwer said when he addressed the Majesty of the Lord of All: [. . .] all herds. It means that ignorance of it is what is pleasing to the heart. You have done what was good in their hearts and you have nourished the people with it. They cover their faces through fear of the morrow.

That is how a man grows old before he dies, while his son is a lad of understanding; he does not open [his] mouth to speak to you, but you seize him in the doom of death [...] weep [...] go [...] after you, that the land may be [...] on every side.

IPUWER CHAPTER 17

If men call to [. . .] weep [. . .] them, who break into the tombs and burn the statues [. . .] the corpses of the nobles [.] of directing work.

THE TEACHING OF SEHETEPABRA AN OVERSEER OF AMENEMHAT III.

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Translation: Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1913 Estimated Range of Dating: 2000 - 1800 BC.

(Sehetepabra or Sehetepibre Sewesekhtawy Sehetepibre I or Sehetepibre II depending on the scholar) was an Egyptian pharaoh of the 13th Dynasty during the early Second Intermediate Period, possibly the fifth or tenth king of the Dynasty. The timing and identification of the pharaos and other persons is almost impossible due to lack of records and proper dating. The time between 2000 and 1400 BC was a time of uncertainty in Egypt. At around 2000, Egypt was conquered by the Hyksos (an Egyptian word for "invaders from foreign lands" who were most likely Canaanite Hebrews (Habiru, Apiru); perhaps even the tribes of Abraham. These Hyksos occupied the north in and around the Nile Delta first.

The position of Sehetepihre Sewesekhtawy within the 13th Dynasty is not entirely clear. In the Turin canon, a king list redacted in the early Ramesside period, two kings are listed with the name "Sehetepibre", both in Column 7 (which mainly lists kings of the 13th Dynasty). The first "Sehetepibre" appears as the fourth king of the Dynasty, and the other as its eighth. Therefore, the exact chronological position of Sehetepibre Sewesekhtawy cannot be ascertained using only the Turin canon.

The Thirteenth Dynasty of ancient Egypt (notated Dynasty XIII) is often combined with Dynasties XI, XII and XIV under the group title Middle Kingdom. Some writers separate it from these dynasties and join it to Dynasties XIV through XVII as part of the Second Intermediate Period Dynasty XIII lasted from approximately 1803 BC until approximately 1649 BC, i.e. for 154 years. The 13th Dynasty was a continuation through a female line of the preceding 12th Dynasty, with its first pharaoh, Sobekhotep I, a son of queen regnant Sobekneferu and her husband Amenemhat and not a son of Amenembat IV as often stated Amenembat IV in reality died childless. As direct heirs to the kings of the 12th Dynasty, pharaohs of the 13th Dynasty reigned from Memphis over Middle and Upper Egypt, all the way to the second cataract to the south. The power of the 13th Dynasty waned progressively over its 150 years of existence and it finally came to an end with the conquest of Memphis by the Hyksos rulers of the 15th Dynasty, c. 1650 BC. The "oeverseer of Amenemhet" could have been a successor of one of the two kings.)

The beginning of the Teaching which he (i.e., Sehetepabra) composed for his children:-

I will speak that which is great, I will make you hear, I will make you to understand a scheme of life which will be enduring, which will make to flourish the life that is real, and enable [you] to bring your life to an end in peace.

Praise ye the King of the South, Enmaatra the everliving, in the interior of your bodies. Make ye a league with His Majesty in your hearts. He is the god Saa* {i.e., the god who knows all things), who is in your hearts (or breasts).

His two eves search through the reins of every man.

He is Ra, by means of whose rays [everything] is seen.

He lights up the Two Lands (i.e., Egypt) with a light greater than that of Aten (the solar Disk).

He makes the land burst into a green colour with vegetation more than does a great Hap (the Nile).

He inundates the Two Lands with the strength of life. He makes cool the nostrils [when] he sets out to fight (or do battle); he is appeased with offerings of He is the giver of food to those who are in his following. He fills with rich food those who make firm his path.

The King of the South is himself food, his mouth itself is abundance.

It is he who made (or, makes) to come into being his existence he is self-subsistent)

He is Khnemu, the god who fashions the bodies of all men. He is the Lord of generation, who makes men and women to

He is Bastt, the guardian Lady of the Two Lands (i.e., Egypt).

His arm shall avoid the man who prays to him. He is the goddess Sekhet (Sekhmit) to him who breaks his decree; he is hostile to the

Do battle for his name, purify yourselves by swearing by his life; [then] shall ye be free from a period of destitution (or, nakedness).

He who enjoys the favour of the King shall be revered.

There is no tomb allotted to the man who rebels against His Majesty; on the contrary, his body shall be cast into the stream.

Do these things and your bodies shall be strong and healthy, and they shall prove of benefit to you for ever and ever.

THE STORY OF SINUHE

or The Narration of Sanehat Author: Anonymus Source: Document Berlin 10499 and 3022 From: Die Erzählung des Sinuhe, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 17 Translation: Roland Koch, 1990, 2000 Estimated Range of Dating: 1875-1800 B.C.

(The Story of Sinuhe (also known as Sanehat) is considered one of the finest works of ancient Egyptian literature. It is a narrative set in the aftermath of the death of Pharaoh Amenemhat I, founder of the 12th Dynasty of Egypt, in the early 20th century BC. It was composed around 1875 BC by an unknown author, although the earliest extant manuscript is from the reign of Amenembat III, c. 1800 BC. The translation is based on two principal sources (Berlin 3022 for the bulk of the text, and Berlin 10499, for the first section, missing in 3022).

There is an ongoing debate among Egyptologists as to whether the tale is based on actual events involving an individual named Sinuhe (Egyptian: Za-Nehet "son of the sycamore") or just a work of fiction. It may well be both, like the stories in the Hebrew Bible. Due to the universal nature of the themes explored in Sinuhe, including divine providence and mercy, those ideas have parallels in later biblical texts.

The great popularity of the work is witnessed by the numerous surviving fragments. There are a number of sources telling the Story of Sinuhe. A limestone ostracon (a pottery or stone fragment) in the Egyptian Museum is over a yard long, and is possibly the largest ostracon in existence. It tells the beginning of the Story of Sinuhe, and is inscribed in Hieratic. The fragment was found in the tomb of Sennutem, a name that is linguistically related to Za-Nehet or Sanehat which is iust another form of Sinuhe and even Senusret. [At least 6 persons are known who bear that name: 1.) Senusret I, pharaoh (12th Dynasty; 1971-1926 BC (1920-1875 BC); 2.) Senusret II, pharaoh (12th Dynasty; 1897-1878 BC); 3.) Khakaure Senusret III, pharaoh (12th Dynasty; 1878-1839 BC; identified with Herodotus' Sesostris); 4.) Senusret (vizier during the last years of king Senusret I's rule); 5.) Senusret (governor, nomarch, of the nome of Nekhen, 12th Dynasty, known from his rock-cut tomb at Elkab); Senusret IV. pharaoh (late 13th dynasty, 16th dynasty or early 17th

Plot of the Story

This is the tale of an Egyptian palace official called Sinuhe, 'son of the sycamore'. Sinuhe is an official who accompanies prince Senusret (Senwosret, Greek: Sesostris I) to Libya. When war was waged against the Libyans, he accompanied the royal army, which was commanded by Senusret (Senwosret, Sesostris), the son and chosen heir of the pharaoh Amenemhat I, first pharaoh of the 12th Dynasty.

The old king died suddenly, possibly killed by conspirators. When news of this reached Senusret, who quickly returned to claim his throne, Sinuhe fears violent struggle because he overhears a conversation connected with the death of King Amenemhet I and as a result flees to Upper Retjenu (Canaan; Lebanon, Judaea), leaving Egypt behind to build a new life in exile

He becomes the son-in-law of Chief Ammunenshi and in time his sons grow to become chiefs in their own right. Sinuhe fights rebellious tribes on behalf of Ammunenshi. At the height of his powers in exile, he is challenged to a duel by a Syrian champion: Sinuhe kills his opponent in the duel, and begins a period of peace. In the aftermath of defeating the opponent, he he feels driven to return home to end his days, and be buried, as an Egyptian. He prays: "May god pity me . may he hearken to the prayer of one far away! . . . may the King have mercy on me . . . may I be conducted to the city of eternity!" He then receives an invitation from King Senusret I of Egypt to return, which he accepts in highly moving terms. He has learned what it means to be an Egyptian, and he has become an Egyptian again. Living out the rest of his life in royal favour, he is finally laid to rest in the necropolis in a beautiful tomb.

Written in the Middle Kingdom, this autobiographic narrational character is based in the chronological setting the reigns of Sesostris I (12th dynasty, about 1958-1913 B.C.). It also had great success in the New Kingdom, when it appeared among the studied texts and copied in the schools of the scribes. It was especially used during Ramesside times (19th-20th dynasty).

Parallels have been made between the biblical narrative of Joseph and the Story of Sinuhe. In what is seen as divine providence, Sinuhe the Egyptian flees to Syro-Canaan and becomes a member of the ruling elite, acquires a wife and family, before being reunited with his Egyptian family. In what is seen as divine providence, the Syro-Canaanite Joseph is taken to Egypt where he becomes part of the ruling elite, acquires a wife and family, before being reunited with his Syro-Canaanite family. Parallels have also been drawn from other biblical texts: the Hebrew prophet Jonah's frustrated flight from the orbit of God's power is likened to Sinuhe's similar flight from the King. The battle between David and Goliath is compared to his fight with a mighty challenger, whom he slays with a single blow, and the parable of the Prodigal Son is likened to his return home.)

1 Nobleman and overlord, governor and canal-cutter, sovereign among the Syrians

One known to the king directly, his favourite, the Follower

2 I am a Follower who follows his lord, a servant of the family-quarters of the king

Of the noblewoman, abounding in favour, King's Wife of Senusret in Khenemsut

King's Daughter of Amenemhat in Qaneferu, Neferu, lady

3 Regnal year 30, month 3 of Flood, day 7

The god ascended to his horizon, the dual king Sehetepibra He fared up to the sky, joining with the sun-disk [or sun sphere], divine limbs merging with his creator The Residence was in silence, hearts in sorrow,

The Double Gate sealed,

The court with head on knees, the nobles in lament

4 Now His Majesty had sent an army against the Land of the Timehu

With his eldest son as its commander,

The good god Senusret

He was sent to smite the hill lands, to quell the inhabitants of Tiehenu

He was just on his return, and had brought the captives of Tjehenu,

And all the limitless herds

5 The courtiers of the Palace despatched to the Western reaches.

To inform the King's Son of the turn of events in the Chamber

The envoys found him on the road,

And had reached him at the time of dusk

Not a slight moment did he delay,

The falcon he flew off with his followers

Without having his army informed of it

(End of Document Berlin 10499, lines 22-25) (The story continues in Document Berlin 3022, 1-2)

6 Now there was a despatch with regard to the King's

children who were following him in this army

One of them was summoned

Now I was up, and heard his voice

When he was speaking - I was a short distance away

7 My heart stopped, my arms crossed, trembling fell through my whole body

I slipped back in starts to seek out a hiding-place,

To place myself between the bushes, to remove the way and its farer

I made my way south

without thinking of approaching this Residence.

I imagined there would be bloodshed,

and I denied I could survive it

8 I negotiated the Sea of Truth in the area of the Sycamore,

And I made it to the Island of Sneferu

I rested on the curb of the fields.

And moved on when it came to day. I crossed a man standing at a fork in the road:

He hailed me, but I feared him

9 Evening fell as I trod on to the mooring-point of the horned bull

I ferried across in a cargo-boat without a rudder, thanks to a breeze from the west

I crossed by the east of the quarry in the ascent of the Goddess of the Red Mountain

I forced my legs to move on northwards

I reached the Walls of the Ruler, made to repel the Syrians and trample on the nomads

I took my shelter in the bush

From fear of being seen by the guard on the wall who was on duty

And made my way at night

10 At daybreak I reached Peten

And alighted at the land of the Great Black Water

Thirst struck, it overwhelmed me

I panted, my throat parched

I said, this is the taste of death,

Binding my heart and my body

11 I heard the sound of lowing of cattle And sighted Syrians

I was spied out by one of their scouts who had been in Egypt Then he gave me water, and milk was cooked for me

I went with him to his people. What they did was good.

12 Hill-land passed me to hill-land

I wound up in Byblos, and travelled up to Qedem

I had spent a year and a half there when Amunenshi fetched

He being a ruler of the hinterland of Syria

13 He said to me

You would be well with me, you can hear Egyptian

He said this because he knew my character, and had heard of my talent

The Egyptians who were there with him had given witness for me

Then he said to me

How is it that you have reached these parts,

Has something happened in the Residence?

14 Then I said to him,

The dual king Sehetepibra has gone to the horizon,

How it happened is not known.

But I was told indirectly. I was coming with the Timehiland army

When it was reported to me

My heart failed, and brought me on the road of flight

Though I had not been implicated and no accusation had been made against me

(though so slander had been heard, and my name had not been mentioned by the reporter - I do not know what brought me to this hill-land)

It is as if a slight of the god,

As a Delta-man seeing himself in Abu

Or a marsh-man in the Land of the bow

15 Then he said to me

How will that land be now, without that effective god

Whose fear permeated the hill-lands like Sekhmet in a year of plague

16 Then I addressed myself to him in reply to him

Why, his son is entering the palace

And has taken up the inheritance of his father

He is a god without equal, with no other existing before

He is a master of far-sightedness, excellent in planning, effective in decrees

Coming and going follow his decrees

He is the one suppressing the hill-lands while his father was within his palace

And reporting to him that whatever he ordained has come

17 He is truly a strong man made by his strong arm,

A man of action - noone comes close to him He is to be seen as he descends for archery,

Joining the fray,

He is one who takes the horn, wearing down all hands - so his enemies cannot gather their forces

He is one cleansed in sight, cleaving foreheads.

So no-one can stand in his way

He is one who strides ahead to shoot down those in flight

Giving no quarter to the man who turns tail

He is the stout-hearted in the moment of the charge

He is the turner who never turns tail

He is the broad-hearted one when he sees the multitude,

Who never places rest behind his heart

18 He is the forward mover when he descends to the Easterners.

His delight is the plunder of archery,

He takes his shield, tramples underfoot,

He never raises his arm twice for the kill

(his arrow never strays, his bow never strains) The nomads are routed before him as at the might of the

Great Goddess He fights and plans the outcome,

He never guards, without event

19 He is a lord of mercy, full of kindness,

He has conquered by love, his citizens love him more than themselves

They rejoice over him more than over their god

Women surpass men in extolling him

As he is king, and he had conquered still in the egg,

His face was set to it from the moment he was born

With him comes the increase in births

He is the sole one of the gift of god,

How joyful is this land that he has come to rule -20 He is one who extends the borders

He will seize the southern lands

Before considering the northern lands

He has been made to smite the Syrians and trample the

Send to him and let him know your name Do not plot anything against His Majesty

He will do everything for you that his father did

He will not fail to do good for the hill-land that will be loval to him

21 He spoke before me: Then fair Egypt, she is indeed the land that knows his firmness

You are here, though, and will be with me. What I do for you will be good

He placed me at the head of his children

He settled me with his eldest daughter

And let me choose for myself from his hill-land,

From the choicest of his surrounds on the border of the next hill-land

22 It was a fair land, called Iaa [refering to Yaw as in Yahweh and so pointing to Canaan.]

There were figs there and grapes.

It had wine more abundant than water

Its honey was plentiful, its plant-oil innumerable

On its trees were all kinds of fruit

There was barley there and wheat,

And unlimited cattle of every kind

23 Much also accrued to me as coming for love of me He made me ruler of a clan from the most select of his hill-

I acquired food, jars and wine in the course of a day

Meat was cooked, ducks roasted, as well as the livestock

They laid snares for me, and laid down the catch for me, As well as the goods of my hounds

They made for me numerous foods and milk in every kind of dish

24 I spent many years,

land

And my children had grown to adults.

Each man of them in control of his own clan,

And any envoy on his way to or from the Residence, he stopped by me

I sheltered everyone, I gave water to the thirsty,

I placed the man who went astray back on the road, I rescued the afflicted.

Any Syrians who fell to fomenting strife and disturbing the rulers of hill-lands,

I challenged their movements

25 This ruler of Syria made me spend many years as commander of his army

Every hill-land I moved against,

I ensured I prevailed over it,

Removing down to the plants at its wells,

I captured its cattle, brought away its servants, removed their food

And slew its inhabitants

by my right arm, by my bow, by my movements, by my excellent plans

I became invaluable to him, and he loved me, for he know how valiant I was

He placed me at the head of his children,

For he saw the firmness of my arms

26 There came a hero of Syria who challenged me in my tent

He was an unrivalled champion,

Who had prevailed over the entire region

He said he would fight me.

He intended to smite me.

He planned to carry off my cattle before the council of his clan

27 That ruler was consulting with me, so I said I did not know the man.

That it was not I who went to him and strode into his tent, Or was it I who opened his gate, and moved past his walls?

He must have been tempted to it when he saw me carrying out your missions

Well, I am like a bull of the strikers amid another herd of cattle

The bull of the herd smites him, the horned bull assails him Does a lowly man become loved when fate makes him a master?

There is no desert-nomad who befriends a marshman

Does a marsh-reed flourish on the mountain-side

Does a bull love to fight,

Then should a herd-leader like to turn back in fear of being matched?

If he wishes to fight, let him be told his wish

Does a god not know what he ordained? Or a man who knows how it will be?

28 I went to rest, tied my bow, sharpened my arrows,

Whetted the blade of my dagger, arrayed my weapons At dawn Syria came, it roused its people,

It assembled the hill-lands on either side,

For it knew of this fight

He came toward me as I stood

And I placed myself next to him

Every heart was burning for me

Women and men pounding

Every mind was willing me on,

'is there any hero that can fight against him?'

29 And then his shield, his dagger, his armour, his holder of spears fell,

As I approached his weapons

I made my face dodge

And his weapons were wasted as nothing

Each piled on the next

Then he made his charge against me

He imagined he would strike my arm

As he moved over me, I shot him,

My arrow lodged in his neck,

He cried out, and fell on his nose

I felled him with his dagger

I uttered my war-cry on his back,

Every Asiatic lowing

I gave praise to Mont

As his servants mourned for him

30 This ruler Amunenshi took me into his embrace.

Then I brought away his goods, I carried off his cattle, What he had planned to do to me, I did to him,

I seized what was in his camp, and uncovered his tent

There I was in greatness, I was broad in my standing,

I enjoyed wealth in cattle, Thus the god acted to make peace for the one he had cursed,

The one he had led away to another hill-land Today his heart is appeased

31 The fugitive flees from his surrounds, but my right place is in the Residence,

The deserter deserts from hunger, but I can give bread to

my neighbour A man abandons his land from nakedness, but I, I own white linen, finest cloth,

A man runs away for lack of one to send, but I. I own many servants

My estate is fine, my place is broad, my renown is in the

palace 32 Whichever god ordained this flight

Be at peace, give me back to the Residence

Have mercy on me and let me see the place where my heart resides

See how great it is to wrap my corpse in the land in which I was born

Come in my defence, then, a good event has occurred, I have appeased the god

May he act so as to bring right the end for one he afflicted May his heart ail for the one he excluded to live on the hillland

Today at last he is appeased

Let him hear the prayer of the exile,

May he bring back his arm for the one he forced over the land

Back to the place he brought him from

33 May the king of Egypt be content with me, may I live in his pleasure

Greeting the lady [queen] who is in his palace

May I hear the missions of her children, that my body be young

For now old age has descended

May she draw eternity over me

Sloth has overwhelmed me

My eyes are heavy, my arms slack My legs are unstable, my heart seeks rest

I am drawn close to departure, when they will bear me to the city of eternity

May I follow the Lady of All that she may tell me what is good for her children

34 Now report was made to the Majesty of the dual king Kheperkara justified

Concerning this condition I was suffering

Then His Majesty sent to me largesse of before the king He extended his heart to this servant as to a ruler of any hill-land

And the king's children who were in his palace let me hear their commissions

35 Copy of the decree brought to this servant concerning bringing him to Egypt

The Horus living of births, he of the Two Ladies living of births.

The dual king Kheperkara son of Ra of Amenemhat living forever eternally

Decree of the king to the follower Sanehat

See this decree of the king is brought to you To inform you that you have travelled the hill-lands Going from Qedem of Syria

Hill-land gave you to hill-land following the counsel of vour heart to vourself

What was it you had done, or had been done to you?

You did not say wrong that your words be punished

You did not speak in the council of officials that your statements be bound

This matter, it carried off your heart - there was nothing in my heart against you

This your heaven who is in the palace, she is well and strong today

Her head is adorned with the kingship of the land

Her children are in the inner palace

36 May you add the riches of their gift to you, that you may live by their offerings

Prepare your return to Egypt, that you may see the Residence where you were born

That you may kiss the ground at the Great Double Gate, and join the courtiers

Today now you have begun to age

You have unravelled virility

You are reminded of the day of burial, of passing to reverence

A night is cut for you with oils and wrappings from the Goddess Linen

A procession of passing is made for you, on the day of rejoining the earth A case of gold, a mask of lapis lazuli, the sky over you,

placed in the bier The oxen drawing you, chanters in front of you

Dances are made by the sacred dancers at the door of your tomb

Offerings are pronounced for you, meat is butchered at the door of your chapel

Your columns are enriched with silver in the midst of the king's children

You will not die upon the hill-land, the Asiatics will not inter you

You are not to be placed in a sheepskin as your enclosure is made It is too long for wandering the land, think of the corpse

and return 37 This decree reached me as I stood among my clan

It was read out to me

And I placed myself on my belly

I touched the ground

And put it strewn over my chest

I went around my camp shouting aloud

How is this done for a servant whose heart led him astray to foreign lands

This is utter good, the mercy that rescues me from death Your spirit will let me spend the end of my bodily days in

the Residence

38 Copy of the report to this decree

The servant of the palace Sanehat says

In peace very greatly Concerning this flight made by the humble servant in his ignorance

It is your ka, good god, lord of the two lands,

Whom Ra loves, praised by Mont lord of Thebes and Amun lord of the thrones of the two lands,

By Sobek-Ra, Horus, Hathor, Atum and his nine gods Soped perfect of Might of Semseru. Horus the easterner The lady of the cavern - may she join your brow, the

tribunal at the front of the flood Min-Horus amid the hill-lands, the great goddess, lady of Punt, Nut, Horwerra

All the gods of Egypt, of the hill-land, of the islands of the

Great Green

May they give life and power to your nostrils May they join you in their giving May they grant you eternity without end and unbounded

time Fear of you rebounds through lands and hill-lands, you

grasp what the sun-disk circles This is a prayer by the humble servant to his lord for rescue from the west

39 Lord of insight, who perceives the populace, whose insight is the Majesty of the palace

This humble servant is in fear of saying it

It is like a matter too great to be repeated Great god, equal of Ra, in informing the one who has

worked for him himself This humble servant is in the hand of the one consulting

about him It has to be placed under his care

Your Majesty is Horus who seizes, your arms are stronger than all lands

And Meki in Qedem, the mountain-men leading Kesh, Menus from the land of Fenkhu, These are the rulers by their exact names who have come

into your affection Without mentioning Syria, as much yours as are your dogs

Now your Majesty decrees that he be brought,

40 As for this flight made by this servant It was not planned, it was not in my heart, I did not plot it I do not know what separated me from my place, it was like

a dream It is as if a Delta-man saw himself in Abu, a marsh-man in the Land of Nubia

I did not fear, I was not persecuted, I heard no accusation My name was not heard in the mouth of the reporter

And yet my limbs went cold. Legs panicked, my heart took hold of me

The god who decreed this flight led me away: I am not the arrogant, not I

The man who knows his land, he fears

Ra has set fear of you throughout the land, the dread of you in every hill-land

Place me in the Residence or in this place,

You are still the one who clothes this horizon

The disk shines for love of you, water is in the river to be drunk at your desire

The air in the sky, it is breathed in when you say so

41 This humble servant is to hand over the staff acquired by this servant in this place

Then this servant will be returned as your Majesty permits in his desire

We live by the breath of your gift, as Ra, Horus and Hathor love this your noble life

As Mont lord of Thebes wishes that it live forever

I was permitted a day in Iaa to hand over my things to my children

With my eldest son in charge of my clan, my clan and all my things in his hands,

My servants, all my cattle, my fruits, all my sweet trees 42 This servant arrived south,

I touched on the ways of Horus,

And the commander there who was organising patrols Sent a message to the Residence to inform them

Then his Majesty sent the good overseer of foragers of the King's House

Followed by ships laden with the gifts of before the king For the Syrians who came along with me to bring me to the ways of Horus

I pronounced each of them by his name

All the cupbearers were busy at their tasks I received and the captain loaded for me,

And there was kneading and straining beside me until I reached the landing of Itj(tawy)

43 Very early at daybreak there came the summons for me Ten men coming, ten men going to lead me to the palace I touched the ground between the dawn rays

As the king's children stood on the walls at the conduct of my approach

The courtiers were led to the audience hall as I was placed on the way to the inner palace

I found His Majesty on the great throne on a podium of electrum [alloy of gold and silver]

Then I was stretched out on my belly

I lost myself in his presence.

This god addressed me friendlily

As I was like a man seized in pitch black

My soul had gone, my body trembled

My heart was no longer in my body - could I know life from death?

44 Then His Maiesty said to one of those courtiers

Raise him and let him speak to me

Then His Majesty said

Look at you, on return from travelling the hill-lands

The flight has worked its impact on you, you are grown old You have reached old age

It is no trifle that your body will be purified,

That you will not be interred by nomads - do not, do not be silent

You have not spoken, though your name is pronounced

45 Fearing the hand of punishment, I answered with the answer of the fearful

What has my lord said to me

That I might answer it - there is no slight to the god in this

It is terror that resides in my body Just as the fated flight came to be

See me before you - you are life, may your Majesty do as he

46 Then the king's children were brought in

And His Majesty said to the king's wife

Here is Sanehat, returned as an Asiatic, remade as a Syrian She uttered a very great cry, and the king's children in one

outburst They said before His Majesty

It cannot truly be him, sovereign my lord

And His Majesty said, it is truly he

47 At that they brought their counterpoises, their images, their sistra in their hands

They waved them at His Majesty

Your arms are for the good, O king enduring

The adornments of the lady of heaven

The goddess Gold gives life to your nose

The lady of the stars unites with you

The south crown fares north, the northern south, united as one in the way of your Majesty

The cobra is set at your brow, you have removed the weak from evil

Ra lord of the two lands is pleased with you, praise to you as to the Lady of All

Rest your bow, untie your arrow, give breath to the one in lifelessness

Allow us this good turn

This wayfarer, son of the north wind,

The nomad born in Egypt

He took flight for fear of you, he abandoned the land in dread of you

There will be no destruction for the face that sees your face

There will be no fear for the eye that looks at you 48 Then His Majesty said

He shall not fear, nor be given over to terror He is to be a courtier among the officials,

He may be placed in the midst of the court Proceed to the inner palace,

For instruction in appointing his standing So I went inside the inner palace

The king's children giving me their arms I went then to the Great Double Gate

I was installed at the house of a king's son, full of riches With a bathroom, and images of the horizon

With valuables from the treasury - clothing of royal linen and ointment of the first for the king's officials whom he loves Every cupbearer was busy at his task

49 Years were made to fall from my body, as I was shorn, my hair combed

The load was returned to the hill-land, the garments to the nomads,

I was arrayed in fine linen, and anointed with first quality oil

I lay down on a bed, and returned the sand to its dwellers And the tree-oil to those who anoint themselves with it

I was given the house of a lord of an estate, as a gift from a

Numerous craftsmen built it up, everything was strengthened anew

Foods were continually delivered to me from the palace, three or four times a day

Besides the gifts of the king's children without a moment of pausing

50 A pyramid-chapel of stone was built for me amid the pyramids

The overseer of glazeworkers of the pyramid procured its ground.

The overseer of sealers did the drawing, the sculptors did the cutting,

The overseers of works who were at the pyramid temple ferried for it

Every tool that is set to the temple-terrace, it found its task there.

I was given spirit-servants, and I made an estate for the cult. Containing fields as endowment at the landing-stage as is done for the foremost official

My image was adorned with gold, its kilt in electrum,

It is His Majesty who had it done. No poor mortal ever received such treatment

I am in the favour of before the king Until the coming of the day to moor.

(End note in Berlin 3022, line 311)

This is its completion from its start to its finish as found in

THE TEMPEST STELE

Source: Claude Vandersleven, 1968 Translation: Anonymus Estimated Range of Dating: c.1550-1525 B.C.

(The Tempest Stele (also known as Storm Stele) was erected by pharaoh Ahmose I (Reign: c.1550–1525 BC.) early in the 18th Dynasty of Egypt, c.1550 BC. The stele describes a great storm striking Egypt during this time, destroying tombs, temples and pyramids in the Theban region and the work of restoration ordered by the king. The storm refers with great certainty to the devastating effects of the volcano eruption of the Thera-Volcano in about 1600 BC.

Broken pieces of this stele were found in the 3rd Pylon of the temple of Karnak at Thebes between 1947 and 1951 by French archaeologists. A restoration of the stele and translation of the text was published by Claude Vandersleyen ('Une tempête sous le règne d'Amosis', A Storm in Egypt during the Reign of Ahmose, RdE 19, 1967, 123-159.1967). In the following year (1968), Vandersleyen added two more fragments, one from the top of the inscription and a small piece from line 10 of the restored text, which had been recovered by Egyptian archaeologists in the final cleaning of the foundations. Each of the two sides of the stele bore the same inscription, allowing Vandersleyen to produce a restored text by collating them. The upper portion of the stele that describes the storm is the most damaged part of the stele, with many lacunae in the meteorological description. The description of the storm is followed by a virtually complete text that specifies the measures taken by the King to relieve the distress of the people and to repair the damages at Thebes. Its upper part mentions a royal residence at Sedjefa-Taouy, located south of Dendera, from which Ahmose journeyed to Thebes by boat. This residence (not the one mentioned in line 11) was probably located at Ballas, situated between Coptos and Dendera. This elaborate account of a storm and its damages is unique among Egyptian records. According to scientists, it is possible that such an unusually violent storm resulted from the Thera-Santorini eruption.)

Text (with the numbers of the lines):

(7) . . . the gods expressed

(8) their discontent ... The gods (made?) the sky come with a tempest of (rain?); it caused darkness in the Western region;

(9) unleashed, without more than the roar of the crowd; \ldots was powerful \ldots on the mountains more than the turbulence of the

(10) cataract which is at Elephantine. Each house, . . . each shelter (or each covered place) that they reached .

(11) . . . were floating in the water like the barks of papyrus (on the outside?) of the royal residence for . . . day(s),

(12) with no one able to light the torch anywhere. Then His Majesty said 'How these (events) surpass the power of the great god and the wills of the divinities!' And His Majesty descended

(13) in his boat, his council following him. The (people were?) at the east and the west, silent, for they had no more clothes (?) on them

(14) after the power of the god was manifested. Then His Majesty arrived in Thebes ... this statue; it received what it had desired.

(15) His Majesty set about to strengthen the two lands, to cause the water to evacuate without (the aid of) his (men?), to provide them with silver,

(16) with gold, with copper, with oil, with clothing, with all the products they desired; after which His Majesty rested in the palace - life, health, strength.

(17) It was then that His Majesty was informed that the funerary concessions had been invaded (by the water), that the sepulchral chambers had been damaged, that the structures of funerary enclosures had been undermined, that the pyramids had collapsed?

(18) all that existed had been annihilated. His Majesty then ordered the repair of the chapels which had fallen in ruins in all the country, restoration of the

(19) monuments of the gods, the re-erection of their precincts, the replacement of the sacred objects in the room of appearances, the re-closing of the secret place, the reintroduction

(20) into their naoi of the statues which were lying on the ground, the re-erection of the fire altars, the replacement of the offering tables back on their feet, to assure them the provision of offerings,

(21) the augmentation of the revenues of the personnel, the restoration of the country to its former state. They carried out everything, as the king had ordered it.

THE TEACHING OF AMEN-EM-APT

Instruction of Amenemope or Amenemopet Source: British Museum Papyrus 10474, Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, 1913 Estimated Range of Dating: ca. 1300–1075 BC

(Instruction of Amen-em-apt (today rather called Amenemope or Amenemopet) is a literary work composed in Ancient Egypt, most likely during the Ramesside Period (ca. 1300-1075 BC); it contains thirty chapters of advice for successful living, ostensibly written by the scribe Amenemope son of Kanakht as a legacy for his son. A characteristic product of the New Kingdom "Age of Personal Piety", the work reflects on the inner qualities, attitudes, and behaviors required for a happy life in the face of increasingly difficult social and economic circumstances. It is widely regarded as one of the masterpieces of ancient near-eastern wisdom literature and has been of particular interest to modern scholars because of its relationship to the biblical Book of Proverbs.

Amenemope belongs to the literary genre of wisdom literature, often called "teaching" or "instruction" (Egyptian: sebayt). It is the culmination of centuries of development going back to the Instruction of Ptahhotep in the Old Kingdom but reflects a shift in values characteristic of the New Kingdom's "Age of Personal Piety": away from material success attained through practical action, and towards inner peace achieved through patient endurance and passive acceptance of an inscrutable divine will. The author takes for granted the principles of Natural law and concentrates on the deeper matters of conscience. He counsels that the weaker classes of society are defended, respect is shown to the elderly, widows and the poor, whilst condemning any abuse of power or authority. The author draws an emphatic contrast between two types of men: the "silent man", who goes about his business without drawing attention to himself or demanding his rights, and the "heated man", who makes a nuisance of himself to everyone and is constantly picking fights with others over matters of no real importance. Contrary to worldly expectation, the author assures his reader that the former will ultimately receive the divine blessing, while the latter will inevitably go to destruction. Amenemope counsels modesty, self-control, generosity, and scrupulous honesty, while discouraging pride, impetuosity, self-advancement, fraud, and perjury-not only out of respect for Maat, the

cosmic principle of right order, but also because "attempts to gain advantage to the detriment of others incur condemnation, confuse the plans of god, and lead inexorably to disgrace and punishment."

The most complete text of the Instruction of Amenemope is the British Museum Papyrus 10474, which was acquired in Thebes by E. A. Wallis Budge in 1888. The scroll is approximately 12 feet (3.7 m) long by 10 inches (250 mm) wide; the obverse side contains the hieratic text of the Instruction, while the reverse side is filled with a miscellany of lesser texts. Budge ignored the text for over 25 years until he finally translated the complicated work. What he found out was astonishing. The connexion between Egypt and the peoples in the Holy Land was much closer than anyone dared to imagine. Egyptian influence on Israel and Judah was particularly strong in the reign of King Hezekiah during Egypt's Third Intermediate Period; as a result, "Hebrew literature is permeated with concepts and figures derived from the didactic treatises of Egypt", with Amenemope often cited as the foremost example. Even in his first brief publication of excerpts from Amenemope in 1922, Budge noted its obvious resemblance to the biblical wisdom books. He amplified these comments in his 1923 and 1924 publications, observing that the religiously based morality of Amenemope "closely resembles" the precepts of the Hebrew Bible, and adducing specific parallels between Amenemope and texts in Proverbs, Psalms, and Deuteronomy. Others soon followed his lead.

The Hebrew authors of the Tanakh (Old Testament) had direct access to the original Egyptian document and they used it. Clear evidence includes:

- A.) Ancient Egyptian works such as the Instruction of Ptah-Hotep (dated to the 4th dynasty), the Instruction of Kagemni (dated to at least the 12th dynasty), and the Instruction of Ani (dated to the late 18th or early 19th dynasty).
- B.) The demonstrably native Egyptian character of the genre, themes, and vocabulary of Amenemope;
- C.) The discovery of the editorial and structural mechanisms by which the Egyptian original was adapted by the biblical author.

In order to demonstrate this fact, we will show you now a number of passages from the Instruction of Amenemope compared with the Book of Proverbs:

(Amenemope, ch. 30): "Look to these thirty chapters; they inform, they educate."

(Proverbs 22:20): "Have I not written for you thirty sayings of counsel and knowledge?" (ESV)

(Amenemope, ch. 1): "Give thine ear, and hear what I say, And apply thine heart to apprehend; It is good for thee to place them in thine heart, let them rest in the casket of thy belly; That they may act as a peg upon thy tongue"

(Proverbs 22:17–18):"Incline thine ear, and hear the words of the wise, And apply thine heart to my doctrine; For it is pleasant if thou keep them in thy belly, that they may be established together upon thy lips"

(Amenemope, ch. 2): "Beware of robbing the poor, and oppressing the afflicted."

(Proverbs 22:22):"Rob not the poor, for he is poor, neither oppress (or crush) the lowly in the gate."

(Amenemope, ch. 10): "Associate not with a passionate man, Nor approach him for conversation; Leap not to cleave to such an one; That terror carry thee not away."

(Proverbs 22:24–5): "Do not befriend the man of anger, Nor go with a wrathful man, Lest thou learn his ways and take a snare for thy soul."

(Amenemope, ch. 30): "A scribe who is skillful in his business findeth worthy to be a courtier"

(Proverbs 22:29): "[if you] You see a man quick in his work, before kings will he stand, before cravens, he will not stand."

(Amenemope, ch. 23): "Eat not bread in the presence of a ruler, And lunge not forward(?) with thy mouth before a governor(?). When thou art replenished with that to which thou has no right, It is only a delight to thy spittle. Look upon the dish that is before thee, And let that (alone) supply thy need." (see above)

(Proverbs 23:1): "When thou sittest to eat with a ruler, Consider diligently what is before thee; And put a knife to thy throat, If thou be a man given to appetite. Be not desirous of his dainties, for they are breads of falsehood."

(Amenemope, ch. 7): "Toil not after riches; If stolen goods are brought to thee, they remain not over night with thee. They have made themselves wings like geese. And have flown into the heavens."

(Proverbs 23:4–5): "Toil not to become rich, And cease from dishonest gain; For wealth maketh to itself wings, Like an eagle that flieth heavenwards"

(Amenemope, ch. 21): "Empty not thine inmost soul to everyone, nor spoil (thereby) thine influence"

(Proverbs 23:9): "Speak not in the hearing of a fool, for he will despise the wisdom of thy words"

(Amenemope, ch. 6): "Remove not the landmark from the bounds of the field...and violate not the widows boundary" (Proverbs 23:10): "Remove not the widows landmark; And enter not into the field of the fatherless."

(Amenemope, ch. 1): "Give thine ears, hear the words that are said, give thine heart to interpret them."

(Proverbs 23:12): "Apply thine heart unto instruction and thine ears to the words of knowledge")

The Title of the Work and its Object:-

"The Beginning of the Teaching CONCERNING LIFE (i.e., of how to live)"; and of the testimonies (or, admonitions) of (i.e., which lead to) safe conduct; and of the directions for behaviour set forth by the Aqaqiu (i.e., the high officials who had the privilege of entering the council chambers of kings and governors); and of the commandments" of the Smeru (i.e., the friends of the king, or high officers of state).

[* The testimonies, directions for behaviour, and commandments mentioned in the above lines are the equivalents of the testimonies, precepts, and righteous judgements spoken of by David in Psalm 119, and the "instruction of wisdom, justice and judgement and equity," referred to by Solomon in Proverbs, Chap. I.]

This Teaching and the precepts contained therein will enable a man to know how to return a suitable answer to him that has spoken to him; and to carry back a satisfactory report to the man who has despatched him on a mission; and will make him to follow a straight course on the roads of life; and will enable him to maintain his position of safety upon the earth; and will cause his heart to descend (or, enter) its case; and make him steer his course away from evil (or, the evil one); and make him to save himself from the mouth of the common folk; and to be applauded by the mouth of men of understanding.

Amen-em-apt and his Titles.

This Teaching was made (i.e., written) by the Director of the Crops, who was highly skilled and experienced in his profession; Scribe of the grain (or "Grain scribe") of Upper and Lower Egypt; Overseer of the barley crops, heaping up the grain to overflowing in the divine granary (or, granary of the god); Officer in chief in charge of the harvests of his lord; Registrary of the arable lands [and] of the coming in of the gifts (or, offerings) as ordered by the Law in the Great Name of His Majesty; Custodian of the funerary memorials on the boundaries of the Aakhut (i.e., of the ancestral spirits whose bodies were buried in a special quarter of the necropolis, or merely the blessed dead in general); Defender of the King in his edicts of government; Performer of the office of deputy (High Officer, Governor) of Kam (Egypt); Scribe of the various grains that formed the divine offerings of all the gods; Allotter of farms to the peasants who wished to become tenants on the royal estates; Overseer of the barley crops. Purveyor of supplies of grain; Supplier of the Ahat (granary of the palace) with stores of barley; Ger-maa of the town of Ten and of the town of Nifu-ur; Reporter of the town of Apu (Panopolis); Master of the Necropolis by the town Amentt and of the town of Sen: Master of the sanctuary of Abydos: Amen-em-apt, the son of Ka-Nekht; whose word is truth, of Nifu-ur; His son is the little one (i.e., the youngest) of his children. Overseer of the mysteries of the god Menti in the character of Ka-mut-f (i.e., the "Bull or husband of his mother "). He is the man of least account among his relatives and acquaintances; Inductor, of Un-Nefer; Inductor of Horus upon the throne of his father; Watcher who is in his holy shrine. [Text mutilated.]

Similar......[1ext indinated.]
..... Surveyor of the Mother of the God. Inspector of the Black Bulls of the stable of Menti; Defender of the god Menti in his sanctuary. Horus as the Truth-speaker, his name of Maat (his real name?); Boy begotten by a nobleman (or, magistrate) of Ap (Panopolis); Son of the sistrum-bearer and directress of the singing of the god Shu and the goddess Tefnut, Powerful of word (i.e., Mistress) in the College of Horus, called Ta-Usrit. With the name of the mother of Amen-em-apt the Introduction to the "Teaching," which contains the title and object of the work, and the genealogy and list of offices held by its author, comes to an end. The "Teaching" itself begins with the words:—

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 1

I pray thee to lend me thine ears, hearken to the things that will be said by me. I pray thee to give thy mind (or, pay

attention) to the difficult matters which will be unravelled by

The setting of them in thy heart will be advantageous [to thee]. And the rejection of them will be a calamity [for thee]. I beseech thee to deposit them in the treasure-house of thy belly; They will help the ship of the heart not to overturn but to alter its course, and to sail, if necessary, in the opposite direction. When a gale of words is beating hard upon it, [and] They will form a guiding support in thy tongue; If thou wilt live thy life day by day these things being in thy heart; Thou wilt find them [beneficial] in the season of adversity's trial. Thou wilt find my words to be like a treasure-house of life, And a source of strength and safety [as long as thou art] upon the earth.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 2

Guard thyself against plundering the poor man; And from treating with harshness the destitute. Make not thy hand to turn aside at the approach of an aged man; Thou assuming the mouth (i.e., speech) of a great man. Not ever (i.e., never) let a man be despatched by thee on a dangerous mission, When thou hast any affection for him who is to carry it out. Thou shalt not inflict an injury on him that has attacked thee, When thou art able to return an answer to him on thine own behalf. The worker of iniquity-abandon him to the dyke (or, river) bank. His water-flood he will bring upon himself. The north wind hurled upbn him will bring to an end in misery his hour (or, period of life); He will be seized by the raging waters; The Storm fiend will mount on high and the evil crocodiles. The fiery, hot-headed man-what is he like to thee? He shrieks imprecations, his voice soars upwards into the heights of heaven; The god Aahu (i.e., the Moon-god) stands still in his course, and holds him to be an abomination. Work the steering oar, we must give a passage to "the man in evil case." May not we become ourselves like unto him? Set him up on his feet, extend to him gladly thy hand; Commit him to the hands of the God*. (* "The God," pa neter. Amen-em-apt, like the earlier and later writers of this class of literature, does not mention the name of any particular god, and the God to him meant what Yahweh means to Jews and Christians.) Fill his belly with the bread-cakes of thy providing. Satisfy him to the full [with drink] whilst he . . . Another occasion of beneficence is in the heart of the God; Idleness of the mind is speech [in this case].

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 3

Couple not together the chattering man with the devil Tar; When thou canst pierce him in speech. Idle in mind [is] the crooked man, bow thyself to the attacker. [is] speech. A raging wind he rushes forth like a destroying fire among the reeds. The noisy, hot-headed man in his hour (i.e., when his rage is greatest); Turn thyself aside from before him, leave the matter of him To the God. Who knows how to requite him. If thou wilt pass the days of thy life keeping these things in thy heart. Thy children, behold them!

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 4

AMEN-EM-AFT CHAFTER 4

Now (or, as for) the noisy, hotheaded man of the house of the god (or, temple); He is like a large, leafy tree planted in the courtyard of a temple; Its leaves come to an end (i.e., wither), his unripe fruit drops off; Brought when its end has come to the water-course; It is east into the water, and carried away far from its place; The flame of fire is its winding-sheet (or, shroud). But the Ger Maa who sets himself by the side of the road, He is like a large leafy tree planted in shining (or, fertile) ground. It blossoms, it doubles its yield of fruit in the summer. It has its place before the face of its lord (or, owner). Its foliage (or, fruit) is sweet, the shadow thereof is pleasant; And it is carried at its end (i.e., finally) into the groves of the God. Some noun seems to be wanting after

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 5

Make no encroachment on the dykes of the house of the god. Commit not an act of avariciousness so that thou mayest find (i.e., obtain) additional wealth. Make not to turn aside from his duty a servant of God: To do what is profitable to another man. Say not, "To-day is even as to-morrow morning [will be]." The end (result) of this reasoning will be like what? Tomorrow has yet to come, to-day has yet to pass away. The water-flood (Inundation) is on the mouth (i.e., crest) of the surging waves. The crocodiles make themselves visible [from the mud], the hippopotami appear in the light [from the water]. The fish leap in the waters. The wolves gorge themselves, the geese keep high festival. The restraining cords are cast loose. Now every Ger of the house of God Shall say, "Great is the graciousness of Ra." O thou who art filled with silence, thou shalt find the life; Thy body shall be preserved in safety upon the earth.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 6

Thrust not aside the funerary monument on the boundaries of the Aakhu (i.e., remove not a tombstone which is on the borders of the Necropolis); When thou art marking out additional lands for crops. Commit no robbery (i.e., filch not

away land) by means of the cubit of the fields When thou art assessing the bounds of the estate of the widow. The land that has gone back from the plough is the waste of a man's lifetime. He who cheats thee, himself belonging to the fields (or, land), Is snared in the counsels of iniquity; He is fettered by the Divine Souls (i.e., Will) of Aahu (allso Yah, Iah, Ah; the Moon-god). Make thyself to see what he does upon the earth. He is a greedy robber of the helpless man. He is the deadly enemy who would work the overthrow of thy body. Life is snatched away by the mere sight of his aspect. His house is the enemy of the town in which he lives. But his store-houses shall be swept away as by a flood. His possessions shall be carried off from the hands of his sons and daughters; His goods (or, wealth) shall be given to another (i.e., stranger). Take good heed concerning the treading down of the boundaries of the fields; Lest horrible calamity be brought upon thee. Likewise make propitiatory offerings to God by the Divine Souls (i.e., Will) of Aahu (the Moon-god). Occupy thyself with the affairs of the boundaries of the Aakhu (i.e., the Ancestral Spirits, or the blessed dead). Be kind to thyself, make thy body strong and happy; [But] take good heed to thyself in respect of Nebertcher*. (*"Lord to the uttermost limit," or God of the Universe), Drive not thy furrows through the lands of another. Profitable to thee is the strength (or, wellbeing) which comes by their mouth. Plough thou in the fields which thou findest to be thy own property; Take thou the breadcakes from the storehouse of thy body. Better is one apt of land (about six feet) which the God has given thee; Than five thousand apts which thou hast gotten by fraud (or, violence). Do not acquire the habit of passing the day in eating-houses and places where roasted meat is sold. Do not acquire the habit of passing the day] in tasting one pot of beer after another. Those who pass their whole time at the food-store (or granary); Become to-morrow merely victuals. Better is the beggar who is in the hand of the God Than the rich who are safely housed in a comfortable dwelling. Better are breadcakes of flour and water with a loving heart (or, mind) Than rich meats that carry with them bickering and quarrelling.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 7

Fashion not thy heart in such wise that it hankers eifter things of wealth (i.e., luxurious foods and apparel). Not unknowing are the god Shai (Luck) and the goddess Renenit (Destiny). Let not thyself abandon thy heart (or, mind) to the things that are extraneous. "Literally, "granary." Let every man have his hour {i.e., let every man choose his own time for his own affairs). Form not the habit of ordering thyself to seek for more than thou hast When thy own goods and possessions are in thy safe keeping. If valuable goods which have been obtained by robbery have been brought together by thee They will not pass the night in thy hands, At daybreak certainly they will not be in thy house. They will look at the place where they were, and most assuredly they will not be [there]; they have swallowed themselves. Either the ground has opened its mouth, and swallowed them up straightway, And they have sunk down deep in the abyss [thereof]; Or they have become a great broken heap through rust (or, decay); On they have become submerged in the room for waste; Or they have made for themselves wings like the geese, And have spread their wings and flown up into the sky. Make not thyself to take pleasure in rich treasures that have been obtained by robbery, the teaching OF AMEN-EM-APT Whilst sighing (i.e., pretending to grieve) for the man who has been plundered (or, the beggar). When the chieftain of the Stiu (Asiatics, Canaanites) departs from a man His servants destroy him. If thou sailest with a robber thou wilt be left in the stream, But the boat of the Ger has a fair wind behind it. Accustom thyself to direct thy sincere prayer to the Aten the God of the Solar Disk or the Disk itself) when he is rolling up into the sky, Saying, "Grant to me, I beseech thee, strength and health." He will give to thee the things that are necessary for the life. Thou shalt be safe from anxious care.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 8

Bestow thou thy beneficence (or, bounty) on the bodies of the people. And thou shalt be applauded by all faces (i.e., everybody). Praise and exult in the Serpent (i.e., Goddess), Spit upon Apep. Keep thy tongue from speech of long (or, slander). Show thou kindness (or, affection) to people of humble condition. Find thou thy seat in the sanctuary of the house of the god, The gifts made by thee shall be the cakeofferings of thy Lord. Make thyself to be [as if] thou wast one of the blessed dead, [and as if] thou wast a swathed [mummy] in thy coffin. Be thou strong for the Divine Souls (i.e., Will) of God (to do His Will). Make not an invocation to bring a detestable thing upon people. Hide [thou] the affairs (or, plans) of the fugitive (slave). Whether thou hearest the thing that is good or the thing that is evil, Treat it as a matter that is outside thy interest; hearken not to it. I beseech thee to spread with thy tongue only the report of that which is good upon the earth, Whilst as fsir as reports of evil are concerned, hide them in thy belly.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 9

Make not to be a friend of thine the hasty, hot-headed man. Even though thou hast to go to his house frequently to have speech with him. Keep well thy tongue in making an answer to him that is thy chief, At the same time guarding thyself against reviling him. Never permit his speech to fall on thee like a lasso So that thou must uncoil it by means of thy answer. Put questions to him (or, consult with him), answering like a subordinate in thy agitation. At the same time taking good heed not to oppose him. The word that is uttered by a man with malicious intent is swifter to hurt Than the wind that precedes the storm. This man casts to the ground, this man builds up with his tongue, He gives utterance to strings of words that carry destruction in them. This man makes an answer that merits a beating. For the burden (i.e., object) thereof is to do harm. He trafficks by means of a boat after the manner of other folk. He loads the boat with the discourse of iniquity. He makes himself the ferryman of him that catches [men] in a net of words. Whether he is going away or whether he is coming back, he continues to chatter (or, gossip). Whether he is eating or whether he is drinking, even in his own house. His conversation returns to matters that are outside (or, that have nothing to do with him). The Day itself stands up and makes an accusation against his abominable deeds, His sons and daughter cry out "Woe" to themselves. The god Khnem-Ra"* makes a process (or, brings a case) against him. He is of the potter's wheel of (i.e., worked by) the devil Tar, He mixes together and kneads [material] to destroy the hearts (or, minds of men) therewith. He is like a whelp of [one of] the dogs (literally, wolves) of the stable (or, farmyard) With his eye fixed jealously on the movements of his companions. He causes men and women to become enemies by his scandal-mongering. He goes before every wind like the blast that goes before the sandstorm or whirlwind of the desert. He destroys the hair (or, skin) of Shu. He gathers his tail (i.e., bends it round) about him like the young crocodile. Bringing it close to him ready for the deadly sweep. His lips are date-syrup, his tongue is a deadly dagger. A consuming fire blazes within his belly. Make no flights (i.e., attempts) to fill (i.e., please) that fellow, Lest thou bring calamity upon

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 10

Allow not thyself to be greeted as a friend among thy neighbours by the hasty, hot-headed man who is thy opponent; If thou dost, thou wilt thyself damage thy heart (or, mind). Make not thyself to say to him, "Thou art praised," with evil intent, There being terror in thy body. Hold not converse in the company of men of iniquity, For that is an abominable thing to do before the God. Make not thy mind to be divided for the sake of thy tongue. Let all thy plans and behaviour have a sound foundation. Be weighty (i.e., dignified) in the presence of people of lowly condition. Put thou thyself for safe keeping in the hand of the God. God hates the man who utters frivolous, lying speech. The greatest abomination to Him is the man who nourishes enmity in his belly.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 11

Hanker not greedily for the food of the man who eats and drinks luxuriously, Though thou art hungry for his bread. Now the food that is dainty and spiced is as a storm in the giillet (or, turns the stomach), [And] it makes the bowels to eject it. It turns the man who is a counsellor into a man of iniquity, And his sense turns itself away from his body. Inasmuch as the evil nature (or, base appetite) corrupts [his] disposition for welldoing, The evil [in him] destroys what is good. Be thou a creature of nought in the presence of thy chief (i.e., superior officer). Thou shalt acclaim him humbly in thy speech (i.e., conversation). Thy adulatory remarks, they shall meet and turn aside his cursings. Thy homage when smelling the earth shall disarm his violence. When thou hast swallowed the mouthful of bread of a great man thou shalt vomit it, [And] thou shalt be empty of thy good thing (or, dainty?). Make thyself to understand (or, see) the foresight of the glutton. He himself gathers together staves for the hunting nets. Every one of his servants is a beater for the hunting traps. And a strong man smites (i.e., kills) in the slaughter-house. If thou art undone (or, vanquished) in the presence of thy chief. It will be a disgrace for thy subordinates (or, servants). Steer thou thy course away from the glutton forthwith; Observe him, at the same tune avoiding the things which he offers thee.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 12

Behave not greedily in respect of the things (i.e., food) of the nobleman, Since the filling of the mouth with the bread of a great man is unstinted (i.e., is free to every comer). If he gives to thee for the growth (i.e., increase) of his possessions. Hate (i.e., reject) what is his and keep safe what is thine. Make no undertaking in company with the noisy, hot-headed man, Or thou wilt be making thyself a friend of a man of moral obliquity. If thou art sent on amission to transport straw Hate (i.e., cast away, or reject) the weeds that are [in] it. If thine eye lights upon a person who is engaged on a mission of

danger. Report it not, but dispatch him on his errand and let him return for another occasion.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 13

Make not men to affix additions to the roll (speech). This is an abominable thing to the God. Make not the word of one man of iniquity to appeal' to be the truth by any act of thine, Whilst at the same time thou art supporting another man of iniquity with thy tongue. Reckon not as nothing things that have value, By so doing thou wilt falsify thy rolls (or, registers). If thou findest a great mass of hidden treasure in the possession of a poor man, Make (i.e., divide) it into three portions. Release two portions and let one remain with thee, Thou shalt find it hke the ways of life. Thou shalt lie down and sleep and pass thy whole night as safely as if it were to-day: Thou shalt find it like the report (or, news) of a good thing. Better is the praise (i.e., approval) with the love of men Than the riches (or, wealth) laid up in a treasure house. Better are the cakes of flour and water [eaten] with a loving mind (or, disposition) Than strong meats [eaten] with strife and enmity.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 14

Remember not too exactly the antecedents of a man When thou art striving to seek for his hand (support, help), If he says to thee, "Accept the things which I have brought." He is not one who has no Cast not malign looks at him whilst bending down thy face, Whilst turning away thy glance elsewhere. Greet him with kind words in thy mouth, speak and salute him cordially. If he approaches thee thy end comes. Make him not to go down to his former state, On another occasion he can be brought.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 15

Do the thing that is right [and] thou wilt attain to a [true] state of being. Make no erasure in the registers on behalf of an encroacher. Since the beak of the Ibis-god {i.e., Thoth) is the finger of the scribe, Take good heed not to thrust it aside. The Ape of Thoth sits directing Per-Khemenu (Hermopolis), His eye travels round about through the Two Lands (i.e., Upper and Lower Egypt). Since he observes the man who makes a slip (or, mistake) with his finger, He will withdraw his benefactions (or, endowments) according to what is right. If the scribe continues to make slips (or, mistakes) with his finger. His son will not be decreed [for employment.] If thou wilt pass the days of thy life these things being in thy heart, Thy children—behold them!

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 16

Make not the balance to swerve [either] through thy falsification of the qet weights, Or through thy obliteration of the mouths of the measures (i.e., the characters or stamps on the weights and measures). Make not a practice of preferring the measures of the fields, Thou abandoning those in use in the house of silver (or, White House). The Ape [of Thoth] sits by the side of the Scales, [And] his heart [acts] as the tongue (or, pointer) thereof. God removes, even as does the Great One Thoth, Him that is in the habit of finding these devices to do them. Accustom not thyself to cheat by means of the qet weights. It is they (i.e., the cheaters) who multiply the tears of the Divine Souls (i.e., Will) of God. If thou seest another man stumbling from time to time, Go with him and enable him to continue on his way*. (* Or, If thou seest a man going astray, guide him to the road which he ought to follow.) Covet not (or, be not greedy for) the precious metals. Hate (i.e., avoid or reject) the beautiful singing woman. What is it like? A fetter, a tie. It makes a man to stumble (or, go astray) in the presence of the God. If a paddle of gold be scraped off from an object of the finest gold At daybreak to-morrow morning it will be lead.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 17

Take heed neither to defraud the divine Utchat (i.e., the Eye of Ra) Nor to falsify the mouths (bear false witness) thereof. Make no robbery of the things of Uben, the mighty god, For he (i.e., Uben; who is Ra) is never wanting in (or, absent from) its (the Utchat's) body.' Thou shalt give its measure, as to a great man when he is coming in. Thy hand shall set it down justly (or, correctly). Make not a measuring rod. Apt, for thy use, whereby thou canst measure with two different results. Do always the thing that is right (i.e., measure correctly) Since the Apt measure is the Eye of Ra. It (i.e., the Utchat, or Eve of Ra) holds in abomination the man who robs and steals. And who when measuring makes many mistakes, Since the seal of his eye is upon the Apt measure. Receive not the summer grain of the peasant farmer, Thou binding him by what is registered against him to ruin him. Make not thyself one with the measurer. Thou meanwhile playing the master of the house. The Divine Souls (or, Will of God) increase the storehouse grain. More than the Director of the Great Place.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 18

Accustom not thyself to lie in bed (or, sleep) whilst the dawn is rising in an awesome manner in the sky. The break of the day and the dawn [are] like what? (i.e., to what can they

be compared for beauty?) The man who has no knowledge of the dawn is like what? (i.e., to what can he be compared for ignorance?). Whilst the God is occupied with His works of beneficence The man is indulging in his slothfulness. On the one side are the words (or, gossip) that men utter, On the other are the works that the God is doing. Say not, "By no manner of means is what is abominable (or, evil) to be permitted to exist," Whilst thou thyself art doing thy utmost to seek after strife. If the thing that is abominable (i.e., evil) belongs to the God? He Himself will stamp it with the seal of His finger. There is no goodness in the hand of the God. Because there is no badness before Him. If He could bring Himself to seek after goodness, The occasion ended (i.e., the opportunity served) He would destroy it. Be weighty in thy mind, consolidate thy heart. Accustom not thyself to shape thy course by thy tongue only. Even if the tongue of a man be the steersman of the boat, It is Nebertcher who is its watcher in the bows (i.e., captain).

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 19

Go not among the members of the Town Council in the presence of the President, Or thou mayest be obliged to contradict (or, show to be inaccurate) thine own words. Be not continually rising up and sitting down whilst thou art making thy answer; Thy testimonies must support themselves. Make no altercation with (or, make no attempt to coerce) the supporters of a lord (i.e., any owner of property), A word spoken] in the Council Chamber may lead to a vexatious inquiry. Speak the truth in the presence of the President, Lest he seize and take possession of thy person. If thou wilt appear before him in the early hours of the day, He will consider graciously every word of thine. Speak thy mouth (i.e., say thy say) in the Court before the headmen, Watch carefully, so that thou mayest come back on a second occasion.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 20

Make not a member of the Courts of Law to trip up (i.e., to arrive at a wrong conclusion or verdict). Through thy setting aside (or, hiding) the truth, For whilst thy face is cloaked with a garment. And thou art sheltered (or, content) he is under constraint. Accept not a present (i.e., bribe) from a man of power and authority If thou art to treat wrongfully for him the poor man in distress. Now Truth is the great bearer of God, He gives it to the man who loves Him. Since the mighty power is with him who is like unto Him, He carries off (or, slays) the impotent one in his violence. Make not for thyself of iniquity (do not get complacent while seeing injustice). They are the great auxiliaries of Death, They are the great incentives to sloth in respect of honourable actions, They are the guides who report for the herald of judgement. Falsify not the things that make thee to wonder written on the roll, For thus thou wilt be injuring (or, disarranging) the plans of God. Make no attempt to find for thyself the Divine Souls Will) of God, Do not the god Shai (Luck) and the goddess Renenit (Destiny) exist? Study to make to increase (flourish) the possessions of the lords of wealth, Thou at the same time seeking for thyself the means of subsistence. Never build thy heart in their houses (i.e., set not thy affections upon the houses they live in), Thy carcase being in the house of slaughter.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 21

Say not, "I have found a very chief of robbers," When the offender happens to be a man in thine own town. Say not, "I have found a sedition-monger" (or, rebel) When the offender happens to be a hater (i.e., enemy of thine). For most assuredly thou knowest not the plans of God*. Bring not to an end (j.e., waste not) in slumber the early hours of the day (or, the dawn)*. Seat thou thyself on the two arms of the God*. To thy silence (silent meditation?) [add] prostrations on the ground.* (* These sentences are repeated at the end of Chapter 22.). If the crocodile is going to lash out with his tail, cry out (i.e., give warning), For even the papyrus plants hold him in awe. Do not empty thy belly when the people are round about thee, For if thou dost thou wilt destroy their respect for thy dignity. Make not thy words to circulate among the common folk (or, peasants), If thou dost thou wilt become a companion of the man of violence. Better is it for a man to keep his information (or, news) in his belly Than to publish it abroad with the addition of lies. Never run with swift steps to attain that which will be advantageous [to thee], [On the other handl never create the circumstances that will destroy it.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 22

Make no attempt to shut the mouth of (or, to make dumb) the man who is holding converse with thee; Do thou tell him that he must declare [what is in his] heart. Make no flight {i.e., attempt} to enter [into the conversation] against him (i.e., to anticipate his remarks) [When] thou dost not see what he is doing [i.e., the point which he is making). Make thyself to understand beforehand what the answer to him must be. [If] thou art heated {i.e., losest thy temper) thy end comes. Let the matter rest upon him, he will empty Iris belly. Knowing his character (or, view) he can be found out. His feet (or, legs)

being removed he cannot work his iniquity, Being afraid he will not act underhandedly. For, most assuredly, thou knowest not the plans of God*. Bring not to an end {i.e., waste not) in slumber the early hours of the day (or, the dawn)*. Seat thou thyself on the two arms of the God*. To thy silence (or: silent meditation) [add] prostrations on the ground*. (These lines are a repetition of lines in Chapter 21.)

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 23

Eat not thou bread in the presence of the Governor, Thus setting thy mouth forward into prominence. If thou fillest thyself full of the rich meats of iniquity They will pass back again in thy vomit. Keep thy gaze fixed upon the vessel (platter?) which is before thee, Thou must make it to serve all thy needs. Though the Governor may resemble a nobleman in his official position, He may also resemble the sacred crocodiles in the water [in] rapacity and cruelty.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 24

Listen not to the answers {i.e., conversation} of the Governor in his own house, Thou then repeating what he said to thee outside in the town. Even when thou hast brought thy mouth outside [his house], Do not empty out into the street what is in thy breast. Since the heart (or, mind) of a man is the nose of God Take good heed that thou dost not cause it sorrow. The man [to whom thou speakest] may be a powerful official, [He may also be] a private person whose name is quite unknown.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 25

Make not a laughing-stock of the blind man. Vex* (*or, browbeat, or "make not a mock of.") not the dwarf, [And] frustrate not the plans of the afflicted (or, lame) man. Vex* (*or, irritate) not a man who is in the hand of the God (i.e., the man who is suffering through some dispensation of God) By singing to him the praises of him who has wronged him. Even if a man mixes the mud [and] the straw. It is the God Who is his builder. It is He Who throws down [a house], it is He Who builds [it] up daily. It is He Who can turn a thousand [men] into corruption at His pleasure. It is He Who can make one man to have the overseership of a thousand. A man lives his [allotted] hour of life: Rejoice, be glad. It is He Who makes [a man] to arrive in Amentt (Amente = Canaan or the Holy Land of the Jews); He is safe in the hand of the God.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 26

Accustom not thyself to sit in the beerhouse. Give not commands to one who is greater than thyself, Whether he be [thy] junior in his official position, Or whether he be [thy] senior by birth. Show thyself friendly to the man for whom thou hast antipathy. The strength of Ra is to him that is on the road. If thou seest a man who is greater than thyself outside [his house], Follow after him and greet him with words of respect. Stretch out the hand to the aged man when he is filled full of beer, Treat him reverently when he is in the company of his sons and daughters. Is not thy arm (or, strength) made weak by robbery? Is not the back bowed by affliction? Reduce not to beggary the [poor] man who has uttered something which is pleasant Rather than the rich man whose strings of words are straw, evil. The man who is in the bows of the boat (i.e., the captain) watches the going thereof, He does not allow his bark to capsise (or, be submerged).

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 27

Curse {i.e., abuse) not the man who is greater than thyself, He will look at the god Ra in front of thee. And moreover, he will report thee to the god Aten as he rolls up into the sky. Say; For a man of no importance to heap curses upon a great man, [Is] a crime (i.e., a thing worthy of death) unknown to the Ra. If] a man of no importance wishes to curse a great man, Come! Let him inflict a beating on thee, thou [keeping] thy hand in thy bosom. Come! Let him heap curses upon thee, thou remaining silent. If like the dawn (at the time of dawn?) thou appearest before him, He will give to thee the means of living in an open-handed manner. If the means of which he is master [are] from the finger (or, seal) of his lord, They consume (?) him to whom they are given.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 28

Do not make find (i.e., search out) the widow in the fields, Do not permit thyself to return an answer to her. Make no undue haste to sing the praises (or, to follow the cult) of the wine cup, It will increase (or, double) the heart (i.e., courage) of thine adversaries. The love of God is more precious [and] estimable Than the reverence of the nobleman (or, magistrate).

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 29

Turn not back the people who wish to cross over the river. Whilst thou art stretched out at thy ease in the cabin If a paddle (or, oar) be brought to thee when the ferry-boat is in mid-stream? Grasp it with both thy hands, take it [and use it]. There is nothing which is an abomination in the hand [to] the God. Is not happy (or, content) the toiler? Set not to ply a ferry-boat on the river. If thou art strenuous in thy quest of

the fares of those who cross the river on it. Let the fares drop into the hand of the master of the craft Thou being happy (or, content) with no part of them.

AMEN-EM-APT CHAPTER 30

Behold (observe) the Thirty Chapters (precepts)! They will give thee pleasure, they will teach thee. The precepts will serve as a guide to every book*. (* every stage of life)—in fact, they are the basis of every work of this kind. They will give knowledge to (i.e., make to be wise) the ignorant man. If they be read out in the presence of an ignorant man Assuredly he will steer his course through life according to their mouth (i.e., direction). Fill thyself full (or, steep thyself) in the counsel of what is in them, set them, I beseech thee, in thy heart; Make thyself to be the man who has unravelled their contents, Thinking out and understanding their teaching. If the bearer be a scribe who would make himself to be preeminent in his profession, He will find himself to be of equal importance with the Smeru (i.e., the "friends" of the King). Here ends the Book (Explicit liber).

Colophon: Done into writing by Shennu, the son of the Divine Father Pamai.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

The Egyptian Book of the Dead, Papyrus of Ani Author: Anonymus Translated: Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, 1913 Estimated Range of Dating: c. 1250 1240 B.C.

(The Book of the Dead is an ancient Egyptian funerary text, used from the beginning of the New Kingdom (around 1550 BC) to around 50 BC. The original Egyptian name for the text, transliterated rw nw prt m hrw is translated as Book of Coming Forth by Day. Another translation would be Book of Emerging Forth into the Light. "Book" is the closest term to describe the loose collection of texts consisting of a number of magic spells intended to assist a dead person's journey through the Duat, or underworld, and into the afterlife and written by many priests over a period of about 1000 years.

The Book of the Dead was part of a tradition of funerary texts which includes the earlier Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, which were painted onto objects, not papyrus. Some of the spells included were drawn from these older works and date to the 3rd millennium BC. Other spells were composed later in Egyptian history, dating to the Third Intermediate Period (11th to 7th centuries BC). A number of the spells which made up the Book continued to be inscribed on tomb walls and sarcophagi, as had always been the spells from which they originated. The Book of the Dead was placed in the coffin or burial chamber of the deceased.

There was no single or canonical Book of the Dead. The surviving papyri contain a varying selection of religious and magical texts and vary considerably in their illustration. Some people seem to have commissioned their own copies of the Book of the Dead, perhaps choosing the spells they thought most vital in their own progression to the afterlife. The Book of the Dead was most commonly written in hieroglyphic or hieratic script on a papyrus scroll, and often illustrated with vignettes depicting the deceased and their journey into the afterlife.

The existence of the Book of the Dead was known as early as the Middle Ages, well before its contents could be understood. Since it was found in tombs, it was evidently a document of a religious nature, and this led to the widespread misapprehension that the Book of the Dead was the equivalent of a Bible

In 1842 Karl Richard Lepsius published a translation of a manuscript dated to the Ptolemaic era and coined the name "Book of The Dead" (das Todtenbuch). He also introduced the spell numbering system which is still in use, identifying 165 different spells. Lepsius promoted the idea of a comparative edition of the Book of the Dead, drawing on all relevant manuscripts. This project was undertaken by Édouard Naville, starting in 1875 and completed in 1886, producing a three-volume work including a selection of vignettes for every one of the 186 spells he worked with, the more significant variations of the text for every spell, and commentary. In 1867 Samuel Birch of the British Museum published the first extensive English translation. In 1876 he published a photographic copy of the Papyrus of Nebseny.

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The work of E. A. Wallis Budge, Birch's successor at the British Museum, is still in wide circulation – including both his hieroglyphic editions and his English translations of the Papyrus of Ani, though the latter are now considered inaccurate and out-of-date. More recent translations in English have been published by T. G. Allen (1974) and Raymond O. Faulkner (1972). As more work has been done on the Book of the Dead, more spells have been identified, and the total now stands at 192.)

HYMN TO OSIRIS

"Homage to thee, Osiris, Lord of eternity, King of the Gods, whose names are manifold, whose forms are holy, thou being

of hidden form in the temples, whose Ka is holy. Thou art the governor of Tattu (Busiris), and also the mighty one in Sekhem (Letopolis). Thou art the Lord to whom praises are ascribed in the nome of Ati, thou art the Prince of divine food in Anu. Thou art the Lord who is commemorated in Maati, the Hidden Soul, the Lord of Qerrt (Elephantine), the Ruler supreme in White Wall (Memphis). Thou art the Soul of Ra, his own body, and hast thy place of rest in Henensu (Herakleopolis). Thou art the beneficent one, and art praised in Nart. Thou makest thy soul to be raised up. Thou art the Lord of the Great House in Khemenu (Hermopolis). Thou art the mighty one of victories in Shas-hetep, the Lord of eternity, the Governor of Abydos. The path of his throne is in Tatcheser (a part of Abydos). Thy name is established in the mouths of men. Thou art the substance of Two Lands (Egypt). Thou art Tem, the feeder of Kau (Doubles), the Governor of the Companies of the gods. Thou art the beneficent Spirit among the spirits. The god of the Celestial Ocean (Nu) draweth from thee his waters. Thou sendest forth the north wind at eventide, and breath from thy nostrils to the satisfaction of thy heart. Thy heart reneweth its youth, thou producest the.... The stars in the celestial heights are obedient unto thee, and the great doors of the sky open themselves before thee. Thou art he to whom praises are ascribed in the southern heaven, and thanks are given for thee in the northern heaven. The imperishable stars are under thy supervision, and the stars which never set are thy thrones Offerings appear before thee at the decree of Keb. The Companies of the Gods praise thee, and the gods of the Tuat (Other World) smell the earth in paying homage to thee. The uttermost parts of the earth bow before thee, and the limits of the skies entreat thee with supplications when they see thee. The holy ones are overcome before thee, and all Egypt offereth thanksgiving unto thee when it meeteth Thy Majesty. Thou art a shining Spirit-Body, the governor of Spirit-Bodies; permanent is thy rank, established is thy rule. Thou art the well-doing Sekhem (Power) of the Company of the Gods, gracious is thy face, and beloved by him that seeth it. Thy fear is set in all the lands by reason of thy perfect love, and they cry out to thy name making it the first of names, and all people make offerings to thee. Thou art the lord who art commemorated in heaven and upon earth. Many are the cries which are made to thee at the Uak festival, and with one heart and voice Egypt raiseth cries of joy to thee.

"Thou art the Great Chief, the first among thy brethren. the Prince of the Company of the Gods, the stablisher of Right and Truth throughout the World, the Son who was set on the great throne of his father Keb. Thou art the beloved of thy mother Nut, the mighty one of valour, who overthrew the Sebau-fiend. Thou didst stand up and smite thine enemy, and set thy fear in thine adversary. Thou dost bring the boundaries of the mountains. Thy heart is fixed, thy legs are set firm. Thou art the heir of Keb and of the sovereignty of the Two Lands (Egypt). He (Keb) hath seen his splendours, he hath decreed for him the guidance of the world by thy hand as long as times endure. Thou hast made this earth with thy hand, and the waters, and the winds, and the vegetation, and all the cattle, and all the feathered fowl, and all the fish, and all the creeping things, and all the wild animals therof. The desert is the lawful possession of the son of Nut. The Two Lands (Egypt) are content to crown thee upon the throne of thy father, like Ra.

"Thou rollest up into the horizon, thou hast set light over the darkness, thou sendest forth air from thy plumes, and thou floodest the Two Lands like the Disk at daybreak. Thy crown penetrateth the height of heaven, thou art the companion of the stars, and the guide of every god. Thou art beneficent in decree and speech, the favoured one of the Great Company of the Gods, and the beloved of the Little Company of the Gods.

His sister [Isis] hath protected him, and hath repulsed the fiends, and turned aside calamities (of evil). She uttered the spell with the magical power of her mouth. Her tongue was perfect, and it never halted at a word. Beneficent in command and word was Isis, the woman of magical spells, the advocate of her brother. She sought him untiringly, she wandered round and round about this earth in sorrow, and she alighted not without finding him. She made light with her feathers, she created air with her wings, and she uttered the death wail for her brother. She raised up the inactive members of whose heart was still, she drew from him his essence, she made an heir, she reared the child in loneliness, and the place where he was not known, and he grew in strength and stature, and his hand was mighty in the House of Keb. The Company of the Gods rejoiced, rejoiced, at the coming of Horus, the son of Osiris, whose heart was firm, the triumphant, the son of Isis, the heir of Osiris."

REFERENCES

Following is a list of frequently-mentioned geographical locations, and their commonly-known names: Abtu (Abydos), Abu (Elephantine), Anu (Heliopolis), Bast (Bubastis), Hensu (Herakleopolis), Het-ka-Ptah (Memphis), Khemenu (Hermopolis), Per-Menu (Panopolis), Qerrt (Elephantine),

Sau (Sais), Sekhem (Letopolis), Suat (Asyut), Tetu (Busiris), Two Lands (Upper and Lower Egypt), Unu (Hermopolis).

A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RA WHEN HE RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN:

Behold, the Osiris Ani, the scribe of the holy offerings of all the gods, saith: Homage to thee, O thou who hast come as Khepera, Khepera the creator of the gods, Thou art seated on thy throne, thou risest up in the sky, illumining thy mother [Nut], thou art seated on thy throne as the king of the gods. [Thy] mother Nut stretcheth out her hands, and performeth an act of homage to thee. The domain of Manu receiveth thee with satisfaction. The goddess Maat embraceth thee at the two seasons of the day. May Ra give glory, and power, and thruth-speaking, and the appearance as a living soul so that he may gaze upon Heru-khuti, to the KA of the Osiris the Scribe Ani, who speaketh truth before Osiris, and who saith: Hail, O all ye gods of the House of the Soul, who weigh heaven and earth in a balance, and who give celestial food [to the dead]. Hail, Tatun, [who art] One, thou creator of mortals fandl of the Companies of the Gods of the South and of the North, of the West and of the East, ascribe ve praise to Ra, the lord of heaven, the KING, Life, Strength, and Health, the maker of the gods. Give ye thanks unto him in his beneficent form which is enthroned in the Atett Boat; beings celestial praise thee, beings terrestial praise thee. Thoth and the goddess Maat mark out thy course for thee day by day and every day. Thine enemy the Serpent hath been given over to the fire. The Serpent- fiend Sebau hath fallen headlong, his forelegs are bound in chains, and his hind legs hath Ra carried away from him. The Sons of Revolt shall never more rise up. The House of the Aged One keepeth festival, and the voices of those who make merry are in the Great Place. The gods rejoice when they see Ra crowned upon his throne, and when his beams flood the world with light. The majesty of this holy god setteth out on his journey, and he goeth onwards until he reacheth the land of Manu; the earth becometh light at his birth each day; he proceedeth until he reacheth the place where he was yesterday. O be thou at peace with me. Let me gaze upon thy beauties. Let me journey above the earth. Let me smite the Ass. Let me slit asunder the Serpent-field Sebau. Let me destroy Aepep at the moment of his greatest power. Let me behold the Abtu Fish at his season, and the Ant Fish with the Ant Boat as it piloteth it in its lake. Let me behold Horus when he is in charge of the rudder [of the Boat of Ra], with Thoth and the goddess Maat on each side of him. Let me lay hold of the tow-rope of the Sektet Boat, and the rope at the stern of the Matett Boat. Let Ra grant to me a view of the Disk (the Sun), and a sight of Ah (the Moon) unfailingly each day. Let my Ba- soul come forth to walk about hither and thither and whithersoever it pleaseth. Let my name be called out, let it be found inscribed on the tablet which recordeth the names of those who are to receive offerings. Let meals from the sepulchral offerings be given to me in the presence [of Osiris, as to those who are in the following of Horus. Let there be prepared for me a seat in the Boat of the Sun on the day wheron the god saileth. Let me be received in the presence of Osiris in the Land of Truth-speaking- the Ka of Osiris Ani.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nekht, Brit. Mus. No. 10471 Sheet 21)

NEKHT, THE CAPTAIN OF SOLDIERS, THE ROYAL SCRIBE, SINGETH A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RA, and saith:- Homage to thee, O thou glorious Being, thou who art dowered [with all sovereignty]. O Tem-Heru-Khuti (Tem-Harmakhis), when thou risest in the horizon of heaven a cry of joy goeth forth to thee from all people. O thou beautiful Being, thou dost renew thyself in thy season in the form of the Disk, within thy mother Hathor. Therefore in every place every heart swelleth with joy at thy rising for ever. The regions of the South and the North come to thee with homage, and send forth acclamations at thy rising on the horizon of heaven, and thou illuminest the Two Lands with rays of turquoise-[coloured] light. O Ra, who art Heru-Khuti, the divine man-child, the heir of eternity, self-begotten and selfborn, king of the earth, prince of the Tuat (the Other World), governor of Aukert, thou didst come from the Water-god, thou didst spring from the Sky-god Nu, who doth cherish thee and order thy members. O thou god of life, thou lord of love, all men live when thou shinest; thou art crowned king of the gods. The goddess Nut embraceth thee, and the goddess Mut enfoldeth thee at all seasons. Those who are in thy following sing unto thee with joy, and they bow down their foreheads to the earth when they meet thee, the lord of heaven, the lord of the earth, the King of Truth, the lord of eternity, the prince of everlastingness, thou sovereign of all the gods, thou god of life, thou creator of eternity, thou maker of heaven wherin thou art firmly stablished.

The Company of the Gods rejoice at thy rising, the earth is glad when it beholdeth thy rays; the people who have been long dead come forth with cries of joy to behold thy beauties every day. Thou goest forth each day over heaven and earth, and thou art made strong each day be thy mother Nut. Thou passest over the heights of heaven, thy heart swelleth with joy;

and the Lake of Testes (the Great Oasis) is content thereat. The Serpent-fiend hath fallen, his arms are hewn off, the Knife hath severed his joints. Ra liveth by Maat (Law), the beautiful! The Sektet Boat advanceth and cometh into port. The South and the North, and the West and East, turn to praise thee. O thou First, Great God (PAUTA), who didst come into being of thine own accord, Isis and Nephthys salute thee, they sing unto thee songs of joy at thy rising in the boat, they stretch out their hands unto thee. The Souls of the East follow thee, and the Souls of the West praise thee. Thou art the Ruler of all the gods. Thou in thy shrine hast joy, for the Serpent-fiend Nak hath been judged by the fire, and thy heart shall rejoice for ever. Thy mother Nut is esteemed by thy father Nu.

HYMN TO OSIRIS UN-NEFER

A Hymn of Praise to Osiris Un-Nefer, the great god who dwelleth in Abtu, the king of eternity, the lord of everlastingness, who traverseth millions of years in his existence. Thou art the eldest son of the womb of Nut. Thou was begotten by Keb, the Erpat. Thou art the lord of the Urrt Crown. Thou art he whose White Crown is lofty. Thou art the King (Ati) of gods [and] men. Thou hast gained possession of the sceptre of rule, and the whip, and the rank and dignity of thy divine fathers. Thy heart is expanded with joy, O thou who art in the kingdom of the dead. Thy son Horus is firmly placed on thy throne. Thou hast ascended thy throne as the Lord of Tetu, and as the Heq who dwelleth in Abydos. Thou makest the Two Lands to flourish through Truth-speaking, in the presence of him who is the Lord to the Uttermost Limit. Thou drawest on that which hath not yet come into being in thy name of "Ta-her-sta-nef." Thou governest the Two Lands by Maat in thy name of "Seker." Thy power is wide-spread, thou art he of whom the fear is great in thy name of "Usar' (or "Asar"). Thy existence endureth for an infinite number of double henti periods in thy name of "Un-Nefer."

Homage to thee, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, and Prince of Princes. Thou hast ruled the Two Lands from the womb of the goddess Nut. Thou hast governed the Lands of Akert. Thy members are of silver-gold, thy head is of lapislazuli, and the crown of thy head is of turquoise. Thou art An of millions of years. Thy body is all pervading, O Beautiful Face in Ta-tchesert, Grant thou to me glory in heaven, and power upon earth, and truth-speaking in the Divine Underworld, and [the power to] sail down the river to Tetu in the form of a living Ba-soul, and [the power to] sail up the river to Abydos in the form of a Benu bird, and [the power to] pass in through and to pass out from, without obstruction, the doors of the lords of the Tuat. Let there be given unto me bread-cakes in the House of Refreshing, and sepulchral offerings of cakes and ale, and propitiatory offerings in Anu, and a permanent homestead in Sekhet-Aaru, with wheat and barley therein- to the Double of the Osiris, the scribe Ani.

THE CHAPTERS OF COMING FORTH BY DAY

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF COMING FORTH BY DAY, AND THE SONGS OF PRAISING AND GLORIFYING WHICH ARE TO BE RECITED FOR "COMING FORTH" AND FOR ENTERING INTO KHERT-NETER, AND THE SPELLS WHICH ARE TO BE SAID IN BEAUTIFUL AMENTET. THEY SHALL BE RECITED ON THE DAY OF THE FUNERAL, ENTERING IN AFTER COMING FORTH.

The Osiris Ani, the Osiris the scribe Ani saith:- Homage to thee, O Bull of Amentet, Thoth the king of eternity is with me. I am the great god by the side of the divine boat, I have fought for thee, I am one of those gods, those divine chiefs, who proved the truth-speaking of Osiris before his enemies on the day of the weighing of words. I am thy kinsman Osiris. I am [one of] those gods who were the children of the goddess Nut, who hacked in pieces the enemies of Osiris, and who bound in fetters the legion of Sebau devils on his behalf. I am thy kinsman Horus, I have fought on thy behalf, I have come to thee for thy name's sake. I am Thoth who proved the truth of the words of Osiris before his enemies on the day of the weighing of words in the great House of the Prince, who dwelleth in Anu. I am Teti, the son of Teti. My mother conceived me in Tetu, and gave birth to me in Tetu. I am with the mourners [and with] the women who tear out their hair and make lament for Osiris in Taui-Rekhti, proving true the words of Osiris before his enemies. Ra commanded Thoth to prove true the words of Osiris before his enemies; what was commanded [for Osiris], let that be done for me by Thoth. I am with Horus on the day of dressing Teshtesh. I open the hidden water-springs for the ablutions of Urt-ab. I unbolt the door of the Shetait Shrine in Ra-stau. I am with Horus as the protector of the left shoulder of Osiris, the dweller in Sekhem. I enter in among and I come forth from the Flame-gods on the day of the destruction of the Sebau fiends in Sekhem. I am with Horus on the day[s] of the festivals of Osiris, at the making of offerings and oblations, namely, on the festival which is celebrated on the sixth day of the month, and on the day of the Tenat festival in Anu. I am the UAB priest (libationer) in Tetu, Rera, the dweller in Per-Asar. I exalt him that is upon the high place of the country. I look upon the

hidden things (the mysteries) in Ra-stau. I recite the words of the liturgy of the festival of the Soul- god in Tetu. I am the SEM priest, and [perform] his duties. I am the UR- KHERP-HEM priest on the day of placing the Henu Boat of Seker upon its divine sledge. I have taken in my hand the digging tool on the day of digging up the earth in Hensu.

Hail, O ye who make perfect souls to enter into the House of Osiris, make ye the well-instructed soul of the Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is true, to enter in and to be with you in the House of Osiris. Let him hear even as ye hear; let him have sight even as ye have sight; let him stand up even as ye stand up; let him take his seat even as ye take your seats.

Hail, O ye who give cakes and ale to perfect souls in the House of Osiris, give ye cakes and ale twice each day (in the morning and in the evening) to the soul of the Osiris Ani. whose word is true before the gods, the Lords of Abydos, and whose word is true with you. Hail, O ye who open up the way, who act as guides to the roads [in the Other World] to perfect souls in the House of Osiris, open ye up for him the way, and act ye as guides to the roads to the soul of the Osiris, the scribe, the registrary of all the offerings made to the gods, Ani, whose word is true with you. May he enter the House of Osiris with boldness, and may he come forth therefrom in peace. May there be no opposition made to him, and may he not be sent back [therefrom]. May he enter in under favour [of Osiris], and may he come forth gratified [at the acceptance of] his true words. May his commands be performed in the House of Osiris, may his words travel with you, may he be glorious as ye are. May he be not found to be light in the Balance, may the Balance dispose of his case.

(In the Turin Papyrus, ed. Lepsius, this Chapter ends with the following.)

Permit thou not me to be judged according to the mouths of the multitude. May my soul lift itself up before [Osiris], having been found to have been pure when on earth. May I come into thy presence, O Lord of the gods; may I arrive at the Nome of Maati (Truth); may I rise up on my seat like a god endowed with life; may I give forth light like the Company of the Gods who dwell in heaven; may I become like one of you; may I lift up my footsteps in the town of Kher-Aha; may I look upon the Sektet Boat of the god, Saah, the holy one, as it passeth across the sky; may I not be repulsed; may I look upon the Lords of the Tuat, or, according to another reading, the Company of the Gods; may I smell the savour of the divine food of the Company of the Gods; may I sit down with them; may my name be proclaimed for offerings by the KHER-HEB priest at the sacrificial table; may I hear the netitions which are made when offerings are presented may I draw nigh unto the Neshem Boat; and may neither my Heartsoul nor its lord be repulsed.

Homage to thee, O Chief of Amentet, thou god Osiris, who dwellest in the town of Nifu-ur. Grant thou that I may arrive in peace in Amentet. May the Lords of Ta-Tchesert receive me, and may they say unto me: "Hail, hail; welcome, welcome!" May they make ready for me a seat by the side of the President of the Chiefs; may the Nursing-goddesses receive me at the seasons, and may I come forth into the presence of Un-Nefer true of word. May I be a Follower of Horus in Ra-stau, and of Osiris in Tetu; and may I perform all the transformations which my heart may desire to make in every place wherein my Double (KA) wisheth to be.

RUBRIC: If this text be known [by the deceased] upon earth or if he causeth it to be done in writing upon [his] coffin, then will he be able to come forth on any day he pleaseth, and to enter into his habitation unrepulsed. Cakes and ale and joints of meat from those which are on the altar of Ra shall be given unto him, and his homestead shall be among the fields of the Field of Reeds (Sekhet-Aaru), and wheat and barley shall be given unto him therein, and he shall flourish there even as he flourished upon earth.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nekhtu-Amen, ed. Naville, I, 5)

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE SAHU TO ENTER THE TUAT ON THE DAY OF THE FUNERAL, WHEN THE FOLLOWING WORDS ARE TO BE SAID: Homage to thee, O thou who dwellest in the Holy Hill (Set-Tchesert) of Amentet! the Osiris, the royal scribe, Nekhtu-Amen, whose word is true, knoweth thee, he knoweth thy name. Deliver thou him from the worms which are in Ra-stau, which live upon the bodies of men and women, and feed upon their blood for Osiris, the favoured servant of the god of his city, the royal scribe Nekhtu-Amen, knoweth you, and he knoweth your names. Let the order for his protection be the first command of Osiris, the Lord to the Uttermost Limit, who keepeth his body hidden. May he give him release from the Terrible One who dwelleth at the bend of the River of Amentet, and may he decree the acts that will make him to rise up. Let him pass on to him whose throne is placed within the darkness, who giveth light in Ra-stau. O thou Lord of Light, come thou and swallow up the worms which are in Amentet. Let the Great God who dwelleth in Tetu, and who is himself unseen, hear his prayers, and let those who cause afflictions hold him in fear as he cometh forth with the sentence of their doom to the Divine

Block. I the Osiris, the royal scribe, Nekhtu-Amen, come, bearing the decree of Neb-er-tcher, and I am the Horus who taketh possession of his throne for him. His father, the lord of all those who are in the Boat of his Father Horus, hath ascribed praise unto him. He cometh bearing tidings...... let him see the town of Anu. Their chief shall stand on the earth before him, the scribes shall magnify him at the doors of their assemblies, and thy shall swathe im with swathings in Anu. He hath led heaven captive, and he hath seized the earth in his grasp. Neither the heavens nor the earth can be taken away from him, for, behold, he is Ra, the firstborn of the gods. His mother shall nurse him, and shall give him her breast on the horizon

RUBRIC: The words of this Chapter shall be said after [the deceased] is laid to rest in Amentet; by means of them the region Tenn-t shall be contented with her lord. And the Osiris, the royal scribe, Nekhtu-Amen, whose word is truth, shall come forth, and he shall embark in the Boat of Ra, and [his] body upon its bier shall be counted up, and he shall be established in the Tuat.

THE CHAPTER OF GIVING A MOUTH TO THE OSIRIS ANI, THE SCRIBE, AND TELLER OF THE OFFERINGS WHICH ARE MADE TO ALL THE GODS, WHOSE WORD IS TRUE, WHO SAITH: I rise up out of the Egg in the Hidden Land. May my mouth be given unto me that I may speak therewith in the presence of the Great God, the Lord of the Tuat. Let not my hand and my arm be repulsed in the presence of the Chiefs (Tchatchau) of any god. I am Osiris, the Lord of Ra-stau. May I, the Osiris, the scribe Ani, whose word is true, have my portion with him who is on the top of the Steps (Osiris). According to the desire of my heart I have come forth from the Island of Nesersert, and I have extinguished the fire.

APPENDIX [The following passage is taken from the Saite Recension]

[THE CHAPTER OF GIVING A MOUTH TO THE OSIRIS, THE SCRIBE ANI, WHO SAITH]: Homage to thee, O thou lord of brightness, Governor of the Temple, Prince of the night and of the thick darkness. I have come unto thee. I am shining, I am pure. My hands are about thee, thou hast thy lot with thy ancestors. Give thou unto me my mouth that I may speak with it. I guide my heart at its season of flame and of night

RUBRIC: If this Chapter be known by the Osiris the scribe Ani, upon earth, [or if it be done] in writing upon [his] coffin, he shall come forth by day in every form which he pleaseth, and he shall enter into [his] abode, and shall not be repulsed. And cakes, and ale, and joints of meat [from those which are on] the altar of Osiris shall be given unto him; and he shall enter in peace into Sekhet-Aaru, conformably to the decree of the Dweller in Busiris. Wheat and barley (dhura) shall be given unto him therein, and he shall flourish there just as he did upon earth; and he shall do whatsoever it pleaseth him to do, even as do the Company of the Gods who are in the Tuat, regularly and continually, for millions of times.

(From the Paprys of Nebseni, Sheet 3)

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY AND OF OPENING UP A WAY THROUGH THE AMEHET: Behold. the scribe Nebseni, whose word is truth, saith:- Homage to you, O ye Lords of Kau, ye who are without sin, and who live for the endless and infinite aeons of time which make up eternity. I have opened up a way for myself to you. I have become a spirit in my forms, I have gotten the mastery over my words of magical power, and I am adjudged a spirit; therefore deliver ye me from the Crocodile [which liveth in] this Country of Truth. Grant ve to me my mouth that I may speak therewith, and cause ye that sepulchral offerings shall be made unto me in your presence, for I know you, and I know your names, and I know also the name of the mighty god before whose face ye set your celestial food. His name is "Tekem." [When] he openeth up his path on the eastern horizon of heaven, [when] he alighteth towards the western horizon of heaven, may he carry me along with him, and may I be safe and sound. Let not the Mesqet make an end of me, let not the Fiend (Sebau) gain the mastery over me, let me not be driven away from the doors of the Other World, let not you doors be shut in my face, for my cakes are in the city of Pe, and my ale is in the city of Tep. And there, in the celestial mansions of heaven which my divine father Tem hath stablished, let my hands lay hold upon the wheat and the barley, which shall be given unto me therein in abundant measure, and may the son of my own body make ready for me my food therein. And grant ye unto me when I am there sepulchral meals, and incense, and unguents, and all the pure and beautiful things whereon the god liveth, in every deed for ever, in all the transformations which it pleaseth me [to perform], and grant unto me the power to float down and to sail up the stream in the Field of Reeds (Sekhet-Aaru), [and may I reach Sekhet-hetepet (the Field of Offerings)]. I am the twin Lion-gods (Shu and Tefnut).

TEXTS RELATING TO THE WEIGHING OF THE HEART OF ANI

THE NAMES OF THE GODS OF THE GREAT COMPANY:- 1. Ra Harmakhis, the Great God in his boat. 2. Temu. 3. Shu. 4. Tefnut. 5. Keb. 6. Nut, the Lady of Heaven. 7. Isis. 8. Nephthys. 9. Horus, the Great God. 10. Hathor, Lady of Amentet. 11. Hu. 12. Sa.

THE PRAYER OF ANI:- My heart, my mother; my heart, my mother! My heart whereby I came into being! May nought stand up to oppose me at [my] judgement, may there be no opposition to me in the presence of the Chiefs (Tchatchau); may there be no parting of thee from me in the presence of him that keepeth the Balance! Thou art my KA, which dwelleth in my body; the god Khnemu who knitteth together and strengtheneth my limbs. Mayest thou come forth into the place of happiness whither we go. May the Sheniu officials, who make the conditions of the lives of men, not cause my name to stink, and may no lies be spoken against me in the presence of the God. [Let it be satisfactory unto us, and let the Listener god be favourable unto us, and let there be joy of heart (to us) at the weighing of words. Let not that which is false be uttered against me before the Great God, the Lord of Amentet. Verily, how great shalt thou be when thou risest in

THE SPEECH OF THOTH:- Thoth, the judge of right and truth of the Great Company of the Gods who are in the presence of Osiris, saith: Hear ye this judgement. The heart of Osiris hath in very truth been weighed, and his Heart-soul hath borne testimony on his behalf; his heart hath been found right by the trial in the Great Balance. There hath not been found any wickedness in him; he hath not wasted the offerings which have been made in the temples; he hath not committed any evil act; and he hath not set his mouth in motion with words of evil whilst he was upon earth.

SPEECH OF THE DWELLER IN THE EMBALMMENT CHAMBER (ANUBIS):- Pay good heed, O righteous Judge to the Balance to support [the testimony] thereof. Variant: Pay good heed to the weighing in the Balance of the heart of the Osiris, the singing-woman of Amen, Anhai, whose word is truth, and place thou her heart in the seat of truth in the presence of the Great God.

THE SPEECH OF THE GODS:- The Great Company of the Gods say to Thoth who dwelleth in Khemenu: That which cometh forth from thy mouth shall be declared true. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is true, is holy and righteous. He hath not committed any sin, and he hath done no evil against us. The devourer Am-mit shall not be permitted to prevail over him. Meat offerings and admittance into the presence of the god Osiris shall be granted unto him, together with an abiding habitation in the Field of Offerings (Sekhet-hetepet), as unto the Followers of Horus.

THE SPEECH OF HORUS TO OSIRIS IN INTRODUCING ANI TO HIM:- Horus, the son of Isis, saith: I have come to thee, O Un-Nefer, and I have brought unto thee the Osiris Ani. His heart is righteous, and it hath come forth from the Balance; it hath not sinned against any god or any goddess. Thoth hath weighed it according to the decree pronounced unto him by the Company of the Gods, and it is most true and righteous. Grant thou that cakes and ale may be given unto him, and let him appear in the presence of the god Osiris, and let him be like unto the Followers of Horus for ever and ever.

THE SPEECH OF ANI:- And the Osiris Ani saith: Behold, I am in thy presence, O Lord of Amentet. There is no sin in my body. I have not spoken that which is not true knowingly, nor have I done anything with a false heart. Grant thou that I may be like unto those favoured ones who are in thy following, and that I may be an Osiris greatly favoured of the beautiful god, and beloved of the Lord of the Two Lands, I who am a veritable royal scribe who loveth thee, Ani, whose word is true before the god Osiris.

DESCRIPTION OF THE BEAST AM-MIT:- Her forepart is like that of a crocodile, the middle of her body is like that of a lion, her hind quarters are like those of a hippopotamus.

HERE BEGIN THE PRAISES AND GLORIFYINGS OF COMING OUT FROM AND OF GOING INTO THE GLORIOUS KHERT-NETER, WHICH IS IN THE BEAUTIFUL AMENTET, OF COMING FORTH BY DAY IN ALL THE FORMS OF EXISTENCE WHICH IT MAY PLEASE THE DECEASED TO TAKE, OF PLAYING AT DRAUGHTS, OF SITTING IN THE SEH HALL, AND OF APPEARING AS A LIVING SOUL: The Osiris the scribe Ani saith after he hath arrived in his haven of rest- now it is good for [a man] to recite [this work whilst he is] upon earth, for then all the words of Tem come to pass-

"I am the god Tem in rising. I am the Only One. I came into existence in Nu. I am Ra who rose in the beginning, the ruler of this [creation]."

Who is this

"It is Ra, when at the beginning he rose in the city of Hensu, crowned like a king for his coronation. The Pillars of the god

Shu were not as yet created, when he was upon the steps of him that dwelleth in Khemenu. "I am the Great God who created himself, even Nu, who made his names to become the Company of the Gods as gods."

Who is this?

"It is Ra, the creator of the names of his limbs, which came into being in the form of the gods who are in the train of Ra. "I am he who cannot be repulsed among the gods."

Who is this?

"It is Temu, the dweller in his disk, but others say that it is Ra when he riseth in the eastern horizon of the sky. "I am Yesterday, I know To-day."

Who is this?

"Yesterday is Osiris, and To-day is Ra, when he shall destroy the enemies of Neb-er-tcher (the lord to the uttermost limit), and when he shall establish as prince and ruler his son Horus. "Others, however, say that To-day is Ra, on the day when we commemorate the festival of the meeting of the dead Osiris with his father Ra, and when the battle of the gods was fought, in which Osiris, the Lord of Amentet, was the leader."

What is this?

"It is Amentet, [that is to say] the creation of the souls of the gods when Osiris was leader in Set-Amentet. "Others, however, say that it is the Amentet which Ra hath given unto me; when any god cometh he must rise up and fight for it. "I know the god who dwelleth therein."

Who is this

"It is Osiris. Others, however, say that his name is Ra, and that the god who dwelleth in Amentet is the phallus of Ra, wherewith he had union with himself. "I am the Benu bird which is in Anu. I am the keeper of the volume of the book (the Tablet of Destiny) of the things which have been made, and of the things which shall be made."

Who is this?

"It is Osiris. "Others, however, say that it is the dead body of Osiris, and yet others say that it is the excrement of Osiris. The things which have been made, and the things which shall be made [refer to] the dead body of Osiris. Others again say that the things which have been made are Eternity, and the things which shall be made are Eternity, and the things which shall be made are Eternity is the Day, and Everlastingness the Night. "I am the god Menu in his coming forth; may his two plumes be set on my head for me."

Who is this?

"Menu is Horis, the Advocate of his father [Osiris], and his coming forth means his birth. The two plumes on his head are Isis and Nephthys, when these goddesses go forth and set themselves thereon, and when they act as his protectors, and when they provide that which his head lacketh. "Others, however, say that the two plumes are the two exceedingly large uraei which are upon the head of their father Tem, and there are yet others who say that the two plumes which are upon the head of Menu are his two eyes. "The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is true, the registrar of all the offerings which are made to the gods, riseth up and cometh into his citv."

What is this [city]?

"It is the horizon of his father Tem. "I have made an end of my shortcomings, and I have put away my faults."

What is this?

"It is the cutting of the navel string of the body of the Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is true before all the gods, and all his faults are driven out.

What is this?

"It is the purification [of Osiris] on the day of his birth. "I am purified in my great double nest which is in Hensu on the day of the offerings of the followers of the Great God who dwelleth therein."

What is the "great double nest"?

"The name of one nest is 'Millions of years,' and 'Great Green [Sea]' is the name of the other, that is to say 'Lake of Natron' and 'Lake of Salt.' "Others, however, say the name of the one is 'Guide of Millions of Years,' and that 'Great Green Lake' is name of the other. Yet others say that 'Begetter of Millions of Years' is the name of one, and 'Great Green Lake' is the name of the other. Now, as concerning the Great God who dwelleth therein, it is Ra himself. "I pass over the way, I know the head of the Island of Maati."

What is this?

"It is Ra-stau, that is to say, it is the gate to the South of Nerutef, and it is the Northern Gate of the Domain (Tomb of the god). "Now, as concerning the Island of Maati, it is Abtu. "Others, however, say that it is the way by which Father Tem travelleth when he goeth forth to Sekhet-Aaru, [the place] which produceth the food and sustenance of the gods who are [in] their shrines. "Now the Gate Tchesert is the Gate of the Pillars of Shu, that is to say, the Northern Gate of the Tuat. "Others, however, say that the Gate of Tchesert is the two leaves of the door through which the god Tem passeth when he goeth forth to the eastern horizon of the sky. "O ye gods who are in the presence [of Osiris], grant to me your arms, for I am the god who shall come into being among you."

Who are these gods?

"They are the drops of blood which came forth from the phallus of Ra when he went forth to perform his own mutilitation. These drops of blood sprang into being under the forms of the gods Hu and Sa, who are in the bodyguard of Ra, and who accompany the god Tem daily and every day. "I, Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, have filled for thee the utchat (the Eye of Ra, or of Horus), when it had suffered extinction on the day of the combat of the Two Fighters (Horus and Set)."

What was this combat?

It was the combat which took place on the day when Horus fought with Set, during which Set threw filth in the face of Horus, and Horus crushed the genitals of Set. The filling of the utchat Thoth performed with his own fingers. "I remove the thunder-cloud from the sky when there is a storm with thunder and lightning therein."

What is this?

"This storm was the raging of Ra at the thunder-cloud which [Set] sent forth against the Right Eye of Ra (the Sun). Thoth removed the thunder-cloud from the Eye of Ra, and brought back the Eye living, healthy, sound, and with no defect in it to its owner. "Others, however, say that the thunder-cloud is caused by sickness in the Eye of Ra, which weepeth for its companion Eye (the Moon); at this time Thoth cleanseth the Right Eye of Ra. "I behold Ra who was born yesterday from the thighs of the goddess Mehurt; his strength is my strength, and my strength is his strength."

Who is this?

"Mehurt is the great Celestial Water, but others say that Mehurt is the image of the Eye of Ra at dawn at his birth daily. "[Others, however, say that] Mehurt is the utchat of Ra. "Now Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, is a very great one among the gods who are in the following of Horus; they say that he is the prince who loveth his lord."

Who are the gods who are in the train of Horus?

"[They are] Kesta, Hapi, Taumutef, and Qebhsenuf. "Homage to you, O ye lords of right and truth, ye sovereign princes (Tchatcha) who [stand] round about Osiris, who do away utterly sins and offences, and who are in the following of the goddess Hetepsekhus, grant ye that I may come unto you. Destroy ye all the faults which are within me, even as ye did for the Seven Spirits who are among the followers of their lord Sepa. Anpu (Anubis) appointed to them their places on the day [when he said unto them], "Come ye hither."

Who are the "lords of right and truth"?

"The lords of right and truth are Thoth and Astes, the Lord of Amentet. "The Tchatcha round about Osiris are Kesta, Hapi, Tuamutef, and Qebhsenuf, and they are also round about the Constellation of the Thigh (the Great Bear), in the northern sky. "Those who do away utterly sins and offences, and who are in the following of the goddess Hetepsekhus, are the god Sebek and his associates who dwell in the water. "The goddess Hetepsekhus is the Eye of Ra. "Others, however, say that it is the flame which accompanieth Osiris to burn up the souls of his enemies. "As concerning all the faults which are in Osiris, the registrar of the offerings which are made unto all the gods, Ani, whose word is truth, [these are all the offences which he hath committed against the Lords of Eternityl since he came forth from his mother's womb. "As concerning the Seven Spirits who are Kesta, Hapi, Tuamutef, Qebhsenuf, Maa-atef, Kheribeqef and Heru-khenti-en-ariti, these did Anubis appoint to be protectors of the dead body of Osiris. "Others, however, say that he set them round about the holy place of Osiris. "Others say that the Seven Spirits [which were appointed by Anubis] were Netcheh-netcheh, Aatqetqet, Nertanef-besef-khenti-hehf, Aq-her-ami- unnut-f, Tesherariti-ami-Het-anes, Ubes-her-per-em-khetkhet, and Maaemkerh-annef-em-hru. "The chief of the Tchatcha (sovereign rinces) who is in Naarutef is Horus, the Advocate of his father. "As concerning the day wherein [Anubis said to the Seven Spirits], 'Come ye hither,' [the allusion here] is to the words 'Come ye hither,' which Ra spake unto Osiris."

Verily may these same words be said unto me in Amentet.
"I am the Divine Soul which dwelleth in the Divine Twingods."

Who is this Divine Soul?

"It is Osiris. [When] he goeth into Tetu, and findeth there the Soul of Ra, the one god embraceth the other, and two Divine Souls spring into being within the Divine Twin-gods."

APPENDIX

(From the Papyrus of Nebseni, Brit. Mus. No. 9900, Sheet 14, ll. 16ff.)

"As concerning the Divine Twin-gods they are Heru-netchher-tefef and Heru-khent-en-Ariti (Horus the Advocate of his father [Osiris], and Horus the sightless). "Others say that the double Divine Soul which dwelleth in the Divine Twin-gods is the Soul of Ra and the Soul of Osiris, and yet others say that it is the Soul which dwelleth in Shu, and the Sould which dwelleth in Tefnut, and that these two Souls form the double Divine Soul which dwelleth in Tetu. "I am the Cat which fought near the Persea Tree in Anu on the night when the foes of Neb-er-tcher were destroyed."

Who is this Cat?

"This male Cat is Ra himself, and he was called 'Mau' because of the speech of the god Sa, who said concerning him: 'He is like (mau) unto that which he hath made'; therefore, did the name of Ra become 'Mau.'

"Others, however, say that the male Cat is the god Shu, who made over the possessions of Keb to Osiris. "As concerning the fight which took place near the Persea Tree in Anu [these words have reference to the slaughter] of the children of rebellion, when righteous retribution was meted out to them for [the evil] which they had done. "As concerning the 'night of the battle,' [these words refer to] the invasion of the eastern portion of the heaven by the children of rebellion, whereupon a great battle arose in heaven and in all the earth. "O thou who art in thine egg (Ra,) who showest from thy Disk, who risest on thy horizon, and dost shine with golden beams in the height of heaven, like unto whom there is none among the gods, who sailest above the Pillars of Shu, who sendest forth blasts of fire from thy mouth, [who illuminest the Two Lands with thy splendour, deliver] thou Nebseni, the lord of fealty [to Osiris], from the god whose form is hidden, and whose evebrows are like unto the two arms of the Balance on the night when the sentences of doom are promulgated.'

Who is this invisible god?

"It is An-a-f (he who bringeth his arm.). "As concerning 'the night when the sentences of doom are promulgated,' it is the night of the burning of the damned, and of the overthrow of the wicked at the Block, and of the slaughter of souls."

Who is this [slaughterer of souls]?

"It is Shesmu, the headsman of Osiris. "[Concerning the invisible god] some say that he is Aapep when he riseth up with a head bearing upon it [the feather of] Maat (Truth). But others say that he is Horus when he riseth up with two heads, whereon one beareth [the feather of] Maat, and the other [the symbol of] wickedness. He bestoweth wickedness on him that worketh wickedness, and right and truth upon him that followeth righteousness and truth. "Others say that he is Heru-ur (the Old Horus), who dwelleth in Sekhem; others say that he is Thoth; others say that he is Nefer-Tem; and others say that he is Sept who doth bring to nought the acts of the foes of Nebertcher. "Deliver thou the scribe Nebseni, whose word is truth, from the Watchers, who carry murderous knives, who possess cruel fingers, and who would slay those who are in the following of Osiris." May these Watchers never gain the mastery over me, and may I never fall under their knives!

Who are these Watchers?

"They are Anubis and Horus, [the latter being] in the form of Horus the sightless. Others, however, say that they are the Tchatcha (sovereign princes of Osiris), who bring to nought the operations of their knives; and others say that they are the chiefs of the Sheniu chamber. "May their knives never gain the mastery over me. May I never fall under the knives wherewith they inflict cruel tortures. For I know their names, and I know the being, Matchet, who is among them in the House of Osiris. He shooteth forth rays of light from his eye, being himself invisible, and he goeth round about heaven robed in the flames which come from his mouth, commanding Hapi, but remaining invisible himself. May I be strong on earth before Ra, may I arrive safely in the presence of Osiris. O ye who preside over your altars, let not your offerings to me be wanting, for I am one of those who follow after Nebertcher, according to the writings of Khepera. Let me fly like a hawk, let me cackle like a goose, let me lay always like the serpentgoddess Neheb- ka.

Who are those who preside over their altars?

"Those who preside over their altars are the similitude of the Eye of Ra, and the similitude of the Eye of Horus. "O Ra-Tem, thou Lord of the Great House [in Anu], thou Sovereign

(life, strentgh, health [be to thee]) of all the gods, deliver thou the scribe Nebseni, whose word is truth, from the god whose face is like unto that of a greyhound, whose brows are like those of a man, who feedeth upon the dead, who watcheth at the Bend of the Lake of Fire, who devoureth the bodies of the dead, and swalloweth hearts, and who voideth filth, but who himself remaineth unseen."

Who is this greyhound-faced god?

"His name is 'Everlasting Devourer,' and he liveth in the Domain [of Fire] (the Lake of Unt). "As concerning the Domain of Fire, it is that Aat which is in Naarutef, and is near the Sheniu chamber. The sinner who walketh over this place falleth down among the knives [of the Watchers]. "Others, however, say that the name of this god is 'Mates,' and that he keepeth watch over the door of Amentet; others say that his name is 'Beba,' and that he keepeth watch over the Bend [of the stream] of Amentet, and yet others say that his name is 'Herisepef.' "Hail, Lord of Terror, Chief of the Lands of the South and North, thou Lord of the Desert, who dost keep prepared the block of slaughter, and who dost feed on the intestines [of men]!"

Who is this Lord of Terror?

"It is the Keeper of the Bend [of the stream] of Amentet." Who is this Keeper?

"It is the Heart of Osiris, which is the devourer of all slaughtered things. "The Urrt Crown hath been given unto him, with gladness of heart, as Lord of Hensu."

Who is this?

"He to whom the Urrt Crown hath been given with gladness of heart as Lord of Hensu is Osiris. He was bidden to rule among the gods on the day of the union of earth [with earth] in the presence of Nebertcher."

Who is this?

"He who was bidden to rule among the gods is the son of Isis (Horus), who was appointed to rule in the room of his father Osiris. "As concerning [the words] 'day of the union of earth with earth,' they have reference to the union of earth with earth in the coffin of Osiris, the Soul that liveth in Hensu, the giver of meat and drink, the destroyer of wrong, and the guide to the everlasting paths."

Who is this?

"It is Ra himself."

"[Deliver thou the Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth] from the great god who carrrieth away souls, who eateth hearts, who feedeth upon offal, who keepeth watch in the darkness, who dwelleth in the Seker Boat; those who live in sin fear him."

Who is this?

"It is Suti, but others say that it is Smamur, the soul of Keb. "Hail, Khepera in thy boat, the two Companies of the Gods are in thy body. Deliver thou the Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, from the Watchers who pass sentences of doom, who have been appointed by the god Nebertcher to protect him, and to fasten the fetters on his foes, and who slaughter in the torture chambers; there is no escape from their fingers. May they never stab me with their knives, may I never fall helpless into their chambers of torture. I have never done the things which the gods hate. I am he who is pure in the Mesqet chamber. And saffron cakes have been brought unto him in Tannt."

Who is this?

"It is Khepera in his boat; it is Ra himself. "As concerning the Watchers who pass sentences of doom, they are the Apes Isis and Nephthys. "As concerning the things which the gods hate, they are acts of deceit and lying. He who passeth through the place of purification within the Mesqet chamber is Anpu (Anubis), who is hard by the coffer which containeth the inward parts of Osiris. He to whom saffron cakes have been brought in Tannt is Osiris. "Others, however, say that the saffron cakes in Tannt represent heaven and earth, and others say that they represent Shu, the strengthener of the Two Lands in Hensu; and others say that they represent the Eve of Horus, and that Tannt is the burial-place of Osiris. Tem hath builded thy house, and the double Lion-god hath laid the foundations of thy habitation. Lo! medicaments have been brought. Horus purifieth Set and Set strengtheneth, and Set purifieth and Horus strengtheneth. "The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth before Osiris, hath come into this land, and he hath taken possession thereof with his two feet. He is Tem, and he is in the city. "Turn thou back, O Rehu, whose mouth shineth, whose head moveth, turn thou back before his strength." Another reading is, 'Turn thou back from him who keepeth watch, and is himself unseen.' Let the Osiris Ani be safely guarded. He is Isis, and he is found with her hair spread over him: it is shaken out over his brow. He was conceived by Isis, and engendered by Nephthys, and they have cut away from him the things which should be cut from him. "Fear followeth after thee, terror is about thine arms. Thou hast been embraced for millions of years by arms; mortals go round about thee. Thou smitest down the mediators of thy foes, and thou seizest the arms of the power

of darkness. Thy two sisters (Isis and Nephthys) are given to thee for thy delight. Thou hast created that which is in Kheraha, and that which is Anu. Every god feareth thee, for thou art exceedingly great and terrible; thou [avengest] every god on the man who curseth him, and thou shootest arrows at him. Thou livest according to thy will. Thou art Uatchet, the Lady of Flame, evil befalleth those who set themselves up against thee."

What is this?

"'Hidden in form, given of Menhu,' is the name of the "tomb. 'He who seeth what is on his hand' is the name of Qerau, or, as others say, it is the name of the Block. "Now, he whose mouth shineth and whose head moveth is the phallus of Osiris, but others say it is [the phallus] of Ra. 'Thou spreadest thy hair, and I shake it out over his brow" is said concerning Isis, who hideth in her hair, and draweth it round about her. "Uatchet, the Lady of Flames, is the Eye of Ra."

THE SEVEN ARITS

The First Arit.

The name of the Doorkeeper is Sekhet-her-asht-aru. The name of the Watcher is Smetti. The name of the Herald is Hakheru. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, shall say when he cometh unto the First Arit: "I am the mighty one who createth his own light. I have come unto thee, O Osiris, and, purified from that which defileth thee, I adore thee. Lead on. Name not the name of Ra-stau to me. Homage to thee, O Osiris, in thy might and in thy strength in Ra-stau. Rise up and conquer, O Osiris, in Abtu. Thou goest round about heaven, thou sailest in the presence of Ra, thou lookest upon all the beings who have knowledge. Hail, Ra, thou who goest round about in the sky, I say, O Osiris in truth, that I am the Sahu (Spirit-body) of the god, and I beseech thee not to let me be driven away, nor to be cast upon the wall of blazing fire. Let the way be opened in Ra-stau, let the pain of the Osiris be relieved, embrace that which the Balance hath weighed, let a path be made for the Osiris in the Great Valley, and let the Osiris have light to guide him on his way.'

The Second Arit.

The name of the Doorkeeper is Unhat. The name of the Watcher is Seqt- her. The name of the Herald is Ust. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, shall say [when he cometh to this Arit]: "He sitteth to carry out his heart's desire, and he weigheth words as the Second of Thoth. The strength which protecteth Thoth humbleth the hidden Maati gods, who feed upon Maat during the years of their lives. I offer up my offerings [to him] at the moment when he maketh his way. I advance, and I enter on the path. O grant thou that I may continue to advance, and that I may attain to the sight of Ra, and of those who offer up [their] offerings."

The Third Arit.

The name of the Doorkeeper is Unem-hauatu-ent-pehui. The name of the Watcher is Seres-her. The name of the Herald is Aa. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, shall say [when he cometh to this Arit]: "I am he who is hidden in the great deep. I am the Judge of the Rehui, I have come and I have done away the offensive thing which was upon Osiris. I tie firmly the place on which he standeth, coming forth from the Urt. I have stablished things in Abtu, I have opened up a way through Ra-stau, and I have relieved the pain which was in Osiris. I have balanced the place whereon he standeth, and I have made a path for him; he shineth brilliantly in Ra-stau."

The Fourth Arit.

The name of the Doorkeeper is Khesef-her-asht-kheru. The name of the Watcher is Seres-tepu. The name of the Herald is Khesef-at. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, shall say [when he cometh to this Arit]: "I am the Bull, the son of the ancestress of Osiris. O grant ye that his father, the Lord of his god-like companions, may bear witness on his behalf. I have weighed the guilty in judgement. I have brought unto his nostrils the life which is ever lasting. I am the son of Osiris, I have accomplished the journey, I have advanced in Khert-Neter!"

The Fifth Arit.

The name of the Doorkeeper is Ankhf-em-fent. The name of the Watcher is Shabu. The name of the Herald is Teb-her-khakheft. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, shall say [when he cometh to this Arit]: "I have brought unto thee the jawbone in Ra-stau. I have brought unto thee thy backbone in Anu. I have gathered together his manifold members therein. I have driven back Aapep for thee. I have spit upon the wounds [in his body]. I have made myself a path among you. I am the Aged One among the gods. I have made offerings to Osiris. I have defended him with the word of truth. I have gathered together his bones, and have collected all his members."

The Sixth Arit.

The name of the Doorkeeper is Atek-tau-kehaq-kheru. The name of the Watcher is An-her. The name of the Herald is Ates-her-[ari]-she. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, shall say [when he cometh to this Arit]: "I have come daily, I have come daily. I have made myself a way. I have advanced over that which was created by Anpu (Anubis). I am the Lord of the Urrt Crown. I am the possessor [of the knowledge of] the words of magical power, I am the Avenger according to law, I have avenged [the injury to] his Eye. I have defended Osiris. I have accomplished my journey. The Osiris Ani advanceth with you with the word which is truth."

The Seventh Arit:

The name of the Doorkeeper is Sekhmet-em-tsu-sen. The name of the Watcher is Aa-maa-kheru. The name of the Herald is Khesef-khemi. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, shall say [when he cometh to this Arit]: "I have come unto thee, O Osiris, being purified from foul emissions. Thou goest round about heaven, thou seest Ra, thou seest the beings who have knowledge. [Hail], thou, ONE! Behold, thou art in the Sektet Boat which traverseth the heavens. I speak what I will to his Sahu (Spirit-body). He is strong, and cometh into being even [as] he spake. Thou meetest him face to face. Prepare thou for me all the ways which are good [and which lead] to thee."

RUBRIC: If [these] words be recited by the spirit when he shall come to the Seven Arits, and as he entereth the doors, he shall neither be turned back nor repulsed before Osiris, and he shall be made to have his being among the blessed spirits, and to have dominion among the ancestral followers of Osiris. If these things be done for any spirit he shall have his being in that place like a lord of eternity in one body with Osiris, and at no place shall any being contend against him.

THE PYLONS OF THE HOUSE OF OSIRIS

The following shall be said when one cometh to the FIRST PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Lady of tremblings, high-walled, the sovereign lady, the lady of destruction, who uttereth the words which drive back the destroyers, who delivereth from destruction him that cometh." The name of her Doorkeeper is Neruit.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the SECOND PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Lady of heaven, Mistress of the Two Lands, devourer by fire, Lady of mortals, who art infinitely greater than any human being." The name of her Doorkeeper is Mes-Ptah.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the THIRD PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Lady of the Altar, the mighty lady to whom offerings are made, greatly beloved one of every god sailing up the river to Abydos." The name of her Doorkeeper is Sebqa.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the FOURTH PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Prevailer with knives, Mistress of the Two Lands, destroyer of the enemies of the Still-Heart (Osiris), who decreeth the release of those who suffer through evil hap." The name of her Doorkeeper is Nekau.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the FIFTH PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Flame, Lady of fire, absorbing the entreaties which are made to her, who permitteth not to approach her the rebel." The name of her Doorkeeper is Henti-Reqiu.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the SIXTH PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Lady of light, who roareth mightily, whose breadth cannot be comprehended. Her like hath not been found since the beginning. There are serpents over which are unknown. They were brought forth before the Still-Heart." The name of her Doorkeeper is Semati.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the SEVENTH PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Garment which envelopeth the helpless one, which weepeth for and loveth that which it covereth." The name of her Doorkeeper is Saktif.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the EIGHTH PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Blazing fire, unquenchable, with far-reaching tongues of flame, irresistible slaughterer, which one may not pass through fear of its deadly attack." The name of her Doorkeeper is Khutchetef.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the NINTH PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Chieftainess, lady of strength, who giveth quiet of heart to the offspring of her lord. Her girth is three hundred and fifty khet, and she is clothed with green feldspar of the South. She bindeth up the divine form and clotheth the helpless one. Devourer, lady of all men." The name of her Doorkeeper is Arisutchesef.

The following shall be said when one cometh to the TENTH PYLON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith: "Goddess of the loud voice, who maketh her suppliants to

mourn, the awful one who terrifieth, who herself remaineth unterrified within." The name of her Doorkeeper is Sekhenur.

Nu, the steward of the keeper of the seal, saith when he cometh to the ELEVENTH PYLON of Osiris: "I have made my way, I know you, and I know thy name, and I know the name of her who is within thee: She who slayeth always, consumer of the fiends by fire, mistress of every pylon, the lady who is acclaimed on the day of darkness" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathing of the helpless one.

The Osiris Nu, the steward of the keeper of the seal, saith when he cometh to the TWELFTH PYLON of Osiris: "I have made my way, I know you, and I know thy name, and I know the name of her who is within thee: Invoker of thy Two Lands, destroyer of those who come to thee by fire, lady of spirits, obeyer of the word of thy Lord" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathing of the helpless one.

The Osiris Nu, the steward of the keeper of the seal, saith when he cometh to the THIRTEENTH PYLON of Osiris: "I have made my way, I know you and I know thy name, and I know the name of her who is within thee: Osiris foldeth his arms about her, and maketh Hapi (the Nile-god), to emit splendour out of his hidden places" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathing of the helpless one.

The Osiris Nu, the steward of the keeper of the seal, saith when he cometh to the FOURTEENTH PYLON of Osiris: "I have made my way, I know thee, and I know thy name, and I know the name of her who is within thee. Lady of might, who trampleth on the Red Demons, who keepeth the festival of Haaker on the day of the hearing of faults" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathing of the helpless one.

THE FIFTEENTH PYLON. The Osiris Heru-em-khebit, whose word is truth, shall say when he cometh to this pylon: "Fiend, red of hair and eyes, who appeareth by night, and doth fetter the fiend in his lair. Let her hands be given to the Still-Heart in his hour, let her advance and go forward" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathing of the helpless one.

THE SIXTEENTH PYLON. The Osiris Heru-em-khebit,

THE SIXTEENTH PYLON. The Osiris Heru-em-khebit, whose word is truth, shall say when he cometh to this pylon: "Terrible one, lady of the rain- storm, destroyer of the souls of men, devourer of the bodies of men, orderer, producer, and maker of slaughter" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathing of the helpless one.

THE SEVENTEENTH PYLON. The Osiris Heru-emkhebit, whose word is truth, shall say when he cometh to this pylon: "Hewer-in-pieces in blood, Ahibit, lady of hair" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathing of the helpless one.

THE EIGHTEENTH PYLON. The Osiris Heru-em-khebit, whose word is truth, shall say when he cometh to this pylon: "Fire-lover, pure one, lover of slaughterings, cutter off of heads, devoted one, lady of the Great House, slaughterer of fiends at eventide" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathing of the helpless one.

THE NINETEENTH PYLON. The Osiris Heru-em-khebit, whose word is truth, shall say when he cometh to this pylon: "Light-giver for life, blazing all the day, lady of strength [and of] the writings of the god Thoth himself" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathings of the White House.

THE TWENTIETH PYLON. The Osiris Heru-em-khebit, whose word is truth, shall say when he cometh to this pylon: "Dweller in the cavern of her lord, her name is Clother, hider of her creations, conqueror of hearts, swallower [of them]" is thy name. She inspecteth the swathings of the White House.

THE TWENTY-FIRST PYLON. The Osiris Heru-emkhebit, whose word is truth, shall say when he cometh to this pylon: "Knife which cutteth when [its name] is uttered, slayer of those who approach thy flame" is thy name. She possesseth hidden plans

APPENDIX (From the Turin Papryus, ed. Lepsius, Bl. 64,

the text referring to the twenty-first Pylon.)
THE OSIRIS AUFANKH, WHOSE WORD IS TRUTH, SAITH: Hail, saith Horus, O Twenty-first pylon of the Still-Heart! I have made the way. I know thee. I know thy name. I know the name of the goddess who guardeth thee. that smiteth at the utterance of its own name, stinking face, overthrower of him that approacheth her flame" is thy name Thou keepest the hidden things of the avenger of the god. thou guardest them. Amam is his name. He maketh the ash trees (cedars) not to grow, and the shenu trees (acacias) not to blossom, and preventeth copper from being found in the mountain. The Tchatcha (Chiefs) of this Pylon are Seven Gods. Tchen, or Anthch (At), is the name of the one at the door. Hetepmes is the name of another there. Messep is the name of another there. Utchara is the name of another there. Beg is the name of another there. Any (Anubis) is the name of another there.

I have made the way. I am Menu-Heru, the avenger of his father, the heir of his father Un-Nefer. I have come. I have given [offerings] to my father Osiris. I have overthrown all his

enemies. I have come daily with the word of truth, the lord of fealty, in the house of my father Tem, the Lord of Anu, I, the Osiris Auf-ankh, whose word is truth in the southern heaven. I have done what is right for him that made the right, I have celebrated the Haker festival to the lord thereof. I have acted as the leader of the festivals. I have given cakes to the Lords of the Altar. I have been the leader of the propitiatory offerings, cakes, ale, oxen, geese, to my father Osiris Un-Nefer. I am the protector of the Ba-soul. I have made the Benu bird to appear [by my] words. I have come daily into the house of the god to make offerings of incense. I have come with the shenti tunic. I have set the Neshem Boat afloat on the water. I have made the word of Osiris Khenti Amenti to be truth before his enemies. I have carried away in a boat all his enemies to the slaughterhouse of the East, and they shall never escape from the wardship of the god Keb who dwelleth therein. I have made the Kefaiu gods of Ra to stand up, I have made his word to be truth. I have come as a scribe. I have explained [the writings]. I have made the god to have power over his legs. I have come into the house of him that is upon his mountain (Anubis). I have seen the Chief of the Seh hall. I have entered into Ra-stan. I have made myself invisible. I have found for myself the boundary. I have approached Nerutef. I have clothed the naked. I have sailed up the river to Abydos. I have performed the ceremonies of Hu and Sa. I have entered the house of Astes. I have made supplication to the Khati gods and to Sekhmet in the temple of Net (Neith), or the Aged Ones. I have entered Ra-stau. I have made myself invisible. I have found the frontier. I have approached Nerutef. I have clothed the naked. I have sailed up the river to Abydos. I have performed the ceremonies of Hu and Sa. I have received. I have risen like a king crowned. I fill my seat on the throne in the place of my father, the God Who was at the beginning. I have praised the Meskhen of Ta-tchesert. My mouth is full of Maat (Truth). I have overwhelmed the Akhekhau serpents. I have come into the Great House with [my] body in a flourishing condition. I have caused myself to travel in the Boat of Hai. The myrrh unguent of.... is in the hair of men (Rekhit). I have entered into the House of Astes. I have approached with worship the two Khati gods and Sekhmet, who are in the temple of the Aged One [in Anu].

[And the god Osiris saith:] "Thou hast come, thou shalt be a favoured one in Tetu, O Osiris Auf-ankh, whose word is truth, the son of the lady Shert-en-Menu, whose word is truth."

THE PRIESTS ANMUTEF AND SAMEREF

THE SPEECH OF THE PRIEST ANMUTEF.

I have come unto you, O ye great Tchatcha Chiefs who dwell in heaven, and upon earth, and in Khert-Neter, and I have brought unto you the Osiris Ani. He hath not committed any act which is an abomination before all the gods. Grant ye that he may live with you every day.

The Osiris the scribe Ani adoreth Osiris, Lord of Rasta, and the Great Company of the Gods who live in Khert-Neter. He saith: "Homage to thee, Khenti Amenti, Un-Nefer, who dwellest in Abtu. I come to thee. My heart holdeth Truth. There is no sin in my body. I have not told a lie wittingly, I have not acted in a double manner. Grant thou to me cakes, let me appear in the presence, at the altar of the Lords of Truth, let me go in and come forth from Khert-Neter [at will], let not my Heart-soul be driven away [from me]; and grant me a sight of the Disk and the beholding of the Moon for ever and ever

THE SPEECH OF THE PRIEST SAMEREF.

I have come unto you, O ye Tchatcha Chiefs who dwell in Rasta, and I have brought unto you the Osiris Ani, grant ye unto him cakes, and water, and air, and a homestead in Sekhet-hetep as to the followers of Horus.

The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, adoreth Osiris, the Lord of everlastingness, and the Tchatcha Chiefs, the Lords of Rasta. He saith: "Homage to thee, O King of Khert-Neter, thou Governor of Akert! I have come unto thee. I know thy plans, I am equipped with the forms which thou takest in the Tuat. Give thou to me a place in Khert-Neter, near the Lords of Truth. May my homestead be lasting in Sekhet-hetep, may I receive cakes in thy presence."

THE JUDGES IN ANU

Hail, Thoth, who madest to be true the word of Osiris against his enemies, make thou the word of the scribe Nebseni to be true against his enemies, even as thou didst make the word of Osiris to be true against his enemies, in the presence of the Tchatcha Chiefs who are with Ra and Osiris in Anu, on the night of the "things of the night," and the night of battle, and of the fettering of the Sebau fiends, and the day of the destruction of the enemies of Neb-er-tcher.

Now the great Tchatcha Chiefs in Anu are Tem, Shu, Tefnut, [Osiris and Thoth]. Now the "fettering of the Sebau fiends" signifieth the destruction of the Smaiu fiends of Set, when he wrought iniquity a second time.

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris to be true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris Ani to

be true against his enemies, with the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Tetu, on the night of setting up the Tet in Tetu.

Now the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Tetu are Osiris, Isis, Nephthys, and Horus the avenger of his father. Now the "setting up of the Tet in Tetu" signifieth [the raising up of] the shoulder of Horus, the Governor of Sekhem. They are round about Osiris in the band [and] the bandages.

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris to be true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris Ani to be true against his enemies, with the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Sekhem, on the night of the "things of the night" in Sekhem.

Now the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Sekhem are Heru-khenti-en- ariti and Thoth who is with the Tchatcha Chiefs of Nerutef. Now the night of the "things of the night festival" signifieth the dawn on the sarcophagus of Osiris.

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris to be true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris the scribe Ani to be true against his enemies, with the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in the double town Pe-Tep, on the night of setting up the "Senti" of Horus, and of establishing him in the inheritance of the possessions of his father Osiris.

Now the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Pe-Tep are Horus, Isis, Kesta (Mesta) and Hapi. Now the "setting up of the 'Senti' of Horus" hath reference to the words which Set spake to his followers, saying "Set up the Senti."

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris to be true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris the scribe Ani to be true, in peace, against his enemies, with the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in the Lands of the Rekhti (Taiu-Rekhti), in the night when Isis lay down, and kept watch to make lamentation for her brother Osiris.

Now the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Taiu-Rekhti are Isis, Horus, Kesta (Mesta) [Anpu and Thoth].

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris true against his enemies, make thou the word of Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, in peace, to be true against his enemies, with the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Abtu, on the night of the god Haker, when the dead are separated, and the spirits are judged, and when the procession taketh place in Teni.

Now the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Abtu are Osiris, Isis, and Up-uat.

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris to be true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris, the scribe and assessor of the sacred offerings which are made to all the gods, Ani, to be true against his enemies, with the Tchatcha Chiefs who examine the dead on the night of making the inspection of those who are to be annihilated.

Now the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are present at the examination of the dead are Thoth, Osiris, Anpu and Asten (read Astes). Now the inspection (or, counting) of those who are to be annihilated signifieth the shutting up of things from the souls of the sons of revolt.

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris the scribe Ani to be true against his enemies, with the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are present at the digging up of the earth [and mixing it] with their blood, and of making the word of Osiris to be true against his enemies.

As concerning the Tchatcha Chiefs who are present at the digging up of the earth in Tetu: When the Smaiu fiends of Set came [there], having transformed themselves into animals, these Tchatcha Chiefs slew them in the presence of the gods who were there, and they took their blood, and carried it to them. These things were permitted at the examination [of the wicked] by those [gods] who dwelt in Tetu.

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris to be true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris [the scribe] Ani to be true against his enemies, with the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Nerutef on the night of the "Hidden of Forms."

Now the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Nerutef are Ra, Osiris, Shu and Bebi.

Now, the night of the "Hidden of Forms" referreth to the placing on the sarcophagus [of Osiris] the arm, the heel, and the thigh of Osiris Un-Nefer.

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris, whose word is truth, to be true against his enemies, with the great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Rasta, on the night when Anpu lay with his arms on the things by Osiris, and when the word of Horus was make to be true against his enemies.

The great Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Rasta are Horus, Osiris, and Isis. The heart of Osiris is happy, the heart of Horus is glad, and the two halves of Egypt (Aterti) are well satisfied thereat.

Hail, Thoth, who didst make the word of Osiris true against his enemies, make thou the word of the Osiris the scribe Ani, the assessor of the holy offerings made to all the gods, to be true against his enemies, with the Ten great Tchatcha Chiefs who are with Ra, and with Osiris, and with every god, and with every goddess, in the presence of the god Nebertcher. He hath destroyed his enemies, and he hath destroyed every evil thing which appertained to him.

RUBRIC: If this Chapter be recited for, or over, the deceased, he shall come forth by day, purified after death, according to the desire of his heart. Now if this Chapter be recited over him, he shall progress over the earth, and he shall escape from every fire, and none of the evil things which appertain to him shall ever be round about him; never, a million times over, shall this be.

THE CHAPTER OF OPENING THE MOUTH OF THE OSIRIS ANI. To be said:- The god Ptah shall open my mouth, and the god of my town shall unfasten the swathings, the swathings which are over my mouth. Thereupon shall come Thoth, who is equipped with words of power in great abundance, and shall untie the fetters, even the fetters of the god Set which are over my mouth. And the god Tem shall cast them back at those who would fetter me with them, and cast them at him. Then shall the god Shu open my mouth, and make an opening into my mouth with the same iron implement wherewith he opened the mouth of the gods. I am the goddess Sekhmet, and I take my seat upon the place by the side of Amt-ur the great wind of heaven. I am the great Stargoddess Saah, who dwelleth among the Souls of Anu. Now as concerning every spell, and every word which shall be spoken against me, every god of the Divine Company shall set himself in opposition thereto.

THE CHAPTER OF BRINGING WORDS OF POWER TO THE OSIRIS ANI, who saith:- I am Tem-Khepera who produced himself on the thighs of his divine mother. Those who dwell in Nu have been made wolves, and those who are among the Tchatcha Chiefs have become hyenas. Behold, I will gather together to myself this charm from the person with whom it is [and from the place] wherein it is [and it shall come to me] quicker than a greyhound, and swifter that light. Hail, thou who bringest the Ferry- Boat of Ra, thou holdest thy course firmly and directly in the north wind as thou sailest up the river towards the Island of Fire which is in Khert-Neter. Behold, thou shalt gather together to thee this charm from wheresoever it may be, and from whomsoever it may be with [and it shall come to me] quicker than a greyhound, and swifter than light. It (the charm) made the transformations of Mut; it fashioned the gods [or] kept them silent; by it Mut gave the warmth [of life] to the gods. Behold, these words of power are mine, and they shall come unto me from wheresoever they may be, or with whomsoever they may be, quicker than greyhounds and swifter than light, or, according to another reading, "swifter than shadows."

APPENDIX

THE CHAPTER WHICH MAKETH A MAN TO REMEMBER HIS NAME IN KHERT-NETER. [The deceased] saith:- Let my name be given to me in the Great House (Per-ur), and let me remember my name in the House of Fire (Per Neser), on the night wherein the years are counted up, and the number of the months is told. I am dwelling with the Divine One, I take my seat on the eastern side of the sky. If any god cometh after me, I shall be able to declare his name forthwith.

THE CHAPTER OF GIVING A HEART TO THE OSIRIS ANI IN KHERT-NETER. He saith:- Let my heart be with me in the House of Hearts. Let my heart- case be with me in the House of heart-cases. Let my heart be with me, and let it rest in [me or] I shall not eat the cakes of Osiris in the eastern side of the Lake of Flowers, nor have a boat wherein to float down the river, nor a boat to sail up the river to thee, nor be able to embark in a boat with thee. Let my mouth be to me that I may speak therewith. Let my legs be to me that I may walk therewith. Let my arms be to me that I may overthrow the foe therewith. Let the two doors of the sky be opened to me. May Keb, the Erpat of the gods, open his jaws to me. May he open my two eyes which are blinded by swathings. May he make me to lift up my legs in walking which are tied together. May Anpu make my thighs to become vigorous. May the goddess Sekhmet raise me, and lift me up. Let me ascend into heaven, let that which I command be performed in Het-ka-Ptah. I know how to use my heart. I am master of my heart-case. I am master of my hands and arms. I am master of my legs. I have the power to do that which my KA desireth to do. My Heartsoul shall not be kept a prisoner in my body at the gates of Amentet when I would go in in peace and come forth in peace.

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART OF THE OSIRIS, THE ASSESSOR OF THE DIVINE OFFERINGS OF ALL THE GODS, ANI, WHOSE WORD IS TRUTH BEFORE OSIRIS, BE DRIVEN BACK FROM HIM IN KHERT-NETER. He saith: My heart of my mother. My heart of my mother. My heart of my mother. My heart case of my transformations. Let not any one stand up to bear testimony against me. Let no one drive me away from the Tchatcha Chiefs. Let no one make thee to fall away from me in the presence of the Keeper of the Balance. Thou art my KA, the dweller in my body, the god Khnemu who makest sound my members. Mayest thou appear in the place of happiness whither we go. Let not make my

name to stink Shenit Chiefs, who make men to be stable. [Let it be satisfactory unto us, and let the listening be satisfactory unto us, and let there be joy of heart to us at the weighing of words. Let not lies be told against me before the Great God, the Lord of Amentet. Verily, how great shalt thou be when thou risest up in triumph!]

RUBRIC I: These words are to be said over a scarab of

RUBRIC I: These words are to be said over a scarab of green stone encircled with a band of refined copper, and [having] a ring of silver; which shall be placed on the neck of the Khu (the deceased), etc.

RUBRIC II (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 21): If this Chapter be known [by the deceased] he shall be declared a speaker of the truth both upon earth and in Khert-Neter, and he shall be able to perform every act which a living human being can perform. Now it is a great protection which hath been given by the god. This Chapter was found in the city of Khemenu upon the slab of ba, which was inlaid with [letters of] genuine lapis-lazuli, and was under the feet of [the statue] of the god, during the reign of His Majesty, the King of the South and North, Menkaura (Mycerinus), true of word, by Prince Herutataf, who found it during a journey which he made to inspect the temples. One Nekht was with him who was diligent in making him to understand it, and he brought it to the king as a wonderful object when he perceived that it was a thing of great mystery, [the like of] which had never [before] been seen or looked upon. This Chapter shall be recited by a man who is ceremonially clean and pure, who hath not eaten the flesh of animals, or fish, and who hath not had intercourse with women. And behold, thou shalt make a scarab of green stone, with a rim [plated] with gold, which shall be placed above the heart of a man, and it shall perform for him the "opening of the mouth." And thou shalt anoint it with myrrh unguent, and thou shalt recite over it the following words of magical power. [Here follows the text of the Chapter of Not Letting the Heart of Ani Be Taken from

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART-SOUL OF A MAN BE SNATCHED AWAY FROM HIM IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris the scribe Ani saith:--I, even I, am he who cometh forth from the Celestial Water (Akeb). He (Akeb) produced abundance for me, and hath the mastery there in the form of the River.

(This is a portion of a longer Chapter which is included in the appendix.)

APPENDIX (The following is from the Papyrus of Neferuben-f, Naville, op. cit., I, Bl. 72.)

THE CHAPTER OF DRINKING WATER IN KHERT-NETER. The am khent priest, Nefer-uben-f, whose word is truth, saith:- I, even I, am he who cometh forth from the god Keb. The water-flood is given to him, he hath become the master thereof in the form of Hapi. I, the am khent Neferuben-f, open the doors of heaven. Thoth hath opened to me the doors of Oebh (the Celestial Waters). Lo, Hepi Hepi, the two sons of the Sky, mighty in splendour, grant ye that I may be master over the water, even as Set had dominion over his evil power on the day of the storming of the Two Lands. I pass by the Great Ones, arm to shoulder, even as they pass that Great God, the Spirit who is equipped, whose name is unknown. I have passed by the Aged One of the shoulder. I am Nefer-uben-f, whose word is truth. Hath opened to me the Celestial Water Osiris. Hath opened to me the Celestial Water Thoth-Hapi, the Lord of the horizon, in his name of "Thoth, cleaver of the earth." I am master of the water, as Set is master of his weapon. I sail over the sky, I am Ra, I am Ru. I am Sma. I have eaten the Thigh, I have seized the bone and flesh. I go round about the Lake of Sekhet-Ar. Hath been given to me eternity without limit. Behold, I am the heir of eternity, to whom hath been given everlastingness

(The following two Chapters are from the Papyrus of Nu, Sheets 7 and 12)

THE CHAPTER OF DRINKING WATER AND OF NOT BEING BURNT UP BY FIRE [IN KHERT-NETER]. Nu saith:- Hail, Bull of Amentel! I am brought unto thee. I am the paddle of Ra wherewith he transported the Aged Gods. Let me neither be burnt up nor destroyed by fire. I am Beb, the firstborn son of Osiris, to whom every god maketh an offering in the temple of his Eye in Anu. I am the divine Heir, the Mighty One, the Great One, the Resting One. I have made my name to flourish. Deliverer, thou livest in me [every day].

THE CHAPTER OF NOT BEING BOILED IN FIRE. Nu saith:- I am the paddle which is equipped, wherewith Ra transported the Aged Gods, which raised up the emissions of Osiris from the Lake of blazing fire, and he was not burned. I sit down like the Light-god, and like Khnemu, the Governor of lions. Come, cut away the fetters from him that passeth by the side of this path, and let me come forth therefrom.

THE CHAPTER OF GIVING AIR IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- I am the Egg which dwelt in the Great

Cackler. I keep ward over that great place which Keb hath proclaimed upon earth. I live; it liveth. I grow up, I live, I snuff the air. I am Utcha-aab. I go round about his egg [to protect it]. I have thwarted the moment of Set. Hail, Sweet one of the Two Lands! Hail, dweller in the tchefa food! Hail, dweller in the lapis-lazuli! Watch ye over him that is in his cradle, the Babe when he cometh forth to you.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 12)

THE CHAPTER OF GIVING AIR TO NU IN KHERT-NETER. He saith:- Hail, thou God Temu, grant thou unto me the sweet breath which dwelleth in thy nostrils! I am the Egg which is in Kenken-ur (the Great Cackler), and I watch and guard that mighty thing which hath come into being, wherewith the god Keb hath opened the earth. I live; it liveth; I grow, I live, I snuff the air. I am the god Utcha-aabet, and I go about his egg. I shine at the moment of the mighty of strength, Suti. Hail, thou who makest sweet the time of the Two Lands! Hail, dweller among the celestial food. Hail, dweller among the beings of blue (lapis-lazuli), watch ye to protect him that is in his nest, the Child who cometh forth to vou.

THE CHAPTER OF GIVING AIR IN KHERT-NETER. Nu saith:- I am the jackal of jackals. I am Shu. I draw air from the presence of the Light-god, from the uttermost limits of heaven, from the uttermost limits of earth, from the uttermost limits of the pinion of Nebeh bird. May air be given unto this young divine Babe. [My mouth is open, I see with my eyes.]

THE CHAPTER OF SNUFFING THE AIR WITH WATER IN KHERT-NETER. Hail, Tem. Grant thou unto me the sweet breath which dwelleth in thy nostrils. I am he who embraceth that great throne which is in the city of Unu. I keep watch over the Egg of Kenken-ur (the Great Cackler). I grow and flourish as it groweth and flourisheth. I live as it liveth. I snuff the air as it snuffeth the air.

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART OF A MAN BE SNATCHED AWAY FROM HIM IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- Get thee back, O messenger of every god! Art thou come to [snatch away] my heart-case which liveth? My heart-case which liveth shall not be given unto thee. [As] I advance, the gods hearken unto my propitiation [prayer] and they fall down on their faces [whilst] they are on their own land.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu)

THE CHAPTER OF NOT ALLOWING THE HEART....
TO BE CARRIED AWAY DEAD IN KHERT-NETER. [Nu, whose word is truth, saith]:- My heart is with me, and it shall never come to pass that it be carried away. I am the Lord of Hearts, the slayer of the heart-case. I live in truth, I have my being therein. I am Horus, the Dweller in Hearts, [I am] in the Dweller in the body. I have life by my word, my heart hath being. My heart-case shall not be snatched away from me, it shall not be wounded, it shall not be put in restraint if wounds are inflicted upon me. [If] one take possession of it I shall have my being in the body of my father Keb and in the body of my mother Nut. I have not done that which is held in abomination by the gods. I shall not suffer defeat [for] my word is truth

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART-CASE OF A MAN BE TAKEN AWAY FROM HIM IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail, ye who steal and crush heart-cases [and who make the heart of a man to go through its transformations according to his deeds: let not what he hath done harm him before youl. Homage to you, O ve Lords of Eternity, ye masters of everlastingness, take ye not this heart of Osiris Ani into your fingers, and this heart-case, and cause ye not things of evil to spring up against it, because this heart belongeth to the Osiris Ani, and this heart-case belongeth to him of the great names (Thoth), the mighty one, whose words are his members. He sendeth his heart to rule his body, and his heart is renewed before the gods. The heart of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is to him; he hath gained the mastery over it. He hath not said what he hath done. He hath obtained power over his own members. His heart obeyeth him, he is the lord thereof, it is in his body, and it shall never fall away therefrom. I command thee to be obedient unto me in Khert-Neter. I, the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in peace; whose word is truth in the Beautiful Amentet, by the Domain of Eternity.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 5)

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART OF NU, WHOSE WORD IS TRUTH, BE CARRIED AWAY FROM HIM IN KHERT-NETER. He saith:- Hail, thou Lion-god! I am Unb (the Blossom). That which is held in abomination to me is the block of slaughter of the god. Let not this my heart-case be carried away from me by the Fighting Gods in Anu. Hail, thou who dost wind bandages round Osiris, and who hast seen Set. Hail, thou who returnest

after smiting and destroying him before the mighty ones! This my heart weepeth over itself before Osiris: it hath made supplication for me. I have given unto him and I have dedicated unto him the thoughts of the heart in the House of the god (Usekh-her), have brought unto him sand at the entry to Khemenu. Let not this my heart-case be carried away from me. I make you to ascend his throne, to fetter heart-cases for him in Sekhet-hetep, [to live] years of strength away from things of all kinds which are abominations to him, to carry off food from among the things which are thine, and which are in thy grasp through thy strength. And this my heart-case is devoted to the decrees of the god Tem, who guideth me through the caverns of Suti, but let not this my heart, which hath performed its desire before the Tchatcha Chiefs who are in Khert-Neter, be given to him. When they find the leg and the swathings they bury them.

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART OF NU, WHOSE WORD IS TRUTH, BE DRIVEN AWAY FROM HIM IN KHERT-NETER. He saith: My heart of my mother. My heart case of my existence upon the earth. Let no one stand up against me when I bear testimony in the presence of the Lords of Things. Let it not be said against me and of that which I have done "He hath committed acts which are opposed to what is right and true," and let not charges be brought up against me in the presence of the Great God, the Lord of Amentet. Homage to thee, O my heart (ab). Homage to thee, O my heart-case. Homage to you, O my reins. Homage to you, O ye gods, who are masters of [your] beards, and who are holy by reason of your sceptres. Speak ye for me words of good import to Ra, and make ye me to have favour in the sight of Nehebkau.

THE CHAPTER OF BREATHING THE AIR AND OF HAVING POWER OVER WATER IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- Open to me! Who art thou? Whither goest thou? What is thy name? I am one of you. Who are these with you? The two Merti goddesses (Isis and Nephthys). Thou separatest head from head when [he] entereth the divine Mesqen chamber. He causeth me to set out for the temple of the gods Kem-heru. "Assembler of souls" is the name of my ferry-boat. "Those who make the hair to bristle" is the name of the oars. "Sert" ("Goad") is the name of the hold. "Steering straight in the middle" is the name of the rudder; likewise, [the boat] is a type of my being borne onward in the lake. Let there be given unto me vessels of milk, and cakes, and loaves of bread, and cups of drink, and flesh, in the Temple of Anpu.

RUBRIC: If the deceased knoweth this Chapter, he shall go into, after coming forth from Khert-Neter of [the Beautiful Amentet].

THE CHAPTER OF SNUFFING THE AIR, AND OF HAVING POWER OVER THE WATER IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail, thou Sycamore tree of the goddess Nut! Give me of the [water and of the] air which is in thee. I embrace that throne which is in Unu, and I keep guard over the Egg of Nekek-ur. It flourisheth, and I flourish; it liveth, and I live; it snuffeth the air, and I snuff the air, I the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in [peace].

THE CHAPTER OF NOT DYING A SECOND TIME IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- My hiding place is opened, my hiding place is opened. The Spirits fall headlong in the darkness, but the Eye of Horus hath made me holy, and Upuati hath nursed me. I will hide myself among you, O ye stars which are imperishable. My brow is like the brow of Ra. My face is open. My heart-case is upon its throne, I know how to utter words. In very truth I am Ra himself. I am not a man of no account. I am not a man to whom violence can be done. Thy father liveth for thee, O son of Nut. I am thy son, O great one, I have seen the hidden things which are thine. I am crowned upon my throne like the king of the gods. I shall not die a second time in Khert-Neter.

THE CHAPTER OF NOT ROTTING IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- O thou who art motionless, O thou who art motionless, O thou whose members are motionless, like unto those of Osiris. Thy members shall not be motionless, hey shall not rot, they shall not crumble away, they shall not fall into decay. My members shall be made [permanent] for me as if I were Osiris.

RUBRIC: If this Chapter be known by the deceased he shall never see corruption in Khert-Neter.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 18)

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE BODY PERISH. The Osiris Nu saith:- Homage to thee, O my divine father Osiris! I come to embalm thee. Do thou embalm these my members, for I would not perish and come to an end [but would be] even like unto my divine father Khepera, the divine type of him that never saw corruption. Come then, strengthen my breath, O Lord of the winds, who dost magnify these divine beings who are like unto thyself. Stablish me, stablish

me, and fashion me strongly, O Lord of the funeral chest. Grant thou that I may enter into the land of everlastingness, according to that which was done for thee, along with thy father Tem, whose body never saw corruption, and who himself never saw corruption. I have never done that which thou hatest, nay, I have acclaimed thee among those who love thy KA. Let not my body become worms, but deliver thou me as thou didst deliver thyself. I pray thee, let me not fall into rottenness, as thou lettest every god, and every goddess, and every animal, and every reptile, see corruption, when the soul hath gone out of them, after their death.

And when the soul hath departed, a man seeth corruption, and the bones of his body crumble away and become stinking things, and the members decay one after the other, the bones crumble into a helpless mass, and the flesh turneth into foetid liquid. Thus man becometh a brother unto the decay which cometh upon him, and he turneth into a myriad of worms, and he becometh nothing but worms, and an end is made of him, and perisheth in the sight of the god of day (Shu), even as do every god, and every goddess, and every bird, and every fish, and every creeping worm, and every reptile, and every beast, and every thing whatsoever. Let [all the Spirits fall] on their bellies [when] they recognize me, and behold, the fear of me shall terrify them; and thus also let it be with every being that hath died, whether it be animal, or bird, or fish, or worm, or reptile. Let life [rise out of] death. Let not the decay caused by any reptile make an end [of me], and let not [enemies] come against me in their various forms. Give thou me not over to the Slaughterer in this execution-chamber, who killeth the members, and maketh them rot, being [himself] invisible, and who destroyeth the bodies of the dead, and liveth by carnage. Let me live, and perform his order; I will do what is commanded by him. Give me not over to his fingers, let him not overcome me, for I am under thy command, O Lord of the

Homage to thee, O my divine father Osiris, thou livest with thy members. Thou didst not decay, thou didst not become worms, thou didst not wither, thou didst not rot, thou didst not putrefy, thou didst not turn into worms. I am the god Khepera, and my members shall have being everlastingly. I shall not decay, I shall not rot, I shall not putrefy, I shall not turn into worms, and I shall not see corruption before the eve of the god Shu. I shall have my being, I shall have by being; I shall live, I shall live; I shall flourish, I shall flourish, I shall flourish, I shall wake up in peace, I shall not putrefy, my intestines shall not perish, I shall not suffer injury. My eye shall not decay. The form of my face shall not disappear. My ear shall not become deaf. My head shall not be separated from my neck. My tongue shall not be removed. My hair shall not be cut off. My eyebrows shall not be shaved away, and no evil defect shall assail me. My body shall be stablished. It shall neither become a ruin, nor be destroyed on this earth.

THE CHAPTER OF NOT PERISHING AND OF BEING ALIVE IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail ye children of the god Shu. The Tuat hath gained the mastery over his diadem. Among the Hamemet Spirits may I arise, even as did arise Osiris

THE CHAPTER OF NOT GOING IN TO THE BLOCK OF THE GOD. The Osiris Ani saith: My head was fastened on my body in heaven, O Guardian of the Earth, by Ra. [This] was granted [to me] on the day of my being stablished, when I rose up out of a state of weakness upon [my] two feet. On the day of cutting off the hair Set and the Company of the Gods fastened my head to my neck, and it became as firm as it was originally. Let nothing happen to shake it off again! Make ye me safe from the murderer of my father. I have tied together the Two Earths. Nut hath fastened together the vertebrae of my neck, and [I] behold them as they were originally, and they are seen in the order wherein they were when as yet Maat was not seen, and when the gods were not born in visible forms. I am Penti. I am the heir of the great gods, I the Osiris the scribe Ani. whose word is truth.

THE CHAPTER OF NOT BEING TRANSPORTED TO THE EAST IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail, Phallus of Ra, which advanceth and beateth down opposition. Things which have been without motion for millions of years have come into life through Baba. I am stronger thereby than the strong, and I have more power thereby than the mighty. Now, let me not be carried away in a boat, or be seized violently and taken to the East, to have the festivals of Sebau Devils celebrated on me. Let not deadly wounds be inflicted upon me, and let me not be gored by horns. Thou shalt neither fall [nor] eat fish made by Tebun.

Now, no evil thing of any kind whatsoever shall be done unto me by the Sebau Devils. [I shall not be gored by] horns. Therefore the Phallus of Ra, [which is] the head of Osiris, shall not be swallowed up. Behold, I shall come into me fields and I shall cut the grain. The gods shall provide me with food. Thou shalt not then be gored, Ra-Khepera. There shall not be then pus in the Eye of Tem, and it shall not be destroyed. Violence shall not be done unto me, and I shall not be carried

away in [my] boat to the East to have the festivals of the Sebau Devils celebrated on me in evil fashion. Cruel gashes with knives shall not be inflicted upon me, and I shall not be carried away in [my] boat to the East. I the Osiris, the assessor of the holy offerings of all the gods, Ani, whose word is truth, happily, the lord of fealty [to Osiris].

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEAD OF A MAN BE CUT OFF FROM HIS BODY IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- I am a Great One, the son of a Great One. [I am] Fire, the son of Fire, to whom was given his head after it had been cut off. The head of Osiris was not removed from his body, and the head of Osiris Ani shall not be removed from his body. I have knitted myself together, I have made myself whole and complete. I shall renew my youth. I am Osiris Himself, the Lord of Eternity.

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE SOUL TO BE JOINED TO ITS BODY IN KHERT- NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail, thou god Aniu! Hail, thou god Pehreri, who dwellest in thy hall, the Great God, Grant thou that my soul may come to me from any place wherein it may be. Even if it would tarry, let my soul be brought unto me from any place wherein it may be. Thou findest the Eye of Horus standing by thee like unto those beings who resemble Osiris, who never lie down in death. Let not the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, lie down dead among those who lie in Anu, the land wherein Isouls are joined to their bodies in thousands. Let me have possession of my Ba-soul and of my Spirit-soul, and let my word be truth with it (the Ba-soul) in every place wherein it may be. Observe then, O ye guardians of Heaven, my soul [wherever it may be]. Even if it would tarry, cause thou my Ba-soul to see my body. Thou shalt find the Eye of Horus standing by thee like [the Watchers].

Hail, ye gods who tow along the boat of the Lord of Millions of Years, who bring it over the sky of the Tuat, who make it to journey over Nent, who make Ba-souls to enter into their Spirit-bodies, whose hands hold the steering poles and guide it straight, who grasp tightly your paddles, destroy ye the Enemy; thus shall the Boat rejoice, and the Great God shall travel on his way in peace. Moreover, grant ye that the Ba-soul of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth before the gods, may come forth with your navel cords in the eastern part of the sky, and that it may follow Ra to the place where he was yesterday, and may set in peace, in peace in Amentet. May it gaze upon its earthly body, may it take up its abode and its Spirit-body, may it neither perish nor be destroyed for ever and for ever.

RUBRIC: These words shall be said over a model of the Basoul made of gold, and inlaid with precious stones, which shall be placed on the breast of the Osiris.

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE SOUL OF A MAN BE HELD CAPTIVE IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail, thou who art exalted! Hail, thou who art adored! Hail, Mighty One of Souls, thou divine Soul who inspirest great dread, who dost set the fear of thyself in the gods, who are enthroned upon thy mighty seat. Make thou a path for the Spirit-soul and the Ba-soul of the Osiris Ani. I am equipped with [words of power]. I am a Spirit-soul equipped with [words of power]. I have made my way to the place where are Ra and Hathor.

RUBRIC: If this Chapter be known by the deceased he shall be able to transform himself into a Spirit-soul who shall be equipped with [his soul and his shadow] in Khert-Neter, and he shall not be shut up inside any door in Amentet, when he is coming forth upon the Earth, or when he is going back into [Khert-Neter.]

THE CHAPTER OF OPENING THE TOMB TO THE BA-SOUL AND THE SHADOW, AND OF COMING FORTH BY DAY, AND OF HAVING MASTERY OVER THE TWO LEGS. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:-The place which is closed is opened, the place which is shut (or sealed) is sealed. That which lieth down in the closed place is opened by the Ba-soul which is in it. By the Eye of Horus I am delivered. Ornaments are stablished on the brow of Ra. My stride is made long. I lift up my two thighs [in walking]. I have journeyed over a long road. My limbs are in a flourishing condition. I am Horus, the Avenger of his Father, and I bring the Urrt Crown [and set it on] its standard. The road of souls is opened. My twin soul seeth the Great God in the Boat of Ra, on the day of souls. My soul is in the front thereof with the counter of the years. Come, the Eye of Horus hath delivered for me my soul, my ornaments are stablished on the brow of Ra. Light is on the faces of those who are in the members of Osiris. Ye shall not hold captive my soul. Ye shall not keep in durance my shadow. The way is open to my soul and to my shadow. It seeth the Great God in the shrine on the day of counting souls. It repeateth the words of Osiris. Those whose seats are invisible, who fetter the members of Osiris, who fetter Heart-souls and Spirit-souls, who set a seal upon the dead, and who would do evil to me, shall do no evil to me. Haste on the way to me. Thy heart is with thee. My Heart-soul

and my Spirit-soul are equipped; they guide thee. I sit down at the head of the great ones who are chiefs of their abodes. The wardens of the members of Osiris shall not hold the captive, though they keep ward over souls, and set a seal on the shadow which is dead. Heaven shall not shut thee in.

RUBRIC: If this Chapter be known by the deceased he shall come forth by day, and his soul shall not be kept captive.

APPENDIX (From the Papryus of Nebseni, Sheet 6)

That which was shut hath been opened [that is] the dead That which was shut fast hath been opened by the command of the Eye of Horus, which hath delivered me. Established are the beauties on the forehead of Ra. My steps are long. My legs are lifted up. I have performed the journey, my members are mighty and are sound. I am Horus, the Avenger of his Father. I am he who bringeth along his father, and his mother, by means of his staff. The way shall be opened to him that hath power over his feet, and he shall see the Great God in the Boat of Ra, when souls are counted therein at the bows, and when the years also are counted up. Grant that the Eye of Horus, which maketh the adornments of splendour to be firm on the forehead of Ra, may deliver my soul for me, and let darkness cover your faces, O ye who would imprison Osiris. O keep not captive my soul. O keep not ward over my shadow, but let a way be opened for my soul and my shadow, and let them see the Great God in the shrine on the day of the counting of souls, and let them hold converse with Osiris, whose habitations are hidden, and those who guard the members of Osiris, and who keep ward over the Spirit-souls, and who hold captive the shadows of the dead, and who would work evil against me, so that they shall [not] work evil against me. A way shall be for KA with thee, and thy soul shall be prepared by those who keep ward over the members of Osiris. and who hold captive the shadows of the dead. Heaven shall not keep thee fast, the earth shall not hold thee captive. Thou shalt not live with the beings who slav, but thou shalt be master of thy legs, and thou shalt advance to thy body straightway in the earth, [and to] those who belong to the shrine of Osiris and guard his members.

THE CHAPTER OF LIFTING UP THE FEET, AND OF COMING FORTH ON THE EARTH. The Osiris Ani saith: Perform thy work, O Seker, perform thy work, O Seker, thou who dwellest in thy circle, and who dwellest in my feet in Khert-Neter. I am he who sendeth forth light over the Thigh of heaven. I come forth in heaven. I sit down by the Light-god (Khu). O I am helpless. O I am helpless. I would walk. I am helpless. I am helpless in the regions of those who plunder in Khert-Neter, I the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in peace.

THE CHAPTER OF FORCING A WAY INTO AMENTET [AND OF COMING FORTH] BY DAY. The Osiris Ani saith:- The town of Unu is opened. My head is sealed up, Thoth. Perfect is the Eye of Horus. I have delivered the Eye of Horus which shineth with splendours on the brow of Ra, the Father of the gods, [I am] that self-same Osiris, [the dweller in] Amentet. Osiris knoweth his day, and he knoweth that he shall live through his period of life; I shall have by being with him. I am the Moon-god Aah, the dweller among the gods. I shall not come to an end. Stand up therefore, O Horus, for thou art counted among the gods.

APPENDIX (Naville, op. cit., I, Bl. X)

THE CHAPTER OF FORCING A WAY INTO THE TUAT. The Am Khent priest Nefer- uben-f, whose word is truth, saith:- Hail, Soul, thou mighty one of terror. Behold, I have come unto thee. I see thee. I have forced a way through the Tuat. I see my father Osiris. I drive away the darkness. I love him. I have come. I see my father Osiris. He hath counted the heart of Set. I have made offerings for my father Osiris. I have opened all the ways in heaven and on earth. I love him. I have come. I have become a Spirit-body and a Spirit-soul, who is equipped. Hail, every god and every Spirit-soul, I have made the ways. I am Thoth....

ANOTHER CHAPTER OF THE TUAT AND OF COMING FORTH BY DAY.

Open is the land of Unu. Shut is the head of Thoth. Perfect is the Eye of Horus. I have delivered the Eye of Horus, the shining one, the ornament of the Eye of Ra, the Father of the Gods. I am that same Osiris who dwelleth in Amentet. Osiris knoweth his day, which cometh to an end. I am Set, the Father of the Gods. I shall never come to an end.

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY AND OF LIVING AFTER DEATH. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail, thou One, who shinest from the moon. Hail, thou One, who shinest from the moon. Grant that this Osiris Ani may come forth among thy multitudes who are at the portal. Let him be with the Light-God. Let the Tuat be opened to him. Behold, the Osiris Ani shall come forth by day to perform everything which he wisheth upon the earth among those who are living [thereon].

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 13)

Hail, thou god Tem, who comest forth from the Great Deep, who shinest gloriously under the form of the twin Lion-gods, send forth with might thy words unto those who are in thy presence, and let the Osiris Nu enter into their assembly. He hath performed the decree which hath been spoken to the mariners at eventide, and the Osiris Nu, whose word is truth, shall live after his death, even as doth Ra every day. Behold, most certainly Ra was born yesterday, and the Osiris Nu was born yesterday. And every god shall rejoice in the life of the Osiris Nu, even as they rejoice in the life of Ptah, when he appeareth from the Great House of the Aged One which is in Anu.

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY AFTER FORCING AN ENTRANCE THROUGH THE AAMHET. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail, Soul, thou mighty one of terror! Verily, I am here. I have come. I behold thee. I have passed through the Tuat. I have seen Father Osiris. I have scattered the gloom of night. I am his beloved one. I have come, I have seen my Father Osiris. I have stabbed the heart of Suti. I have made offerings to my Father Osiris. I have opened every way in heaven and on the earth. I am the son who loveth his Fathers (sic) Osiris. I am a Spirit-body. I am a Spirit-soul. I am equipped. Hail, every god and every Spirit-soul. I have made the way [to Osiris]. I the Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth.

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING A MAN TO RETURN TO LOOK UPON HIS HOUSE ON EARTH. The Osiris Ani saith:- I am the Lion-god who cometh forth with long strides. I have shot arrows, and I have wounded my prey. I have shot arrows, and I have wounded my prey. I am the Eye of Horus, I traverse the Eye of Horus at this season. I have arrived at the domains. Grant that the Osiris Ani may come in peace.

ANOTHER CHAPTER OF THE COMING FORTH OF A MAN BY DAY AGAINST HIS ENEMIES IN KHERT-NETER. [The Osiris Ani saith:-] I have divided the heavens. I have cleft the horizon. I have traversed the earth [following in] his footsteps. I have conquered the mighty Spirit-souls because I am equipped for millions of years with words of power. I eat with my mouth. I evacuate with my body. Behold, I am the God of the Tuat! Let these things be given unto me, the Osiris Ani, in perpetuity withou fail or diminution.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 21)

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH AGAINST ENEMIES IN KHERT-NETER. The Osiris Nu saith:- Hail, Am-a-f (Eater of his arm), I have passed over the road. I am Ra. I have come forth from the horizon against my enemies. I have not permitted him to escape from me. I have stretched out my hand like that of the Lord of the Urrt Crown. I have lifted up my feet even as the Uraei-goddesses lift themselves up. I have not permitted the enemy [to be saved] from me. As for mine enemy, he hath been given to me, and he shall not be delivered from me. I stand up like Horus. I sit down like Ptah. I am strong like Thoth. I am mighty like Tem. I walk with my legs. I speak with my mouth. I chase my enemy. He hath been given unto me, and he shall not be delivered from me.

A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RA WHEN HE RISETH UPON THE HORIZON, AND WHEN HE SETTETH IN THE LAND OF LIFE. Osiris the scribe Ani saith:- Homage to thee, O Ra, when thou risest as Tem-Heru-Khuti. Thou art to be adored. Thy beauties are before mine eyes, [thy] radiance is upon my body. Thou goest forth to thy setting in the Sektet Boat with [fair] winds, and thy heart is glad; the heart of the Matet Boat rejoiceth. Thou stridest over the heavens in peace, and all thy foes are cast down; the stars which never rest sing hymns of praise unto thee, and the stars which are imperishable glorify thee as thou sinkest to rest in the horizon of Manu, O thou who art beautiful at morn and at eve, O thou lord who livest, and art established, O my Lord!

Homage to thee, O thou who art Ra when thou risest, and who art Tem when thou settest in beauty. Thou risest and thou shinest on the back of thy mother [Nut], O thou who art crowned the king of the gods! Nut welcometh thee, and payeth homage unto thee, and Maat, the everlasting and never-changing goddess, embraceth thee at noon and at eve. Thou stridest over the heavens, being glad at heart, and the Lake of Testes is content. The Sebau-fiend hath fallen to the ground, his fore-legs and his hind-legs have been hacked off him, and the knife hath severed the joints of his back. Ra hath a fair wind, and the Sektet Boat setteth out on its journey, and saileth on until it cometh into port. The gods of the South, the gods of the North, the gods of the West, and the gods of the East praise thee O thou Divine Substance from whom all living things came into being. Thou didst send forth the word when the earth was submerged with silence, O thou Only One, who didst dwell in heaven before ever the earth and the mountains came into being. Hail, thou Runner, Lord, Only One, thou maker of the things that are, thou hast fashioned the tongue of the Company of the Gods, thou hast produced whatsoever cometh forth from the waters, thou springest up out of them above the submerged land of the Lake of Horus. Let me breathe the air which cometh forth from thy nostrils, and the north wind which cometh forth from thy mother Nut. Make thou my Spirit-soul to be glorious, O Osiris, make thou my Heart-soul to be divine. Thou art worshipped as thou settest, O Lord of the gods, thou art exalted by reason of thy wondrous works. Shine thou with the rays of light upon my body day by day, upon me, Osiris the scribe, the assessor of the divine offerings of all the gods, the overseer of the granary of the Lords of Abydos, the real royal scribe who loveth thee, Ani, whose word is truth, in peace.

Praise be unto thee, O Osiris, the Lord of Eternity, Un-Nefer, Heru-Khuti (Harmakhis), whose forms are manifold, whose attributes are majestic [Praise be unto thee], O thou who art Ptah-Seker-Tem in Anu, thou Lord of the hidden shrine, thou Creator of the House of the KA of Ptah (Het-ka-Ptah) and of the gods [therein], thou Guide of the Tuat, who art glorified when thou settest in Nu (the Sky). Isis embraceth thee in peace, and she driveth away the fiends from the entrances of thy paths. Thou turnest thy face towards Amentet, and thou makest the earth to shine as with refined copper. Those who have lain down in death rise up to see thee, they breathe the air, and they look upon thy face when the disk riseth on the horizon. Their hearts are at peace since they behold thee, o thou who art Eternity and Everlastingness.

THE SOLAR LITANY

Homage to you, O ye gods of the Dekans in Anu, and to you, O ye Hememet-spirits in Kher Aha, and to thee, O Unti, who art the most glorious of all the gods who are hidden in Anu, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

Homage to thee, O An in Antes, Heru-khuti, who dost with long strides march across the heavens, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

Homage to thee, O Everlasting Soul, thou Soul who dwellest in Tetu, Un-Nefer, the son of Nut, who art the Lord of Akert, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have done aught with deceit.

Homage to thee in thy dominion over Tetu, upon whose brow the Urrt Crown is established, thou One who createst the strength to protect thyself, and who dwellest in peace, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

Homage to thee, O Lord of the Acacia Tree, whose Seker Boat is set upon its sledge, who turnest back the Fiend, the Evildoer, and dost cause the Eye of Ra (utchat) to rest upon its seat, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

Homage to thee, O thou who art mighty in thine hour, thou great and mighty Prince who dost dwell in Anrutef, thou Lord of Eternity and Creator of the Everlastingness, thou Lord of Hensu, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

Homage to thee, O thou who restest upon Truth, thou Lord of Abtu, whose limbs form the substance of Ta-tchesert, unto whom fraud and deceit are abominations, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

Homage to thee, O thou who dwellest in thy boat, who dost bring Hapi (the Nile) forth from his cavern, whose body is the light, and who dwellest in Nekhen, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

Homage to thee, O thou Creator of the gods, thou King of the South and North, Osiris, whose word is truth, who rulest the world by thy gracious goodness, thou Lord of the Atebui, O grant thou unto me a path whereover I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken falsehood wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

APPENDIX (From the Saite Recension, ed. Lepsius, Bl. V) Homage to thee, O thou who comest as Tem, who didst come into being to create the Company of the Gods. Homage to thee, O thou who comest as the Soul of Souls, the Holy One in Amentet. Homage to thee, O President of the Gods, who illuminest the Tuat with thy beauties. Homage to thee, O thou who comest as the Light-god, who travellest in thy Disk. Homage to thee, O thou greatest of all gods, who are crowned King in heaven, Governor in the Tuat. Homage to thee, O thou who makest a way through the Tuat, who dost lead the

way through all doors. Homage to thee, O thou who art among the gods, who dost weigh words in Khert-Neter. Homage to thee, O thou who dwellest in thy secret places, who dost fashion the Tuat with thy might. Homage to thee, O great one, O mighty one, thine enemies have fallen in places where they were smitten. Homage to thee, O thou who hast hacked the Sebau-fiends in pieces, and hast annihilated Aapep. Grant thou the sweet breeze of the north wind to the Osiris Auf-ankh, whose word is truth.

A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RA WHEN HE RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN. Those who are in his following rejoice, and the Osiris, the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:-Hail, thou Disk, thou lord of rays, who risest on the horizon day by day. Shine thou with thy beams of light upon the face of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, for he singeth hymns of praise to thee at dawn, and he maketh thee to sit at eventide [with words of adoration]. May the soul of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, come forth with thee into heaven! May he set out with thee in the Matet Boat [in the morning], may he come into port in the Sektet Boat [in the evening], and may he cleave his path among the stars of heaven which never rest.

The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, being at peace [with his god], maketh adoration to his Lord, the Lord of Eternity, and saith:- Homage to thee, O Heru-khuti, who art the god Khepera, the self-created. When thou risest on the horizon and sheddest thy beams of light upon the Lands of the South and of the North, thou art beautiful, yea beautiful, and all the gods rejoice when they behold thee, the king of heaven. The goddess, the Lady of the Hour, is stablished upon thy head, her Uraei of the South and of the North are upon thy brow, and she taketh up her place before thee. The god Thoth is stablished in the bows of thy boat to destroy utterly all thy foes. Those who dwell in the Tuat come forth to meet thee, and they bow to the earth in homage as they come towards thee, to look upon thy beautiful Form. And I, Ani, have come into thy presence, so that I may be with thee, and may behold thy Disk every day. Let me not be kept captive [by the tomb], and let me not be turned back [on my way]. Let the members of my body be made new again when I contemplate thy beauties, even as are the members of all thy favoured ones, because I am one of those who worshipped thee upon earth. Let me arrive in the Land of Eternity, let me enter into the Land of Everlastingness. This, O my Lord, behold thou shalt ordain for me

AND MOREOVER, THE OSIRIS ANI, WHOSE WORD IS TRUTH, IN PEACE, THE TRUTH-SPEAKER, SAITH:-Homage to thee, O thou who risest on thy horizon in the form of Ra, who restest upon Law, [which can neither be changed nor altered]. Thou passest over the sky, and every face, watcheth thee and thy course, for thou thyself art hidden from their gaze. Thou dost show thyself [to them] at dawn and at eventide each day. The Sektet Boat, wherein Thy Majesty dwelleth, setteth forth on its journey with vigour. Thy beams [fall] upon all faces, thy light with its manifold colours is incomprehensible [to man], and thy brilliant rays cannot be reported. The Lands of the Gods see thee, they could write [concerning thee]; the Deserts of Punt could count thee. Thy creation is hidden. It is one by the opening of thy mouth. Thy form is the head of Nu. May he (Ani) advance, even as thou dost advance, without cessation, even as Thy Majesty [ceaseth not to advance] even for a moment. With great strides thou dost in one little moment pass over limitless distances which would need millions and hundreds of thousands of years [for a man to pass over; this] thou doest, and then thou sinkest to rest. Thou bringest to an end the hours of the night, even as thou stridest over them. Thou bringest them to an end by thine own ordinance, and dawn cometh on the earth. Thou settest thyself before thy handiwork in the form of Ra, and thou rollest up on the horizon...... Thou sendest forth light when thy form raiseth itself up, thou ordainest the increase of thy splendours. Thou mouldest thy limbs as thou advancest, thou bringest them forth, thou who wast never brought forth. in the form of Ra, who rolleth up into the height of heaven. Grant thou that I may reach the heaven of eternity, and the region where thy favoured ones dwell. May I unite with those holy and perfect Spirit-souls of Khert-Neter. May I come forth with them to behold thy beauties as thou rollest on at eventide, as thou journeyest to thy mother Nut (the Nightsky), and dost place thyself at the right hand (in the West). My two hands are raised to thee in praise and thanksgiving when thou settest in life. Behold, thou art the Creator of Eternity, who art adored when thou settest in Nu. I have set thee in my heart, without wavering, O thou who art more divine than the gods.

The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- Praise and thanksgiving be unto thee, O thou who rollest on like unto gold, thou Illuminer of the Two Lands on the day of thy birth. Thy mother brought thee forth on her hand, and thou didst light up with splendour the circle which is travelled over by the Disk. O Great Light who rollest across Nu, thou dost raise up the generations of men from the deep source of thy

waters, and dost make to keep festivals all districts and cities, and all habitations. Thou protectest [them] with thy beauties. Thy KA riseth up with the celestial food hu and tchefau. O thou mightily victorious one, thou Power of Powers, who makest strong thy throne against the sinful ones, whose risings on thy throne in the Sektet Boat are mighty, whose strength is widespread in the Atett Boat, make thou the Osiris Ani to be glorious by virtue of his word, which is truth, in Khert-Neter. Grant thou that he may be in Amentet free from evil, and let [his] offences be [set] behind thee. Grant thou that he may [live there] a devoted slave of the Spirit-souls. Let him mingle among the Heart-souls who live in Ta-tchesert (the Holy Land). Let him travel about in the Sekhet-Aaru (the Elysian Fields), conformably to [thy] decree with joy of heart-him the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth.

[And the god maketh answer]:--Thou shalt come forth into heaven, thou shalt sail over the sky, and thou shalt hold loving intercourse with the Star-gods. Praises shall be made to thee in the Boat. Thy name shall be proclaimed in the Atett Boat. Thou shalt look upon Ra within his shrine. Thou shalt make the Disk to set [with prayer] every day. Thou shalt see the Ant Fish in his transformations in the depths of the waters of turquoise. Thou shalt see the Abtu Fish in his time. It shall be that the Evil One shall fall when he deviseth a plan to destroy thee, and the joints of his neck and back shall be hacked asunder. Ra saileth with a fair wind, and the Sektet Boat progresseth and cometh into port. The mariners of Ra rejoice, and the heart of the Lady of the Hour is glad, for the enemy of her Lord hath been cast to the ground. Thou shalt behold Horus standing on the pilot's place in the Boat, and Thoth and Maat shall stand one on each side of him. All the gods shall rejoice when they behold Ra coming in peace to make the hearts of the Spirit- souls to live, and the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, the assessor of the holy offerings of the Lords of Thebes, shall be with them!

THE CHAPTER OF THE NEW MOON

THE FOLLOWING IS TO BE RECITED ON THE DAY OF THE MONTH (NEW MOON DAY). The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, in peace, whose word is truth, saith:- Ra ascendeth his throne on his horizon, and the Company of his Gods follow in his train. The God cometh forth from his hidden place, [and] tchefau food falleth from the eastern horizon of heaven at the word of Nut. They (the gods) rejoice over the paths of Ra, the Great Ancestor [as] he journeyeth round about. Therefore art thou exalted, O Ra, the dweller in thy Shrine. Thou swallowest the winds, thou drawest into thyself the north wind, thou eatest up the flesh of thy seat on the day when thou breathest truth. Thou dividest [it among] the gods who are [thy] followers. [Thy] Boat saileth on travelling among the Great Gods at thy word. Thou countest thy bones, thou gatherest together thy members, thou settest thy face towards Beautiful Amentet, and thou comest there, being made new every day. Behold, thou art that Image of Gold, thou hast the unitings of the disks of the sky, thou hast quakings, thou goest round about, and art made new each day. Hail! There is rejoicing in the horizon! The gods who dwell in the sky descend the ropes [of thy Boat] when they see the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, they ascribe praise unto him as unto Ra. The Osiris Ani is a Great Chief. [He] seeketh the Urrt Crown. His provisions are apportioned to him- the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, [His] fate is strong from the exalted body of the Aamu gods, who are in the presence of Ra. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is strong on the earth and in Khert-Neter. O Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, wake up, and be strong like unto Ra every day. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, shall not tarry, he shall not remain motionless in this land for ever. Right well shall he see with his two eyes, right well shall he hear with his two ears, the things which are true, the things which are true. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is in Anu, the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is as Ra, and he is exalted by reason of [his] oars among the Followers of Nu. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, cannot tell what he hath seen [or] narrate [what he hath heard] in the House of the God of Mysteries. Hail! Let there be shouts of acclamation of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, the divine body of Ra in the Boat of Nu, who beareth propitiatory offerings for the KA of the god of that which he loveth. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in peace, whose word is truth, is like Horus, the mighty one of transformations.

RUBRIC: This Chapter is to be recited over a boat seven cubits long, made of green stone of the Tchatchau. Make a heaven of stars, and purify it and cleanse it with natron and incense. Make then a figure of Ra upon a tablet of new stone in paint, and set it in the bows of the boat. Then make a figure of the deceased whom thou wilt make perfect, [and place it] in the boat. Make it to sail in the Boat of Ra, and Ra himself shall look upon it. Do not these things in the presence of any one except thyself, or thy father, or thy son. Then let them keep guard over their faces, and they shall see the deceased in Khert-Neter in the form of a messenger of Ra.

A HYMN TO RAIWHICH IS TO BE SUNGLON THE DAY OF THE MONTH (THE DAY OF THE NEW MOON) [WHEN] THE BOAT OF RA SAILETH. [The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:-] Homage to thee, O thou who dwellest in thy Boat. Thou rollest on, thou rollest on, thou sendest forth light, thou sendest forth light. Thou decreest rejoicing for [every] man for millions of years unto those who love him. Thou givest [thy] face to the Hememet spirits, thou god Khepera who dwellest in thy Boat. Thou hast overthrown the Fiend Aapep. O ye Sons of Keb, overthrow ye the enemies of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, and the fiends of destruction who would destroy the Boat of Ra. Horus hath cut off your heads in heaven. Ye who were in the forms of geese, your navel strings are on the earth. The animals are set upon the earth.... in the form of fish. Every male fiend and every female fiend shall be destroyed by the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth. Whether the fiends descend from out of heaven, or whether they come forth from the earth, or whether they advance on the waters, or whether they come from among the Star-gods, Thoth, [the son of Aner], coming forth from Anerti shall hack them to pieces. And the Osiris Ani shall make them silent and dumb. And behold ye, this god, the mighty one of slaughters, the terror of whom is most great, shall wash himself clean in your blood, and he shall bathe in your gore, and ye shall be destroyed by the Osiris Ani in the Boat of his Lord Ra-Horus. The heart of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, shall live. His mother Isis giveth birth to him, and Nephthys nurseth him, just as Isis gave birth to Horus, and Nephthys nursed him. [He] shall repulse the Smait fiends of Suti. They shall see the Urrt Crown stablished upon his head, and they shall fall down upon their faces [and worship him]. Behold, O ye Spirit-souls, and men, and gods, and ye dead, when ye see the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in the form of Horus, and the favoured one of the Urrt Crown, fall ye down upon your faces. The word of the Osiris Ani is truth before his enemies in heaven above, and on earth beneath, and before the Tchatchau Chiefs of every god and of every goddess.

RUBRIC: This Chapter shall be recited over a large hawk standing upright with the White Crown upon his head, [and over figures of] Tem, Shu, Tefnut, Keb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, [Suti] and Nephthys. And they shall be painted in colour upon a new tablet, which shall be placed in a boat, together with a figure of the deceased. Anoint them with heken oil, and offer unto them burning incense, and geese, and joints of meat roasted. It is an act of praise to Ra as he journeyeth in his boat, and it will make a man to have his being with Ra, and to travel with him wheresoever he goeth, and it will most certainly cause the enemies of Ra to be slain. And the Chapter of travelling shall be recited on the sixth day of the festival.

APPENDIX (From the Turin Papyrus)

ANOTHER CHAPTER WHICH IS TO BE RECITED WHEN THE MOON RENEWETH ITSELF ON THE DAY OF THE MONTH [WHEREON IT DOETH THIS]. Osiris unfettereth the storm-cloud in the body of heaven, and is unfettered himself; Horus is made strong happily each day. He whose transformations are many hath had offerings made unto him at the moment, and he hath made an end of the storm which is in the face of the Osiris, Auf-ankh, whose word is truth. Verily, he cometh, and he is Ra in journeying, and he is the four celestial gods in the heavens above. The Osiris Auf-ankh, whose word is truth, cometh forth in his day, and he embarketh among the tackle of the boat.

RUBRIC: If this Chapter be known by the deceased he shall become a perfect Spirit-soul in Khert-Neter, and he shall not die a second time, and he shall eat his food side by side with Osiris. If this Chapter be known by the deceased upon earth, he shall become like unto Thoth, and he shall be adored by those who live. He shall not fall headlong at the moment of the intensity of the royal flame of the goddess Bast, and the Great Prince shall make him to advance happily.

CHAPTER OF ADVANCING TO THE TCHATCHAU CHIEFS OF OSIRIS. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I have built a house for my Ba-soul in the sanctuary in Tetu. I sow seed in the town of Pe (Buto). I have ploughed the fields with my labourers. My palm tree [standeth upright and is] like Menu upon it. I abominate abominable things. I will not eat the things which are abominations unto me. What I abominate is filth: I will not eat it. I shall not be destroyed by the offerings of propitiation and the sepulchral meals. I will not approach filth [to touch it] with my hands, I will not tread upon it with my sandals. For my bread shall be made of the white barley, and my ale shall be made from the red grain of the god Hapi (the Nile-god), which the Sektet Boat and the Atett Boat shall bring [unto me], and I will eat my food under the leaves of the trees whose beautiful arms I myself do know. O what splendour shall the White Crown make for me which shall be lifted up on me by the Uraei-goddesses! O Doorkeeper of Sehetep-taui, bring thou to me that wherewith the cakes of propitiation are made. Grant thou to me that I may lift up the earth. May the Spiritsouls open to me [their] arms, and let the Company of the

Gods hold their peace whilst the Hememet spirits hold converse with the Osiris Ani. May the hearts of the gods lead him in his exalted state into heaven among the gods who appear in visible forms. If any god, or any goddess, attack the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, when he setteth out, the Ancestor of the year who liveth upon hearts [Osiris] shall eat him when he cometh forth from Abydos, and the Ancestors of Ra shall reckon with him, and the Ancestors of Light shall reckon with him. [He is] a god of splendour [arrayed in] the apparel of heaven, and he is among the Great Gods. Now the subsistence of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is among the cakes and the ale which are made for your mouths. I enter in by the Disk, I come forth by the god Ahui. I shall hold converse with the Followers of the Gods. I shall hold converse with the Disk, I shall hold converse with the Hememet-spirits. He shall set the terror of me in the thick darkness, in the inside of the goddess Mehurt, by the side of his forehead. Behold, I shall be with Osiris, and my perfection shall be his perfection among the Great Gods. I shall speak unto him with the words of men, I shall listen, and he shall repeat to me the words of the gods. I. the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in peace, have come equipped. Thou makest to approach [thee] those who love thee. I am a Spirit-soul who is better equipped than any [other] Spirit-soul.

CHAPTER OF MAKING TRANSFORMATION INTO A SWALLOW. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I am a swallow, [I am] a swallow. [I am] that Scorpion, the daughter of Ra. Hail, O ye gods whose odour is sweet. Hail, O ye gods whose odour is sweet. Hail, Flame, who comest forth from the horizon. Hail, thou who art in the city. I have brought the Warder of his corner there. Give me thy two hands, and let me pass my time in the Island of Flame. I have advanced with a message, I have come having the report thereof [to make]. Open to me. How shall I tell that which I have seen there? I am like Horus, the governor of the Boat, when the throne of his father was given unto him, and when Set, that son of Nut, was [lying] under the fetters which he had made for Osiris. He who is in Sekhem hath inspected me. I stretch out my arms over Osiris. I have advanced for the examination. I have come to speak there. Let me pass on and deliver my message. I am he who goeth in, II am] judged, [I] come forth magnified at the Gate of Nebertcher. I am purified at the Great Uart. I have done away my wickednesses. I have put away utterly my offences. I have put away utterly all the taints of evil which appertained to me [upon the earth]. I have purified myself, I have made myself to be like a god. Hail, O ye Doorkeepers, I have completed my journey. I am like unto you. I have come forth by day. I have advanced on my legs. I have gained the master over [my] footsteps. [Hail, ye] Spirit-souls! I, even I, do know the hidden roads and the Gates of Sekhet Aaru. I live there. Verily, I, even I, have come, I have overthrown my enemies upon the earth, although my body lieth a mummy in the tomb. APPENDIX

RUBRIC: (Naville, op. cit., II, Bl. 202) If this Chapter be known by the deceased, he shall enter in after he hath come forth by day.

RUBRIC: (Saite Recension)

If this Chapter be known by the deceased, he shall come forth by day from Khert-Neter, and he shall go [again] after he hath come forth. If this Chapter be not known [by the deceased], he shall not go in again after he hath come forth [and he] shall not know [how] to come forth by day.

CHAPTER] OF TRANSFORMATION INTO A HAWK OF GOLD. The Osiris Ani saith:- I have risen up out of the seshett chamber, like the golden hawk which cometh forth from his egg. I fly. I alight like a hawk with a back of seven cubits, and the wings of which are like unto the mother-of-emerald of the South. I have come forth from the Sektet Boat, and my heart hath been brought unto me from the mountain of the East. I have alighted on the Atet Boat, and there have been brought unto me those who dwelt in their substance, and they bowed in homage before me. I have risen. I have gathered myself together like a beautiful golden hawk, with the head of the Benu, and Ra hath entered in [to hear my speech]. I have taken my seat among the great gods, [the children of] Nut. I have settled myself, the Sekhet-hetepet (the Field of Offerings) is before me. I eat therein, I become a Spirit-soul therein, I am supplied with food in abundance therein, as much as I desire. The Grain-god (Nepra) hath given unto me food for my throat, and I am master over myself and over the attributes of

[THE CHAPTER OF] MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO A DIVINE HAWK. The Osiris Ani saith:- Hail, thou Great God, come thou to Tetu. Make thou ready for me the ways, and let me go round [to visit] my thrones. I have laboured. I have made myself perfect. O grant thou that I may be held in fear. Create thou awe of me. Let the gods of the Tuat be afraid of me, and let them fight for me in their halls. Permit not thou to come nigh unto me him that

would attack me, or would injure me in the House of Darkness, Cover over the helpless one, hide him, Let do likewise the gods who hearken unto the word [of truth], the Khepriu gods who are in the following of Osiris. Hold ye your peace then, O ye gods, whilst the God holdeth speech with me, he who listeneth to the truth. I speak unto him my words. Osiris, grant thou that that which cometh forth from thy mouth may circulate to me. Let me see thine own Form. Let thy Souls envelop me. Grant thou that I may come forth, and that I may be master of my legs, and let me live there like Nebertcher upon his throne. Let the gods of the Tuat hold me in fear, and let them fight for me in their halls. Grant thou that I may move forward with him and with the Ariu gods, and let me be firmly stablished on my pedestal like the Lord of Life. Let me be in the company of Isis, the goddess, and let [the gods] keep me safe from him that would do an injury unto me. Let none come to see the helpless one. May I advance, and may I come to the Henti boundaries of the sky. Let me address words to Keb, and let me make supplicaion to the god Hu with Nebertcher. Let the gods of the Tuat be afraid of me, and let them fight for me in their halls. Let them see that thou hast provided me with food for the festival. I am one of those Spirit-souls who dwell in the Light-god. I have made my form in his Form, when he cometh to Tetu. I am a Spirit-body among his Spirit- bodies; he shall speak unto thee the things [which concern] me. Would that he would cause me to be held in fear! Would that he would create [in them] awe of me! Let the gods of the Tuat be afraid of me, and let them fight for me fin their hallsl. I. even I. am a Spirit-soul, a dweller in the Light-god, whose form hath been created in divine flesh. I am one of those Spirit-souls who dwell in the Light-god, who were created by Tem himself, and who exist in the blossoms of his Eye. He hath made to exist, he hath made glorious, and he hath magnified their faces during their existence with him. Behold, he is Alone in Nu. They acclaim him when he cometh forth from the horizon, and the gods and the Spirit-souls who have come into being with him ascribe fear unto him.

I am one of the worms which have been created by the Eye of the Lord One. And behold, when as yet Isis had not given birth to Horus, I was flourishing, and I had waxed old, and had become pre-eminent among the Spirit-souls who had come into being with him. I rose up like a divine hawk, and Horus endowed me with a Spirit-body with his soul, so that [I] might take possession of the property of Osiris in the Tuat. He shall say to the twin Lion-gods for me, the Chief of the House of the Nemes Crown, the Dweller in his cavern: Get thee back to the heights of heaven, for behold, inasmuch as thou art a Spirit-body with the creations of Horus, the Nemes Crown shall not be to thee: [but] thou shalt have speech even to the uttermost limits of the heavens. I, the warder, took possession of the property of Horus [which belonged] to Osiris in the Tuat, and Horus repeated to me what his father Osiris had said unto him in the years [past], on the days of his burial. Give thou to me the Nemes Crown, say the twin Lion-gods for me. Advance thou, come along the road of heaven, and look upon those who dwell in the uttermost limits of the horizon. The gods of the Tuat shall hold thee in fear, and they shall fight for thee in their halls. The god Auhet belongeth to them. All the gods who guard the shrine of the Lord One are smitten with terror at [my] words.

Hail, saith the god who is exalted upon his coffer to me! He hath bound on the Nemes Crown, [by] the decree of the twin Lion-gods. The god Aahet hath made a way for me. I am exalted [on the coffer], the twin Lion-gods have bound the Nemes Crown on me and my two locks of hair are given unto me. He hath stablished for me my heart by his own flesh, and by his great, two-fold strength, and I shall not fall headlong before Shu. I am Hetep, the Lord of the two Uraei-goddesses who are to be adored. I know the Light-god, his winds are in my body. The Bull which striketh terror [into souls] shall not repulse me. I come daily into the House of the twin Lion-gods. I come forth therefrom into the House of Isis. I look upon the holy things which are hidden. I see the being who is therein. I speak to the great ones of Shu, they repulse him that is wrathful in his hour. I am Horus who dwelleth in his divine Light, I am master of his crown, I am master of his radiance, I advance towards the Henti boundaries of heaven. Horus is upon his seat. Horus is upon his thrones. My face is like that of a divine hawk. I am one who is equipped [like] his lord. I shall come forth to Tetu. I shall see Osiris. I shall live in his actual presence.... Nut. They shall see me. I shall see the gods landl the Eye of Horus burning with fire before my eyes. They shall reach out their hands to me. I shall stand up. I shall be master of him that would subject me to restraint. They shall open the holy paths to me, they shall see my form, they shall listen to my words.

[Homage] to you, O ye gods of the Tuat, whose faces are turned back, whose powers advance, conduct ye me to the Star-gods which never rest. Prepare ye for me the holy ways to the Hemat house, and to your god, the Soul, who is the mighty one of terror. Horus hath commanded me to lift up your faces; do ye look upon me. I have risen up like a divine hawk. Horus hath made me to be a Spirit-body by means of

his Soul, and to take possession of the things of Osiris in the Tuat. Make ye for me a path. I have travelled and I have arrived at those who are chiefs of their caverns, and who are guardians of the House of Osiris. I speak unto them his mighty deeds. I made them to know concerning his victories. He is ready [to butt with his] two horns at Set. They know him who hath taken possession of the god Hu, and who hath taken possession of the Powers of Tem.

Travel thou on thy way safely, cry out the gods of the Tuat to me. O ye who make your names pre-eminent, who are chiefs in your shrines, and who are guardians of the House of Osiris, grant, I pray you, that I may come to you. I have bound up and I have gathered together your Powers. I have directed the Powers of the ways, the wardens of the horizon, and of the Hemat House of heaven. I have stablished their fortresses for Osiris. I have prepared the ways for him. I have performed the things which [he] hath commanded. I come forth to Tetu. I see Osiris. I speak to him concerning the matter of his Great Son, whom he loveth, and concerning [the smitting of] the heart of Set. I look upon the lord who was helpless. How shall I make them to know the plans of the gods, and that which Horus did without the knowledge of his father Osiris?

Hail, Lord, thou Soul, most awful and terrible, behold me. I have come, I make thee to be exalted! I have forced a way though the Tuat. I have opened the roads which appertain to heaven, and those which appertain to the earth, and no one hath opposed me therein. I have exalted thy face, O Lord of Eternity.

APPENDIX (In the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 14, the Chapter ends with the following.)

Exalted art thou on thy throne, O Osiris! Thou hast heard fair things, O Osiris! Thy strength is vigorous, O Osiris! Thy head is fastened on thy body, O Osiris! Thy neck is made firm, O Osiris! Thy heart is glad, [O Osiris!]. Thy speech is made effective, O Osiris! Thy princes rejoice Thou art established the Bull in Amentet. Thy son Horus hath ascended thy trrone, and all life is with him. Millions of years minister unto him, and millions of years hold him in fear. The Company of the Gods are his servants, and they fold him in fear. The god Tem, the Governor, the only One among the gods, hath spoken, and his word passeth not away. Horus is both the divine food and the sacrifice. He made haste to gather together [the members of of his father. Horus is his deliverer. Horus is his deliverer. Horus hath sprung from the essence of his divine father and from his decay. He hath become the Governor of Egypt. The gods shall work for him, and they shall toil for him for million of years. He shall make millions of years to live through his Eye, the only one of its lord, Nebertcher.]

(From the Turin Papyrus, Bl. XXX)

Exalted is thy throne, O Osiris. Thou hearest well, O Osiris. Thy strength flourisheth, O Osiris. I have fastened thy head [on thy] body for thee. I have stablished thy throat, the throne of the joy of thy heart. Thy words are stable. Thy shenit princes are glad. Thou art stablished as the Bull of Amentet. Thy son Horus hath ascended thy throne. All life is with him. Millions of years work for him. The Company of the Gods fear him. Tem, the One Power of the Gods, hath spoken, and what he hath said is not changed, Hetu Aabi. Horus hath stood up. I have gone about collecting his father. Horus hath delivered his father. Horus hath delivered [his mother]. My mother is Horus. My brother is Horus. My uncle is Horus. I have come. Horus followeth his father..... there the dirt of his head. The gods shall serve him. Millions of years...... in his Eye, the Only One of its Lord, Neb-er-tcher.

THE CHAPTER OF BEING TRANSFORMED INTO THE PRINCE OF THE TCHATCHAU CHIEFS. The Osiris Nu, whose word is truth, saith:- I am the god Tem, the maker of the sky, the creator of the things which are, who cometh forth from the earth, who made the seed of man to come into being, the Lord of things, who fashioned the gods, the Great God, who created himself, the Lord of Life, who made to flourish the Two Companies of the Gods. Homage to you, O ye divine Lords of things, ye holy beings, whose seats are veiled! Homage to you, O ye Lords of Eternity, whose forms are concealed, whose sanctuaries are mysteries, whose places of abode are not known! Homage to you, O ye gods, who dwell in the Tenait (Circle of Light)! Homage to you, O ye gods of the Circle of the country of the Cataracts! Homage to you, O ye gods who dwell in Amentet! Homage to you, O ve gods who dwell within Nut! Grant ye to me that I may come before you, I am pure, I am like a god. I am endowed with a Spirit-soul. I am strong. I am endowed with a Heart-soul. I bring unto you incense, and spice, and natron. I have done away with the chidings of your mouths. I have come, I have done away the evil which was in your hearts, and I have removed the offences which appertained to you [against me]. I bring to you deeds of well-doing, and I present before you truth. I know you. I know your names. I know your forms which are not known. I come into being among you. My coming is like unto that god who eateth men, and who feedeth upon the gods. I am strong before you even like that god who

is exalted upon his pedestal, unto whom the gods come with rejoicing, and the goddesses make supplication when they see me. I have come unto you. I have ascended my throne like your Two Daughters. I have taken my seat in the horizon. I receive my offerings of propitiation upon my altars. I drink my fill of seth wine every evening. I come to those who are making rejoicings, and the gods who live in the horizon ascribe unto me praises, as the divine Spirit-body, the Lord of mortals. I am exalted like that holy god who dwelleth in the Great House. The gods rejoice greatly when they see my beautiful appearances from the body of the goddess Nut, and when the goddess Nut bringeth me forth.

[THE CHAPTER OF] MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO THE SERPENT SATA. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I am the serpent Sata whose years are infinite. I lie down dead. I am born daily. I am the serpent Sa-en-ta, the dweller in the uttermost parts of the earth. I lie down in death. I am born, I become new, I renew my youth every day.

[THE CHAPTER OF] MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO THE CROCODILE-GOD. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I am the Crocodile-god (Sebak) who dwelleth amid his terrors. I am the Crocodile-god and I seize [my prey] like a ravening beast. I am the great Fish which is in Kamui. I am the Lord to whom bowings and prostrations are made in Sekhem. And the Osiris Ani is the lord to whom bowings and prostrations are made in Sekhem.

(From the Papyrus of Nebseni)

Behold, I am the dweller in his terrors, I am the crocodile, his firstborn. I bring (prey) from a distance. I am the Fish of Horus, the Great One in Kamui. I am the lord of bowings in Sekhom

CHAPTER MAKING TRANSFORMATION INTO PTAH. The Osiris Ani [whose word is truth, saith]:- I eat bread. I drink ale. I gird up my garments. I fly like a hawk. I cackle like the Smen goose. I alight upon that place hard by the Sepulchre on the festival of the Great God. That which is abominable, that which is abominable I will not eat. [An abominable thing] is filth, I will not eat thereof. That which is an abomination unto my KA shall not enter my body. I will live upon that whereon live the gods and the Spirit-souls. I shall live, and I shall be master of their cakes. Lam master of them, and I shall eat them under the trees of the dweller in the House of Hathor, my Lady, I will make an offering. My cakes are in Tetu, my offerings are in Anu. I gird about myself the robe which is woven for me by the goddess Tait. I shall stand up and sit down in whatsoever place it pleaseth me to do so. My head is like unto that of Ra. I am gathered together like Tem.

Here offer the four cakes of Ra, and the offerings of the earth. I shall come forth. My tongue is like that of Ptah, and my throat is like unto that of Hathor, and I remember the words of Tem, of my father, with my mouth. He forced the woman, the wife of Keb, breaking the heads near him; therefore was the fear of him there. [His] praises are repeated with vigour. I am decreed to be the Heir, the lord of the earth of Keb. I have union with women. Keb hath refreshed me, and he hath caused me to ascend his throne. Those who dwell in Anu bow their heads to me. I am [their] Bull, I am stronger than [the Lord] of the hour. I unite with women. I am master for millions of years.

[THE CHAPTER OF] MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO THE SOUL OF TEM. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:-1 shall not enter into the place of destruction, I shall not perish, I shall not know [decay]. I am Ra, who came forth from Nu, the Soul of the God who created his own members. What I abominate is sin; I will not look thereon. I cry not out against truth, nay, I live therein. I am the god Hu, the imperishable god, in my name of "Soul." I have created myself with Nu, in the name of "Khepera." I exist in them like Ra. I am the Lord of Light.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu)

That which is an abomination unto me is death; let me not go into the chamber of torture which is in the Tuat. I am the delight of the Khu of Osiris. I make to be content the heart[s] of those who dwell among the divine things which are beloved [by me]. They cause the fear of me [to abound], they create the awe of me to be in those divine beings who dwell in their own circles. Behold, I am exalted on my own standard, and upon my throne, and upon my seat which is assigned [to me]. I am the god Nu, and those who commit sin shall not destroy me. I am the firstborn of the primeval god, and my soul is the Souls of the Eternal Gods, and my body is Everlastingness. My created form is [that of] the god Eternity, the Lord of Years, and the Prince of Everlastingness. I am the Creator of the Darkness, who maketh his seat in the uttermost limits of the heavens, [which] I love. I arrive at their boundaries. I advance

upon my two legs. I direct my resting place. I sail over the sky. I fetter and destroy the hidden serpents which are about my footsteps [in going to] the Lord of the Two Arms. My soul is the Souls of the Eternal Gods, and my body is Everlastingness. I am the exalted one, the Lord of the Land of Tebu. I am the Child in the city: "Young man in the country" is my name. "Imperishable one" is my name. I am the Soul Creator of Nu. I make my habitation in Khert-Neter. My nest is invisible, my egg is not broken. I have done away the evil which is in me. I shall see my Father, the Lord of the Evening. His body dwelleth in Anu. I am made to be the Light-god, a dweller in the Light-god, over the Western Domain of the Hebt bird.

CHAPTER OFI MAKING TRANSFORMATION INTO THE BENU BIRD. The Osiris. the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I flew up out of primeval matter. I came into being like the god Khepera. I germinated like the plants. I am concealed like the tortoise [in his shell]. I am the seed of every god. I am Yesterday of the Four [Quarters of the Earth, and] the Seven Uraei, who came into being in the Eastern land. [I am] the Great One (Horus) who illumineth the Hememet spirits with the light of his body. [I am] that god in respect of Set. [I am] Thoth who [stood] between them (Horus and Set) as the judge on behalf of the Governor of Sekhem and the Souls of Anu. [He was like] a stream between them. I have come. I rise up on my throne. I am endowed with Khu. I am mighty. I am endowed with godhood among the gods. I am Khensu, [the lord] of every kind of strength.

RUBRIC: [If] this Chapter [be known by the deceased], he shall come forth pure by day after his death, and he shall perform every transformation which hs soul desireth to make. He shall be among the Followers of Un-Nefer, and he shall satisfy himself with the food of Osiris, and with sepulchral meals. He shall see the Disk [of the Sun], he shall be in good case upon earth before Ra, and his word shall be truth in the sight of Osiris, and no evil thing whatsoever shall have dominion over him for ever and ever.

[THE CHAPTER OF] MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO A HERON. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I am the master of beasts brought for sacrifice, [and] of the knives which are [held] at their heads [and] their beards; those who dwell in their emerald [fields], the Aged Gods, and the Spirit-souls, are ready at the moment for the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in peace. He maketh slaughter on the earth, and I make slaughter on the earth. I am strong. I follow the heights unto heaven. I have made myself pure. I walk with long strides to my city. I have become an owner of land there. I advance to Sepu..... is given to me in Unu. I have set the gods upon their roads. I have made splendid the houses and towns of those who are in their shrines. I know the stream of Nut. I know Tatun. I know Teshert. I have brought along their horns. I know Heka. I have hearkened to this words. I am the Red Bull-calf which is marked with markings. The gods shall say when they hear [of me]: Uncover your faces. His coming is to me. There is light which ye know not. Times and seasons are in my body. I do not speak [lies] in the place of truth, daily. The truth is hidden on the eyebrows. [By] night [I] sail up the river to keep the feast of him that is dead, to embrace the Aged God, and to guard the earth, I the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth.

APPENDIX (From the Saite Recension)

RUBRIC: If this Chapter be known [by the deceased], he will live like a perfect Spirit-soul in Khert-Neter; no evil thing whatsoever shall overthrow him.

[THE CHAPTER OF] MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO THE LOTUS. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I am the holy lotus that cometh forth from the light which belongeth to the nostrils of Ra, and which belongeth to the head of Hathor. I have made my way, and I seek after him, that is to say, Horus. I am the pure lotus that cometh forth from the field [of Ra].

APPENDIX (Naville, op. cit., I, Bl. XCIII)

Chapter of making the transformation into a lotus. The Osiris, the lady of of the house, Aui, whose word is truth, in peace, saith: Hail, thou Lotus, thou type of the god Nefer-Temu! I am the man who knoweth your names. I know your names among the gods, the lords of Khert-Neter. I am one among you. Grant ye that I may see the gods who are the Guides of the Tuat. Grant ye to me a seat in Khert-Neter, near the Lords of Amentet. Assign to me a habitation in the land of Tchesert. Receive ye me in the presence of the Lords of Eternity. Let my soul come forth in whatsoever place it pleaseth. Let it not be rejected in the presence of the Great Company of the Gods.

[THE CHAPTER OF] MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO THE GOD WHO

LIGHTENETH THE DARKNESS. The Osiris the scribe Ani. whose word is truth, saith:- I am the girdle of the garment of the god Nu, which giveth light, and shineth, and belongeth to his breast, the illuminer of the darkness, the uniter of the two Rehti deities, the dweller in my body, through the great spell of the words of my mouth. I rise up, but he who was coming after me hath fallen. He who was with him in the Valley of Abtu hath fallen. I rest. I remember him. The god Hu hath taken possession of me in my town. I found him there. I have carried away the darkness by my strength, I have filled the Eye [of Ra] when it was helpless, and when it came not on the festival of the fifteenth day. I have weighed Sut in the celestial houses against the Aged One who was with him. I have equipped Thoth in the House of the Moon-god, when the fifteenth day of the festival come not. I have taken possession of the Urrt Crown. Truth is in my body; turquoise and crystal are its months. My homestead is there among the lapis-lazuli, among the furrows thereof. I am Hem-Nu, the lightener of the darkness. I have come to lighten the darkness; it is light. I have lightened the darkness. I have overthrown the ashmiufiends. I have sung hymns to those who dwell in the darkness. I have made to stand up the weeping ones, whose faces were covered over; they were in a helpless state of misery. Look ye then upon me. I am Hem-Nu. I will not let you hear concerning it. [I have fought. I am Hem-Nu. I have lightened the darkness. I have come. I have made an end to the darkness which hath become light indeed.]

THE CHAPTER OF NOT DYING A SECOND TIME. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- Hail, Thoth! What is it that hath happened to the children of Nut? They have waged war, they have upheld strife, they have done evil, they have created the fiends, they have made slaughter, they have caused trouble; in truth, in all their doings the strong have worked against the weak. Grant, O might of Thoth, that that which the god Tem hath decreed [may be done!] And thou regardest not evil, nor art thou provoked to anger when they bring their years to confusion, and throng in and push in to disturb their months. For in all that they have done unto thee they have worked iniquity in secret. I am they writing- palette, O Thoth, and I have brought unto thee thine ink-jar. I am not of those who work iniquity in their secret places; let not evil happen unto me.

The Osiris, the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- Hail, Temu! What manner of land is this unto which I have come? It hath not water, it hath not air; it is depth unfathomable, it is black as the blackest night, and men wander helplessly therein. In it a man cannot live in quietness of heart; nor may the longings of love be satisfied therein. But let the state of the Spirit-souls be given unto me instead of water and air, and the satisfying of the longings of love, and let quietness of heart be given unto me instead of cakes and ale. The god Tem hath decreed that I shall see thy face, and that I shall not suffer from the things which pain thee. May every god transmit unto thee his throne for millions of years. Thy throne hath descended unto thy son Horus, and the god Tem hath decreed that thy course shall be among the holy princes. In truth he shall rule from thy throne, and he shall be heir to the throne of the Dweller in the fiery Lake [Neserser]. In truth it hath been decreed that in me he shall see his likeness, and that my face shall look upon the face of the Lord Tem. How long then have I to live? It is decreed that thou shalt live for millions of years, a life of millions of years. Let it be granted to me to pass on to the holy princes, for indeed, I have done away all the evil which I committed, from the time when this earth came into being from Nu, when it sprang from the watery abyss even as it was in the days of old. I am Fate and Osiris, I have made my transformations into the likeness of divers serpents. Man knoweth not, and the gods cannot behold the two-fold beauty which I have made for Osiris, the greatest of the gods. I have given unto him the region of the dead. And, verily, his son Horus is seated upon the throne of the Dweller in the fiery Lake [of Neserser], as his heir. I have made him to have his throne in the Boat of Millions of Years. Horus is stablished upon his throne [among his] kinsmen, and he hath all that is with him. Verily, the Soul of Set, which is greater than all the gods, hath departed. Let it be granted to me to bind his soul in fetter in the Boat of the God, when I please, and let him hold the Body of the God in fear. O my father Osiris, thou hast done for me that which thy father Ra did for thee. Let me abide upon the earth permanently. Let me keep possession of my throne. Let my heir be strong. Let my tomb, and my friends who are upon the earth, flourish. Let my enemies be given over to destruction, and to the shackles of the goddess Serq. I am thy son. Ra is my father. On me likewise thou hast conferred life, strength, and health. Horus is established upon his tomb. Grant thou that the days of my life may come unto worship and honour.

APPENDIX (From the Leyden Papyrus of Ra)

RUBRIC: This Chapter shall be recited over a figure of Horus, made of lapis-lazuli, which shall be placed on the neck of the deceased. It is a protection upon earth, and it will secure for the deceased the affection of men, gods, and the

Spirit-souls which are perfect. Moreover it acteth as a spell in Khert-Neter, but it must be recited by thee on behalf of the Osiris Ra, regularly and continually millions of times.

[THE CHAPTER OF] ENTERING INTO THE HALL OF MAATI TO PRAISE OSIRIS KHENTI-AMENTI. The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I have come unto thee. I have drawn nigh to behold thy beauties (thy beneficient goodness). My hands are [extended] in adoration of thy name of "Maat." I have come. I have drawn nigh unto [the place where] the cedar-tree existeth not, where the acacia tree doth not put forth shoots, and where the ground produceth neither grass nor herbs. Now I have entered into the habitation which is hidden, and I hold converse with Set. My protector advanced to me, covered was his face.... on the hidden things. He entered into the house of Osiris, he saw the hidden things which were therein. The Tchatchau Chiefs of the Pylons were in the form of Spirits. The god Anpu spake unto those about him with the words of a man who cometh from Ta-mera, saying, "He knoweth our roads and our towns. I am reconciled unto him. When I smell his odour it is even as the odour of one of you." And I say unto him: I the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in peace, whose word is truth, have come I have drawn nigh to behold the Great Gods. I would live upon the propitiatory offerings [made] to their Doubles. I would live on the borders [of the territory of] the Soul, the Lord of Tetu. He shall make me to come forth in the form of a Benu bird, and to hold converse [with him.] I have been in the stream Ito purify myselfl. I have made offerings of incense. I betook myself to the Acacia Tree of the [divine] Children. I lived in Abu in the House of the goddess Satet. I made to sink in the water the boat of the enemies. I sailed over the lake [in the temple] in the Neshmet Boat. I have looked upon the Sahu of Kamur. I have been in Tetu. I have held my peace. I have made the god to be master of his legs. I have been in the House of Teptuf. I have seen him, that is the Governor of the Hall of the God. I have entered into the House of Osiris and I have removed the head-coverings of him that is therein. I have entered into Rasta, and I have seen the Hidden One who is therein. I was hidden, but I found the boundary. I journeyed to Nerutef, and he who was therein covered me with a garment. I have myrrh of women, together with the shenu powder of living folk. Verily he (Osiris) told me the things which concerned himself. I said: Let thy weighing of me be

And the Majesty of Anpu shall say unto me, "Knowest thou the name of this door, and canst thou tell it?" And the Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, in peace, whose word is truth, shall say, "Khersek-Shu" is the name of this door. And the Majesty of the god Anpu shall say unto me, "Knowest thou the name of the upper leaf, and the name of the lower leaf?" [And the Osiris the scribe Ani] shall say: "Neb-Maatheri-retiu-f" is the name of the upper leaf and "Neb-pehtithesu-menment" [is the name of the lower leaf. And the Majesty of the god Anpu shall say], "Pass on, for thou hast knowledge, O Osiris the scribe, the assessor of the holy offerings of all the gods of Thebes Ani, whose word is truth, the lord of loyal service [to Osiris]."

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu, Brit. Mus. No. 10477, Sheet 22)

[THE FOLLOWING] WORDS SHALL BE SAID BY THE STEWARD OF THE KEEPER OF THE SEAL, NU, WHOSE WORD IS TRUTH, WHEN HE COMETH FORTH TO THE HALL OF MAATI, SO THAT HE MAY BE SEPARATED FROM EVERY SIN WHICH HE HATH COMMITTED AND MAY BEHOLD THE FACES OF THE GODS. The Osiris Nu, whose word is truth, saith: Homage to thee, O great God, Lord of Maati! I have come unto thee, O my Lord, and I have brought myself hither that I may behold thy beauties. I know thee, I know thy name, I know the names of the Forty-two Gods who live with thee in this Hall of Maati, who live by keeping ward over sinners, and who feed upon their blood on the day when the consciences of men are reckoned up in the presence of the god Un-Nefer. In truth thy name is "Rehti-Merti-Nebti-Maati." In truth I have come unto thee, I have brought Maati (Truth) to thee. I have done away sin for thee. I have not committed sins against men. I have not opposed my family and kinsfolk. I have not acted fraudulently in the Seat of Truth. I have not known men who were of no account. I have not wrought evil. I have not made it to be the first [consideration daily that unnecessary] work should be done for me. I have not brought forward my name for dignities. I have not [attempted] to direct servants [I have not belittled God]. I have not defrauded the humble man of his property. I have not done what the gods abominate. I have not vilified a slave to his master. I have not inflicted pain. I have not caused anyone to go hungry. I have not made any man to ween. I have not committed murder. I have not given the order for murder to be committed. I have not caused calamities to befall men and women. I have not plundered the offerings in the temples. I have not defrauded the gods of their cake-offerings. I have not carried off the fenkhu cakes [offered tol the Spirits. I have not committed fornication. I have not

masturbated [in the sanctuaries of the god of my city]. I have not diminished from the bushel. I have not filched fland from my neighbour's estate and] added it to my own acre. I have not encroached upon the fields [of others]. I have not added to the weights of the scales. I have not depressed the pointer of the balance. I have not carried away the milk from the mouths of children. I have not driven the cattle away from their pastures. I have not snared the geese in the goose-pens of the gods. I have not caught fish with bait made of the bodies of the same kind of fish. I have not stopped water when it should flow. I have not made a cutting in a canal of running water. I have not extinguished a fire when it should burn. I have not violated the times [of offering] the chosen meat offerings. I have not driven away the cattle on the estates of the gods. I have not turned back the god at his appearances. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure. My pure offerings are the pure offerings of that great Benu which dwelleth in Hensu. For behold, I am the nose of Neb-nefu (the lord of the air), who giveth sustenance unto all mankind, on the day of the filling of the Utchat in Anu, in the second month of the season Pert, on the last of the month, [in the presence of the Lord of this earth]. I have seen the filling of the Utchat in Anu, therefore let not calamity befall me in this land, or in this Hall of Maati, because I know the names of the gods who are therein, [and who are the followers of the Great God].

THE NEGATIVE CONFESSION

Hail, Usekh-nemmt, who comest forth from Anu, I have not committed sin. Hail, Hept-khet, who comest forth from Kheraha, I have not committed robbery with violence. Hail, Fenti, who comest forth from Khemenu, I have not stolen. Hail, Amkhaibit, who comest forth from Qernet, I have not slain men and women. Hail, Neha-her, who comest forth from Rasta, I have not stolen grain. Hail, Ruruti, who comest forth from heaven, I have not purloined offerings. Hail. Arfi-em-khet. who comest forth from Suat, I have not stolen the property of God. Hail, Neba, who comest and goest, I have not uttered lies. Hail, Set-qesu, who comest forth from Hensu, I have not carried away food. Hail, Utu-nesert, who comest forth from Het-ka-Ptah, I have not uttered curses. Hail, Qerrti, who comest forth from Amentet. I have not committed adultery. I have not lain with men. Hail, Her-f-ha-f, who comest forth from thy cavern, I have made none to weep. Hail, Basti, who comest forth from Bast, I have not eaten the heart. Hail, Taretiu, who comest forth from the night, I have not attacked any man. Hail, Unem-snef, who comest forth from the execution chamber, I am not a man of deceit. Hail, Unembesek who comest forth from Mabit I have not stolen cultivated land. Hail. Neb-Maat, who comest forth from Maati, I have not been an eavesdropper. Hail, Tenemiu, who comest forth from Bast, I have not slandered [no man]. Hail, Sertiu, who comest forth from Anu, I have not been angry without just cause. Hail, Tutu, who comest forth from Ati (the Busirite Nome). I have not debauched the wife of any man. Hail Llamenti who comest forth from the Kheht chamber I have not debauched the wife of [any] man. Hail, Maa-antuf, who comest forth from Per-Menu, I have not polluted myself. Hail, Her-uru, who comest forth from Nehatu, I have terrorized none. Hail, Khemiu, who comest forth from Kaui, I have not transgressed [the law]. Hail, Shet-kheru, who comest forth from Urit, I have not been wroth, Hail, Nekhenu, who comest forth from Hegat, I have not shut my ears to the words of truth. Hail, Kenemti, who comest forth from Kenmet, I have not blasphemed. Hail, An-hetep-f, who comest forth from Sau, I am not a man of violence. Hail, Sera-kheru, who comest forth from Unaset, I have not been a stirrer up of strife, Hail, Neb-heru, who comest forth from Netchfet, I have not acted with undue haste. Hail, Sekhriu, who comest forth from Uten, I have not pried into matters. Hail. Neb-abui. who comest forth from Sauti, I have not multiplied my words in speaking. Hail, Nefer-Tem, who comest forth from Het-ka-Ptah, I have wronged none, I have done no evil. Hail, Tem-Sepu, who comest forth from Tetu, I have not worked witchcraft against the king. Hail, Ari-em-ab-f, who comest forth from Tebu, I have never stopped [the flow of] water. Hail, Ahi, who comest forth from Nu. I have never raised my voice. Hail, Uatch-rekhit, who comest forth from Sau, I have not cursed God. Hail, Neheb-ka, who comest forth from thy cavern, I have not acted with arrogance. Hail, Neheb-nefert, who comest forth from thy cavern, I have not stolen the bread of the gods. Hail, Tcheser-tep, who comest forth from the shrine, I have not carried away the khenfu cakes from the Spirits of the dead. Hail, An-af, who comest forth from Maati, have not snatched away the bread of the child, nor treated with contempt the god of my city. Hail, Hetch-abhu, who comest forth from Ta-she (the Fayyum), I have not slain the cattle belonging to the god.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nebseni)

Hail, Usekh-nemmt, who comest forth from Anu, I have not committed sin. Hail, Hept-Shet, who comest forth from Kheraha, I have not robbed with violence. Hail, Fenti, who comest forth from Khemenu, I have done no violence. Hail, Amkhaibitu, who comest forth from Oerrt, I have not stolen.

Hail, Neha-hau, who comest forth from Rasta, I have not slain men. Hail. Ruruti, who comest forth from heaven. I have not made light the bushel. Hail, Arti-f-em-tes, who comest forth from Sekhem, I have not acted deceitfully. Hail, Neba, who comest and goest, I have not stolen the property of the god. Hail, Set-qesu, who comest forth from Hensu, I have not told lies. Hail, Uatch-nesert, who comest forth from Het-ka-Ptah, I have not carried away food. Hail, Qerti, who comest forth from Amenti. I have not uttered evil words. Hail. Hetch-abhu, who comest from Ta-she, I have attacked no man. Hail, Unem-snef, who comest forth from the execution chamber, I have not salin a bull which was the property of the god. Hail, Unem-besku, who comest [forth from the Mabet chamber], I have not acted deceitfully. Hail, Neb-maat, who comest forth from Maati, I have not pillaged the lands which have been ploughed. Hail, Thenemi, who comest forth from Bast, I have never pried into matters [to make mischief]. Hail, Aati, who comest forth from Anu, I have not set my mouth in motion. Hail, Tutuf, who comest from from A, I have not been wroth except with reason. Hail, Uamemti, who comest forth from the execution chamber, I have not debauched the wife of a man. Hail. Maa-anuf, who comest forth from Per-Menu, I have not polluted myself. Hail, Heri-uru, who comest forth from [Nehatu], I have terrorized no man. Hail, Khemi, who comest forth from Ahaui, I have not made attacks. Hail, Shet-kheru, who comest forth from Uri, I have not been a man of anger. Hail, Nekhem, who comest forth from Heq-at, I have not turned a deaf ear to the words of truth. Hail. Ser-Kheru, who comest forth from Unes, I have not stirred up strife. Hail, Basti, who comest forth from Shetait, I have made none to weep. Hail, Her-f-ha-f, who comest forth from thy cavern, I have not committed acts of sexual impurity, or lain with men. Hail, Ta-ret, who comest forth from Akhkhu, I have not eaten my heart. Hail, Kenmti, who comest forth from Kenmet, I have cursed no man, Hail, An-heten-f, who comest forth from Sau, I have not acted in a violent or oppressive manner. Hail, Neb-heru, who comest forth from Tchefet, I have not acted [or judged] hastily. Hail, Serekhi, who comest forth from Unth, I have not my hair, I have not harmed the god. Hail, Neb-abui, who comest forth from Sauti, I have not multiplied my speech overmuch. Hail, Nefer-Tem, who comest forth from Het-ka-Ptah. I have not acted with deciet, I have not worked wickedness. Hail, Tem-Sep, who comest forth from Tetu, I have not done things to effect the cursing of [the king]. Hail, Ari-em-ab-f, who comest forth from Tebti, I have not stopped the flow of water. Hail, Ahimu, who comest forth from Nu, I have not raised my voice. Hail Utu-rekhit who comest forth from thy house. I have not curse God. Hail, Neheb-Nefert, who comest forth from the Lake of Nefer, I have not acted with insufferable insolence. Hail, Neheb-kau, who comest forth from [thy] city, I have not sought to make myself unduly distinguished. Hail, Tchesertep, who comest forth from thy cavern, I have not increased my wealth except through such things are [justly] my own possessions. Hail. An-a-f. who comest forth from Auker. I have not scorned [or treated with contempt] the god of my

ADDRESS TO THE GODS OF THE TUAT (From the Papyrus of Nu, Brit. Mus. No. 10477, Sheet 24)

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE WORDS WHICH THE HEART OF TRUTH THAT IS SINLESS SHALL SAY WHEN HE COMETH WITH THE WORD OF TRUTH INTO THE HALL OF MAATI; THEY SHALL BE SAID WHEN HE COMETH TO THE GODS WHO DWELL IN THE TUAT; AND THEY ARE THE WORDS WHICH ARE [TO BE SAID] AFTER [HE COMETH FORTH FROM] THE HALL OF MAATI.

Nu, the steward of the keeper of the seal, whose word is truth, saith: Homage to you, O ye gods who dwell in your Hall of Maati! I know you, I know your names. Let me not fall under your knives of slaughter, and bring ye not forward my wickedness to this god in whose following ye are. Let not evil hap come upon me through you. Speak ye the truth concerning me in the presence of Neb-er-tcher, for I have done what is right and just in Ta-Mera. I have not cursed the god, and my evil hap did not come upon him that was king in his day

Homage to you, O ye who dwell in your Hall of Maati, who have nothing false in your bodies, who live upon Truth, who feed yourselves upon Truth in the presence of Horus who dwelleth in his Disk, deliver ye me from Beba, who feedeth upon the livers of the great ones on the day of the Great Judgement. Grant ye that I may come before you, for I have not committed sin, I have done no act of deceit, I have done no evil thing, and I have not borne [false] witness; therefore let nothing [evil] be done to me. I have lived upon truth, I have fed upon truth. I have performed the ordinances of men, and the things which gratify the gods. I have propitiated the god by doing his will, I have given bread to the hungry man, and water to him that was athirst, and apparel to the naked man, and a ferry-boat to him that had no boat. I have made propitiatory offerings and given cakes to the gods, and the 'things which appear at the word" to the Spirits. Deliver then

ye me, protect then ye me, and make ye no report against me in the presence [of the Great God]. I am pure in respect of my mouth, and I am clean in respect of my hands, therefore let it be said unto me by those who shall behold me: "Come in peace, Come in peace." For I have heard that great word which the Sahu spake to the CAT, in the House of Hapt-ra. I have borne witness to Her- I-ha-I, and he hath given a decision [concerning me]. I have seen the things over which the Persea tree which is in Rasta, spreadeth its branches. I have made petitions to the gods, [and I] know the things [which appertain to] their bodies. I have come, travelling a long road, to bear righteous testimony, and to set the Balance upon its supports within Aukert.

Hail, thou who art exalted high upon thy standard, thou Lord of the Atef Crown, who dost make thy name to be "Lord of the Winds," deliver thou me from thy divine Envoys who punish and afflict according to [thy] decrees, and who make calamities to arise, and whose faces are without coverings, for I have done what is right and true for the Lord of Truth. I am pure. My breast is purified by libations, and my hinder parts are made clean with the things which make clean, and my inner parts have been dipped in the Lake of Truth. There is no single member of mine which lacketh truth. I have washed myself clean in the Lake of the South. I have rested myself in the City of the North, which is in Sekhet Sanhemu (the Field of the Grasshoppers), where the mariners of Ra wash themselves clean at the second hour of the night, and at the third hour of the day. The hearts of the gods are gratified when they have passed over it, whether it be by night or whether it be by day, and they say unto me, "Let thyself advance." They say unto me, "Who art thou?" And they say unto me, "What is thy name?" [And I reply], "Sept-kherinehait- ammi-beq-f" is my name. Then they say unto me, "Advance straightway on the city which is to the North of the Olive Tree. What dost thou see there?" The Leg and the Thigh. What dost thou say unto them? Let me see rejoicings in these lands of the Fenkhu. What do they give unto thee? A flame of fire and a sceptre-amulet [made] of crystal. What dost thou do with them? I bury them on the furrow of M'naat, as things for the night. What dost thou find on the furrow of Maat? A sceptre of flint, the name of which is "Giver of winds." What now didst thou do with the flame of fire and the sceptreamulet [made] of crystal, after thou didst bury them? I said a spell over them, and I dug them up. I quenched the flame of fire and I broke the sceptre-amulet, and I made a lake of water. [Then shall the Two and forty gods say unto me]: "Come now, pass in over the threshold of this door of the Hall of Maati, for thou hast knowledge of us." "We will not allow thee to enter in over us," say the bars of this door, "unless thou tellest us our names." [And I reply], "Tekh-bu- maa" is your name. The right lintel of this door saith: "I will not allow thee to pass over me unless thou tellest me my name." [And I reply], 'Henku-en-fat-maat" is thy name. The left lintel of this door saith: "I will not allow thee to pass over me unless thou tellest me my name." [And I reply], "Henku-en-arp" is thy name. The ground of this door saith: "I will not allow thee to pass over me unless thou tellest me my name." [And I reply], Keb" is thy name. And the bolt of this door saith: "I will not open the door to thee unless thou tellest me my name." [And I reply], "Saah-en-mut-f" is thy name. The socket of the fastening of this door saith: "I will not open unto thee unless thou tellest my name." [And I reply], "The Living Eye of Sebek, the Lord of Bakhau," is thy name. The Doorkeeper of this door saith: "I will not open to thee, and I will not let thee enter by me unless thou tellest my name." [And I reply], "Elbow of the god Shu who placeth himself to protect Osiris" is thy name. The posts of this door say: "We will not let thee pass in by us unless thou tellest our name." [And I reply], "Children of the uraei-goddesses" is your name. The Doorkeeper of this door saith: "I will not open to thee, and I will not let thee enter in by me unless thou tellest my name. [And I reply], "Ox of Keb" is thy name. [And they reply], Thou knowest us, pass in therefore by us." The ground of this Hall of Maati saith: "I will not let thee tread upon me [unless thou tellest me my name], for I am silent. I am holy because I know the names of two feet wherewith thou wouldst walk upon me. Declare, then, them to me." [And I reply], "Besu-Ahu" is the name of my right foot, and "Unpet-ent-Het-Heru" is the name of my left foot. [The ground replieth]: "Thou knowest us, enter in therefore over us." The Doorkeeper of this Hall of Maati saith: "I will not announce thee unless thou tellest my name." [And I reply], "Discerner of hearts, searcher of bellies" is thy name. [The Doorkeeper saith]: "Thou shalt be announced." [He saith]: "Who is the god who dwelleth in his hour? Speak it" [And I reply], "Autaui." [He saith]: "Explain who he is." [And I reply], "Autaui" is Thoth. "Come now," saith Thoth, "for what purpose hast thou come?" [And I reply]: "I have come, and have iourneyed hither that my name may be announced [to the god]." [Thoth saith]: "In what condition art thou?" [And I reply], "I, even I, am purified from evil defects, and I am wholly free from the curses of those who live in their days, and I am not one of their number." [Thoth saith]: "Therefore shall [thy name] be announced to the god." [Thoth saith]: "Tell me,

who is he whose heaven is of fire, whose walls are living serpents, and whose ground is a stream of water? Who is he?" [And I reply], "He is Osiris." [Thoth saith]: "Advance now, thy name] shall be announced to him. Thy cakes shall come from the Utchat (Eye of Horus or Ra), thy ale shall come from the Utchat, and the offerings which shall appear to thee at the word upon earth [shall proceed] from the Utchat." This is what Osiris hath decreed for the steward of the overseer of the seal. Nu. whose word is truth.

RUBRIC: THE MAKING OF THE REPRESENTATION OF WHAT SHALL HAPPEN IN THIS HALL OF MAATI. This Chapter shall be said by the deceased when he is cleansed and purified, and is arrayed in linen apparel, and is shod with sandals of white leather, and his eyes are painted with antimony, and his body is anointed with unguent made of myrrh. And he shall present as offerings oxen, and feathered fowl, and incense, and cakes and ale, and garden herbs. And behold, thou shalt draw a representation of this in colour upon a new tile moulded from earth upon which neither a pig nor any other animal hath trodden. And if this book be done [in writing, the deceased] shall flourish, and his children shall flourish, and [his name] shall never fall into oblivion, and he shall be as one who filleth the heart of the king and of his princes. And bread, and cakes, and sweetmeats, and wine, and pieces of flesh shall be given unto him [from among those which are upon the altar of the Great God. And he shall not be driven back from any door in Amentet, and he shall be led along with the kings of the South and the kings of the North. and he shall be among the bodyguard of Osiris, continually and regularly for ever. [And he shall come forth in every form he pleaseth as a living soul for ever, and ever, and ever.]

THE CHAPTER OF THE DEIFICATION OF THE MEMBERS

The hair of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the hair of Nu. The face of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the face of Ra. The eyes of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the eyes of Hathor. The ears of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the ears of Up- uatu. The lips of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the lips of Anpu. The teeth of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the teeth of Serget. The cheeks of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the cheeks of Isis. The arms of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the arms of Ba- neb-Tetu. The neck of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the neck of Uatchit. The throat of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the throat of Mert. The breast of the Osiris Ani whose word is truth is the breast of the Lady of Sais. The backbone of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the backbone of Set. The trunk of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the trunk of the Lords of Kher-aha. The flesh of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the flesh of Aa-shefit. The belly of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the belly of Sekhmet. The buttocks of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth. are the buttocks of the Eve of Horus. The phallus of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, is the phallus of Osiris. The thighs of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the thighs of Nut. The feet of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the feet of Ptah. The fingers of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the fingers of Saah. The toes of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, are the toes of the Living Uraei.

APPENDIX (From the Pyramid of Pepi I, 11. 565ff.)

The head of this Meri-Ra is the head of Horus; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The skull of this Pepi is the Dekan star of the god; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The brow of this Meri-Ra is the brow of.... and Nu; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The face of this Pepi is the face of Up-uatu; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The eyes of this Meri-Ra are the eyes of the Great Lady, the first of the Souls of Anu; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The nose of this Pepi is the nose of Thoth; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The mouth of this Meri-Ra is the mouth of Khens-ur; he cometh forth therefore, and ascendeth therefore, and ascendeth therefore into heaven. The tongue of this Pepi is the tongue of Maaa (Truth) in the Maat Boat; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The teeth of this Pepi are the teeth of the Souls of [Anu]; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The lips of this Meri-Ra are the lips of......; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The chin of this Pepi is the chin of Nest-khent-Sekhem (the throne of the First Lady of Sekhem); he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The thes bone of this Pepi is the thes bone of the Bull Sma; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The soulders of this Pepi are the shoulders of Set; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. [The..... of this Pepi]......; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. [The.....of this Pepi]of Baabu; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The breast of this Meri-Ra is the breast of Bast; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The belly of this Meri-Ra is the belly of Nut; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven.

[The......of this Pepi]; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. [The......of this Pepi]of the two Companies of the gods; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The two thighs of this Pepi are the two thighs of Heqet; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The buttocks of this Meri-Ra are like the Semktet Boat and the Mantchet Boat: he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The phallus of this Pepi is the phallus of the Hep Bull; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The legs of this Meri-Ra are the legs of Net (Neith) and Serget; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The knees of this Meri-Ra are the knees of the twin Souls who are at the head of the Sekhet-Tcher; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The soles of this Meri-Ra are like the Maati Boat: he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. The toes of this Pepi are the toes of the Souls of Anu; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Now this Pepi is a god, the son of a god; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. This Pepi is the son of Ra, who loveth him; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Ra hath sent forth Meri-Ra: he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Ra hath begotten [this] Pepi; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Ra hath given birth to Pepi; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. This spell therefore is in the body of Meri-Ra; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. This Meri-Ra is the Power, the Great Power, among the Great Council of Chiefs in Anu: he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. He worketh the boat: Pepi cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. [Pepi is] Horus, the nursling, the child; Meri-Ra cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Pepi hath not had union with Nut, she hath not given her hands to him; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Keb hath not removed the obstacles in his path; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. No god hath smitten the steps of this Meri-Ra; he come forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. [Though] Pepi is not censed is not mourned, hath not washed himself in the vessel, hath not smelt the haunch, hath not carried the meat- offering, hath not ploughed the earth, hath not dedicated an offering, he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Behold, it is not this Pepi who hath said these things to you, O ye gods, it is Heka who hath said these things to you, O ye gods, and this Meri-Ra is the support which is under Heka; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Every god smiteth the feet of Pepi; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. He plougheth the earth, he dedicate an offering, he bringeth the vessel of [blood], he smelleth the haunch, and he bringeth the meat offering; he cometh forth therefore and ascendeth into heaven. Every god graspeth the hand of Meri-Ra in

He conducteth him to the House of Horus in the sky. The word of his Double is truth before Keb.

THE CHAPTER OF REPULSING SLAUGHTER IN HENSU (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 6)

THE CHAPTER OF DRIVING BACK THE SLAUGHTERS WHICH ARE PERFORMED IN HENSU. The Osiris Nu, whose word is truth, saith:- O thou land of the Sceptre! O thou White Crown of the divine form! O thou rest of the ferry-boat! I am the Child. (Repeat four times). Hail, Abu-ur! Thou sayest daily: "The slaughter-block is made ready as thou knowest, and thou hast come to destruction." I am Ra, who stablisheth those who praise him. I am the Knot of the god in the Aser tree, the twice beautiful one, who is more splendid to-day than yesterday. (Repeat four times). I am Ra, who stablisheth those who praise him. I am the Knot of the god within the Aser tree, and my appearance is the appearance [of Ra] on this day.

My hair is the hair of Nu. My face is the face of the Disk. My eyes are the eyes of Hathor. My ears are the ears of Up-uat. My nose is the nose of Khenti-Khabas. My lips are the lips of Anpu. My teeth are the teeth of Serget. My cheeks are the cheeks of the goddess Isis. My hands are the hands of Ba-neb-Tet. My forearms are the forearms of Neith, the Lady of Sais. My backbone is the backbone of Suti. My phallus is the phallus of Beba. My reins are the reins of the Lords of Kheraha. My chest is the chest of Aa-shefit. My belly and back are the belly and back of Sekhmet. My buttocks are the buttocks of the Eve of Horus. My hips and legs are the hips and legs of Nut. My feet are the feet of Ptah. [My fingers] and my toes are the [fingers and] toes of the Living gods. There is no member of my body which is not the member of a god. Thoth protecteth my body altogether, and I am Ra day by day. I shall not be dragged back by my arms, and none shall lay violent hold upon my hands. And shall do me hurt neither men, nor gods, nor the Spirit-souls, nor the dead, nor any man, nor any pat-spirit, nor any rekhit-spirit, nor any hememet-spirit.

I am he who cometh forth advancing, whose name is unknown. I am Yesterday. "Seer of Millions of Years" is my name. I pass along, I pass along the paths of the divine

celestial judges. I am the Lord of Eternity: I decree and I judge like Khepera. I am the Lord of the Urrt Crown, I am he who dwelleth in the Utchat and in the Egg, and it is granted unto me to live therein. I am he who dwelleth in the Utchat when it closeth, and I exist by the strength thereof. I come forth and I shine; I enter in and I come to life. I am in the Utchat, my seat is upon my throne, and I sit in the tent chamber before it. I am Horus. [I] traverse millions of years. I have decreed [the stablishing] of my throne, and I am the ruler thereof; and in very truth my mouth keepeth an even balance both in speech and in silence. In very truth my forms are inverted. I am Un-Nefer, from one period even unto another, and what I have is within me. I am the only One, who proceedeth from an only One, who goeth round about in his course. I am he who dwelleth in the Utchat. No evil thing of any shape or kind shall spring up against me, and no baleful object, and no harmful thing, and no disastrous thing shall happen unto me. I open the door in heaven. I rule my throne. I open the way for the births which take place on this day. I am the child who traverseth the road of Yesterday. I am To-day for untold nations and peoples. I am he who protecteth you for millions of years. Whether ye be denizens of heaven, or of the earth, or of the South, or of the North, or of the East, or of the West, the fear of me is in your bodies. I am he whose being hath been wrought in his eye. I shall not die again. My moment is in your bodies, but my forms are in my place of habitation. I am "He who cannot be known." The Red Fiends have their faces directed against me. I am the unveiled one. The period when the heavens were created for me and were enlarged the bounds of earth, and multiplied the progeny thereof, cannot be found out. They shall fail and not be united again. By reason of the speech which I address to you, my name setteth itself apart from all things evil which are in the mouths of men. I am he who riseth and shineth, a wall which cometh out of a wall, an only One who proceedeth from an only One. There is never a day that passeth without the things which appertain unto him being therein; passing, passing, passing, passing. Verily I say unto thee, I am the Plant which cometh forth from Nu, and my mother is Nut. Hail, my creator, I am he who hath no power to walk, the Great Knot who dwelleth in Yesterday. The might of my strength is within my hand, I am not known [by thee], but I am he who knoweth thee. I cannot be held in the hand, but I am he who can hold thee in his hand. Hail, O Egg! Hail, O Egg! I am Horus who liveth for millions of years, whose flame shineth upon you, and bringeth your hearts unto me. I am master of my throne. I advance at this season. I have opened a path. I have delivered myself from all evil things. I am the golden dog-headed ape, three palms and two fingers [high], which hath neither arms nor legs, and which dwelleth in Het-ka-Ptah. I go forth as goeth forth the dog-headed ape who dwelleth in Het-ka-Ptah.

RUBRIC: Behold the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, arrayed in fine linen, and shod with sandals of white [leather]. and anointed with the very finest myrrh unguent. There are offered unto him a fine bull, and incense, and ra geese, and flowers, and ale, and cakes, and garden herbs. And behold, thou shalt draw a representation of a table of offerings on a clean tile with pure colours, and thou shalt bury it in a field whereon no swine hath trodden. And if a copy of this book be written upon it, he shall rise [again], and his children's children shall flourish and prosper, like unto Ra, without cessation. He shall be in high favour with the king, and with the shenit nobles of his court, and there shall be given unto him cakes and cups of drink, and portions of flesh, upon the altar-table of the Great God. He shall not thrust aside at any door in Amentet; he shall travel in the train of the Kings of the South and the Kings of the North, and he shall abide with the followers of Osiris near Un-Nefer, for ever, and for ever, and for ever

Vignette (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheet 24)

The steward of the overseer of the seal, Nu, whose word is truth, begotten of the steward of the overseer of the seal. Amen-hetep, whose word is truth, saith:- Hail, ye Four Apes who sit in the bows of the Boat of Ra, who convey truth to Nebertcher, who sit in judgement on the oppressed man and on [his] oppressor, who make the gods to be contented by means of the flame of your mouths, who offer holy offerings to the gods, and sepulchral meals to the Spirit-souls, who live upon truth, and who feed upon truth of heart, who are without deceit and fraud, and to whom wickedness is an abomination, do ye away with my evil deeds, and put ye away my sins [which deserved stripes upon earth, and destroy ye every evil thing which appertaineth to me], and let there be no obstacle whatsoever on my part towards you. O grant ye that I may make my way through the Amehet, let me enter into Rasta, let me pass through the hidden pylons of Ament. O grant that there may be given unto me shens cakes, and ale, and persen cakes, even as to the living Spirit-souls, and grant that I may enter into and come forth from Rasta.

[The Four Apes make answer, saying]: Come thou, for we have done away with thy wickedness, and we have put away

thy sin, along with thy sins upon earth which deserved stripes, and we have destroyed every evil thing which appertained to thee upon earth. Enter, therefore, unto Rasta, and pass through the hidden pylons of Amentet, and there shall be given unto thee shens cakes, and ale, and persen cakes, and thou shalt come forth and shalt enter in at thy desire, even as do those who are favoured [of the God], and thou shalt be called [to partake of offerings] each day in the horizon.

THE CHAPTER OF A TET OF GOLD. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith: Thou risest up for thyself, O Still-heart! Thou shinest for thyself, O Still-heart! Place thou thyself on thy base, I come, I bring unto thee a Tet of gold, thou shalt rejoice therein.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nebseni and the Papyrus of Nu) $\,$

Rise up thou, O Osiris, thou hast thy backbaone, O Still-heart, thou hast thy neck vertebrae and thy back, O Still-heart! Place thou thyself on thy base. I put water beneath thee, and I bring unto thee a Tet of god that thou mayest rejoice therein.

RUBRIC (From the Papyrus of Nu): [This Chapter] shall be recited over a Tet of gold set in a stand made of sycamore wood which hath been steeped in a tincture of ankhamu flowers, and it shall be placed on the neck of the deceased on the day of the funeral. If this amulet be placed on his neck he shall become a perfect Khu in Khert-Neter, and at the festivals of the New Year he shall be like unto the Followers of Osiris continually and for ever.

RUBRIĆ (From the Turin Papyrus): [This Chapter] shall be said over a Tet of gold fashioned out of the trunk of a sycamore tree, and it shall be placed on the neck of the deceased. Then shall he enter in through the doors of the Tuat. His words whall be silenced. He shall place himself on the ground on New Year's Day among the Followers of Osiris. If this Chapter be known by the deceased he shall live like a perfect Khu in Khert-Neter. He shall not be sent back from the doors of Amentet. There shall be given to him the shens cake, and a cup of wine, and the persen cake, and slices of meat on the altars of Ra, or as some read, Osiris Un-Nefer. And his word shall be truth before his enemies in Khert-Neter continually, and for ever and for ever.

THE CHAPTER OF A TET OF CARNELIAN. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- The blood of Isis, the spells of Isis, the magical powers of Isis, shall make this great one strong, and shall be an amulet of protection [against him] that would do to him the things which he abominateth.

APPENDIX

RUBRIC (From the Papyrus of Nu): [This Chapter] shall be said over a Tet of carnelian, which hath been washed in a tincture of ankhamu flowers, and is fashioned out of the trunk of a sycamore tree. It shall be placed on the neck of the deceased on the day of the funeral. If this be done for him the magical powers of Isis will protect his members. Horus, the son of Isis, shall rejoice when he seeth him. [No] road shall be blocked to him. His hand shall be to heaven, his hand shall be to earth, for ever. Do not let anyone see him. Verily....

RUBRIC (From the Saite Recension): [This Chapter] shall be said over a Tet of carnelian, anointed with a tincture of ankhamu flowers, made from the trunk of a sycamore tree. It shall be placed on the neck of the Khu. If this book be done for him, the magical spells of Isis shall protect him, and Horus the son of Isis shall rejoice [when] he seeth him. No road shall be blocked to him. His hand shall be to heaven, his hand shall be to earth..... If this book be known by him he shall be in the following of Osiris Un-Nefer, and his word shall be truth in Khert- Neter. The doors in Khert-Neter shall be opened to him. Wheat and barley shall be given to him in Sekhet-Aanru. His name shall be like [the names of] the gods who are there, the Followers of Horus who reap.

THE CHAPTER OF A HEART OF SEHERT STONE. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- I am the Benu bird, the Heart-soul of Ra, the guide of the gods to the Tuat. Their Heart-souls come forth upon earth to do what their KAU wish to do, and the Heart-soul of the Osiris Ani shall come forth to do what his Ka wisheth to do.

THE CHAPTER OF THE HEAD-REST, which is to be placed under the head of the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth. Awake out of thy sufferings, O thou who liest prostrate! Awake thou! Thy head is in the horizon. I lift thee up, O thou whose word is truth. Ptah hath overthrown thine enemies for thee. Thine enemies have fallen, and they shall never more exist, O Osiris.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nebseni, Sheet 21)

THE CHAPTER OF THE HEAD-REST [OR PILLOW]. Awake out of thy sufferings, O thou who liest prostrate. They

(the gods) keep watch over thy head in the horizon. Thou art lifted up, thy word is truth in respect of the things which have been done by thee. Ptah hath cast down headlong thine enemies. This work was ordered to be done for thee. Thou art Horus, the son of Hathor, Nesert, Nesertet, who giveth back the head after it hath been cut off. Thy head shall not be carried away from thee, after [it hath been cut off]; thy head shall be carried away from thee, never, never!

THE TEXTS IN THE FUNERAL CHAMBER

SPEECH OF ISIS. Isis saith:- I have come to be a protector unto thee. I waft unto thee air for thy nostrils, and the north wind which cometh forth from the god Tem unto thy nose. I have made whole for thee thy windpipe. I make thee to live like a god. Thine enemies have fallen under thy feet. I have made thy word to be true before Nut, and thou art mighty before the gods.

SPEECH OF NEPHTHYS. Nephthys saith unto the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth:- I go round about thee to protect thee, O brother Osiris. I have come to be a protector unto thee. [My strength shall be near thee, my strength shall be near thee, for ever. Ra hath heard thy cry, and the gods have made thy word to be truth. Thou art raised up. Thy word is truth in respect of what hath been done unto thee. Ptah hath overthrown thy foes, and thou art Horus, the son of Hathor.]

SPEECH OF THE TET. I have come quickly, and I have driven back the footsteps of th god whose face is hidden. I have illumined his sanctuary. I stand near the god Tet on the day of repelling disaster. I watch to protect thee, O Osiris.

SPEECH OF KESTA (Mesta). I am Kesta, thy son, O Osiris Ani, whose word is truth. I come to protect thee. I will make thy house to flourish, permanently, even as Ptah hath commanded me, and as Ra himself hath commanded.

SPEECH OF HAPI. I am Hapi, thy son, O Osiris Ani, whose word is truth. I come to protect thee. I bind together thy head and the members of thy body. I smite down for thee thine enemies under thee. I give unto thee thy head for ever and for ever, O Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, whose word is truth in peace.

SPEECH OF TUAMUTEF. Tuamutef saith:- I am thy son Horus, who loveth thee. I come to avenge thee, O my father Osiris, upon him that did evil unto thee. I have set him under thy feet for ever and for ever, permanently, permanently, O Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, whose word is truth.

SPEECH OF QEBHSENUF. Qebsenuf saith:- I am thy son, O Osiris Ani, whose word is truth. I come to protect thee. I have collected thy bones and I have gathered together thy members. [I have brought thy heart, and I have placed it upon its throne within thy body. I make thy house to flourish after thee, O thou who livest for ever.]

SPEECH OF THE FLAME. I protect thee with this flame. I drive him [the foe] away from the valley of the tomb. I cast the sand about [thy feet]. I embrace the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth in peace

SPEECH OF THE FLAME. I come to hew in pieces. I have not been hewn in pieces, and I will not permit thee to be hewn in pieces. I come to do violence [to thy foe], but I will not permit violence to be done unto thee. I protect thee.

A SOUL SAITH:- The Osiris Ani, whose is truth, praiseth Ra when he rolleth up into the sky in the eastern horizon of heaven.

A SOUL SAITH:- The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, in peace in Khert- Neter, praiseth Ra when he setteth in the western horizon of heaven, [and saith], "I am a perfect soul."

SPEECH OF ANI. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith: I am a perfect soul dwelling in the divine egg of the Abtu Fish. I am the Great Cat which dwelleth in the Seat of Truth, wherein the god Shu riseth.

SPEECH OF THE USHABTI FIGURE [THE CHAPTER OF NOT DOING WORK IN KHERT- NETER]. Illumine the Osiris Ani, whose word is truth. Hail, Shabti Figure! If the Osiris Ani be decreed to do any of the work which is to be done in Khert-Neter, let everything which standeth in the way be removed from him- whether it be to plough the fields, or to fill the channels with water, or to carry sand from [the East to the West]. The Shabti Figure replieth: I will do it, verily I am here [when] thou callest.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu and the Papyrus of Nebseni)

The Speech of Anpu: Anubis the dweller in the mummy chamber, Governor of the Divine House, layeth his hands upon the lord of life, the scribe, the draughtsman of Ptah, Nebseni, the lord of fealty, begotten of the scribe and mason Thena, born of the lady of the house Mut-rest, whose word is truth, and devoting himself to him as his guardian, saith: Homage to thee, thou happy one, lord! Thou seest the Utchat. Ptah-Seker hath bound thee up. Anpu hath exalted thee. Shu hath raised thee up, O Beautiful Face, thou governor of eternity. Thou hast thine eye, O scribe Nebseni, lord of fealty, and it is beautiful. Thy right eye is like the Sektet Boat, thy left eye is like the Atet Boat. Thine eyebrows are fair to see in the presence of the Company of the Gods. Thy brow is under

the protection of Anpu, and thy head and face, O beautiful one, are before the holy Hawk. Thy fingers have been stablished by thy scribe's craft in the presence of the Lord of Khemenu, Thoth, who hath bestowed upon thee the knowledge of the speech of the holy books. Thy beard is beautiful in the sight of Ptah-Seker, and thou, O scribe Nebseni, thou lord of fealty, art beautiful before the Great Company of the Gods. The Great God looketh upon thee, and he leadeth thee along the path of happiness. Sepulchral meals are bestowed upon thee, and he overthroweth for thee thine enemies, setting them under thy feet in the presence of the Great Company of the Gods who dwell in the House of the Great Aged One which is in Anu.

IHEREI BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF SEKHET-HETEPET, AND THE CHAPTERS OF COMING FORTH BY DAY, OF ENTERING INTO AND COMING FORTH FROM KHERT-NETER, OF ARRIVING IN SEKHET-AANRU, AND OF LIVING IN PEACE IN THE GREAT CITY, THE LADY OF WINDS. [The Osiris the scribe Ani, whose word is truth, saith:-] Let me be master there. Let me be a khu there. Let me plough there. Let me reap there. Let me eat there. Let me drink there. [Let me beget there]. Let me do there all the things which one doeth upon earth. The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- Horus vanquished Set when [he] looked at the building of Sekhet-Hetepet. [He] spread air over the Divine Soul in its Egg, in its day. He delivered the interior of the body of Horus [from the Akeru Gods]. I have crowned him in the House of Shu. His house is the stars. Behold, I take up my place in its nomes. He hath guided the hearts of the Company of the Firstborn Gods. He hath reconciled the Two Fighters (Horus and Set), the guardians of life. He hath done what is fair, bringing an offering. He hath reconciled the Two Fighters with him that belongeth to them. He hath cut off the hairy scalp of the Two Fighters. He hath destroyed the revolts of [their] children. I have done away all the evil which attacked their souls. I am master in [Sekhet-Hetepet]. I know it. I have sailed over its lakes that I might arrive at the cities thereof. I have made strong my mouth. The Spirit-souls are ready [to fight], but they shall not gain the mastery over me. I am equipped in thy Fields, O god Hetep. What thou wishest thou shalt do, [saith this god].

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nebseni, Sheet 17)

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF SEKHET-HETEPET. AND THE CHAPTERS OF COMING FORTH BY DAY: OF GOING INTO AND OF COMING FORTH FROM KHERT-NETER: OF ARRIVAL IN SEKHET-AARU: OF LIVING IN SEKHET-HETEPET, THE MIGHTY CITY, THE LADY WINDS; OF HAVING POWER THEREIN; OF BECOMING A SPIRIT-SOUL THERE; OF PLOUGHING THERE; OF REAPING THERE; OF EATING THERE; OF DRINKING THERE; OF MAKING LOVE THERE; AND OF DOING EVERYTHING THERE EVEN AS A MAN DOETH UPON EARTH NERSENL THE SCRIBE AND DRAUGHTSMAN OF PTAH, SAITH:- Set vanguished Horus, who was looking at the building in Sekhet-Hetepet. I set free Horus from Set. Set opened the paths of the Two Eyes (the Sun and Moon) in the sky. Set ejected water with air upon the soul of his Eye, which dwelt in the town of Mert; he delivered the interior of the body of Horus from the hands of the Akeru Gods. Behold me! I paddle this great boat over the Lake of the god Hetep; I seized upon it in the mansion of Shu. The mansion of his stars reneweth youth, reneweth youth. I paddle over the Lakes thereof so that I may arrive at the towns thereof. I sail up to the town of the god Hetep.... Behold, I am at peace with his times, and with his guidance, and with his will, and with the Company of the Gods, who are his firstborn. He maketh the Two Fighters (Horus and Set) to be at peace [with each other], and to keep ward over the living whom he hath created in fair form, and he bringeth peace; he maketh the Two Fighters to be at peace with those who watch over them. He cutteth off the hair from their divine fighters, he driveth away storm from the children. He guardeth from attack the Spirits. I have gained power therein. I know it. I have sailed over its Lakes so that I might arrive at its towns. My mouth is strong. I am equipped against the Spirits. They shall not gain the mastery over me. I am rewarded [with] these thy Fields, O god Hetep. What thou wishest that do thou, O lord of the winds. I shall be a spirit therein. I shall eat therein. I shall drink therein. I shall plough therein. I shall reap the grain therein. I shall be strong therein. I shall make love therein. My words shall be strong therein. I shall not be in subjection therein. I shall be a man of might therein. Thou hast made strong the mouth and throat. Hetep Qettbu is its name. [It is] stablished upon the pillars of Shu, and is linked with the pleasant things of Ra. He is the divider of years, the hidden of mouth; silent is his mouth, hidden is what he uttereth, he fulfilleth eternity, he taketh possession of everlastingness of existence as Hetep, Neb-Hetep. Horus maketh himself strong like unto a hawk which is one thousand cubits in length, and two thousand cubits in life. He that equipments with him, he journeyeth on, he cometh to the place where his heart would be, among the Lakes which are in

its towns. He begetteth in the birth-chamber of the god of the town, he is satisfied with the food of the god of the town; he doeth what ought to be done there, in the Field of Smas-er-Khet everything of the birth-chamber of the god of the town. Now [when he] setteth in the [land of] life like crystal he performeth everything therein, [which things are] like unto the things done in the Lake Neserser, wherein there is none that rejoiceth, and wherein are evil things of all kinds. The god Hetep goeth in and cometh out, and marcheth hither and thither in the Field of Smas-er-Khet, the Lady of the birthchamber of the god of the town. [Let me] live with the god Hetep, clothed, and not despoiled by the Lords of the North, and may the Lord of things bring food unto me. May he make me to go forward. May I come forth. May he bring to me my Power there, may I receive it, and may I be rewarded by the god Hetep. May I be master of the great and mighty word in my body in this my place. Make me to remember it. Let me [not] forget it. Let me go forward, let me plough. I am at peace with the god of the town. I know the water, the towns, the nomes, and the lakes which are in Sekhet-Hetepet. I live therein. I am strong therein. I shine therein. I eat therein. I..... therein. I reap the harvest therein. I plough therein. I beget children therein. I am at peace therein with the god Hetep. Behold I sow seed therein. I sail about on the lakes thereof, and I arrive at its towns, O god Hetep. Behold my mouth is equipped, it possesseth horns . Give unto me the abundance of the KAU (Doubles) and Spirit-souls. He who counteth me is Shu, I know him not, I come to its towns, I sail over its lakes, I walk about in Sekhet-Hetepet. Behold, it is Ra who is in heaven. Behold, it is Hetep [who is] its double offering of peace. I have advanced to its territory. I have put on my apparel. I have come forth. I have given what it was upon me to give. I have made glad in [my] heart. I have conquered. I am strong. I have given directions to Hetep.

[Hail], Unen-em-hetep, I have come to thee. My soul followeth me. The god Hu is on my hands. [Hail], Nebt-taui, in whom I remember and forget, I have become alive. I have attacked none, let none attack me. I have given, give thou to me gladness. Make thou me to be at peace, bind thou up my veins, let [me] receive air. [Hail], Unen-em-hetep, the Lord of Winds. I have come there. I have opened my head. Ra sleepeth. I watch not, [for] the goddess Hetemet is at the door of heaven by night. Obstacles have been put before, but I have collected his emissions. I am in my city. O Nut-urt (Great City), I have come into thee. I have counted up my abundant stores. I advance on my way to Uakh. I am the Bull which is tied with a rope of lapis-lazuli, the lord of the Field of the Bull, the lord of the words of the god, the goddess Septet (Sothis) at her hours. O Uakh, I have come into thee. I have eaten my food. I am master of choice pieces of the flesh of oxen and of feathered fowl, and the birds of Shu have been given unto me. I follow the gods, and I come [after the Doubles]. O Tcheft, I have come into thee. I array myself in apparel, and I gird about myself the sat garment of Ra. Behold the Court of the sky, and the followers of Ra who dwell in heaven. O Un-em-heten, the lord of the Two Lands, I have come into thee. I have plunged into the Lakes of Tchesert; behold, impurity of every kind hath removed from me. The divine Great One flourisheth therein. Behold, I have found [him]. I have netted geese, and have fed full upon the finest of them. O Qengentet, I have come into thee. I have seen the Osiris [my father]. I have saluted my mother. I have begotten children. I have snared the serpents, and I am delivered. I know the name of the god who is with the goddess Tchesert, and who hath straight hair, and is equipped with horns [ready to gore]. He reapeth, and I both plough and reap. O Hetemet, I have entered into thee. I have approached the lapis-lazuli. I have followed the winds of the Company of the Gods. The Great God hath given my head unto me. He who hath bound my head on my body for me is the Mighty One, with eyes of lapis-lazuli, namely, Ari-en-ab-f ("He doeth as he pleaseth"). O Usert, I have come into thee, to the house wherein food is brought unto me. O Smam, I have come into thee. My heart watcheth, my head is equipped with the White Crown. I act as the guide of the celestial beings. I make to flourish terrestrial beings. There is joy of heart for the Bull, and for the celestial beings, and for the Company of the Gods. I am the god, the Bull, the Lord of the gods, who maketh his way over the turquoise. O wheat and barley of the nome of the god, I have come into thee. I have come forward. I have lifted [you] up, following the best offerings of the Company of the Gods. I have moored my boat to the tying-up post in the lakes of the celestial beings. I have pulled up the typing-up post. I have recited words, and I have ascribed praises unto the gods who dwell in Sekhet-Hetepet.

THE CHAPTER OF PROVIDING THE DECEASED WITH MEAT, MILK, ETC.

The Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, saith:- Homage to thee. O Ra, the Lord of Truth, the Only One, the Lord of Eternity and Maker of Everlastingness. I have come before thee, O my Lord Ra. I would make to flourish the Seven Cows and their Bull. O ye who give cakes and ale to the Spirit-souls, grant ye that my soul may be with you. Let him be born on your thighs. Let him be like unto one of you for ever and for ever. Let the

Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, have glorious power in the Beautiful Amentet.

The Names of the Seven Holy Cows and their Bull: 1. Het-Kau Nebtertcher. 2. Akertkhentetasts. 4. 6. Khebitetsahneter. Urmertusteshertshenti. Khnemtemankhanuit Sekhmetrensemahats Shenatpetuthestneter. Bull: Kathaihemt.

ADDRESSES TO THE FOUR RUDDERS OF HEAVEN

Hail, thou Beautiful Power, thou Beautiful Rudder of the Northern Heaven. Hail, thou who circlest, Guide of the Two Lands, Beautiful Rudder of the Western Heaven. Hail, Splendour, Dweller in the temple of the Ashemu gods, Beautiful Rudder of the Eastern Heaven. Hail, Dweller in the temple of the Red gods, Beautiful Rudder of the Southern

ADDRESSES TO THE FOUR COMAPNIES OF THE GODS

Hail, ye gods who are above the earth, ye Guides of the Tuat. Hail, ye Mother-goddesses, who are above the earth in Khert-Neter, in the House of Osiris. Hail, ye gods who guide Ta-tchesert, who are above the earth and are guides of the Tuat. Hail, ye Followers of Ra, who follow in the train of

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Nu)

RUBRIC: [These words] shall be said when Ra appeareth over [figures] of these gods written in colour upon a tablet, and thou shalt place offerings of tchefau food before them, cakes, ale, flesh, geese, and incense. They shall cause the deceased to enjoy the "offerings which come forth at the word [of command]" before Ra; and they shall give the deceased an abundance of food in Khert-Neter, and shall deliver him from every evil thing whatsoever. And thou shalt not recite this Book of Un- Nefer in the presence of anyone except thine own self. If this be done for the deceased Ra shall be a rudder for him, and shall be to him a strong protecting power, and he shall destroy all his enemies for him in Khert-Neter, and in heaven, and upon earth, and in every place whereinsoever he may enter, and he shall enjoy celestial food regularly and continually for ever.

(From the Saite Recension)

THE BOOK OF MAKING PERFECT THE KHU in the heart of Ra, of making him to have the mastery before Tem, of magnifying him before Osiris, of making him mighty before Khent-Amentet, and of setting awe of him before the Company of the Gods. It shall be recited on the day of the New Moon, on the sixth day festival, on the fifteenth day festival, on the festival of Uak, on the festival of Thoth, on the Birthday of Osiris, on the festival of Menu, on the night of Heker, [during] the Mysteries of the Tuat, during the celebration of the Mysteries in Akertet, at the smiting of the emissions, at the passage of the Funerary Valley, [and] the Mysteries..... [The recital thereof] will make the heart of the Khu to flourish and will make long his strides, and will make him to advance, and will make his face bright, and will make it to penetrate to the God. Let no man witness [the recital] except the king and the Kherheb priest, but the servant who cometh to minister outside shall not see it. Of the Khu for whom this Book shall be recited, his soul shall come forth by day with the living, he shall have power among the gods, and it will make him irresisitible for ever and ever. These gods shall go round about him, and shall acknowledge him. He shall be one of them. [This Book] shall make him to know how he came into being in the beginning. This Book is indeed a veritable mystery. Let no stranger anywhere have knowledge of it. Do not speak about it to any man. Do not repeat it. Let no [other] eye see it. Let no [other] ear hear it. Let no one see it except [thyself] and him who taught [it to thee]. Let not the multitude [know of it] except thyself and the beloved friend of thy heart. Thou shalt do this book in the seh chamber on a cloth painted with the stars in colour all over it. It is indeed a mystery. The dwellers in the swamps of the Delta nad everywhere there shall not know it. It shall provided the Khu with celestial food upon in Khert-Neter. It shall supply his Heart-soul with food upon earth. It shall make him to live for ever. No [evil] thing shall have the master over him.

THE ADDRESSES OF THE FOUR RUDDERS

Hail, Power of Heaven, Opener of the Disk, thou Beautiful Rudder of the Northern Heaven. Hail, Ra, Guide of the Two Lands, thou Beautiful Rudder of the Western Heaven. Hail, Khu, Dweller in the House of the Akhemu gods, thou Beautiful Rudder of the Eastern Heaven Hail Governor Dweller in the House of the Tesheru Gods, thou Beautiful Rudder of the Southern Heaven.

Grant ye cakes, and ale and tchefau food to the Osiris Aufankh, whose word is truth.

Hail, Father of the Gods! Hail, Mother of teh Gods in Khert-Neter! Deliver ye the Osiris from every evil thing, from

every evil obstruction, from every dire attack of an enemy, and from that deadly snarer with knife-like words, and from men, and gods, and Spirit-souls, and the damned, on this day, on this night, on this present festival of the fifteenth day, and in this year, and from the things of evil thereof.

HYMN TO OSIRIS KHENTI-AMENTI UN-NEFER

he Osiris Ani, whose word is truth, praiseth Osiris Khenti-Amenti Un- Nefer, and saith: Hail, my Lord, who dost hasten through eternity, whose existence is for ever, Lord of Lords, King of Kings, Sovereign, God of the Gods, who live in their shrines,.... gods... men. Make thou for me a seat with those who are in Khert-Neter, who adore the forms of thy KA, and who traverse millions of millions of years...... May no delay arise for thee in Ta-mera. Let them come to thee, all of them, great as well as small. May this god give the power to enterin and to come forth from Khert-Neter, without repulse, at any door of the Tuat, to the KA of the Osiris Ani.

APPENDIX (From the Papyrus of Sutimes)

SUTIMES, THE LIBATIONER AND PRESIDENT OF THE ALTAR CHAMBER OF THE APTS, DIRECTOR OF THE SCRIBES OF AMEN, WHOSE WORD IS TRUTH, PRAISETH OSIRIS, AND DOETH HOMAGE TO THE LORD OF ETERNITY, AND SATISFIETH THE WILL OF THE GOD, AND SPEAKETH TRUTH, THE LORD OF WHICH IS UNKNOWN, AND SAITH:- Homage to thee, O thou Holy God, thou mighty and beneficent being, thou Prince of Eternity, who dwellest in thy abode in the Sektet Boat, whose risings are manifold in the Atet Boat, unto whom praises are rendered in heaven and upon earth. Peoples and nations exalt thee, and the awe of thy terror is in the hearts of men, and Spirt-souls, and the dead. Thy soul dwelleth in Tetu, and the awe of thee is in Hensu. Thou settest the visible emblems of thyself in Anu, and the majesty of thy transformations in the holy place. I have come unto thee. Truth is in my heart, and in my breast there is neither craft nor guile. Grant thou that I may have my being among the living, and that I may sail up and down the river among those who are in thy following.

THE CHAPTER OF THE PRAISE OF HATHOR, LADY OF AMENTET

Hathor, Lady of Amentet, the Dweller in the Great Land, the Lady of Ta-Tchesert, the Eye of Ra, the Dweller in his breast, the Beautiful Face in the Boat of Millions of Years, the Seat of Peace of the doer of truth, Dweller in the Boat of the favoured ones

APPENDIX THE CHAPTER OF THE FOUR TORCHES (From the Papyrus of Nu, Sheets 26 and 27)

THE CHAPTER OF THE FOUR LIGHTED LAMPS WHICH ARE MADE FOR THE SPIRIT- SOUL. Behold, thou shalt make four rectangular troughs of clay wherein thou shalt scatter incense, and thou shalt fill them with the milk of a white cow, and by means of these thou shalt extinguish the lamps. The Osiris Nu, the steward of the overseer of the seal, whose word is truth, saith:- The fire cometh to thy KA, O Osiris Khenti-Amenti! The fire cometh to thy KA, O Osiris Nu, whose word is truth. The ordering of the night cometh after the day. [The fire cometh to thy KA, O Osiris, Governor of those who are in Amentil, and the two sisters of Ra come likewise. Behold it (the fire) riseth in Abtu, and it cometh; I cause it to come, the Eye of Horus. It is set in order upon thy brow, O Osiris Khenti-Amenti; it is set in thy shrine and riseth on thy brow; it is set on thy brow, O Osiris Nu, it is set on thy brow. The Eye of Horus protecteth thee, O Osiris Khenti-Amenti, and it keepeth thee in safety; it casteth down headlong all thine enemies for thee, and all thine enemies have fallen down headlong before thee. O Osiris Nu, the Eye of Horus protecteth thee, it keepeth thee in safety, and it casteth down headlong all thine enemies. Thine enemies have fallen down headlong before thy KA, O Osiris Khenti-Amenti. The Eye of Ra protecteth thee, it keepeth thee in safety, and it hath cast down headlong all thine enemies. Thine enemies have fallen down headlong before thy KA, O Osiris Nu, whose word is truth. The Eye of Horus protecteth thee, it keepeth thee in safety, it hath cast down headlong for thee all thine enemies, and thine enemies have fallen down headlong before thee. The Eye of Horus cometh. It is sound and well, it sendeth forth light even as doth Ra in the horizon. It covereth the powers of Suti with darkness, it mastereth him, and it bringeth its flame against him by its own command. The Eye of Horus is sound and well, thou eatest the flesh thereof, thy body possesseth it. Thou acclaimest it. The Four Fires enter into thy KA, O Osiris Khenti-Amenti, the Four Fires enter into thy KA, O Osiris Nu, the steward of the overseer of the seal, whose word is truth.

Hail, ye sons of Horus, Kesta, Hapi, Tuamutef, and Qebhsenuf, ye have given your protection to your divine Father Osiris Khenti-Amenti, give ye your protection to the Osiris Nu, whose word is truth. Now therefore, inasmuch as ye have destroyed the Opponent of Osiris Khenti-Amenti, who liveth with the gods, having smitten Suti with his right hand and arm when dawn came upon the earth, and Horus hath become master [of Suti], and hath avenged his divine Father himself; and inasmuch as your divine Father hath been made to flourish through the union of the KA of Osiris Khenti-Amenti, whch ye effected, and the Eye of Horus hath avenged him, and hath protected him, and hath cast down headlong for him all his enemies, and all his enemies have fallen down before him, even so do ve destroy the Opponent of the Osiris Nu, the steward of the overseer of the seal, whose word is truth. Let him live with the gods, let him smite his enemy, let him destroy him, when light dawneth on the earth. Let Horus be master and avenge the Osiris Nu, and let the Osiris Nu flourish through his union with his KA which ve have effected. O Osiris Nu, the Eve of Horus hath avenged thee. It hath cast down headlong all thine enemies for thee, and all thine enemies have been cast down headlong before thee.

Hail, Osiris Khenti-Amenti, grant thou light and fire to the perfect Heart-soul which is in Hensu. And [O ye Sons of Horus], grant ye power unto the living heart-soul of the Osiris Nu by means of his fire. Let him not be repulsed, and let him not be driven back at the doors of Amentet! Let his offerings of bread and of linen garments be brought unto him among the lords of funeral oblations. O offer ye praises, as unto a god to the Osiris Nu, the destroyer of his Opponent in his form of Truth, and in his attributes of a god of truth.

RUBRIC: [This Chapter] shall be recited over four torches of atma cloth, which hath been anointed with the finest Thehenny unguent, and the torches shall be placed in the hands of four men who shall have the names of the pillars of Horus written upon their shoulders, and they shall burn the torches in the beautiful light of Ra, and this shall confer power and might upon the Spirit-soul of the deceased among the stars which never set. If this Chapter be recited for him he shall never, never perish, and he shall become a living soul for ever. These torches shall make the Spirit-soul to flourish like Osiris Khenti- Amenti, regularly and continually for ever. It is a struggle. Thou shalt not perform this ceremony before any human being except thine own self, or thy father, or thy son, because it is an exceedingly great mystery of the Amentet, and it is a type of the hidden things of the Tuat. When this ceremony hath been performed for the deceased, the gods, and the Spirit-souls, and the dead shall see him in the form of Khenti-Amenti, and he shall have power and dominion like

If thou shalt undertake to perform for the deceased that which is ordered in this "Chapter of the four blazing torches," each day, thou shalt cause the form of the deceased to come forth from every hall [in the Tuat], and from the Seven Halls of Osiris. And he shall live in the form of the God. He shall have power and dominion corresponding to those of the gods and the Spirit-souls for ever and ever. He shall enter in through the secret pylons and shall not be turned back in the presence of Osiris. And it shall come to pass, provided that the following things be done for him, that he shall enter in and come forth. He shall not be turned back. No boundary shall be set to his goings, and the sentence of the doom shall not be passed upon him on the Day of the Weighing of Words before Osiris- never, never.

And thou shalt perform whatsoever [is written in] this book on behalf of the deceased, who shall thereby become perfect and pure. And thou shalt "open his mouth" with the instrument of iron. And thou shalt write down these things in accordance with the instructions which are found in the books of Prince Herutataf, who discovered them in a secret coffer (now they were in the handwriting of the god [Thoth] himself and had been deposited in the Temple of the goddess Unnut, the Lady of Unu) during a journey which he was making in order to inspect the temples, and the temple-estates, and the sanctuaries of the gods. And thou shalt perform these ceremonies secretly in the Tuat-chamber of the tomb, for they are mysteries of the Tuat, and they are symbolic of the things which are done in Khert-Neter.

And thou shalt say: I have come, I have advanced hastily. I cast light upon his (the deceased's) footsteps. I am hidden, but I cast light upon his hidden place. I stand up close to the Tet. I stand up close to the Tet of Ra, I turn back the slaughter. I am protecting thee, O Osiris.

RUBRIC: This Chapter shall be recited over a Tet of crystal, which shall be set upon a brick made of crude mud, whereupon this Chapter hath been inscribed. Thou shalt make a cavity in the west wall [of the tomb], and having turned the front of the Tet towards the east, thou shalt wall up the cavity with mud which hath been mixed with extract of cedar. This Tet shall drive away the enemies of Osiris who would set themselves at the east wall [of the tomb].

And thou shalt say: I have driven back thy foes. I keep watch over thee. He that is upon his mountain (Anpu) keepeth watch over thee ready for the moment when thy foes shall attack thee, and he shall repulse them for thee. I will drive back the Crocodile at the moment when it attacketh thee, and I will protect thee, O Osiris Nu.

RUBRIC: This Chapter shall be recited over a figure of Anpu made of crude mud mixed with incense. And the figure shall be set upon a brick made of crude mud, whereupon this Chapter hath been inscribed. Thou shalt make a cavity in the east wall, and having turned the face of the figure of Anpu towards the west wall [therein] thou shalt wall up the cavity. This figure shall repulse the enemies of Osiris, who would set themselves at the south wall.

And thou shalt say; I am the belt of sand round about the hidden coffer. I turn back the force of the blazing fire of the funerary mountain. I traverse the roads, and I protect the Osiris Nu, the steward of the overseer of the seal, whose word is truth

RUBRIC: This Chapter shall be recited over a brick made of crude mud whereon a copy of this Chapter hath been inscribed. And thou shalt place a reed in the middle thereof, and thou shalt smear it with pitch, and set light thereto. Then thou shalt make a cavity in the south wall, and, having turned the front of the brick towards the north, thou shalt wall the brick up inside it. [It shall repulse the enemies of the Osiris Nu] who would assemble at the north wall.

And thou shalt say: O thou who comest to set fire [to the tomb or mummy], I will not let thee do it. O thou who comest to cast fire [herein]. I will not let thee do it. I will burn thee, and I will cast fire upon thee. I protect the Osiris Nu, the steward of the overseer of the seal, whose word is truth.

RUBRIC: This Chapter shall be recited over a brick of crude mud, whereon a copy of this Chapter hath been inscribed. [And thou shalt set upon it] a figure of the deceased made of palm wood, seven fingers in height. And thou shalt perform on it the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth." Then thou shalt make a cavity in the north wall, and having [placed the brick and the figure inside it], and turned the face of the figure towards the south, thou shalt wall up the cavity. [It shall repulse the enemies of the Osiris Nu], who would assemble at the south wall.

And behold, these things shall be done by a man who is washed clean, and is ceremonially pure, and who hath eaten neither meat nor fish, and who hath not [recently] had intercourse with women. And behold, thou shalt make offerings of cakes and ale to these gods, and shalt burn incense on their fires. Every Spirit-soul for whom these things shall be done shall become like a holy god in Khert-Neter, and he shall not be turned back at any gate in Amentet, and he shall be in the following of Osiris, whithersoever he goeth, regularly and continually.

THE GREAT HYMN TO ATEN

Great Hymn to the Aten
Pharao Akhenaten's Praise to God
A Hymn of praise of Her-aakhuti
by Pharao Akhenaten, 18th Dynasty
Place of origin: Tomb of the courtier Ay, Egypt
Source: Tutankhamen: Amenism, Atenism and
Egyptian Monotheism, E. A. Wallis Budge, 1923
Translation: E. A. Wallis Budge, 1923
Estimated Range of Dating: 14th century B.C.

(The Great Hymn to the Aten is the longest of a number of hymn-poems written to the sun-disk deity Aten. Composed in the middle of the 14th century BC, it is varyingly attributed to the 18th Dynasty Pharaoh Akhenaten or his courtiers, depending on the version, who radically changed traditional forms of Egyptian religion by replacing them with Atenism.

The hymn-poem provides a glimpse of the religious artistry of the Amarna period expressed in multiple forms encompassing literature, new temples, and in the building of a whole new city at the site of present-day Amarna as the capital of Egypt. Egyptologist Toby Wilkinson said that "It has been called 'one of the most significant and splendid pieces of poetry to survive from the pre-Homeric world." Egyptologist John Darnell asserts that the hymn was sung.

Various courtiers' rock tombs at Amaria (ancient Akhet-Aten, the city Akhenaten founded) have similar prayers or hymns to the deity Aten or to the Aten and Akhenaten jointly. One of these, found in almost identical form in five tombs, is known as The Short Hymn to the Aten. The long version discussed in this article was found in the tomb of the courtier (and later Pharaoh) Ay.

The 18th Dynasty Pharaoh Akhenaten forbade the worship of other gods, a radical departure from the centuries of Egyptian religious practice. Akhenaton's religious reforms (later regarded heretical and reversed under his successor Pharaoh Tutankhamun) have been described by some scholars as monotheistic, though others consider them to be henotheistic.

James Henry Breasted considered Akhenaten to be the first monotheist and scientist in history. In 1899, Flinders Petrie wrote: "If this were a new religion, invented to satisfy our modern scientific conceptions, we could not find a flaw in the correctness of this view of the energy of the solar system. How much Akhenaten understood, we cannot say, but he certainly bounded forward in his views and symbolism to a position which we cannot logically improve upon at the present day. Not a rag of superstition or of falsity can be found clinging to

this new worship evolved out of the old Aton of Heliopolis, the sole Lord of the universe.")

The following lines are attributed to Pharao Akhenaten, however, there is also the possibility that parts of the text was composed by Ay as it was found in the tomb of the courtier Ay. [Ay II, commonly known just as Ay, was the penultimate pharaoh of ancient Egypt's 18th Dynasty. He held the throne of Egypt for a brief four-year period (1323–1319 BC or 1327–1323 BC, depending on which chronology is followed), although he was a close advisor to two and perhaps three of the pharaohs who ruled before him and is thought to have been the power behind the throne during Tutankhamun's reign. Ay's prenomen or royal name-Kheperkheperuremeans "Everlasting are the Manifestations of Ra" while his nomen Ay it-netjer reads as "Ay, Father of the God". Records and monuments that can be clearly attributed to Ay are rare, not only due to his short length of reign, but also because his successor, Horemheb, instigated a campaign of damnatio memoriae against him and other pharaohs associated with the unpopular Amarna Period.l:

- 1. A Hymn of praise of Her-aakhuti, the living one exalted in the Eastern Horizon in his name of Shu who is in the Aten, who liveth for ever and ever, the living and great Aten, he who is in the Set-Festival, the lord of the Circle, the Lord of the Disk, the Lord of heaven, the Lord of earth, the lord of the House of the Aten in Aakhut-Aten, of the King of the South and the North, who liveth in Truth, lord of the Two Lands (i.e., Egypt), NEFER-KHEPERU-RA UA-EN-RA, the son of Ra, who liveth in Truth, Lord of Crowns, AAKHUN-ATEN, great in the period of his life, and of the great royal woman (or wife) whom he loveth, Lady of the Two Lands, NEFER-NEFERU-ATEN NEFERTITI, who liveth in health and youth for ever and ever.
- 2. He (i.e., Ai, a Fan-bearer and the Master of the King's Horse) saith: Thy rising is beautiful in the horizon of heaven, O Aten, ordainer of life. Thou dost shoot up in the horizon of the East, thou fillest every land with thy beneficence. Thou art beautiful and great and sparkling, and exalted above every land. Thy arrows (i.e., rays) envelop (i.e., penetrate) everywhere all the lands which thou hast made.
- 3. Thou art as Ra. Thou bringest them according to their number, thou subduest them for thy beloved son. Thou thyself art afar off, but thy beams are upon the earth; thou art in their faces, they admire thy goings. Thou settest in the horizon of the west, the earth is in darkness, in the form of death. Men lie down in a booth wrapped up in cloths, one eye cannot see its fellow. If all their possessions, which are under their heads, be carried away they perceive it not.
- 4. Every lion emergeth from his lair, all the creeping things bite, darkness is a warm retreat. The land is in silence. He who made them hath set in his horizon. The earth becometh light, thou shootest up in the horizon, shining in the Aten in the day, thou scatterest the darkness. Thou sendest out thine arrows (i.e., rays), the Two Lands make festival, men wake up, stand upon their feet, it is thou who raisest them up. They wash their members, they take their apparel
- 5. and array themselves therein, their hands are stretched out in praise at thy rising, throughout the land they do their works. Beasts and cattle of all kinds settle down upon the pastures, shrubs and vegetables flourish, the feathered fowl fly about over their marshes, their feathers praising thy Ka (person). All the cattle rise up on their legs, creatures that fly and insects of all kinds
- 6. spring into life, when thou risest up on them. The boats drop down and sail up the river, likewise every road openeth (or showeth itself) at thy rising, the fish in the river swim towards thy face, thy beams are in the depths of the Great Green (i.e., the Mediterranean and Red Seas). Thou makest offspring to take form in women, creating seed in men. Thou makest the son to live in the womb of his mother, making him to be quiet that he crieth not; thou art a nurse
- 7. in the womb, giving breath to vivify that which he hath made. When he droppeth from the womb ... on the day of his birth he openeth his mouth in the ordinary manner, thou providest his sustenance. The young bird in the egg speaketh in the shell, thou givest breath to him inside it to make him to live. Thou makest for him his mature form so that he can crack the shell being inside the egg. He cometh forth from the egg, he chirpeth with all his might, when he hath come forth from it (the egg), he walketh on his two feet. O how many are the things which thou hast made! They are hidden from the face, O thou
- 8. One God, like whom there is no other. Thou didst create the earth by thy heart (or will), thou alone existing, men and women, cattle, beasts of every kind that are upon the earth, and that move upon feet (or legs), all the creatures that are in the sky and that fly with their wings, and the deserts of Syria and Kesh (Nubia), and the Land of Egypt. Thou settest every person in his place. Thou providest their daily food, every man having the portion allotted to him, thou dost compute the duration of his life. Their tongues are different in speech, their characteristics (or forms), and

9. likewise their skins in colour, giving distinguishing marks to the dwellers in foreign lands. Thou makest Hapi (the Nile) in the Tuat (Underworld), thou bringest it when thou wishest to make mortals to live, inasmuch as thou hast made them for thyself, their Lord who dost support them to the uttermost, O thou Lord of every land, thou shinest upon them, O ATEN of the day, thou great one of majesty. Thou makest the life of all remote lands. Thou settest a Nile in heaven, which cometh down to them.

10. It maketh a flood on the mountains like the Great Green Sea, it maketh to be watered their fields in their villages. How beneficent are thy plans, O Lord of Eternity! A Nile in heaven art thou for the dwellers in the foreign lands (or deserts), and for all the beasts of the desert that go upon feet (or legs). Hapi (the Nile) cometh from the Tuat for the land of Egypt. Thy beams nourish every field; thou risest up and they live, they germinate for thee. Thou makest the Seasons to develop everything that thou hast made:

- 11. The season of Pert (i.e., Nov. 16-March 16) so that they may refresh themselves, and the season Heh (i.e., March 16-Nov. 16) in order to taste thee. I Thou hast made the heaven which is remote that thou mayest shine therein and look upon everything that thou hast made. Thy being is one, thou shinest (or, shootest up) among thy creatures as the LIVING ATEN, rising, shining, departing afar off, returning. Thou hast made millions of creations (or, evolutions) from thy one self (viz.) towns and cities, villages, fields, roads and river. Every eye (i.e., all men) beholdeth thee confronting it. Thou art the Aten of the day at its zenith.
- 12. At thy departure thine eye ... thou didst create their faces so that thou mightest not see. ... ONE thou didst make ... Thou art in my heart. There is no other who knoweth thee except thy son Nefer-kheperu-Ra Ua-en-Ra. Thou hast made him wise to understand thy plans and thy power. The earth came into being by thy hand, even as thou hast created them (i.e., men). Thou risest, they live; thou settest, they die. As for thee, there is duration of life in thy members, life is in thee. All eyes gaze upon
- 13. thy beauties until thou settest, when all labours are relinquished. Thou settest in the West, thou risest, making to flourish ... for the King. Every man who standeth on his foot, since thou didst lay the foundation of the earth, thou hast raised up for thy son who came forth from thy body, the King of the South and the North, Living in Truth, Lord of Crowns, Aakhun-Aten, great in the duration of his life and for the Royal Wife, great of majesty, Lady of the Two Lands, Neferneferu-Aten Nefertiti, living and young for ever and ever.

THE TALE OF TWO BROTHERS

Source: Papyrus D'Orbiney, British Museum 10183 Translation: Anonymus Estimated Range of Dating: 1200 B.C.

(The Tale of Two Brothers is an ancient Egyptian story that dates from the reign of Pharaoh Seti II, who ruled from 1200 to 1194 BC (1209-1205 BC) during the 19th Dynasty of the New Kingdom. The story is preserved on the Papyrus D'Orbiney, which is currently preserved in the British Museum. This story may have been a political satire based in part on his own difficulties with his half brother, the usurper Amenmesse. It is similar to the story of Joseph in the house of Potiphar, in Genesis 39:1-20. It is claimed that the Papyrus D'Orbiney (P. Brit. Mus. 10183); was written towards the end of the 19th dynasty by the scribe Ennana. It was acquired by the British Museum in 1857.

Synopsis

The story centres around two brothers: Anpu (Anubis), who is married, and the younger Bata. The brothers work together, farming land and raising cattle. One day, Anpu's wife attempts to seduce Bata. When he strongly rejects her advances, the wife tells her husband that his brother attempted to seduce her and beat her when she refused. In response to this, Anpu attempts to kill Bata, who flees and prays to Re-Harakhti to save him. The god creates a crocodile-infested lake between the two brothers, across which Bata is finally able to appeal to his brother and share his side of the events. To emphasise his sincerity, Bata severs has genitalia and throws them into the water, where a catlish eats them.

Bata states that he is going to the Valley of the Cedar, where he will place his heart on the top of the blossom of a cedar tree, so that if it is cut down Anpu will be able to find it and allow Bata to become alive again. Bata tells Anpu that if he is ever given a jar of beer that froths, he should know to seek out his brother. After hearing of his brother's plan, Anpu returns home and kills his wife. Meanwhile, Bata is establishing a life in the Valley of the Cedar, building a new home for himself. Bata comes upon the Ennead, or the principal Egyptian deities, who take pity on him. Khnum, the god frequently depicted in Egyptian mythology as having fashioned humans on a potters' wheel, creates a wife for Bata. Because of her divine creation, Bata's wife is sought after by

the pharaoh. When the pharaoh succeeds in bringing her to live with him, she tells him to cut down the tree in which Bata has put his heart. They do so, and Bata dies.

Anpu then receives a frothy jar of beer and sets off to the Valley of the Cedar. He searches for his brother's heart for more than three years, finding it at the beginning of the fourth year. He follows Bata's instructions and puts the heart in a bowl of cold water. As predicted, Bata is resurrected.

Bata then takes the form of a bull and goes to see his wife and the pharaoh. His wife, aware of his presence as a bull, asks the pharaoh if she may eat its liver. The bull is then sacrificed, and two drops of Bata's blood fall, from which grow two Persea trees. Bata, now in the form of a tree, again addresses his wife, and she appeals to the pharaoh to cut down the Persea trees and use them to make furniture. As this is happening, a splinter ends up in the wife's mouth, impregnating her. She eventually gives birth to a son, whom the pharaoh ultimately makes crown prince. When the pharaoh dies, the crown prince (a resurrected Bata) becomes king, and he appoints his elder brother Anpu as crown prince. The story ends happily, with the brothers at peace with one another and in control of their country.

Context and Themes

There are several themes present in the Tale of Two Brothers that are significant to ancient Egyptian culture. One of these is kingship. The second half of the tale deals largely with Egyptian ideas of kingship and the connection between divinity and the pharaoh. That Bata's wife ultimately ends up pregnant with him is a reference the duality of the role of women in pharaonic succession; the roles of wife and mother were often simultaneous. Also, the divine aspect of his wife's creation could be seen to serve as legitimacy for the kingship of Bata, especially since he was not actually the child of the pharaoh. Beyond this, Bata's closeness with the Ennead in the middle of the story also serves to legitimize his rule; the gods bestowed divine favor upon Bata in his time of need.

There are also several references to the separation of Egypt into two lands. Throughout ancient Egyptian history, even when the country is politically unified and stable, it is acknowledged that there are two areas: Lower Egypt, the area in the north including the Nile Delta, and Upper Egypt, the area to the south. In the beginning of the story, Bata is referred to as unique because there was "none like him in the entire land, for a god's virility was in him." Additionally, whenever one of the brothers becomes angry, they are said to behave like an "Upper Egyptian panther," or, in another translation, like "a cheetah of the south."

Interpretation and analysis

There are several issues to consider when analyzing ancient Egyptian literature in general, and the Tale of Two Brothers is no different. One difficulty of analyzing the literature of ancient Egypt is that "such scarcity of sources gives to the observation of any kind of historical development within Ancient Egyptian literature a highly hypothetical status and makes the reconstruction of any intertextual networks perhaps simply impossible." Loprieno notes that the euhemeristic theory is often successfully employed in the analysis of ancient Egyptian literature; this the historiocentric method of analyzing literature as it pertained to political events.

With relation to the Tale of Two Brothers, Susan Tower Hollis also advocates this approach, saying that the story might "contain reflexes of an actual historical situation." Specifically, Hollis speculates that the story might have had its origins in the succession dispute following Merneptah's reign at the end of the 13th century BC. When Merneptah died, Seti II was undoubtedly the rightful heir to the throne, but he was challenged by Amenmesse, who ruled for at least a few years in Upper Egypt, although Seti II ultimately ruled for six full years.

Biblical parallels

Because of the Egyptian location wherein the scene is staged, it is not impossible to detect in the biblical account of Joseph and Potiphar's wife a more recent echo of the very old Egyptian fable of the two brothers Bata and Anpu.)

TALE OF TWO BROTHERS (Anonymous, translated by Anonymous—Excerpted from Tale of Two Brothers on Wikipedia.)

The Tale of Two Brothers - Anpu and Bata

Once, there were two brothers. Anpu was the name of the elder and Bata was was the name of the younger. When their parents died, Anpu was already married and had a house of his own, but his little brother was to him, as it were, a son; so he took his little brother to live with him. When the little brother grew into a young man, he was an excellent worker. He it was who made for him his clothes; he it was who followed behind his oxen to the fields; he it was who did the plowing; he it was who harvested the corn; he it was who did

for him all the matters which were in the field. There was not an equal in the land. Behold the spirit of a god was with him.

Every morning, the younger brother followed his oxen and worked all day in the fields and every evening he returned to the house with vegetables, milk, and wood. And he put them down before his elder brother who was sitting with his wife; and he drank and ate, and after he lay down in his stable with the cattle. And at the dawn of the next day he took bread which he had baked, and laid it before his elder brother; and he took with him his bread to the field, and he drave his cattle to pasture in the fields.

And as he walked behind his cattle, they said to him, "Good is the herbage which is in that place"; and he listened to all that they said, and he took them to the good place which they desired. And the cattle which were before him became exceedingly excellent, and they greatly multiplied in number.

Now at the time of plowing his elder brother said to him, "Let ourselves make a good yoke of oxen ready for plowing, for the land has come out from the water; it is ready for plowing. Furthermore, come to the field with corn, and we will begin the plowing tomorrow morning." this the elder brother said; and his younger brother did all things as his elder brother had told him to do.

And when the morning came, they went to the fields with all of their things; and their hearts were greatly pleased with their tasks they had to do for the beginning of their daily work.

After this, as they were in the field, they stopped for corn, and the elder brother sent his younger brother, saying, "Hurry, bring us the corn from the for planting.

And the younger brother returned home to find the wife of his elder brother, as she was sitting brushing her hair. He said to her, "Get up, and give me corn, so that I may run back to the field, for my elder brother is in a hurry, to not delay. She said to him, "Go open the bin, and take as much as you wish, so that I may not let my braids of hair fall while I am brushing them."

The youth went into the stable; carrying a large measure, for he wished to take much corn; he loaded the measure with wheat and barley; and he left carrying it on his shoulders. She said to him, "How much of the corn that is wanted, is that which is on thy shoulder?" He replied to her, "Three bushels of barley, and two of wheat, in all five; these are what I carry upon my shoulders". And she seductively spoke with him, saying, "There is great strength in you, for I see your strength every day." And her heart knew him with the knowledge of the passion of youth. And she arose and came close to him, and spoke with him, saying, "Come, stay and play with me, and it shall be well for you, and I will make beautiful clothes for you."

Then the youth became like a panther of the south with fury at the seductive evil of her words to him; and she greatly feared for the consequences. And then he spoke angrily to her, saying, "Look, you are like a mother to me, your husband is like a father to me, for he who is older than I has raised me. What is this wickedness that you have said to me? Never say it to me again. But, meanwhile, I won't tell anyone of it, for I will not let it be said by the mouth of any man" He lifted up his burden, and he went to the field and came to his elder brother; and they took up their work, to labour together at their task

Rebuked, and because Anpu loved his brother very much, his wife became jealous and wanted to destroy Bata.

Now afterward, at evening, his elder brother was returning to his house; and the younger brother was following behind with his oxen, loading himself with all the things of the field, Driving the oxen before him, he took them to lie down in their stable which was in the farm.

Meanwhile the wife of the elder brother was afraid of what she had said. So she took a parcel of fat, and used it to make it look as though she was one who is evilly beaten, intending to say to her husband, "It is your younger brother who has done this wrong." Her husband returned in the evening as was his normally did each day: and as he came into his house, he found his wife ill from the violence: she did not give him water to wash his hands as she normally did, she did not make a light for him, and his house was in darkness, as she was lying down seemingly very sick.

Her husband said to her, "Who has done this to you?" She said, "No one has spoken with me today except your younger brother. When he came to take the corn for you he found me sitting alone; he said to me, 'Come, let us stay and play together, tie up your hair': This he said to me. I did not listen to him, but I said to him: 'Look, am I not your mother, is not your elder brother like a father to you?' And he was afraid, and he beat me to stop me from telling you, and if you should let him live I shall die. Now look, he is coming in the evening; and I complain of these wicked words, for he did this even in the daylight"

And now the elder brother became like a panther in the south; he sharpened his knife; he took it in his hand; he stood behind the door of the stable to kill his younger brother as he came in the evening to return his cattle to the stable.

Now the sun went down, and he loaded himself with vegetables in his usual manner. He came in, and the first cow entered the stable, and she said to her keeper, "Look your elder brother is standing in the dark before you with his knife to kill you; run from him." He heard what his first cow had said and didn't enter. The next entering, the cow said it again. He looked beneath the door of the stable; he saw the feet of his elder brother as he was standing behind the door, with his knife in his hand. He threw down his load to the ground, and fled swiftly as his elder brother chased after him with his knife.

The the younger brother cried out to Ra Harakhti (the Sungod), saying, "My good lord! you are the one who divides the evil from the good." And Ra, the sun, about to rise heard his cry; and so Ra made a wide canal of water between him and his elder brother, and it was full of crocodiles; with the one brother on one bank, whilst the other was on the other bank; and the elder brother hit his hands together at being unable to kill him. And the younger brother called to his elder brother on other bank, saying, "Stand still until sun rises for the day; and when Ra rises, I shall swear my innocence to you before him, and as he can distinguish between the good and the evil. And has not your wife been as a mother to me? And I shall leave you forever; Now, since you want to kill me I shall avoid every place where you are; I shall go to the valley of the Acacia.

Now when the land was lightened, and the next day appeared, Ra Harakhti rose, and one brother looked at the other. And the youth spoke with his elder brother, saying, "Why have you come after me to kill me secretly, when you have not heard the words of innocence from my mouth? For I am truly your brother, and you are to me as a father, and your wife even as a mother: is this not true? Anpu answered, "Why did you beat up my wife and almost kill her?" Bata answered, "I did no such thing. Have I not told you that I have always looked upon her as my mother?"

'Truly, when I was sent to bring corn for us, your wife said to me, 'Come, stay and play with me;' for see this truth has been turned over for you into its opposite." And he made him understand of all that happened with him and his wife. And he swore an oath by Ra Harakhti, saying, "Your coming to kill me secretly with your knife was an abomination." Then the vouth took a knife, and cut off of his flesh, and cast it into the water, and the fish swallowed it. He fell and fainted; and his elder brother cursed his own heart greatly; he stood weeping for him from far off; as he knew he could not pass over to where his younger brother lay, because of the crocodiles. And the younger brother called unto him, saying, "Whilst you have dreamed an evil thing, wilt you not also dream a good thing, just like that which I would do for you? When you go to your house you must look after your cattle properly, And now as to what you shall do for me; I know you shall come to seek after me, if you see it enough. And this is what shall happen; I shall draw out my soul, and I shall put it upon the top of the flowers of the acacia, and when the acacia is cut down, and it falls to the ground, and you come to look for it, if you search for it even for seven years do not let your heart grow wearied. For thou will find it, and then you must put it in a cup of cold water, and know then that I shall live again, that I will make better that which has been done wrong. And you shall know of this, that is to say, that good things are happening to me, for when one person shall give a cup of beer to you in your hand, and it shall tremble: do not stop then, for truly it shall come to pass with you.

So Anpu went home. He found his wife near the river washing off the black and blue dye with which she had painted herself. Filled with great anger, Anpu killed his wife and cast her to the dogs. Then he sat down, poured ashes on his head, and mourned for his younger brother. Bata reached the Valley of the Acacia. There was no one with him; he slew wild animals of the desert for his food and built himself a house under the sacred acacia tree, the tree sacred to the gods, which bore his soul upon the topmost flower. And after this he built himself a tower with his own hands, in the valley of the acacia; it was full of all good things, that he might provide for himself a home.

One day as he walked out of his house, he met the Nine Gods who knew of his innocence and goodness. Ra said to the god Khunumu, "Look, make a woman for Bata that he may not remain alone. And Khunumu made for Bata a wife to dwell with him. She was indeed more beautiful than any other woman in the whole land. She was like a goddess as the essence of every god was in her and Bata loved her very much. The seven Hathors came to see her: they said with one mouth, "She will die a sharp death."

And Bata loved her very exceedingly, and she dwelt in his house; he passed his time in hunting the beasts of the desert, and brought and laid them before her. He said, "Go not outside, lest the sea seize you; for I cannot rescue you from it, for I am a person like you; my soul is placed on the head of the flower of the acacia; and if another find it, I must fight with him." And he opened unto her his heart in all its nature.

Now after saying these things Bata went to hunt in his daily manner. And the young girl went to walk under the acacia which was by the side of her house. Then the sea saw her, and

cast its waves up after her. She ran from before it. She entered her house. And the sea called unto the acacia, saying, "Oh, would that I could seize her!" And the acacia brought a lock from her hair, and the sea carried it to Egypt, and dropped it in the place of the fullers, the makers of Pharaoh's linen. The smell of the lock of hair entered into the clothes of Pharaoh; and they were angry with the fullers of Pharaoh, saying, "The smell of ointment is in the clothes of Pharaoh." And the people were rebuked every day, they knew not what they should do. And the chief fuller of Pharaoh walked by the bank, and his heart was very evil within him after the daily quarrel with him. He stood still, he stood upon the sand opposite to the lock of hair, which was in the water, and he made a servant go into the water and bring it to him; and there was found in it a smell, exceedingly sweet. He took it to Pharaoh; and they brought the scribes and the wise men, and they said unto Pharaoh, "This lock of hair belongs to a daughter of Ra Harakhti: the essence of every god is in her, and it is a tribute to thee from another land. Let messengers go to every strange land to seek her: and as for the messenger who shall go to the valley of the acacia, let many men go with him to bring her." Then said his majesty, "Excellent, this is exceeding is what has been said to us;" and they sent them. And many days after these things the people who were sent to strange lands came to report to the king: but those that went to the valley of the Acacia did not return, for Bata had killed them, but he let one of them return to give a report to the king. His majesty sent many men and soldiers, as well as horsemen to hold Bata, and to bring her back. And there was a woman amongst them, and to her had been given in her hand beautiful ornaments of a woman. And this time the girl came back with her, and they rejoiced over her in the whole land.

And his majesty loved her exceedingly, and raised her to high estate; and he spoke to her saying that she should tell him concerning her husband. And she said, "Let the acacia be cut down, and let one chop it up." And they sent men and soldiers with their weapons to cut down the acacia; and they came to the acacia, and they cut the flower upon which was the soul of Bata, and he fell dead suddenly.

And when the next day came, and the earth was lightened, the acacia was cut down. And Anpu, the elder brother of Bata, entered his house, and washed his hands; and a person gave him a cup of beer, and it became troubled; and another one gave him another of wine, and the smell of it was evil. Then he took his staff, and his sandals, and likewise his clothes, with his weapons of war; and he went forth to the valley of the acacia. He entered the tower of his younger brother, and he found him lying upon his mat; he was dead. And he wept when he saw his younger brother truly was lying dead. And he went out to seek the soul of his younger brother under the acacia tree, under which his younger brother lay in the evening

He spent three years in seeking for it, but found it not. And when he began looking in the fourth year, he desired in his heart to return into Egypt; he said in his heart, "I will go tomorrow morning". Now when the land lightened, and the next day appeared, he was walking under the acacia; he was spending his time in seeking the flower. And he returned in the evening, and laboured at seeking it again. Then he at last found a seed. He returned with it. Look, this was the soul of his younger brother. He brought a cup of cold water, and he threw the seed into it: and he sat down, as he usually did. Now when the night came his soul of his brother sucked up the water; Bata then shuddered in all his limbs, and he looked on his elder brother; his soul was in the cup. Then Anpu took the cup of cold water, in which the soul of his younger brother was; Bata drank it, his soul stood again in its proper place, and he became as he had been. They embraced each other, and they spoke together.

And Bata said to his elder brother, "Behold I am to become as a great bull, which bears every good mark; no one knows its history, and you must sit upon my back. When the sun arises I shall be in the place where my wife is, that I may return answer to her; and you must take me to the place where the king is. For all good things shall be done for you; for one shall load you with silver and gold, because you bring me to Pharaoh, for I become a great marvel, and they shall rejoice for me in all the land. And you shalt go to your village."

And when the land was lightened, and the next day appeared, Bata took the form of the bull, like he had told his elder brother. And Anpu sat upon his back until the dawn. Together they came to the place where the king was, and they made his majesty to know of him; he saw him, and he was exceeding joyful with him. The king made for him great offerings, saying, "This is a great wonder which has come to pass." There were rejoicings over him in the whole land. They presented unto him silver and gold for his elder brother, who went and stayed in his village. They gave to the bull many men and many things, and Pharaoh loved him exceedingly above all that is in this land.

And after many days after these things, the bull entered the purlfied place; he stood in the place where the princess was; he began to speak with her, saying, "Behold, I am alive again." And she said to him, "And, pray, who are you?" He said to

her, "I am Bata. I perceived when you told them that they should destroy the acacia of Pharaoh, which was my abode, that I would die. Look! I am alive again, I am as an ox." Then the princess feared exceedingly for the words that her husband had spoken to her. And he went out from the purlfied place.

And his majesty was sitting, making a good day with her: she was at the table of his majesty, and the king was exceeding pleased with her. And she said to his majesty, "Swear to me by God, saying, 'What ever you shalt say, I will obey it for your sake." He listened carefully to all that she said, even this. "Let me eat of the liver of the ox, because he is fit for nothing:" said the woman to him. And the king was exceeding sad at her words, the heart of Pharaoh grieved greatly. And after the land was lightened, and the next day appeared, they proclaimed a great feast with offerings to the ox. And the king sent one of the chief butchers of his majesty, to cause the ox to be sacrificed. And when he was sacrificed, as he was upon the shoulders of the people, he shook his neck, and he threw two drops of blood over against the two doors of his majesty. The one fell upon the one side, on the great door of Pharaoh, and the other upon the other door. They grew as two great Persea trees, and each of them was excellent.

And one went to tell unto his majesty, "Two great Persea trees have grown, as a great marvel of his majesty, in the night by the side of the great gate of his majesty." And there was rejoicing for them in all the land, and there were offerings made to them

And when the days were multiplied after these things, his majesty was adorned with the blue crown, with garlands of flowers on his neck, and he was upon the chariot of pale gold, and he went out from the palace to behold the Persea trees: the princess also was going out with horses behind his majesty. And as his majesty sat beneath one of the Persea trees, it spoke to his wife: "Oh thou deceifful one, I am Bata, I am alive, though I have been evilly entreated. I knew who caused the acacia to be cut down by Pharaoh at my dwelling. I then became an ox, and you caused me to be killed."

And many days after these things the princess stood at the table of Pharaoh, and the king was pleased with her. And she said to his majesty, "Swear to me by God, saying, 'That which the princess shall say to me I will obey it for her." And he listened carefully o all she said. And she commanded, these two Persea trees be cut down, and let them be made into goodly planks." And after this his majesty sent skilful craftsmen, and they cut down the Persea trees of Pharaoh; and the princess, the royal wife, was standing looking on, and they did all that was in her heart unto the trees. But a chip flew up, and it entered into the mouth of the princess; she swallowed it, and after many days she bore a son. And one went to tell his majesty, "There is born to you a son." And they brought him, and gave to him a nurse and servants; and there were rejoicings in the whole land. And the king sat making a merry day, as they were about the naming of him, and his majesty loved him exceedingly at that moment, and the king raised him to be the royal son of Kush.

Now after the days had multiplied after these things, his majesty made him heir of all the land. And many days after that, when he had furfilled many years as heir, his majesty flew up to heaven. And the heir said, "Let my great nobles of his majesty be brought before me, that I may make them to know all that has happened to me." And they brought also before him his wife, and he judged with her before him, and they agreed with him. They brought to him his elder brother; he made him hereditary prince in all his land. He was thirty years king of Egypt, and he died, and his elder brother stood in his place on the day of burial.

Excellently finished in peace, for the ka of the scribe of the treasury Kagalu, of the treasury of Pharaoh, and for the scribe Hora, and the scribe Meremapt. Written by the scribe Nena, the owner of this roll. He who speaks against this roll, may the god Diehuti smite him.

EL ARISH STONE

El Arish Inscriptions The Stone of El Arish, northern Sinai coast Archaeological Museum of Ismailia Translation: Francis Llewellyn Griffith, 1890 Estimated Range of Dating: 380-360 B.C.

(In 1887, on a farm at El Arish, Sinai, Egypt [northern coast, c. 50km west of the border of Israel], a small monument was found lying on its backside as it was overturned to serve as a cattle-trough. The inscriptions on it had suffered but they were still visible.

The monument can be described as a shrine made of black granite which looks like a very short obelisk with a roof in the shape of a pyramid and with a deep niche in front like a door opening. This opening might once have served as shrine niche in which the owner could place a statuette and some little fruit offering before it, just as it is used similarly in India and China still today. The entirety of all surfaces is covered by inscriptions in Egyptian hieroglyphs, even inside the niche. The shrine weighs about a tonne and is almost 4 feet tall

[c.115cm] and 2 feet [c. 55cm] wide on all 4 sides. It can be seen in the Archaeological Museum of Ismailia. Ismailia is a city in north-eastern Egypt situated on the west bank of the Suez Canal and the eastern end of the Canal of the Pharaos, not far away from Avaris, the ancient Hyksos capital.

When archaeologist Francis Llewellyn Griffith found the shrine, he analysed the writing style and dated the object to the Ptolemaic period, specifically the 30th Dynasty (380-360 BC), when it was probably used as a shrine. The contents of the inscriptions, however, narrate events that took place in c. 1500 BC. They bear a strong resemblance with the Exodus narrative of the Second Book of Moses in the Tanakh [Old Testament]. The main difference is that the text on the El Arish Stone tells the story from the Pharaoh's, not Moses', point of view. Basically, the text mentions [1st] the building project of a temple, [2nd] the story of the invading Hyksos who gained power in northern Egypt, [3rd] the defeat of the Hyksos, and [4th] the story of a tempest that could be interpreted as the events of the massive Thera / Santorini volcano eruption and its disastrous aftermath. See: Tempest Stele Artefacts Grand Bible)

Text:

"The majesty of Shu was as a good King of heaven, earth, and the underworld, of water and winds, of the primeval waters, of hills and of the sea, giving all regulations upon the throne of his father Ra Harmakhis as triumphant. Now behold the majesty of Shu was in his palace in Memphis: his majesty said to the great cycle of nine gods which followed him, "Come now, let us proceed to the Eastern horizon [Or the horizon of Bekhat. Bekhat was the mountain from which the sun rose. At Nebes was particularly the city of the rising sun.], to my palace in At Nebes, and see our father Ra-Harmakhis in the Eastern horizon: let us pass thither by the Canal*, let us employ ourselves in ordering our palace at At Nebes."

[* The mentioned "Canal," also known as "Canal of the Pharaohs," was first built by Pharao Khakaure Senusret III who ruled from 1878 BC to 1839 BC. The earliest precursor of the Suez Canal runs from the easternmost branch of the Nile near Bubastis 50 miles (80 km) to today's Ismailia, then running 13 miles (20 km) southward to the Bitter Lakes and finally running another 20 miles (30 km) straight towards the Gulf of Suez. The waterway was intended to facilitate trade between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean.

Pharao Necho II, r. 610-595 BC, decided to repair the Canal. As Necho died, the giant project was finished by Darius the Great (r. 550–486 BC) at around 500 BC and in his Suez Inscriptions he called it "Canal of the Pharaohs". The text reads: "King Darius says: I am a Persian; setting out from Persia I conquered Egypt. I ordered to dig this canal from the river that is called Nile and flows in Egypt, to the sea that begins in Persia. Therefore, when this canal had been dug as I had ordered, ships went from Egypt through this canal to Persia, as I had intended." The Greek Pharao Ptolemy II. r.283 to 246 BC, improved the canal's proper function in the years 274/273 BC by fitting it with a water lock. In the 2nd century AD, Ptolemy the Astronomer mentions the canal as "River of Trajan". Islamic texts say that the canal had been silted up by the 7th century, but was reopened in 641 or 642 AD by 'Amr ibn al-'As, the Muslim conqueror of Egypt, and which was in use until closed in 767 in order to stop supplies reaching Mecca and Medina, which were in rebellion. Thereafter, the land routes to tranship camel caravans' goods were from Alexandria to ports on the Red Sea or the northern Roman silk route through the Caucasian Mountains transhipping on the Caspian Sea and thence to India. During his Egyptian expedition, Napoleon Bonaparte found the canal again in 1799. Today it clearly can be seen from spaceships orbiting round the Earth.]

Then they did according to all that his majesty decreed: The majesty of Shu proceeded to his palace in the House of the Aart. Then were built all the apartments [or rooms]? Of Hat Nebes [Hat or At Nebes, a place connected to the Sycamore (from Greek sukomoros, from Hebrew shikma, literally "figmulberry".) Originally it is a large tree bearing edible fruit. Ficus sycomorus, allied to the common fig and found in Egypt and Syria. It was the ancient Egyptian Tree of Life. Its fruit, timber, and twigs, are richly represented in the tombs of all Egyptian dynasties. In Canaan, it was economically a valuable fruit tree.] like heaven upon its four supports: then was built the house of Sepd anew for the majesty of Shu, it is the temple that he loves; account of all its arrangements as to the points to which it faced, whether towards the south the north the west or the east: the temples were erected in all the places where they had been: eight chapels were made on the left, eight on the right, eight in the court of the Eastern Horizon: This temple belongeth to Shu in his name of Sepd lord of the East: the face of each of these chanels was towards its fellow: they were the apartments? of the great cycle of nine gods, and of the lesser cycle, of the gods who attend on Ra and the gods who attend on Shu: moreover there were built enclosures for Shu in Hat Nebes surrounding his temple: now the face of this temple was towards the East, the sun's rising; and those

deities who dwelt in the places of the temples of each nome dwelt in it, in case the nome [province] should fall into confusion, let one explain? this arrangement: the enclosure of Hat Nebes reached to Hat Nebes on its north, and its face was towards the South: the temples were on its sides and their faces were towards the East: a pool was on its South side, a pool on its North side: a great storehouse? of [. . . .] was in front of this temple reaching to Per Art. Now Per Art was of the time of Ra: the majesty of Shu placed his staff upon the At [. . . .] and it became a sacred locality in At Nebes, its southern face was towards the Per Art: gods, goddesses, men, and all flesh (animalic creation?) had not entered it to see the secrets in the horizon: it (the privilege) was granted in the time of Ra, who made a great wall standing around it of [. . . .] cubits on its four sides, 20 cubits high [c. 10 metres as one cubit is circa 50 cm.], 15 cubits thick. As to the sacred lake in At Nebes it was [. . . .] cubits [. . . .] of At Nebes: Shu himself digged it in the time of the majesty of Ra: its arrangement was not seen nor sealed? to [gods and goddesses] men and flesh: A circuit was set up on every side of it, of 190 cubits (in length), 110 cubits in its breadth [. . . . cubits] in height, 15 cubits in thickness: separating all temples from it by mysterious and secret work in [. . . .] Then came the majesty of Shu and raised up At Nebes even as the sky is fixed, and all its temples even as the horizon. Now it happened that he departed to be enthroned as king of the gods in At Nebes, at the time that he ascended the throne of Harmakhis.

Then the children of the dragon Apep, the evil-doers of Usheru [meaning the occupiers, the rulers from abroad, the Phoenician-Canaanite Hyksos, in Egypt known as Habiru / Hebrew.] and of the red country [The desert on the north-east border.] came upon the road of At Nebes, invading Egypt at nightfall now these evil-doers [Hyksos / Habiru] came from the Eastern hills upon all the roads of At Nebes:

Then the majesty of Shu, the gods who attend Ra and the gods who attend Shu caused to be fortified all the places around At Nebes: these places were since the time of Ra when the majesty of Ra was in At Nebes At Nebes they are the mighty walls of Egypt repelling the evil-doers when Apep penetrates? to Egypt: the gods who are in them are the defences of this land, they are the supports of heaven that watch? the ... of the eternal horizon: they are the throne? of Shu in Hat Nebes: those who dwell in the places in At Nebes they raise the land Per Sepd: they are the spirits of the East to Ra Harmachis they elevate Ra to heaven in the morning upon? the pillars of heaven: they are the possessors of the Eastern hills: they are the rescuers of Ra from Apep. Account of all the places around Hat Nebes together with the gods who are in them: the Place of the Whirlpool [lake or water lock] in At Nebes is a pool upon the East of Hat Nebes in which the majesty of Ra proceeded." (Another pool is mentioned on the East of Hat Nebes.)

"Now it came to pass that the majesty of Shu obtained the whole land, none could stand before him, no other god was in the mouth of his soldiers? but sickness came upon him confusion seized the eyes? he made his chapel evil fell upon this land, a great disturbance in the palace, disturbed those who were of the household of Shu.

Then Seb saw Tefnut and loved her greatly, his heart desired her: he wandered over the earth in search of her in great affliction [Or: for a long time.].

The majesty of Shu departed to heaven with his attendants: Tefnut was in the place of her enthronement in Memphis. Now she proceeded to the royal house of Shu in the time of mid-day: the great cycle of nine gods were upon the path of eternity, the road of his father Ra Harmakhis. Then the majesty of Seb met her he found her in this? place which is called Pekharti?: he seized her by force: the palace was in great affliction. Shu had departed to heaven: there was no exit from the palace by the space of nine days. Now these nine days were in violence and tempest [see: The Tempest Stele]: none whether god or man could see the face of his fellow.

The majesty of Seb came forth appearing? upon the throne of his father Shu: every royal dwelling? did him homage. Then after 75 days Seb proceeded to the North country: Shu had flown up to heaven, the great chief of the plain at the head of his city the prince of the hills . . . came? he went not to Heliopolis: moreover certain Asiatics [Canaanites] carried his sceptre, called Degai, who live on what the gods abominate; behold he went to the East of Usher: He entered the house of the Aar the Eastern gate? of At Nebes:

He discussed the history of this city with the gods who attended him and they told him all that happened when the majesty of Ra was in At Nebes, the conflicts of the king Tum in this locality, the valour of the majesty of Shu in this city, the deeds of Shu in the wonders of the goddess Ankhet done to Ra when he was with her: the victories of the majesty of Shu, smiting the evil ones, when he placed her (the serpent) upon his brow. Then said the majesty of Seb, I also will place her upon my head even as my father Shu did.

Seb entered Per Aart together with the gods who were with him: then he stretched forth his hand to take the case in which Ankhet was: the snake came forth and breathed its vapour upon the majesty of Seb, confounding him greatly: those who

followed him fell dead: his majesty burned with this venom? his majesty proceeded to the north of At Nebes with this burning of the uraeus Hert Tep.

Then his majesty reached the fields of henna* but his majesty was not healed? then he said to the gods who followed him, "Come! let this Aar (cap? or wig?) of Ra be brought here." [The Henu plant: in I.25 the district is called the "land of the henu." The modern name of Goshen, Saft el henna. The henu plant was used in the treatment of stings or snake-bites, and the name occurs in the Pyramid Texts ans in Song of Solomon 1:14.] They said to him: "Nay, let thy majesty go to see its mystery: it will heal his majesty of that which is ... upon thee" behold the majesty of Seb had the Aart placed upon his head in the Per Aart and had made for it a box of real hard stone (or metal), it was hidden in this place, namely, the Per Aart near the sacred Aart of the majesty of Ra: then was healed this heat in the limbs of the majesty of Seb.

Now years passed after this, then this Aart of the majesty of Seb was taken [back] to the Per Aart in the At Nebes: it was carried to the great lake of Per Aart: (the place of the whirlpool is its name) to wash it: behold this Aart became a crocodile: when it reached the water it became Sebek in At Nebes.

Now when the majesty of Ra Harmachis fought with the evil-doers in this pool, the Place of the Whirlpool, the evildoers prevailed not over his majesty. His majesty leapt into the so-called Place of the Whirlpool, his legs became those of a crocodile, his head that of a hawk with a bull's horns upon it: he smote the evil-doers in the Place of the Whirlpool in the Place of the Sycamore: the Aart of Seb also in its turn did after this sort.

Now the majesty of Seb appeared in the seat of the crocodile gods, of Sebek-Ra, of Shu, of Seb, and of Osiris-Ra, upon the throne of his father Shu as king of gods of men and all flesh, in heaven. earth and the underworld, water, hills, winds, the ocean and the rocks:

His majesty was in his castle of Ruling the Two Lands in the Land of Henna? his majesty had sent messengers to summon to him the foreigners and Asiatics from their land. Now the majesty of Seb said to the great cycle of nine gods that accompanied him, "What did my father Shu when first he appeared upon the throne of his father Atum, when the majesty of Shu was in his castle in At Nebes."

This cycle of nine gods said to the majesty of Seb: "When thy father Shu appeared upon the throne of his father Atum, he smote all those who injured his father Atum: he slew the children of Apep: he made all the enemies of his father Ra to shrink. Now after he had given refreshing shade? to the two lands, to the gods and mortals who followed Atem, lord of the Northern? Anu, he brought water to the cities, he ordered the nomes, he raised up the walls of Egypt, he built the temples in the South country and the North":

The majesty of Seb said to these gods, "Tell me the places which were made in the time of the majesty of Ra which he set up over the land; also tell me the nomes which the majesty of Shu formed (lit. built) in his time: I will proclaim? the places of the time of the majesty of Ra in all the nomes formed by the majesty of Shu. For I shall form them anew, I desire to make them in my reign." They read before the majesty of Shu, out of the hieroglyphics myriads of localities proclaimed by the majesty of Ra in all the nomes [provinces] which the majesty of Shu formed and registered in writing in the time of the majesty of Atum when he was on earth and at the time that Shu ascended the throne of his father Ra, and at the time that Seb ascended the throne of his father Shu. Names of the places themselves the nomes according to their names excepting the nomes formed by the majesty of Ra in his time.

HERMETIC LITERATURE FROM EGYPT

(The Hermetica are the philosophical texts attributed to the legendary Hellenistic figure Hermes Trismegistus (a syncretic combination of the Greek god Hermes and the Egyptian god Thoth). These texts may vary widely in content and purpose, but are usually subdivided into two main categories:

• The "technical" Hermetica: this category contains treatises dealing with astrology, medicine and pharmacology, alchemy, and magic, the oldest of which were written in Greek and may go back as far as to the second or third century BC. Many of the texts belonging to this category were later translated into Arabic and Latin, often being extensively revised and expanded throughout the centuries. Some of them were also originally written in Arabic, though in many cases their status as an original work or translation remains unclear. These Arabic and Latin Hermetic texts were widely copied throughout the Middle Ages (the most famous example being the Emerald Tablet).

• The "philosophical" Hermetica: this category contains religio-philosophical treatises which were mostly written in the second and third centuries AD, though the very earliest one of them, the Definitions of Hermes Trismegistus to Asclepius, may go back to the first century AD. They are chiefly focused on the relationship between human beings, the cosmos, and God (thus combining philosophical anthropology, cosmology, and theology), and on moral exhortations calling for a way of life (the 'way of Hermes') leading to spiritual rebirth, and eventually to apotheosis in the form of a heavenly ascent. The treatises in this category were probably all originally written in Greek, even though some of them only survive in Coptic, Armenian, or Latin translations. During the Middle Ages, most of them were only accessible to Byzantine scholars (an important exception being the Asclepius, which mainly survives in an early Latin translation), until a compilation of Greek Hermetic treatises known as the Corpus Hermeticum was translated into Latin by the Renaissance scholars Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) and Lodovico Lazzarelli (1447–1500).

Though strongly influenced by Greek and Hellenistic philosophy (especially Platonism and Stoicism), and to a lesser extent also by Jewish ideas, many of the early Greek Hermetic treatises do contain distinctly Egyptian elements, most notably in their affinity with the traditional Egyptian wisdom literature. This used to be the subject of much doubt, but it is now generally admitted that the Hermetica as such did in fact originate in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, even if most of the later Hermetic writings (which continued to be composed at least until the twelfth century AD) clearly did not. It may even be the case that the great bulk of the early Greek Hermetica were written by Hellenizing members of the Egyptian priestly class, whose intellectual activity was centred in the environment of the Egyptian temples.

Corpus Hermeticum

The most famous among the religio-philosophical Hermetica is the Corpus Hermeticum, a selection of seventeen Greek treatises that was first compiled by Eastern Roman editors, and translated into Latin in the fifteenth century by Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) and Lodovico Lazzarelli (1447–1500). Ficino translated the first fourteen treatises (1–14), while Lazzarelli translated the remaining three (16– 18). The name of this collection is somewhat misleading, since it contains only a very small selection of extant Hermetic texts (whereas the word corpus is usually reserved for the entire body of extant writings related to some author or subject). Its individual treatises were quoted by many early authors from the second and third centuries on, but the compilation as such is first attested only in the writings of the Byzantine philosopher Michael Psellus (c. 1017–1078).

The most well known among the treatises contained in this compilation is its opening treatise, which is called the Poimandres. However, at least until the nineteenth century, this name (under various forms, such Pimander or Pymander) was also commonly used to designate the compilation as a

In 1462 Ficino was working on a Latin translation of the collected works of Plato for his patron Cosimo de' Medici (the first member of the famous de' Medici family who ruled Florence during the Italian Renaissance), but when a manuscript of the Corpus Hermeticum became available, he immediately interrupted his work on Plato in order to start translating the works of Hermes, which were thought to be much more ancient, and therefore much more authoritative, than those of Plato.[64] This translation provided a seminal impetus in the development of Renaissance thought and culture, having a profound impact on the flourishing of alchemy and magic in early modern Europe, as well as influencing philosophers such as Ficino's student Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494), Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), Francesco Patrizi (1529–1597), Robert Fludd (1574–1637), and many others.

Asclenius

The Asclepius (also known as the Perfect Discourse, from Greek Logos teleios) mainly survives in a Latin translation, though some Greek and Coptic fragments are also extant. It is the only Hermetic treatise belonging to the religiophilosophical category that remained available to Latin readers throughout the Middle Ages.

Definitions of Hermes Trismegistus to Asclepius

Main article: Definitions of Hermes Trismegistus to

The Definitions of Hermes Trismegistus to Asclepius is a collection of aphorisms that has mainly been preserved in a sixth-century AD Armenian translation, but which likely goes back to the first century AD. The main argument for this early dating is the fact that some of its aphorisms are cited in multiple independent Greek Hermetic works. According to Jean-Pierre Mahé, these aphorisms contain the core of teachings which are found in the later Greek religiophilosophical Hermetica.

Stobaean excerpts

In fifth-century Macedonia, Joannes Stobaeus or "John of Stobi" compiled a huge Anthology of Greek poetical, rhetorical, historical, and philosophical literature in order to educate his son Septimius. Though epitomized by later Byzantine copyists, it still remains a treasure trove of information about ancient philosophy and literature which would otherwise be entirely lost. Among the excerpts of ancient philosophical literature preserved by Stobaeus are also a significant number of discourses and dialogues attributed to Hermes. While mostly related to the religiophilosophical treatises as found in the Corpus Hermeticum, they also contains some material that is rather more of a "technical" nature. Perhaps the most famous of the Stobaean excerpts, and also the longest, is the Korē kosmou ("The Daughter of the Cosmos")

Hermes among the Nag Hammadi findings

Among the Coptic treatises which were found in 1945 in the Upper Egyptian town of Nag Hammadi, there are also three treatises attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. Like all documents found in Nag Hammadi, these were translated from the Greek. They consist of some fragments from the Asclepius (VI,8; mainly preserved in Latin, see above), The Prayer of Thanksgiving (VI,7) with an accompanying scribal note (VI,7a), and an important new text called The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth (VI.6).

Oxford and Vienna fragments

A number of short fragments from some otherwise unknown Hermetic works are preserved in a manuscript at the Bodleian Library in Oxford, dealing with the soul, the senses, law, psychology, and embryology. Four short fragments from what once was a collection of ten Hermetic treatises one of which was called On Energies, are also preserved in a papyrus now housed in Vienna

Book of the Rebuke of the Soul

Written in Arabic and probably dating from the twelfth century, the Kitāb fi zajr al-nafs ("The Book of the Rebuke of the Soul") is one of the few later Hermetic treatises belonging to the category of religio-philosophical writings.

History of scholarship on the Hermetica

During the Renaissance, all texts attributed to Hermes Trismegistus were still generally believed to be of ancient Egyptian origin (i.e., to date from before the time of Moses, or even from before the flood). In the early seventeenth century, the classical scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614) demonstrated that some of the Greek texts betrayed too recent a vocabulary, and must rather date from the late Hellenistic or early Christian period. This conclusion was reaffirmed in the early twentieth century by the work of scholars like C. H. Dodd. More recent research, while reaffirming the dating of the earliest Greek treatises in the period of syncretic cultural ferment in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, suggests more continuity with the culture of ancient Egypt than had previously been believed. The earliest Greek Hermetic treatises contain many parallels with Egyptian prophecies and hymns to the gods, and close comparisons can be found with Egyptian wisdom literature, which (like many of the early Greek Hermetica) was characteristically couched in words of advice from a "father" to a "son". It has also been shown that some Demotic (late Egyptian) papyri contain substantial sections of a dialogue of the Hermetic type between Thoth and a disciple. In contradistinction to the early Greek religiophilosophical Hermetica, which have been studied from a scholarly perspective since the early seventeenth century, the "technical" Hermetica (both the early Greek treatises and the later Arabic and Latin works) remain largely unexplored by modern scholarship.)

THE CORPUS HERMETICUM

The Hermetica and Hermetic Tradition Authorship: Anonymus From: Thrice Greatest Hermes, G.R.S. Mead, Vol. 2, London, 1906 Translation: George Robert Stow Mead, 1906 Estimated Range of Dating: 1st or 2nd century A.D.

(The fifteen tractates of the Corpus Hermeticum, also called the Hermetica, along with the Perfect Sermon or Asclepius, are the foundation documents of the Hermetic tradition. The bulk of Egyptian-Greek wisdom texts was written by unknown authors sometime between the 1st century BC and the 4th century AD, though the oldest parts may go back to the 5th or 6th century BC., they were part of a once substantial literature attributed to the mythic figure of Hermes Trismegistus, a Hellenistic fusion of the Greek god Hermes and the Egyptian god Thoth. They are mostly presented as dialogues in which a teacher, generally identified Hermes Trismegistus ("thrice-greatest Hermes"), enlightens a disciple. The texts form the basis of Hermeticism. They dwell upon the oneness and goodness of God, urge purification of the soul, and discuss the cosmos, mind, and nature. Some touch upon protoscience (and its philosophies), such as alchemy, astrology, and related concepts as Chinese texts from around 73-49 BC and Greco-Roman Egypt in the first few centuries AD show. The Hermetica is one of those

The treatises we now call the Corpus Hermeticum were collected into a single volume in times of the Eastern Roman Empire, and a copy of this volume survived to come into the hands of Lorenzo de Medici's agents in the fifteenth century. Marsilio Ficino, the head of the Florentine Academy, was pulled off the task of translating the dialogues of Plato in order to put the Corpus Hermeticum into Latin first. His translation saw print in 1463, and was reprinted at least twenty-two times over the next century and a half.

The treatises divide up into several groups. The first (chapter 1), the "Poemandres", is the account of a revelation given to Hermes Trismegistus by the being Poemandres or "Man-Shepherd", an expression of the universal Mind. The next eight (chapter 2-9), the "General Sermons", are short dialogues or lectures discussing various basic points of Hermetic philosophy. There follows the "Key" (chapter 10), a summary of the General Sermons, and after this a set of four tractates - "Mind unto Hermes", "About the Common Mind", "The Secret Sermon on the Mountain", and the "Letter of Hermes to Asclepius" (chapter 11-14) - touching on the more mystical aspects of Hermeticism. The collection is rounded off by the "Definitions of Asclepius unto King Ammon" (chapter 15), which may be composed of three fragments of longer

The Perfect Sermon or Asclepius, which is also included here, reached the Renaissance by a different route. It was translated into Latin in ancient times, reputedly by the same Lucius Apuleius of Madaura whose comic-serious masterpiece The Golden Ass provides some of the best surviving evidence on the worship of Isis in the Roman world. Augustine of Hippo quotes from the old Latin translation at length in his City of God, and copies remained in circulation in medieval Europe all the way up to the Renaissance. The original Greek version was lost, although quotations survive in several ancient sources. The Perfect Sermon is substantially longer than any other surviving work of ancient Hermetic philosophy. It covers topics which also occur in the Corpus Hermeticum, but touches on several other issues as well among them magical processes for the manufacture of gods and a long and gloomy prophecy of the decline of Hermetic wisdom and the end of the world.

Significance of the Hermetic Writings: The Corpus Hermeticum landed like a well-aimed bomb amid the philosophical systems of late medieval Europe. Quotations from the Hermetic literature in the Church Fathers (who were never shy of leaning on pagan sources to prove a point) accepted a traditional chronology which dated "Hermes Trismegistus," as a historical figure, to the time of Moses. As a result, the Hermetic tractates' borrowings from Jewish scripture and Platonic philosophy were seen, in the Renaissance, as evidence that the Corpus Hermeticum had anticipated and influenced both. The Hermetic philosophy was seen as a primordial wisdom tradition, identified with the "Wisdom of the Egyptians" mentioned in Exodus and lauded in Platonic dialogues such as the Timaeus. It thus served as a useful club in the hands of intellectual rebels who sought to break the stranglehold of Aristotelian scholasticism on the universities at this time.

In Late Antiquity, Hermetism emerged in parallel with early Christianity, Gnosticism, Neoplatonism, the Chaldaean Oracles, and late Orphic and Pythagorean literature. These doctrines were "characterised by a resistance to the dominance of either pure rationality or doctrinal faith." To make it short, Hermeticism can be seen as development or philosophic way from polytheism to monotheism

The term Hermetic is from the medieval Latin hermeticus, which is derived from the name of the Greek god Hermes. Mary Anne Atwood mentioned the use of the word Hermetic by Dufresnoy in 1386. The word Hermetic was used by John Everard in his English translation of The Pymander of Hermes, published in 1650. Hermes Trismegistus supposedly invented the process of making a glass tube airtight (a process in alchemy) using a secret seal. Hence, the term "completely sealed" is implied in "hermetically sealed" and the term "hermetic" is also equivalent to "occult" or hidden.

Hermeticism itself (also called Hermetism) is a religious, philosophical, and esoteric (or Western mystery) tradition based primarily upon writings attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. They belong to a wide range of loosely related ideas and movements which have developed within Western

Hermetic writings have greatly influenced the Western esoteric tradition and were considered to be of great importance during both the Renaissance and the Reformation. The tradition traces its origin to a "prisca theologia", a doctrine that affirms the existence of a single, true theology that is present in all religions and that was given by God to man in antiquity. This literature came out of the same religious and philosophical ferment that produced Neoplatonism, Christianity, and the diverse collection of teachings usually lumped together under the label "Gnosticism": a ferment which had its roots in the impact of Platonic thought on the older traditions of the Grecofied East of the Mediterranean. There are obvious connexions and common themes linking each of these traditions, although each had its own answer to the major questions of the time.

Hermes Trismegistus (Greek for "thrice-greatest Hermes"; Latin: Mercurius ter Maximus) is the purported author of the Hermetic Corpus, a series of sacred texts that are the basis of Hermeticism. Hermes Trismegistus may be associated with the Greek god Hermes and the Egyptian god Thoth. Greeks in the Ptolemaic Kingdom of Egypt recognised the equivalence of Hermes and Thoth through the Greek interpretation. Consequently, the two gods were worshiped as one, in what had been the Temple of Thoth in Khemenu, which was known in the Hellenistic period as Hermopolis.

Hermes, the Greek god of interpretive communication, was combined with Thoth, the Egyptian god of wisdom. The Egyptian priest and polymath Imhotep (the chancellor to the Pharaoh Djoser, architect of the Djoser's step pyramid, and high priest of the sun god Ra at Heliopolis, 27th century BC.) had been deified long after his death and therefore assimilated to Thoth in the classical and Hellenistic periods

The renowned scribe Amenhotep and a wise man named Teôs (early-mid 14th century BC.) were coequal deities of wisdom, science, and medicine; and, thus, they were placed alongside Imhotep in shrines dedicated to Thoth-Hermes during the Ptolemaic Kingdom.

Many Christian writers, including Lactantius, Augustine, Marsilio Ficino, Campanella, and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, as well as Giordano Bruno, considered Hermes Trismegistus to be a wise pagan prophet who foresaw the coming of Christianity. They believed in the existence of a prisca theologia, a single, true theology that threads through all religions. It was given by God to man in antiquity and passed through a series of prophets, which included Zoroaster and Plato. In order to demonstrate the verity of the prisca theologia, Christians appropriated the Hermetic teachings for their own purposes. By this account, Hermes Trismegistus was either a contemporary of Moses, or the third in a line of men named Hermes, i.e. Enoch, Noah, and the Egyptian priest king who is known to us as Hermes Trismegistus on account of being the greatest priest, philosopher, and king.

The translation of the Corpus Hermeticum and Perfect Sermon given here is that of G.R.S. Mead (1863-1933), originally published as Vol. 2 of his Thrice Greatest Hermes (London, 1906). Mead was a close associate of Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, the founder and moving spirit of the Theosophical Society, and most of his considerable scholarly output was brought out under Theosophical auspices. The result, predictably, was that most of that output has effectively been blacklisted in academic circles ever since. This is unfortunate, for Mead's translations of the Hermetic literature were until quite recently the best available in English. (They are still the best in the public domain; thus their use here.) The Everard translation of 1650, which is still in print, reflects the state of scholarship at the time it was made - since then, a new things have been discovered and learned.

There is admittedly one problem with Mead's translation: the aesthetics of the English text. Mead hoped, as he mentioned at the beginning of Thrice Greatest Hermes, to 'render...these beautiful theosophic treatises into an English that might, perhaps, be thought in some small way worthy of the Greek originals." Unfortunately for this ambition, he was writing at a time when the last remnants of the florid and pompous Victorian style were fighting it out with the more straightforward colloquial prose that became the style of the new century. The "poetic" or "German" word order is probably the most serious barrier to readability; it's a good rule, whenever the translation seems to descend into gibberish. to try shuffling the words of the sentence in question. It may also be worth noting that Mead consistently uses "for that" in place of "because" and "aught" in place of "any", and leaves out the word "the" more or less at random.)

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 1

Poemandres, the Shepherd of Men

(Notes on the text: This is the most famous of the Hermetic documents, a revelation account describing a vision of the creation of the universe and the nature and fate of humanity. Authors from the Renaissance onward have been struck by the way in which its creation myth seems partly inspired by Genesis, partly reacting against it. The Fall has here become the descent of the Primal Man through the spheres of the planets to the world of Nature, a descent caused not by disobedience but by love, and done with the blessing of God.

The seven rulers of fate discussed in sections 9, 14 and 25 are the archons of the seven planets, which also appear in Plato's Timaeus and in a number of the ancient writings usually lumped together as "Gnostic". Their role here is an oddly ambivalent one, powers of Harmony who are nonetheless the sources of humanity's tendencies to evil.)

1. It chanced once on a time my mind was meditating on the things that are, my thought was raised to a great height, the senses of my body being held back - just as men who are weighed down with sleep after a fill of food, or from fatigue of

Methought a Being more than vast, in size beyond all bounds, called out my name and saith: What wouldst thou hear and see, and what hast thou in mind to learn and know?

2. And I do say: Who art thou?

He saith: I am Man-Shepherd (Poemandres), Mind of allmasterhood: I know what thou desirest and I am with thee

3. And I reply: I long to learn the things that are, and comprehend their nature, and know God. This is, I said, what I desire to hear

He answered back to me: Hold in thy mind all thou wouldst know, and I will teach thee.

4. Even with these words His aspect changed, and straightway, in the twinkling of an eye, all things were opened to me, and I see a Vision limitless, all things turned into Light - sweet, joyous Light. And I became transported as I gazed.

But in a little while Darkness came settling down on part of it, awesome and gloomy, coiling in sinuous folds, so that methought it like unto a snake.

And then the Darkness changed into some sort of a Moist Nature, tossed about beyond all power of words, belching out smoke as from a fire, and groaning forth a wailing sound that beggars all description.

And after that an outcry inarticulate came forth from it, as though it were a Voice of Fire.

5. Thereon out of the Light ... a Holy Word (Logos) descended on that Nature. And upwards to the height from the Moist Nature leaped forth pure Fire; light was it, swift and active too

The Air, too, being light, followed after the Fire: from out of the Earth-and-Water rising up to Fire so that it seemed to hang therefrom.

But Earth-and-Water stayed so mingled with each other, that Earth from Water no one could discern. Yet were they moved to hear by reason of the Spirit-Word (Logos) pervading them.

6. Then saith to me Man-Shepherd: Didst understand this Vision what it means?

Nay; that shall I know, said I

That Light, He said, am I, thy God, Mind, prior to Moist Nature which appeared from Darkness; the Light-Word (Logos) that appeared from Mind is Son of God.

What then? - say I.

Know that what sees in thee and hears is the Lord's Word (Logos); but Mind is Father-God. Not separate are they the one from other; just in their union rather is it Life consists.

Thanks be to Thee, I said.

So, understand the Light He answered, and make friends with it.

7. And speaking thus He gazed for long into my eyes, so that I trembled at the look of him.

But when He raised His head, I see in Mind the Light, but now in Powers no man could number, and Cosmos grown beyond all bounds, and that the Fire was compassed round about by a most mighty Power, and now subdued had come unto a stand

And when I saw these things I understood by reason of Man-Shepherd's Word (Logos).

8. But as I was in great astonishment, He saith to me again: Thou didst behold in Mind the Archetypal Form whose being is before beginning without end. Thus spake to me Man-Shepherd.

And I say: Whence then have Nature's elements their being? To this He answer gives: From Will of God. Nature received the Word (Logos), and gazing upon the Cosmos Beautiful did copy it, making herself into a cosmos, by means of her own elements and by the births of souls.

9. And God-the-Mind, being male and female both, as Light and Life subsisting, brought forth another Mind to give things form, who, God as he was of Fire and Spirit. formed Seven Rulers who enclose the cosmos that the sense perceives. Men call their ruling Fate.

10. Straightway from out the downward elements God's Reason (Logos) leaped up to Nature's pure formation, and was at-oned with the Formative Mind; for it was co-essential with it. And Nature's downward elements were thus left reason-less, so as to be pure matter.

11. Then the Formative Mind (at-oned with Reason), he who surrounds the spheres and spins them with his whorl, set turning his formations, and let them turn from a beginning boundless unto an endless end. For that the circulation of these spheres begins where it doth end, as Mind doth will.

And from the downward elements Nature brought forth lives reason-less; for He did not extend the Reason (Logos) to them. The Air brought forth things winged; the Water things that swim, and Earth-and-Water one from another parted, as Mind willed. And from her bosom Earth produced what lives she had, four-footed things and reptiles, beasts wild and tame.

12. But All-Father Mind, being Life and Light, did bring forth Man co-equal to Himself, with whom He fell in love, as being His own child; for he was beautiful beyond compare, the Image of his Sire. In very truth, God fell in love with his own Form; and on him did bestow all of His own formations.

13. And when he gazed upon what the Enformer had created in the Father, Man too wished to enform; and so assent was given him by the Father.

Changing his state to the formative sphere, in that he was to have his whole authority, he gazed upon his Brother's creatures. They fell in love with him, and gave him each a share of his own ordering.

And after that he had well learned their essence and had become a sharer in their nature, he had a mind to break right through the Boundary of their spheres, and to subdue the might of that which pressed upon the Fire.

14. So he who hath the whole authority over all the mortals in the cosmos and over its lives irrational, bent his face downwards through the Harmony, breaking right through its strength, and showed to downward Nature God's fair form.

And when she saw that Form of beauty which can never satiate, and him who now possessed within himself each single energy of all seven Rulers as well as God's own Form, she smiled with love; for it was as though she hadd seen the image of Man's fairest form upon her Water, his shadow on her

He in turn beholding the form like to himself, existing in her, in her Water, loved it and willed to live in it; and with the will came act, and so he vivified the form devoid of reason.

And Nature took the object of her love and wound herself completely around him, and they were intermingled, for they were lovers.

15. And this is why beyond all creatures on the earth man is twofold; mortal because of body, but because of the essential man immortal

Though deathless and possessed of sway over all, yet doth he suffer as a mortal doth, subject to Fate.

Thus though above the Harmony, within the Harmony he hath become a slave. Though male-female, as from a Father male-female, and though he is sleepless from a sleepless Sire, yet is he overcome by sleep.

16. Thereon I say: Teach on, O Mind of me, for I myself as well am amorous of the Word (Logos).

The Shepherd said: This is the mystery kept hid until this day.

Nature embraced by Man brought forth a wonder, oh so wonderful. For as he had the nature of the Concord of the Seven, who, as I said to thee, were made of Fire and Spirit -Nature delayed not, but immediately brought forth seven "men", in correspondence with the natures of the Seven, malefemale and moving in the air.

Thereon I said: O Shepherd, ..., for now I am filled with great desire and long to hear; do not run off.

The Shepherd said: Keep silence, for not as yet have I unrolled for thee the first discourse (logoi).

Lo! I am still, I said.

17. In such wise than, as I have said, the generation of these seven came to pass. Earth was as woman, her Water filled with longing; ripeness she took from Fire, spirit from Aether. Nature thus brought forth frames to suit the form of Man.

And Man from Light and Life changed into soul and mind from Life to soul, from Light to mind.

And thus continued all the sense-world's parts until the period of their end and new beginnings.

18. Now listen to the rest of the discourse (Logos) which thou dost long to hear.

The period being ended, the bond that bound them all was loosened by God's Will. For all the animals being male-female, at the same time with Man were loosed apart; some became partly male, some in like fashion partly female. And straightway God spake by His Holy Word (Logos):

"Increase ye in increasing, and multiply in multitude, ye creatures and creations all; and man that hath Mind in him, let him learn to know that he himself is deathless, and that the cause of death is love, though Love is all."

19. When He said this, His Forethought did by means of Fate and Harmony effect their couplings and their generations founded. And so all things were multiplied according to their kind.

And he who thus hath learned to know himself, hath reached that Good which doth transcend abundance; but he who through a love that leads astray, expends his love upon his body - he stays in Darkness wandering, and suffering through his senses things of Death.

20. What is the so great fault, said I, the ignorant commit, that they should be deprived of deathlessness?

Thou seemest, He said, O thou, not to have given heed to what thou heardest. Did I not bid thee think?

Yea do I think, and I remember, and therefore give Thee thanks

If thou didst think thereon, said He, tell me: Why do they merit death who are in Death?

It is because the gloomy Darkness is the root and base of the material frame; from it came the Moist Nature; from this the body in the sense-world was composed; and from this body Death doth the Water drain.

21. Right was thy thought, O thou! But how doth "he who knows himself, go unto Him", as God's Word (Logos) hath

And I reply: the Father of the universals doth consist of Light and Life, from Him Man was born.

Thou sayest well, thus speaking. Light and Life is Father-God, and from Him Man was born.

If then thou learnest that thou art thyself of Life and Light, and that thou happenest to be out of them, thou shalt return again to Life. Thus did Man-Shepherd speak.

But tell me further, Mind of me, I cried, how shall I come to Life again...for God doth say: "The man who hath Mind in him. let him learn to know that he himself is deathless.

22. Have not all men then Mind?

Thou sayest well, O thou, thus speaking. I, Mind, myself am present with holy men and good, the pure and merciful, men who live piously.

To such my presence doth become an aid, and straightway they gain gnosis of all things, and win the Father's love by their pure lives, and give Him thanks. invoking on Him blessings, and chanting hymns, intent on Him with ardent

And ere they give up the body unto its proper death, they turn them with disgust from its sensations, from knowledge of what things they operate. Nay, it is I, the Mind, that will not let the operations which befall the body, work to their natural end. For being door-keeper I will close up all the entrances. and cut the mental actions off which base and evil energies induce.

23. But to the Mind-less ones, the wicked and depraved, the envious and covetous, and those who mured do and love impiety, I am far off, yielding my place to the Avenging Daimon, who sharpening the fire, tormenteth him and addeth fire to fire upon him, and rusheth upon him through his senses. thus rendering him readier for transgressions of the law, so that he meets with greater torment; nor doth he ever cease to have desire for appetites inordinate, insatiately striving in the

24. Well hast thou taught me all, as I desired, O Mind. And now, pray, tell me further of the nature of the Way Above as now it is for me.

To this Man-Shepherd said: When the material body is to be dissolved, first thou surrenderest the body by itself unto the work of change, and thus the form thou hadst doth vanish, and thou surrenderest thy way of life, void of its energy, unto the Daimon. The body's senses next pass back into their sources, becoming separate, and resurrect as energies; and passion and desire withdraw unto that nature which is void of reason.

25. And thus it is that man doth speed his way thereafter upwards through the Harmony.

To the first zone he gives the Energy of Growth and Waning; unto the second zone, Device of Evils now de-energized; unto the third, the Guile of the Desires deenergized; unto the fourth, his Domineering Arrogance, also de-energized; unto the fifth, unholy Daring and the Rashness of Audacity, de-energized; unto the sixth, Striving for Wealth by evil means, deprived of its aggrandizement; and to the seventh zone, Ensnaring Falsehood, de-energized.

26. And then, with all the energisings of the harmony stript from him, clothed in his proper Power, he cometh to that Nature which belongs unto the Eighth, and there with thosethat-are hymneth the Father.

They who are there welcome his coming there with joy; and he, made like to them that sojourn there, doth further hear the Powers who are above the Nature that belongs unto the

Eighth, singing their songs of praise to God in language of their own.

And then they, in a band, go to the Father home; of their own selves they make surrender of themselves to Powers, and thus becoming Powers they are in God. This the good end for those who have gained Gnosis - to be made one with God.

Why shouldst thou then delay? Must it not be, since thou hast all received, that thou shouldst to the worthy point the way, in order that through thee the race of mortal kind may by thy God be saved?

27. This when He had said, Man-Shepherd mingled with the

But I, with thanks and blessings unto the Father of the universal Powers, was freed, full of the power he had poured into me, and full of what He had taught me of the nature of the All and of the loftiest Vision.

And I began to preach unto men the Beauty of Devotion and of Gnosis:

O ye people, earth-born folk, ye who have given yourselves to drunkenness and sleep and ignorance of God, be sober now, cease from your surfeit, cease to be glamoured by irrational sleen!

28. And when they heard, they came with one accord. Whereon I say:

Ye earth-born folk, why have ye given yourselves up to Death, while yet ye have the power of sharing Deathlessness? Repent, O ye, who walk with Error arm in arm and make of Ignorance the sharer of your board; get ye out from the light of Darkness, and take your part in Deathlessness, forsake Destruction!

29. And some of them with jests upon their lips departed from me, abandoning themselves unto the Way of Death; others entreated to be taught, casting themselves before my feet.

But I made them arise, and I became a leader of the Race towards home, teaching the words (logoi), how and in what way they shall be saved. I sowed in them the words (logoi) of wisdom; of Deathless Water were they given to drink.

And when even was come and all sun's beams began to set, I bade them all give thanks to God. And when they had brought to an end the giving of their thanks, each man returned to his own resting place.

30. But I recorded in my heart Man-Shepherd's benefaction, and with my every hope fulfilled more than rejoiced. For body's sleep became the soul's awakening, and closing of the eyes - true vision, pregnant with Good my silence, and the utterance of my word (logos) begetting of good things.
All this befell me from my Mind, that is Man-Shepherd,

Word (Logos) of all masterhood, by whom being God-inspired I came unto the Plain of Truth. Wherefore with all my soul and strength thanksgiving give I unto Father-God.

31. Holy art Thou, O God, the universals' Father.

Holy art Thou, O God, whose Will perfects itself by means of its own Powers

Holy art Thou O God who willeth to be known and art known by Thine own.

Holy art Thou, who didst by Word (Logos) make to consist the things that are.

Holy art Thou, of whom All-nature hath been made an image

Holy art Thou whose Form Nature bath never made

Holy art Thou, more powerful than all power. Holy art Thou, transcending all pre-eminence.

Holy Thou art, Thou better than all praise.

Accept my reason's offerings pure, from soul and heart for ye stretched up to Thee, O Thou unutterable, unspeakable, Whose Name naught but the Silence can express.

32. Give ear to me who pray that I may never of Gnosis fail, Gnosis which is our common being's nature; and fill me with Thy Power, and with this Grace of Thine, that I may give the Light to those in ignorance of the Race, my Brethren, and

For this cause I believe, and I bear witness: I go to Life and Light. Blessed art Thou, O Father. Thy Man would holy be as Thou art holy, even as Thou gave him Thy full authority to be.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 2

To Asclepius

(Notes on the text: This dialogue sets forth the difference between the physical and metaphysical worlds in the context of Greek natural philosophy. Some of the language is fairly technical: the "errant spheres" of sections 6 and 7 are the celestial spheres carrying the planets, while the "inerrant sphere" is that of the fixed stars. It is useful to keep in mind, also, that "air" and "spirit" are interchangeable concepts in Greek thought, and that the concept of the Good has a range of implications which don't come across in the English word: one is that the good of any being, in Greek thought, was also that being's necessary goal.)

1. Hermes: All that is moved, Asclepius, is it not moved in something and by something?

Asclepius: Assuredly.

- H: And must not that in which it's moved be greater than the moved?
- A: It must.
- H: Mover, again, has greater power than moved?
- A: It has, of course.
- H: The nature, furthermore, of that in which it's moved must be quite other from the nature of the moved?
- A: It must completely.
 2. H: Is not, again, this cosmos vast, so vast that than it there exists no body greater?
 - A: Assuredly.
- H: And massive, too, for it is crammed with multitudes of other mighty frames, nay, rather all the other bodies that there are?
 - A: It is.
- H: And yet the cosmos is a body?
- A: It is a body.
- H: And one that's moved?
- 3. A: Assuredly.
- H: Of what size, then, must be the space in which it's moved, and of what kind must be the nature of that space? Must it not be far vaster than the cosmos, in order that it may be able to find room for its continued course, so that the moved may not be cramped for want of room and lose its motion?
- A: Something, Thrice-greatest one, it needs must be, immensely vast.
- 4. H: And of what nature? Must it not be, Asclepius, of just the contrary? And is not contrary to body bodiless?
- A: Agreed.
- H: Space, then, is bodiless. But bodiless must either be some godlike thing or God Himself. And by "some godlike thing" I mean no more the generable i.e., that which is generated but the ingenerable.
- 5. If, then, space be some godlike thing, it is substantial; but if 'tis God Himself, it transcends substance. But it is to be thought of otherwise than God, and in this way.
- God is first "thinkable" (or "intelligible") for us, not for Himself, for that the thing that's thought doth fall beneath the thinker's sense. God then cannot be "thinkable" unto Himself, in that He's thought of by Himself as being nothing else but what He thinks. But he is "something else" for us, and so He's thought of by us.
- 6. If space is, therefore, to be thought, it should not, then, be thought as God, but space. If God is also to be thought, He should not be conceived as space, but as energy that can contain all space.

Further, all that is moved is moved not in the moved but in the stable. And that which moves another is of course stationary, for 'tis impossible that it should move with it.

- A: How is it, then, that things down here, Thrice-greatest one, are moved with those that are already moved? For thou hast said the errant spheres were moved by the inerrant one.
- H: This is not, O Asclepius, a moving with, but one against; they are not moved with one another, but one against the other. It is this contrariety which turneth the resistance of their motion into rest. For that resistance is the rest of motion.
- 7. Hence, too, the errant spheres, being moved contrarily to the inerrant one, are moved by one another by mutual contrariety, and also by the spable one through contrariety itself. And this can otherwise not be.

The Bears up there (i.e., Ursa Major and Minor), which neither set nor rise, think'st thou they rest or move?

- A: They move, Thrice-greatest one.
- H: And what their motion, my Asclepius?
- A: Motion that turns for ever round the same.
- H: But revolution motion around same is fixed by rest. For "round-the-same" doth stop "beyond-same". "Beyondsame" then, being stopped, if it be steadied in "round-same" the contrary stands firm, being rendered ever stable by its contrariety
- 8. Of this I'll give thee here on earth an instance, which the eye can see. Regard the animals down here - a man, for instance, swimming! The water moves, yet the resistance of his hands and feet give him stability, so that he is not borne along with it, nor sunk thereby.
- A: Thou hast, Thrice-greatest one, adduced a most clear instance
- H: All motion, then, is caused in station and by station.

The motion, therefore, of the cosmos (and of every other hylic (i.e., material) animal) will not be caused by things exterior to the cosmos, but by things interior outward to the exterior - such things as soul, or spirit, or some such other thing incorporeal.

'Tis not the body that doth move the living thing in it; nay, not even the whole body of the universe a lesser body even though there be no life in it.

- 9. A: What meanest thou by this, Thrice-greatest one? Is it not bodies, then, that move the stock and stone and all the other things inanimate?
- H: By no means, O Asclepius. The something-in-the-body, the that-which-moves the thing inanimate, this surely's not a body, for that it moves the two of them - both body of the lifter and the lifted? So that a thing that's lifeless will not

move a lifeless thing. That which doth move another thing is animate, in that it is the mover.

Thou seest, then, how heavy laden is the soul, for it alone doth lift two bodies. That things, moreover, moved are moved in something as well as moved by something is clear.

- 10. A: Yea, O Thrice-greatest one, things moved must needs be moved in something void.
- H: Thou sayest well, O my Asclepius! For naught of things that are is void. Alone the "is-not" is void and stranger to subsistence. For that which is subsistent can never change to
- A: Are there, then, O Thrice-greatest one, no such things as an empty cask, for instance, and an empty jar, a cup and vat, and other things like unto them?
- H: Alack, Asclepius, for thy far-wandering from the truth! Think'st thou that things most full and most replete are void?
- 11. A: How meanest thou, Thrice-greatest one?
- H: Is not air body?
- A: It is.

H: And doth this body not pervade all things, and so, pervading, fill them? And "body"; doth body not consist from blending of the "four" (elements)? Full, then, of air are all thou callest void; and if of air, then of the "four'

Further, of this the converse follows, that all thou callest full are void - of air; for that they have their space filled out with other bodies, and, therefore, are not able to receive the air therein. These, then, which thou dost say are void, they should be hollow named, not void; for they not only are, but they are full of air and spirit.

12. A: Thy argument (logos), Thrice-greatest one, is not to be gainsaid; air is a body. Further, it is this body which doth pervade all things, and so, pervading, fill them. What are we, then, to call that space in which the all doth move?

H: The bodiless, Asclepius.

A: What, then, is Bodiless?

H: 'Tis Mind and Reason (logos), whole out of whole, all self-embracing, free from all body, from all error free, unsensible to body and untouchable, self stayed in self, containing all, preserving those that are, whose rays, to use a likeness, are Good, Truth, Light beyond light, the Archetype of soul.

A: What, then, is God?

13. H: Not any one of these is He; for He it is that causeth them to be, both all and each and every thing of all that are. Nor hath He left a thing beside that is-not; but they are all from things-that-are and not from things-that-are-not. For that the things-that-are-not have naturally no power of being anything, but naturally have the power of the inability-to-be. And, conversely, the things-that-are have not the nature of some time not-being.

14. A: What say'st thou ever, then, God is?

H: God, therefore, is not Mind, but Cause that the Mind is; God is not Spirit, but Cause that Spirit is; God is not Light, but Cause that the Light is. Hence one should honor God with these two names the Good and Father - names which pertain to Him alone and no one else.

For no one of the other so-called gods, no one of men, or daimones, can be in any measure Good, but God alone; and He is Good alone and nothing else. The rest of things are separable all from the Good's nature; for all the rest are soul and body, which have no place that can contain the Good.

- 15. For that as mighty is the Greatness of the Good as is the Being of all things that are - both bodies and things bodiless, things sensible and intelligible things. Call thou not, therefore, aught else Good, for thou would'st imious be; nor anything at all at any time call God but Good alone, for so thou would'st again be impious.
- 16. Though, then, the Good is spoken of by all, it is not understood by all, what thing it is. Not only, then, is God not understood by all, but both unto the gods and some of the men they out of ignorance do give the name of Good, though they can never either be or become Good. For they are very different from God, while Good can never be distinguished from Him, for that God is the same as Good

The rest of the immortal ones are nonetheless honored with the name of God, and spoken of as gods; but God is Good not out of courtesy but out of nature. For that God's nature and the Good is one; one os the kind of both, from which all other kinds proceed.

The Good is he who gives all things and naught receives. God, then, doth give all things and receive naught. God, then, is Good, and Good is God.

17. The other name of God is Father, again because He is the that-which-maketh-all. The part of father is to make.

Wherefore child-making is a very great and a most pious thing in life for them who think aright, and to leave life on earth without a child a very great misfortune and impiety; and he who hath no child is punished by the daimones after death

And this is the punishment: that that man's soul who hath no child, shall be condemned unto a body with neither man's nor woman's nature, a thing accursed beneath the sun.

Wherefore, Asclepius, let not your sympathies be with the man who hath no child, but rather pity his mishap, knowing what punishment abides for him.

Let all that has been said then, be to thee, Asclepius, an introduction to the gnosis of the nature of all things.

CORPLIS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 3

The Sacred Sermon

(Notes on the text: This brief (and possibly somewhat garbled) text recounts the creation and nature of the world in terms much like those of the Poemandres. The major theme is the renewal of all things in a cyclic universe, with the seven planetary rulers again playing a major role.)

1. The Glory of all things is God, Godhead and Godly Nature. Source of the things that are is God, who is both Mind and Nature - yea Matter, the Wisdom that reveals all things. Source too is Godhead - yea Nature, Energy, Necessity, and End, and Making-new-again.

Darkness that knew no bounds was in Abyss, and Water too and subtle Breath intelligent; these were by Power of God in

Then Holy Light arose; and there collected 'neath Dry Space (literally: "sand") from out Moist Essence Elements; and all the Gods do separate things out from fecund Nature.

2. All things being undefined and yet unwrought, the light things were assigned unto the height, the heavy ones had their foundations laid down underneath the moist part of Dry Space, the universal things being bounded off by Fire and hanged in Breath to keep them up.

And Heaven was seen in seven circles; its Gods were visible in forms of stars with all their signs; while Nature had her members made articulate together with the Gods in her. And Heaven's periphery revolved in cyclic course, borne on by Breath of God.

3. And every God by his own proper power brought forth what was appointed him. Thus there arose four-footed beasts, and creeping things, and those that in the water dwell, and things with wings, and everything that beareth seed, and grass, and shoot of every flower, all having in themselves seed of again-becoming.

And they selected out the births of men for gnosis of the works of God and attestation of the energy of Nature; the multitude of men for lordship over all beneath the heaven and gnosis of its blessings, that they might increase in increasing and multiply in multitude, and every soul infleshed by revolution of the Cyclic Gods, for observation of the marvels of Heaven and Heaven's Gods' revolution, and of the works of God and energy of Nature, for tokens of its blessings, for gnosis of the power of God, that they might know the fates that follow good and evil deeds and learn the cunning work of all good arts.

4. Thus there begins their living and their growing wise, according to the fate appointed by the revolution of the Cyclic Gods, and their deceasing for this end.

And there shall be memorials mighty of their handiworks upon the earth, leaving dim trace behind when cycles are

For every birth of flesh ensouled, and of the fruit of seed, and every handiwork, though it decay, shall of necessity renew itself, both by the renovation of the Gods and by the turninground of Nature's rhythmic wheel.

For that whereas the Godhead is Nature's ever-makingnew-again the cosmic mixture, Nature herself is also coestablished in that Godhead

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 4

The Cup or Monad

(Notes on the text: This short text gives an unusually lucid overview of the foundations of Hermetic thought. The stress on rejection of the body and its pleasures, and on the division of humanity into those with Mind and those without, are reminiscent of some of the so-called "Gnostic" writings of the same period. The idea that the division is a matter of choice, on the other hand, is a pleasant variation on the almost Calvinist flavor of writings such as the Apocalypse of Adam.

Mead speculates that the imagery of the Cup in this text may have a distant connection, by way of unorthodox ideas about Communion, with the legends of the Holy Grail.)

1. Hermes: With Reason (Logos), not with hands, did the World-maker make the universal World; so that thou shouldst think of him as everywhere and ever-being, the Author of all things, and One and Only, who by His Will all beings hath created.

This Body of Him is a thing no man can touch, or see, or measure, a body inextensible, like to no other frame. 'Tis neither Fire nor Water, Air nor Breath; yet all of them come from it. Now being Good he willed to consecrate this Body to Himself alone, and set its Earth in order and adorn it.

2. So down to Earth He sent the Cosmos of this Frame Divine - man, a life that cannot die, and yet a life that dies. And o'er all other lives and over Cosmos too, did man excel by reason of the Reason (Logos) and the Mind. For

contemplator of God's works did man become; he marvelled and did strive to know their Author.

3. Reason (Logos) indeed, O Tat, among all men hath He distributed, but Mind not yet; not that He grudgeth any, for grudging cometh not from Him, but hath its place below, within the souls of men who have no Mind.

Tat: Why then did God, O father, not on all bestow a share of Mind?

Hermes: He willed, my son, to have it set up in the midst for souls, just as it were a prize.

4. Tat: And where hath He set it up?

Hermes: He filled a mighty Cup with it, and sent it down, joining a Herald to it, to whom He gave command to make this proclamation to the hearts of men:

Baptise thyself with this Cup's baptism, what heart can do so, thou that hast faith thou canst ascend to him that hath sent down the Cup, thou that dost know for what thou didst come into being!

As many then as understood the Herald's tidings and doused themselves in Mind, became partakers in the Gnosis; and when they had "received the Mind" they were made "perfect men".

But they who do not understand the tidings, these, since they possess the aid of Reason only and not Mind, are ignorant wherefor they have come into being and whereby.

5. The senses of such men are like irrational creatures'; and as their whole make-up is in their feelings and their impulses, they fail in all appreciation of (lit.: "they do not wonder at") those things which really are worth contemplation. These center all their thought upon the pleasures of the body and its appetites, in the belief that for its sake man hath come into being.

But they who have received some portion of God's gift, these, Tat, if we judge by their deeds, have from Death's bonds won their release; for they embrace in their own Mind all things, things on the earth, things in the heaven, and things above the heaven - if there be aught. And having raised themselves so far they sight the Good; and having sighted it, they look upon their sojourn here as a mischance; and in disdain of all, both things in body and the bodiless, they speed their way unto that One and Only One.

6. This is, O Tat, the Gnosis of the Mind, Vision of things Divine; God-knowledge is it, for the Cup is God's.

Tat: Father, I, too, would be baptized.

Hermes: Unless thou first shall hate thy Body, son, thou canst not love thy Self. But if thou lovest thy Self thou shalt have Mind, and having Mind thou shalt share in the Gnosis.

Tat: Father, what dost thou mean?

Hermes: It is not possible, my son, to give thyself to both - I mean to things that perish and to things divine. For seeing that existing things are twain, Body and Bodiless, in which the perishing and the divine are understood, the man who hath the will to choose is left the choice of one or the other; for it can never be the twain should meet. And in those souls to whom the choice is left, the waning of the one causes the other's growth to show itself.

7. Now the choosing of the Better not only proves a lot most fair for him who makes the choice, seeing it makes the man a God, but also shows his piety to God. Whereas the choosing of the Worse, although it doth destroy the "man", it doth only disturb God's harmony to this extent, that as processions pass by in the middle of the way, without being able to do anything but take the road from others, so do such men move in procession through the world led by their bodies' nleasures

8. This being so, O Tat, what comes from God hath been and will be ours; but that which is dependent on ourselves, let this press onward and have no delay, for 'tis not God, 'tis we who are the cause of evil things, preferring them to good.

Thou seest, son, how many are the bodies through which we have to pass, how many are the choirs of daimones, how vast the system of the star-courses through which our Path doth lie, to hasten to the One and Only God.

For to the Good there is no other shore; It hath no bounds; It is without an end; and for Itself It is without beginning, too, though unto us it seemeth to have one - the Gnosis.

Therefore to It Gnosis is no beginning; rather is it that Gnosis doth afford to us the first beginning of its being known.

Let us lay hold, therefore, of the beginning. and quickly speed through all we have to pass.

'Tis very hard, to leave the things we have grown used to, which meet our gaze on every side, and turn ourselves back to the Old Old Path.

Appearances delight us, whereas things which appear not make their believing hard.

Now evils are the more apparent things, whereas the Good can never show Itself unto the eyes, for It hath neither form nor figure.

Therefore the Good is like Itself alone, and unlike all things else; or `tis impossible that That which hath no body should make Itself apparent to a body.

10. The "Like's" superiority to the "Unlike" and the "Unlike's" inferiority unto the "Like" consists in this:

The Oneness being Source and Root of all, is in all things as Root and Source. Without this Source is naught; whereas the Source Itself is from naught but itself, since it is Source of all the rest. It is Itself Its Source, since It may have no other Source.

The Oneness then being Source, containeth every number, but is contained by none; engendereth every number, but is engendered by no other one.

11. Now all that is engendered is imperfect, it is divisible, to increase subject and to decrease; but with the Perfect One none of these things doth hold. Now that which is increasable increases from the Oneness, but succumbs through its own feebleness when it no longer can contain the One.

And now, O Tat, God's Image hath been sketched for thee, as far as it can be; and if thou wilt attentively dwell on it and observe it with thine heart's eyes, believe me, son, thou'lt find the Path that leads above; nay, that Image shall become thy Guide itself, because the Sight Divine hath this peculiar charm, it holdeth fast and draweth unto it those who succeed in opening their eyes, just as, they say, the magnet draweth iron.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 5

Though Unmanifest God Is Most Manifest

1. I will recount to thee this sermon (logos) too, O Tat, that thou may'st cease to be without the mysteries of the God beyond all name. And mark thou well how that which to the many seems unmanifest, will grow most manifest for thee.

Now were it manifest, it would not be. For all that is made manifest is subject to becoming, for it hath been made manifest. But the Unmanifest for ever is, for It doth not desire to be made manifest. It ever is, and maketh manifest all other things.

Being Himself unmanifest, as ever being and ever makingmanifest, Himself is not made manifest. God is not made Himself; by thinking-manifest (i.e., thinking into manifestation), He thinketh all things manifest.

Now "thinking-manifest" deals with things made alone, for thinking-manifest is nothing else than making.

2. He, then, alone who is not made, 'tis clear, is both beyond all power of thinking-manifest, and is unmanifest.

And as He thinketh all things manifest, He manifests through all things and in all, and most of all in whatsoever things He wills to manifest.

Do thou, then, Tat, my son, pray first unto our Lord and Father, the One-and-Only One, from whom the One doth come, to show His mercy unto thee, in order that thou mayest have the power to catch a thought of this so mighty God, one single beam of Him to shine into thy thinking. For thought alone "sees" the Unmanifest, in that it is itself unmanifest.

If, then, thou hast the power, He will, Tat, manifest to thy mind's eyes. The Lord begrudgeth not Himself to anything, but manifests Himself through the whole world.

Thou hast the power of taking thought, of seeing it and grasping it in thy own "hands", and gazing face to face upon God's Image. But if what is within thee even is unmanifest to thee, how, then, shall He Himself who is within thy self be manifest for thee by means of outer eyes?

3. But if thou wouldst "see" him, bethink thee of the sun, bethink thee of moon's course, bethink thee of the order of the stars. Who is the One who watcheth o'er that order? For every order hath its boundaries marked out by place and number.

The sun's the greatest god of gods in heaven; to whom all of the heavenly gods give place as unto king and master. And he, this so-great one, he greater than the earth and sea, endures to have above him circling smaller stars than him. Out of respect to Whom, or out of fear of Whom, my son, doth he do this?

Nor like nor equal is the course each of these stars describes in heaven. Who then is He who marketh out the manner of their course and its extent?

4. The Bear up there that turneth round itself, and carries round the whole cosmos with it - Who is the owner of this instrument? Who He who hath set round the sea its bounds? Who He who hath set on its seat the earth?

For, Tat, there is someone who is the Maker and the Lord of all these things. It cound not be that number, place and measure could be kept without someone to make them. No order whatsoever could be made by that which lacketh place and lacketh measure; nay, even this is not without a lord, my son. For if the orderless lacks something, in that it is not lord of order's path, it also is beneath a lord - the one who hath not yet ordained it order.

5. Would that it were possible for thee to get thee wings, and soar into the air, and, poised midway 'tween earth and heaven, behold the earth's solidity, the sea's fluidity (the flowings of its streams), the spaciousness of air, fire's swiftness, and the coursing of the stars, the swiftness of heaven's circuit round them all!

Most blessed sight were it, my son, to see all these beneath one sway - the motionless in motion, and the unmanifest made manifest; whereby is made this order of the cosmos and the cosmos which we see of order.

6. If thou would'st see Him too through things that suffer death, both on the earth and in the deep, think of a man's

being fashioned in the womb, my son, and strictly scrutinize the art of Him who fashions him, and learn who fashioneth this fair and godly image of the Man.

Who then is He who traceth out the circles of the eyes; who He who boreth out the nostrils and the ears; who He who openeth the portal of the mouth; who He who doth stretch out and tie the nerves; who He who channels out the veins; who He who hardeneth the bones; who He who covereth the flesh with skin; who He who separates the fingers and the joints; who He who widens out a treading for the feet; who He who diggeth out the ducts; who He who spreadeth out the spleen; who he who shapeth heart like to a pyramid; who He who setteth ribs together; who He who wideneth the liver out; who He who maketh lungs like to a sponge; who He who maketh belly stretch so much; who he who doth make prominent the parts most honorable, so that they may be seen, while hiding out of sight those of least honor?

7. Behold how many arts employed on one material, how many labors on one single sketch; and all exceeding fair, and all in perfect measure, yet all diversified! Who made them all? What mother, or what sire, save God alone, unmanifest, who hath made all things by His Will?

8. And no one saith a statue or a picture comes to be without a sculptor or without a painter; doth then such workmanship as this exist without a Worker? What depth oblindness, what deep impiety, what depth of ignorance! See, then thou ne'er, son Tat, deprivest works of Worker!

Nay, rather is He greater than all names, so great is He, the Father of them all. For verily He is the Only One, and this is His work, to be a father.

9. So, if thou forcest me somewhat too bold, to speak, His being is conceiving of all things and making them.

And as without its maker its is impossible that anything should be, so ever is He not unless He ever makes all things, in heaven, in air, in earth, in deep, in all of cosmos, in every part that is and that is not of everything. For there is naught in all the world that is not He.

He is Himself, both things that are and things that are not. The things that are He hath made manifest, He keepeth things that are not in Himself.

10. He is the God beyond all name; He the unmanifest, He the most manifest; He whom the mind alone can contemplate, He visible to the eyes as well; He is the one of no body, the one of many bodies, nay, rather He of every body.

Naught is there which he is not. For all are He and He is all. And for this cause hath He all names, in that they are one Father's. And for this cause hath He Himself no nome, in that He's Father of them all.

Who, then, may sing Thee praise of Thee, or praise to Thee? Whither, again, am I to turn my eyes to sing Thy praise; above, below, within, without?

There is no way, no place is there about Thee, nor any other thing of things that are.

All are in Thee; all are from Thee, O Thou who givest all and takest naught, for Thou hast all and naught is there Thou hast not.

11. And when, O Father, shall I hymn Thee? For none can seize Thy hour or time.

For what, again, shall I sing hymn? For things that Thou hast made, or things Thou hast not? For things Thou hast made manifest, or things Thou hast concealed?

How, further, shall I hymn Thee? As being of myself? As

How, further, shall I hymn Thee? As being of myself? As having something of mine own? As being other?

For that Thou art whatever I may be; Thou art whatever I may do; Thou art whatever I may speak.

For Thou art all, and there is nothing else which Thou art not. Thou art all that which doth exist, and Thou art what doth not exist - Mind when Thou thinkest, and Father when Thou makest, and God when Thou dost energize, and Good and Maker of all things.

For that the subtler part of matter is the air, of air the soul, of soul the mind, and of mind God.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 6

In God Alone Is Good And Elsewhere Nowhere

(Notes on the text: This sermon on the nature of the Good, like To Asclepius (chapter 2), relies on the technical language of classical Greek philosophy - a point which some of Mead's translations tend to obscure. "The Good," in Greek thought, is also the self-caused and self-sufficient, and thus has little in common with later conceptions of "goodness," just as the Latin word virtus and the modern Christian concept of "virtue" are very nearly opposites despite their etymological connection. The word "passion" here also needs to be understood in its older sense, as the opposite of "action" (cf. "active" and "passive").

The negative attitude toward humanity and the cosmos which appears in this text contrasts sharply with the more positive assessment found, for example, in the Poemandres (chapter 1) or in the Asclepius - a reminder that these documents are relics of a diverse and not necessarily consistent school of thought)

1. Good, O Asclepius, is in none else save in God alone; nay, rather. Good is God Himself eternally.

If it be so, Good must be essence, from every kind of motion and becoming free (though naught is free from It), possessed of stable energy around Itself, never too little, nor too much, an ever-full supply. Though one, yet is It source of all; for what supplieth all is Good. When I, moreover, say supplieth altogether all, it is for ever Good. But this belongs to no one else save God alone.

For He stands not in need of any thing, so that desiring it He should be bad; nor can a single thing of things that are be lost to him, on losing which He should be pained; for pain is part of bad.

Nor is there aught superior to Him, that He should be subdued by it; nor any peer to Him to do Him wrong, or so that He should fall in love on its account; nor aught that gives no ear to Him, whereat He should grow angry; nor wiser aught, for Him to envy.

2. Now as all these are non-existent in His being, what is there left but Good alone?

For just as naught of bad is to be found in such transcendent Being, so too in no one of the rest will Good be found.

For in them are all of the other things (i.e., those things which are not Good) - both in the little and the great, both in each severally and in this living one that's greater than them all and the mightiest of them (i.e., the cosmos).

For things subject to birth abound in passions, birth in itself being passible. But where there's passion, nowhere is there Good; and where is Good, nowhere a single passion. For where is day, nowhere is night; and where is night, day is nowhere.

Wherefore in genesis the Good can never be, but only be in the ingenerate.

But seeing that the sharing in all things hath been bestowed on matter, so doth it share in Good.

In this way is the Cosmos Good; that, in so far as it doth make all things, as far as making goes it's Good, but in all other things it is not Good. For it's both passible and subject unto motion, and maker of things passible.

3. Whereas in man by greater or less of bad is good determined. For what is not too bad down here, is good, and good down here is the least part of bad.

It cannot, therefore, be that good down here should be quite clean of bad, for down here good is fouled with bad; and being fouled, it stays no longer good, and staying not it changes into bad.

In God alone, is, therefore, Good, or rather Good is God Himself.

So then, Asclepius, the name alone of Good is found in men, the thing itself nowhere in them, for this can never be.

For no material body doth contain It - a thing bound on all sides by bad, by labors, pains, desires and passions, by error and by foolish thoughts.

And greatest ill of all, Asclepius, is that each of these things that have been said above, is thought down here to be the greatest good.

And what is still an even greater ill, is belly-lust, the error that doth lead the band of all the other ills - the thing that makes us turn down here from Good.

4. And I, for my part, give thanks to God, that He hath cast it in my mind about the Gnosis of the Good, that it can never be It should be in the world. For that the world is "fullness" of the bad, but God of Good, and Good of God.

The excellencies of the Beautiful are round the very essence of the Good; nay, they do seem too pure, too unalloyed; perchance 'tis they that are themselves Its essences.

For one may dare to say, Asclepius - if essence, sooth, He have - God's essence is the Beautiful; the Beautiful is further also Good.

There is no Good that can be got from objects in the world. For all the things that fall beneath the eye are image-things and pictures as it were; while those that do not meet the eye are the realities, especially the essence of the Beautiful and Good.

Just as the eye cannot see God, so can it not behold the Beautiful and Good. For that they are integral parts of God, wedded to Him alone, inseparate familiars, most beloved, with whom God is Himself in love, or they with God.

5. If thou canst God conceive, thou shalt conceive the Beautiful and Good, transcending Light, made lighter than the Light by God. That Beauty is beyond compare, inimitate that Good, even as God is Himself.

As, then, thou dost conceive of God, conceive the Beautiful and Good. For they cannot be joined with aught of other things that live, since they can never be divorced from God.

Seek'st thou for God, thou seekest for the Beautiful. One is the Path that leadeth unto It - Devotion joined with Gnosis.

6. And thus it is that they who do not know and do not tread Devotion's Path, do dare to call man beautiful and good, though he have ne'er even in his visions seen a whit that's Good, but is enveloped with every kind of bad, and thinks the bad is good, and thus doth make unceasing use of it, and even

feareth that it should be taken from him, so straining every nerve not only to preserve but even to increase it.

Such are the things that men call good and beautiful, Asclepius - things which we cannot flee or hate; for hardest thing of all is that we've need of them and cannot live without them

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 7

The Greatest Ill Among Men is Ignorance of God

1. Whither stumble ye, sots, who have sopped up the wine of ignorance and can so far not carry it that ye already even spew it forth?

Stay ye, be sober, gaze upwards with the true eyes of the heart! And if ye cannot all, yet ye at least who can!

For that the ill of ignorance doth pour o'er all the earth and overwhelm the soul that's battened down within the body, preventing it from fetching port within Salvation's harbors.

2. Be ye then not carried off by the fierce flood, but using the shore-current (lit., "back-current" or "up-current"), ye who can, make for Salvation's port, and, harboring there, seek ye for one to take you by the hand and lead you unto Gnosis' gates.

Where shines clear Light, of every darkness clean; where not a single soul is drunk, but sober all they gaze with their hearts' eyes on Him who willeth to be seen.

No ear can hear Him, nor can eye see Him, nor tongue speak of Him, but only mind and heart.

But first thou must tear off from thee the cloak which thou dost wear - the web of ignorance, the ground of bad, corruption's chain, the carapace of darkness, the living death, sensation's corpse, the tomb thou carriest with thee, the robber in thy house, who through the things he loveth, hateth thee, and through the things he hateth, bears thee malice.

3. Such is the hateful cloak thou wearest - that throttles thee and holds thee down to it, in order that thou may'st not gaze above, and having seen the Beauty of the Truth, and Good that dwells therein, detest the bad of it; having found out the plot that it hath schemed against thee, by making void of sense those seeming things which men think senses.

For that it hath with mass of matter blocked them up and crammed them full of loathsome lust, so that thou may'st not hear about the things that thou should'st hear, nor see the things thou should'st see.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 8

That No One of Existing Things doth Perish, but Men in Error Speak of Their Changes as Destructions and as Deaths

(Notes on the text: The idea of cyclic change central to chapter 3, "The Sacred Sermon", also takes center stage here. A current of ancient speculation grounded in astrology held that as the planets returned after vast cycles of time to the same positions, so all events on earth would repeat themselves precisely into eternity in the future - and had done so from eternity in the past. The technical term for this recurrence, apocatastasis, is the word Mead translates as "restoration" in the beginning of section 4.

Mead footnotes this tractate as "obscure" and "faulty" in places, and his translation of the beginning of section 3 is conjectural.)

1. Hermes: Concerning Soul and Body, son, we now must speak; in what way Soul is deathless, and whence comes the activity in composing and dissolving Body.

For there's no death for aught of things that are; the thought this word conveys, is either void of fact, or simply by the knocking off a syllable what is called "death", doth stand for "deathless".

For death is of destruction, and nothing in the Cosmos is destroyed. For if Cosmos is second God, a life (or living creature) that cannot die, it cannot be that any part of this immortal life should die. All things in Cosmos are parts of Cosmos, and most of all is man, the rational animal.

2. For truly first of all, eternal and transcending birth, is God the universals' Maker. Second is he "after His image", Cosmos, brought into being by Him, sustained and fed by Him, made deathless, as by his own Sire, living for aye, as ever free from death.

Now that which ever-liveth, differs from the Eternal; for He hath not been brought to being by another, and even if He have been brought to being, He hath not been brought to being by Himself, but ever is brought into being. For the Eternal, in that It is eternal, is the all. The Father is

For the Eternal, in that It is eternal, is the all. The Father is Himself eternal of Himself, but Cosmos hath become eternal and immortal by the Father.

3. And of the matter stored beneath it (i.e., beneath the cosmos), the Father made of it a universal body, and packing it together made it spherical - wrapping it round the life - a sphere which is immortal in itself, and that doth make materiality eternal.

But He, the Father, full-filled with His ideas, did sow the lives (or living creatures) into the sphere, and shut them in as in a cave, willing to order forth the life with every kind of living.

So He with deathlessness enclosed the universal body, that matter might not wish to separate itself from body's composition, and so dissolve into its own original unorder.

For matter, son, when it was yet incorporate (i.e., not yet formed into bodies), was in unorder. And it doth still retain down here this nature of unorder enveloping the rest of the small lives (or living creatures) - that increase-and-decrease which men call death.

4. It is round earthly lives that this unorder doth exist. For that the bodies of the heavenly ones preserve one order allotted to them by the Father as their rule; and it is by the restoration of each one of them this order is preserved indissolute.

The "restoration" of bodies on the earth is thus their composition, whereas their dissolution restores them to those bodies which can never be dissolved, that is to say, which know no death. Privation, thus, of sense is brought about, not loss of bodies.

5. Now the third life - Man, after the image of the Cosmos made, and having mind, after the Father's will, beyond all earthly lives - not only doth have feeling with the second God (i.e., the Cosmos), but also hath conception of the first; for of the one 'tis sensible as of a body, while of the other it conceives as bodiless and the Good Mind.

Tat: Doth then this life not perish?

Hermes: Hush, son! and understand what God, what Cosmos is, what is a life that cannot die, and what a life subject to dissolution.

Yea, understand the Cosmos is by God and in God; but Man by Cosmos and in Cosmos.

The source and limit and the constitution of all things is God.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 9

On Thought and Sense

(Notes on the text: This somewhat diffuse essay covers a series of topics, starting with (and to some extent from) the concept that the set of perceptions we call "thoughts" and the set we call "sensory perceptions" are not significantly different from each other. The implications of this idea play a significant role in later Hermetic thought, particularly in the areas of magic and the Art of Memory; in this tractate, though, the issues involved are barely touched, and the argument wanders into moral dualisms and the equally important, but distinct, idea that the Cosmos is itself a divine creative power.

Section 10, in which understanding is held up as the source and precondition of belief, should probably be seen as part of the same ancient debate on the roles of faith and reason that gave rise to Tertullian's famous credo quia absurdum ("I believe because it is absurd").)

1. I gave the Perfect Sermon (Logos) yesterday, Asclepius; today I think it right, as sequel thereunto, to go through point by point the Sermon about Sense.

Now sense and thought do seem to differ, in that the former has to do with matter, the latter has to do with substance. But unto me both seem to be at-one and not to differ - in men I mean. In other lives (or living creatures) sense is at-oned with Nature, but in men thought.

Now mind doth differ just as much from thought as God doth from divinity. For that divinity by God doth come to be, and by mind thought, the sister of the word (logos) and instruments of one another. For neither doth the word (logos) find utterance without thought, nor is thought manifested without word.

2. So sense and thought both flow together into man, as though they were entwined with one another. For neither without sensing can one think, nor without thinking sense.

But it is possible they say to think a thing apart from sense, as those who fancy sights in dreams. But unto me it seems that both of these activities occur in dream-sight, and sense doth pass out of the sleeping to the waking state.

For man is separated into soul and body, and only when the two sides of his sense agree together, does utterance of its thought conceived by mind take place.

3. For it is mind that doth conceive all thoughts - good thoughts when it receives the seeds from God, their contraries when it receivet them from the daimonials; no part of Cosmos being free of daimon, who stealthily doth creep into the daimon who's illumined by God's light (i.e., the human soul), and sow in him the seed of its own energy.

And mind conceives the seed thus sown, adultery, murder, parricide, and sacrilege, impiety, and strangling, casting down precipices, and all such other deeds as are the work of evil daimons.

4. The seeds of God, 'tis true, are few, but vast and fair, and good - virtue and self-control, devotion. Devotion is Godgnosis; and he who knoweth God, being filled with all good things, thinks godly thoughts and not thoughts like the many think.

For this cause they who Gnostic are, please not the many, nor the many them. They are thought mad and laughted at; they're hated and despised, and sometimes even put to death.

For we did say that bad must needs dwell on earth, where 'tis in its own place. Its place is earth, and not Cosmos, as some will sometimes say with impious tongue.

But he who is a devotee of God, will bear with all - once he has sensed the Gnosis. For such an one all things, even though they be for others bad, are for him good; deliberately he doth refer them all unto the Gnosis. And, thing most marvelous, 'tis he alone who maketh bad things good.

5. But I return once more to the Discourse (Logos) on Sense. That sense doth share with thought in man, doth constitute him man. But 'tis not every man, as I have said, who benefits by thought; for this man is material, that other one substantial.

For the material man, as I have said, consorting with the bad, doth have his seed of thought from daimons; while the substantial men consorting with the Good, are saved by God.

Now God is Maker of all things, and in His making, He maketh all at last like to Himself; but they, while they're becoming good by exercise of their activity, are unproductive things

It is the working of the Cosmic Course that maketh their becomings what they are, befouling some of them with bad and others of them making clean with good.

For Cosmos, too, Asclepius, possesseth sense-and-thought peculiar to itself, not like that of man; 'tis not so manifold, but as it were a better and a simpler one.

6. The single sense-and-thought of Cosmos is to make all things, and make them back into itself again, as Organ of the Will of God, so organized that it, receiving all the seeds into itself from God, and keeping them within itself, may make all manifest, and then dissolving them, make them all new again; and thus, like a Good Gardener of Life, things that have been dissolved, it taketh to itself, and giveth them renewal once again.

There is no thing to which it gives not life; but taking all unto itself it makes them live, and is at the same time the Place of Life and its Creator.

7. Now bodies matter -made are in diversity. Some are of earth, of water some, some are of air, and some of fire.

But they are all composed; some are more composite, and some are simpler. The heavier ones are more composed, the lighter less so.

It is the speed of Cosmos' Course that works the manifoldness of the kinds of births. For being a most swift Breath, it doth bestow their qualities on bodies together with the One Pleroma - that of Life.

God, then, is Sire of Cosmos; Cosmos, of all in Cosmos.
 And Cosmos is God's Son; but things in Cosmos are by Cosmos.

And properly hath it been called Cosmos Order; for that it orders all with their diversity of birth, with its not leaving aught without its life, with the unweariedness of its activity, the speed of its necessity, the composition of its elements, and order of its creatures.

The same, then, of necessity and propriety should have the name of Order.

The sense-and-thought, then, of all lives doth come into them from without, inbreathed by what contains them all; whereas Cosmos receives them once for all together with its coming into being, and keeps them as a gift from God.

9. But God is not, as some suppose, beyond the reach of sense-and-thought. It is through superstition men thus impiously speak.

For all the things that are, Asclepius, all are in God, are brought by God to be, and do depend on Him - both things that act through bodies, and things that through soulsubstance make other things to move, and things that make things live by means of spirit, and things that take unto themselves the things that are worn out.

And rightly so; nay, I would rather say, He doth not have these things; but I speak forth the truth, He is them all Himself. He doth not get them from without, but gives them out from Him.

This is God's sense-and-thought, ever to move all things. And never time shall be when even a whit of things that are shall cease; and when I say "a whit of things that are", I mean a whit of God. For thigs that are, God hath; nor aught is there without Him, nor is He without aught.

10. These things should seem to thee, Asclepius, if thou dost understand them, true; but if thou dost not understand, things not to be believed.

To understand is to believe, to not believe is not to understand.

My word (logos) doth go before thee to the truth. But mighty is the mind, and when it hath been led by word up to a certain point, it hath the power to come before thee to the truth

And having thought o'er all these things, and found them consonant with those which have already been translated by the reason, it hath even now believed, and found its rest in that Fair Faith.

To those, then, who by God's good aid do understand the things that have been said by us above, they're credible; but unto those who understand them not, incredible.

Let so much, then, suffice on thought-and-sense

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 10

The Key

(Notes: This longer tractate presents itself explicitly as a summary or abridgement of the General Sermons (CH II-IX), and discusses the Hermetic view of knowledge and its role in the lives and afterlives of human beings. The attentive reader will notice certain contradictions between the afterlifeteachings of this and previous tractates.

One of the central concepts of The Key, and of Hermetic thought generally, is the distinction between ordinary discursive knowledge which can be expressed in words (in Greek, episteme, which Mead translates somewhat clumsily as "science") and transcendent, unitive knowledge which cannot be communicated (in Greek, gnosis, which Mead simply and sensibly leaves untranslated). The same distinction can be found in many systems of mystical thought. Unlike most of these, though, the Hermetic teachings place value on both.

Readers without much experience in the jargon of Classical philosophy will want to remember that "hylic" means "material", "passible" means "subject to outside forces or to suffering", and "intelligible" means "belonging to the realm of the Mind", and "motion" includes all kinds of change. The special implications of "good" in Greek thought - of self-sufficiency and desirability - should also be kept in mind.

The delightful irony of the Zen moment early in section, when Hermes - in the middle of this very substantial lecture defines the good and pious man as "he who doth not say much or lend his ear to much" and thus rules out both himself and his audience, seems to have been lost on subsequent commentators.)

1. Hermes: My yesterday's discourse (logos) I did devote to thee, Asclepius, and so 'tis only right I should devote toafy's to Tat; and this the more because 'tis the abridgement of the General Sermons (Logoi) which he has had addressed to him.

"God, Father and the Good", then, Tat, hath the same nature, or more exactly, energy.

For nature is a predicate of growth, and used of things that change, both mobile and immobile, that is to say, both human and divine, each one of which He willeth into being.

But energy consists in something else, as we have shown in treating of the rest, both things divine and human things; which thing we ought to have in mind when treating of the Good.

2. God's energy is then His Will; further His essence is to will the being of all things. For what is "God and Father and the Good" but the "to be" of all that are not yet? Nay, subsistence self of everything that is; this, then, is God, this Father, this the Good; to Him is added naught of all the rest.

And though the Cosmos, that is to say the Sun, is also sire himself to them that share in him; yet so far is he not the cause of good unto the lives, he is not even of their living.

So that even if he be a sire, he is entirely so by compulsion of the Good's Good-will, apart from which nor being nor becoming could e'er be.

3. Again, the parent is the children's cause, both on the father's and the mother's side, only by sharing in the Good's desire that doth pour through the Sun. It is the Good which doeth the creating.

And such a power can be possessed by no one else than Him alone who taketh naught, but wills all things to be; I will not, Tat, say "makes".

For that the maker is defective for long periods (in which he sometimes makes, and sometimes doth not make) both in the quality and in the quantity of what he makes; in that he sometimes maketh them so many and such like, and sometimes the reverse.

But "God and Father and the Good" is cause for all to be. So are at least these things for those who can see.

4. For It doth will to be, and It is both Itself and most of all by reason of Itself. Indeed, all other things beside are just bacause of It; for the distinctive feature of the Good is "that it should be known". Such is the Good, O Tat.

Tat: Thou hast, O father, filled us so full of this so good and fairest sight, that thereby my mind's eye hath now become for me almost a thing to worship.

For that the vision of the Good doth not, like the sun's beam, firelike blaze on the eyes and make them close; nay, on the contrary, it shineth forth and maketh to increase the seeing of the eye, as far as e'er a man hath the capacity to hold the inflow of the radiance that the mind alone can see.

Not only does it come more swiftly down to us, but it does us no harm, and is instinct with all immortal life.

5. They who are able to drink in a somewhat more than others of this Sight, ofttimes from out the body fall asleep in this fairest Spectacle, as was the case with Uranus and Cronus, our forebears, may this be out lot too. O father mine!

Hermes: Yea, may it be, my son! But as it is, we are not yet strung to the Vision, and not as yet have we the power our mind's eye to unfold and gaze upon the Beauty of the Good Beauty that naught can e'er corrupt or any comprehend.

For only then wilt thou upon It gaze when thou canst say no word concerning It. For Gnosis of the Good is holy silence and a giving holiday to every sense.

6. For neither can he who perceiveth It, perceive aught else; nor he who gazeth on It, gaze on aught else; nor hear aught else, nor stir his body any way. Staying his body's every sense and every motion he stayeth still.

And shining then all round his mond, It shines through his whole soul, and draws it out of body, transforming all of him to essence.

For it is possible, my son, that a man's soul should be made like to God, even while it still is in a body, if it doth contemplate the Beauty of the Good.

7. Tat: Made like to God? What dost thou, father, mean? Hermes: Of every soul apart are transformations, son. Tat: What meanest thou? Apart?

Hermes: Didst thou not, in the General Sermons, hear that from one Soul - the All-soul - come all these souls which are made to revolve in all the cosmos, as though divided off?

Of these souls, then, it is that there are many changes, some to a happier lot and some to just the contrary of this.

Thus some that were creeping things change into things that in the water dwell, the souls of water things change to earth-dwellers, those that live on earth change to things with wings, and souls that live in air change to men, while human souls reach the first step of deathlessness changed into daimones.

And so they circle to the choir of the Inerrant Gods; for of the Gods there are two choirs, the one Inerrant, and the other Errant. And this is the most perfect glory of the soul.

8. But if a soul on entering the body of a man persisteth in its vice, it neither tasteth deathlessness nor shareth in the Good; but speeding back again it turns into the path that leads to creeping things. This is the sentence of the vicious soul.

And the soul's vice is ignorance. For that the soul who hath no knowledge of the things that are, or knowledge of their nature, or of Good, is blinded by the body's passions and tossed about.

This wretched soul, not knowing what she is, becomes the slave of bodies of strange form in sorry plight, bearing the body as a load; not as the ruler, but the ruled. This ignorance is the soul's vice.

9. But on the other hand the virtue of the soul is Gnosis. For he who knows, he good and pious is, and still while on the earth divine.

Tat: But who is such an one, O father mine?

Hermes: He who doth not say much or lend his ear to much. For he who spendeth time in arguing and hearing arguments, doth shadow-fight. For "God, the Father and the Good", is not to be obtained by speech or hearing.

And yet though this is so, there are in all the beings senses, in that they cannot without senses be.

But Gnosis is far different from sense. For sense is brought about by that which hath the mastery o'er us, while Gnosis is the end (i.e., goal) of science, and science is God's gift.

10. All science is incorporeal, the instrument it uses being the mind, just as the mind employs the body.

Both then come into bodies, I mean both things that are cognizable by mond alone and things material. For all things must consist out of antithesis and contrariety; and this can otherwise not be.

Tat: Who then is this material God of whom thou speakest? Hermes: Cosmos is beautiful, but is not good - for that it is material and freely passible; and though it is the first of all things passible, yet is it in the second rank of being and wanting in itself.

And though it never hath itself its birth in time, but ever is, yet is its being in becoming, becoming for all time the genesis of qualities and quantities; for it is mobile and all material motion's genesis.

11. It is intelligible rest that moves material motion in this way, since Cosmos is a sphere - that is to say, a head. And naught of head above's material, as naught of feet below's intelligible, but all material.

And head itself is moved in a sphere-like way - that is to say, as head should move, is mind.

All then that are united to the "tissue" of this "head" (in which is soul) are in their nature free from death - just as when body hath been made in soul, are things that hath more soul than body.

Whereas those things which are at greater distance from this "tissue" - there, where are things which have a greater share of body than of soul - are by their nature subject unto death

The whole, however, is a life; so that the universe consists of both the hylic and of the intelligible.

12. Again, the Cosmos is the first of living things, while man is second after it, though first of things subject to death.

Man hath the same ensouling power in him as all the rest of living things; yet is he not only not good, but even evil, for that he's subject unto death.

For though the Cosmos also is not good in that it suffers motion, it is not evil, in that it is not subject to death. But man, in that he's subject both to motion and to death, is evil.

13. Now then the principles of man are this-wise vehicled: mind in the reason (logos), the reason in the soul, soul in the spirit (or, rather, vital spirits), and spirit in the body.

Spirit pervading body by means of veins and arteries and blood, bestows upon the living creature motion, and as it were doth bear it in a way.

For this cause some do think the soul is blood, in that they do mistake its nature, not knowing that at death it is iteh spirit that must first withdraw into the soul, whereon the blood congeals and veins and arteries are emptied, and then the living creature (or life) is withdrawn; and this is body's death.

14. Now from one Source all things depend; while Source dependeth from the One and Only One. Source is, moreover, moved to become Source again; whereas the One standeth perpetually and is not moved.

Three then are they: "God, the Father and the Good", Cosmos and man.

God doth contain Cosmos; Cosmos containeth man. Cosmos is e'er God's Son, man as it were Cosmos' child.

15. Not that, however, God ignoreth man; nay, right well doth He know him, and willeth to be known.

This is the sole salvation for a man - God's Gnosis. This is the Way Up to the Mount.

By Him alone the soul becometh good, not whiles is good, whiles evil, but good out of necessity.

Tat: What dost thou mean, Thrice-greatest one?

Hermes: Behold an infant's soul, my son, that is not yet cut off, because its body is still small and not as yet come unto its full bulk.

Tat: How?

Hermes: A thing of beauty altogether is such a soul to see, not yet befouled by body's passions, still all but hanging from the Cosmic Soul!

But when the body grows in bulk and draweth down the soul into its mass, then doth the soul cut off itself and bring upon itself forgetfulness, and no more shareth in the Beautiful and the Good. And this forgetfulness becometh vice.

16. It is the same for them who go out from the body.

For when the soul withdraws into itself, the spirit doth contract itself within the blood, and the soul within the spirit. And then the mind, stripped of its wrappings, and naturally divine, taking unto itself a fiery body, doth traverse every space, after abandoning the soul unto its judgement and whatever chastisement it hath deserved.

Tat: What dost thou, father, mean by this? The mind is parted from soul and soul from spirit? Whereas thou said'st the soul was the mind's vesture, and the soul's the spirit.

17. Hermes: The hearer, son, should think with him who speaks and breathe with him; nay, he should have a hearing subtler than the voice of him who speaks.

It is, son, in a body made of earth that this arrangement of the vestures comes to pass. For in a body made of earth it is impossible the mind should take its seat itself by its own self in nakedness.

For neither is it possible on the one hand the earthly body should contain so much immortality, nor on the other that so great a virtue should endure a body passible in such close contact with it. It taketh, then, the soul for as it were an envelope.

And soul itself, being too and thing divine, doth use the spirit as its envelope, while spirit doth pervade the living creature

18. When then the mind doth free itself from the earth-body, it straightway putteth on its proper robe of fire, with which it could not dwell in an earth-body.

For earth doth not bear fire; for it is all set in a blaze even by a small spark. And for this cause is water poured around earth, to be a guard and wall, to keep the blazing of the fire away.

But mind, the swiftest thing of all divine outthinkings, and swifter than all elements, hath for its body fire.

For mind being builder doth use the fire as tool for the construction of all things - the Mind of all for the construction of all things, but that of man only for things on earth.

Stript of its fire the mind on earth cannot make things divine, for it is human in its dispensation.

19. The soul in man, however - not every soul, but one that pious is - is a daimonic something and divine.

And such a soul when from the body freed, if it have fought the fight of piety - the fight of piety is to know God and to do wrong to no man - such a soul becomes entirely mind.

Whereas the impious soul remains in its own essence, chastised by its own self, and seeking for an earthly body where to enter, if only it be human.

For that no other body can contain a human soul; nor is it right that any human soul should fall into the body of a thing that doth possess no reason. For that the law of God is this: to guard the human soul from such tremendous outrage.

20. Tat: How father, then, is a man's soul chastised?

Hermes: What greater chastisement of any human soul can there be, son, than lack of piety? What fire has so fierce a flame as lack of piety? What ravenous beast so mauls the body as lack of piety the very soul?

Dost thou not see what hosts of ills the impious soul doth hear?

It shrieks and screams: I burn; I am ablaze; I know not what to cry or do; ah, wretched me, I am devoured by all the ills that compass me about; alack, poor me, I neither see nor hear!

Such are the cries wrung from a soul chastised; not, as the many think, and thou, son, dost suppose, that a man's soul, passing from body, is changed into a beast.

Such is a very grave mistake, for that the way a soul doth suffer chastisement is this:

21. When mind becomes a daimon, the law requires that it should take a fiery body to execute the services of God; and entering in the soul most impious it scourgeth it with whips made of its sins.

And then the impious soul, scourged with its sins, is plunged in murders, outrage, blasphemy, in violence of all kinds, and all the other things whereby mankind is wronged.

But on the pious soul the mind doth mount and guide it to the Gnosis' Light. And such a soul doth never tire in songs of praise to God and pouring blessing on all men, and doing good in word and deed to all, in imitation of its Sire.

22. Wherefore, my son, thou shouldst give praise to God and pray that thou mayst have thy mind Good Mind. It is, then, to a better state the soul doth pass; it cannot to a worse.

Further there is an intercourse of souls; those of the gods have intercourse with those of men, and those of men with souls of creatures which possess no reason.

The higher, further, have in charge the lower; the gods look after men, men after animals irrational, while God hath charge of all; for He is higher than them all and all are less than He.

Cosmos is subject, then, to God, man to the Cosmos, and irrationals to man. But God is o'er them all, and God contains them all.

God's rays, to use a figure, are His energies; the Cosmos's are natures, the arts and sciences are man's.

The energies act through the Cosmos, thence through the nature-rays of Cosmos upon man; the nature-rays act through the elements, man acteth through the sciences and arts.

23. This is the dispensation of the universe, depending from the nature of the One, pervading all things through the Mind, than which is naught diviner nor of greater energy; and naught a greater means for the at-oning men to gods and gods to men

He, Mind, is the Good Daimon. Blessed the soul that is most filled with Him, and wretched is the soul that's empty of the Mind.

Tat: Father, what dost thou mean, again?

Hermes: Dost think then, son, that every soul hath the Good Mind? For 'tis of Him we speak, not of the mind in service of which we were just speaking, the mind sent down for the soul's chastisement.

24. For soul without the mind "can neither speak nor act". For oftentimes the mind doth leave the soul, and at that time the soul neither sees nor understands, but is just like a thing that hath no reason. Such is the power of mind.

Yet doth it not endure a sluggish soul, but leaveth such a soul tied to the body and bound tight down by it. Such soul, my son, doth not have Mind; and therefore such an one should not be called a man. For that man is a thing-of-life (or animal) divine; man is not measured with the rest of lives of things upon the earth, but with the lives above in heaven, who are called gods.

Nay more, if we must boldly speak the truth, the true "man" is even higher than the gods, or at the very least the gods and men are very whit in power each with the other equal.

25. For no one of the gods in heaven shall come down to the earth, o'er-stepping heaven's limit; whereas man doth mount up to heaven and measure it; he knows what things of it are high, what things are low, and learns precisely all things else besides. And greater thing than all; without even quitting earth, he doth ascend above. So vast a sweep doth he possess of esstasy.

For this cause can a man dare say that man on earth is god subject to death, while god in heaven is man from death immune.

Wherefore the dispensation of all things is brought about by means of there, the twain - Cosmos and Man - but by the

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 11

Mind Unto Hermes

(Notes on the text: This complex text is written as a revelation from the divine Mind - the "Man-Shepherd" of chapter 1 - to Hermes, concerning the nature of God and the universe. Difficult enough in its own right, it has been made more so by some of Mead's prose. I have tried to insert clarifications where these are most needed.

Some notes on terminology may also be useful. The term Aeon here, as in many of the so-called "Gnostic" writings, refers to the timeless and spaceless realm of ideal being. The word cosmos means both "order" and "beauty" - the same root appears in the word "cosmetic". Additionally, the words genesis and becoming in the translation are the same word in the Greek original.

Finally, the word "inactive" in square brackets near the beginning of section 13 is Mead's, intended to fill a lacuna in the text. The more usual conjecture, as he comments, is "apart from God".)

1. Mind: Master this sermon (logos), then, Thrice-greatest Hermes, and bear in mind the spoken words; and as it hath come unto Me to speak, I will no more delay.

Hermes: As many men say many things, and these diverse, about the All and Good, I have not learned the truth. Make it, then, clear to me, O Master mine! For I can trust the explanation of these things, which comes from Thee alone.

2. Mind: Hear then, My son, how standeth God and All.

God; Aeon; Cosmos; Time; Becoming.

God maketh Aeon; Aeon, Cosmos; Cosmos, Time; and Time, Becoming (or Genesis).

The Good - the Beautiful, Wisdom, Blessedness - is (the) essence, as it were, of God; of Aeon, (the essence is) Sameness; of Cosmos, Order; of Time, Change; and of Becoming, Life and Death.

The energies of God are Mind and Soul; of Aeon, lastingness and deathlessness; of Cosmos, restoration and the opposite thereof; of Time, increase and decrease; and of Becoming, quality.

Aeon is, then, in God; Cosmos, in Aeon; in Cosmos; Time; in Time, Becoming.

Aeon stands firm round God; Cosmos is moved in Aeon; Time hath its limits (or is accomplished) in the Cosmos; Becoming doth become in Time.

3. The source, therfore, of all is God; their essence, Aeon; their matter, Cosmos.

God's power is Aeon; Aeon's work is Cosmos - which never hath become, yet ever doth become by Aeon.

Therefore will Cosmos never be destroyed, for Aeon's indestructible; nor doth a whit of things in Cosmos perish, for Cosmos is enwrapped by Aeon round on every side.

Hermes: But God's Wisdom - what is that?

Mind: The Good and Beautiful, and Blessedness, and Virtue's all, and Aeon.

Aeon, then, ordereth Cosmos, imparting deathlessness and lastingness to matter.

4. For its beginning doth depend on Aeon, as Aeon doth on

God.
Now Genesis (or Becoming) and Time, in Heaven and upon

the Earth, are of two natures.

In Heaven they are unchangeable and indestructible, but on

the Earth they're subject unto change and to destruction.
Further, the Aeon's soul is God; the Cosmos' soul is Aeon;

the Earth's soul, Heaven.

And God (is) in Mind; and Mind, in Soul; and Soul, in

Matter; and all of them through Aeon.

But all this Body, in which are all the bodies, is full of Soul; and Soul is full of Mind, and Mind of God.

It (i.e., Soul) fills it (i.e., the Body of the Cosmos) from within, and from without encircles it, making the All to live.

Without, this vast and perfect Life encircles Cosmos; within, it fills it with all lives; above, in Heaven, continuing in sameness; below, on Earth, changing becoming.

 And Aeon doth preserve this Cosmos, or by Necessity, or by Foreknowledge, or by Nature, or by whatever else a man supposes or shall suppose. And all is this - God energizing.

The Energy of God is Power that naught can e'er surpass, a Power with which no one can make comparison of any human thing at all, or any thing divine.

Wherefore, O Hermes, never think that aught of things above or things below is like to God, for thou wilt fall from truth. For naught is like to That which hath no like, and is Alone and One.

And do not ever think that any other can possibly possess His power; for what apart from Him is there of life, and deathlessness and change of quality? For what else should He make?

God's not inactive, since all things then would lack activity; for all are full of God.

But neither in the Cosmos anywhere, nor in aught else, is there inaction. For that "inaction" is a name that cannot be applied to either what doth make or what is made.

6. But all things must be made; both ever made, and also in accordance with the influence of every space.

For He who makes, is in them all; not stablished in some one of them, nor making one thing only, but making all.

For being Power, He energizeth in the things He makes and is not independent of them - although the things He makes are subject to Him.

Now gaze through Me upon the Cosmos that's now subject to thy sight; regard its Beauty carefully - Body in pure perfection, though one than which there's no more ancient

one, ever in prime of life, and ever-young, nay, rather, in even fuller and vet fuller prime!

7. Behold, again, the seven subject Worlds; ordered by Aeon's order, and with their varied course full-filling Aeon!

See how all things are full of light, and nowhere is there fire; for 'tis the love and the blending of the contraries and the dissimilars that doth give birth to light down shining by the energy of God, the Father of all good, the Leader of all order, and Ruler of the seven world-orderings!

Behold the Moon, forerunner of them all, the instrument of nature, and the transmuter of its lower matter!

Look at the Earth set in the midst of All, foundation of the Cosmos Beautiful, feeder and nurse of things on Earth!

And contemplate the multitude of deathless lives, how great it is, and that of lives subject to death; and midway, between both, immortal lives and mortal, see thou the circling Moon.

8. And all are full of soul, and all are moved by it, each in its proper way; some round the Heaven, others around the Earth; see how the right move not unto the left, nor yet the left unto the right; nor the above below, nor the below above.

And that all there are subject unto Genesis, My dearest Hermes, thou hast no longer need to learn of Me. For that they bodies are, have souls, and they are moved.

But 'tis impossible for them to come together into one without some one to bring them all together. It must, then, be that such a one as this must be some one who's wholly One.

9. For as the many motions of them all are different, and as their bodies are not like, yet has one speed been ordered for them all, it is impossible that there should be two or more makers for them.

For that one single order is not kept among "the many"; but rivalry will follow of the weaker with the stronger, and they will strive.

And if the maker of the lives that suffer change and death, should be another (from the maker of the immortals), he would desire to make the deathless ones as well; just as the maker of the deathless ones, to make the lives that suffer death.

But come! if there be two - if matter's one, and Soul is one, in whose hands would there be the distribution for the making? Again, if both of them have some of it, in whose hands may be the greater part?

10. But thus conceive it, then; that every living body doth consist of soul and matter, whether that body be of an immortal, or a mortal, or an irrational life.

For that all living bodies are ensouled; whereas, upon the other hand, those that live not, are matter by itself.

And, in like fashion, Soul when in its self is, after its own maker, cause of life; but the cause of all life is He who makes the things that cannot die.

Hermes: How, then, is it that, first, lives subject to death are other than the deathless ones? And, next, how is it that Life which knows no death, and maketh deathlessness, doth not make animals immortal?

11. Mind: First, that there is some one who does these things, is clear; and, next, that He is also One, is very manifest. For, also, Soul is one, and Life is one, and Matter one.

Hermes: But who is He?

Mind: Who may it other be than the One God? Whom else should it beseem to put Soul into lives but God alone? One, then, is God.

It would indeed be most ridiculous, if when thou dost confess the Cosmos to be one, Sun one, Moon one, and Godhead one, thou shouldst wish God Himself to be some one or other of a number!

12. All things, therefore, He makes, in many ways. And what great thing is it for God to make life, soul, and deathlessness, and change, when thou thyself dost do so many things?

For thou dost see, and speak, and hear, and smell, and taste, and touch, and walk, and think, and breathe. And it is not one man who smells, another one who walks, another one who thinks, and yet another one who breathes. But one is he who doth all these.

And yet no one of these could be apart from God. For just as, should thou cease from these, thou wouldst no longer be a living thing, so also, should God cease from them (a thing not law to say), no longer is He God.

13. For if it hath been shown that no thing can inactive be, how much less God? For if there's aught he doth not make (if it be law to say), He is imperfect. But if He is not only not inactive, but perfect God, then He doth make all things.

Give thou thyself to Me, My Hermes, for a little while, and thou shalt understand more easily how that God's work is one, in order that all things may be - that are being made, or once have been, or that are going to be made. And this is, My beloved, Life; this is the Beautiful; this is the Good; this, God.

14. And if thou wouldst in practice understand this work, behold what taketh place with thee desiring to beget. Yet this is not like unto that, for He doth not enjoy.

For that indeed He hath no other one to share in what He works, for working by Himself, He ever is at work, Himself being what He doth. For did He separate Himself from it, all things would then collapse, and all must die, Life ceasing.

But if all things are lives, and also Life is one; then, one is God. And, furthermore, if all are lives, both those in Heaven and those on Earth, and One Life in them all is made to be by God, and God is it (i.e., God is the One Life) - then, all are made by God.

Life is the making-one of Mind and Soul; accordingly Death is not the destruction of those that are at-oned, but the dissolving of their union.

15. Aeon, moreover, is God's image; Cosmos is Aeon's; the Sun, of Cosmos; and Man, the image of the Sun.

The people call change death, because the body is dissolved, and life, when it's dissolved, withdraws to the unmanifest. But in this sermon (logos), Hermes, My beloved, as thou dost hear, I say the Cosmos also suffers change - for that a part of it each day is made to be in the unmanifest - vet it is ne'er dissolved.

These are the passions of the Cosmos - revolvings and concealments; revolving is conversion and concealment renovation

16. The Cosmos is all-formed - not having forms external to itself, but changing them itself within itself. Since, then, Cosmos is made to be all-formed, what may its maker be? For that, on the one hand, He should not be void of all form; and, on the other hand, if He's all-formed, He will be like the Cosmos. Whereas, again, has He a single form, He will thereby be less than Cosmos.

What, then, say we He is? - that we may not bring round our sermon (logos) into doubt; for naught that mind conceives of God is doubtful.

He, then, hath one idea, which is His own alone, which doth not fall beneath the sight, being bodiless, and yet by means of bodies manifesteth all ideas. And marvel not that there's a bodiless idea.

17. For it is like the form of reason (logos) and mountaintops in pictures. For they appear to stand out strongly from the rest, but really are quite smooth and flat.

And now consider what is said more boldly, but more truly!
Just as man cannot live apart from Life, so neither can God live without His doing good. For this is as it were the life and motion as it were of God - to move all things and make them live

18. Now some of the things said should bear a sense peculiar to themselves. So understand, for instance, what I'm going to say.

All are in God, but not as lying in a place. For place is both a body and immovable, and things that lie do not have motion. Now things lie one way in the bodiless, another way in being made manifest.

Think, then, of Him who doth contain them all; and think, that than the bodiless naught is more comprehensive, or swifter, or more potent, but it is the most comprehensive, the swiftest, and most potent of them all.

19. And, thus, think from thyself, and bid thy soul go unto any land, and there more quickly than thy bidding will it be. And bid it journey oceanwards; and there, again, immediately 'twill be, not as if passing on from place to place, but as if being there.

And bid it also mount to heaven; and it will need no wings, not will aught hinder it, nor fire of sun, nor auther, nor vortex-swirl, nor bodies of the other stars; but, cutting through them all, it will soar up to the last Body of them all. And shouldst thou will to break through this as well, and contemplate what is beyond - if there be aught beyond the Cosmos; it is permitted thee.

20. Behold what power, what swiftness, thou dost have! And canst thou do all of these things, and God not do them?

Then, in this way know God; as having all things in Himself as thoughts, the whole Cosmos itself.

If, then, thou dost not make thyself like unto God, thou canst not know Him. For like is knowable unto like alone.

Make, then, thyself to grow to the same stature as the Greatness which transcends all measure; leap forth from every body; transcend all time; become Eternity (literally, Aeon); and thus shalt thou know God.

Conceiving nothing is impossible unto thyself, think thyself deathless and able to know all - all arts, all sciences, the way of every life.

Become more lofty than all height, and lower than all depth. Collect into thyself all senses of all creatures - of fire, and water, dry and moist. Think that thou art at the same time in every place - in earth, in sea, in sky; not yet begotten, in the womb, young, old, and dead, in after-death conditions.

And if thou knowest all these things at once - times, places, doings, qualities, and quantities; thou canst know God.

21. But if thou lockest up thy soul within thy body, and dost debase it, saying: I nothing know; I nothing can; I fear the sea; I cannot scale the sky; I know not who I was, who I shall be - what is there then between thy God and thee?

For thou canst know naught of things beautiful and good so long as thou dost love thy body and art bad.

The greatest bad there is, is not to know God's Good; but to be able to know Good, and will, and hope, is a Straight Way, the Good's own Path, both leading there and easy.

If thou but settest thy foot thereon, 'twill meet thee everywhere, 'twill everywhere be seen, both where and when thou dost expect it not - waking, sleeping, sailing, journeying, by night, by day, speaking, and saying naught. For there is naught that is not image of the Good.

22. Hermes: Is God unseen?

Mind: Hush! Who is more manifest than He? For this one reason hath He made all things, that through them all thou mayest see Him.

This is the Good of God, this is His Virtue - that He may be manifest through all.

For naught's unseen, even of things that are without a body Mind sees itself in thinking, God in making.

So far these things have been made manifest to thee, Thricegreatest one! Reflect on all the rest in the same way with thyself, and thou shalt not be led astray.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 12

About The Common Mind

(Notes on the text: The "common mind" discussed in this dialogue is the same Mind which appears as a divine power in other parts of the Hermetic literature. It is identical, as well, with the "Good Daimon" whose words are quoted at several points here and elsewhere.

The Greek word logos - which means both "word" and "reason", among other things - is central to much of the argument, and it's unfortunate that English has no way to express the same complex of meanings. The praise of reason in parts 13-14 is also, and equally, a praise of human language, and this sort of double meaning plays a part elsewhere in this and other parts of the Hermetic literature.)

1. Hermes: The Mind, O Tat, is of God's very essence - (if such a thing as essence of God there be) - and what that is, it and it only knows precisely.

The Mind, then, is not separated off from God's essentiality, but is united to it, as light to sun.

This Mind in men is God, and for this cause some of mankind are gods, and their humanity is nigh unto divinity.

For the Good Daimon said: "Gods are immortal men, and men are mortal gods."

2. But in irrational lives Mind is their nature. For where is Soul, there too is Mind; just as where Life, there is there also Soul.

But in irrational lives their soul is life devoid of mind; for Mind is the in-worker of the souls of men for good - He works on them for their own good.

In lives irrational He doth co-operate with each one's nature; but in the souls of men He counteracteth them.

For every soul, when it becomes embodied, is instantly deprayed by pleasure and by pain.

For in a compound body, just like juices, pain and pleasure seethe, and into them the soul, on entering in, is plunged.

3. Over whatsoever souls the Mind doth, then, preside, to these it showeth its own light, by acting counter to their prepossessions, just as a good physician doth upon the body prepossessed by sickness, pain inflict, burning or lancing it for sake of health.

In just the selfsame way the Mind inflicteth pain on the soul, to rescue it from pleasure, whence comes its every ill.

The great ill of the soul is godlessness; then followeth fancy for all evil things and nothing good.

So, then, Mind counteracting it doth work good on the soul, as the physician health upon the body.

4. But whatsoever human souls have not the Mind as pilot, they share in the same fate as souls of lives irrational.

For Mind becomes co-worker with them, giving full play to the desires toward which such souls are borne - desires that from the rush of lust strain after the irrational; so that such human souls, just like irrational animals, cease not irrationally to rage and lust, nor are they ever satiate of ills.

For passions and irrational desires are ills exceeding great; and over these God hath set up the Mind to play the part of judge and executioner.

5. Tat: In that case, father mine, the teaching (logos) as to Fate, which previously thou didst explain to me, risks to be overset.

For that if it be absolutely fated for a man to fornicate, or commit sacrilege, or do some other evil deed, why is he punished - when he hath done the deed from Fate's necessity?

Hermes: All works, my son, are Fate's; and without Fate naught of things corporal - or (i.e., either) good, or ill - can come to pass.

But it is fated, too, that he who doeth ill, shall suffer. And for this cause he doth it - that he may suffer what he suffereth, because he did it.

6. But for the moment, Tat, let be the teaching as to vice and Fate, for we have spoken of these things in other of our sermons; but now our teaching (logos) is about the Mind: - what Mind can do, and how it is so different - in men being such and such, and in irrational lives so changed; and then again that in irrational lives it is not of a beneficial nature, while that in men it quencheth out the wrathful and the lustful elements.

Of men, again, we must class some as led by reason, and others as unreasoning.

7. But all men are subject to Fate, and genesis and change, for these are the beginning and the end of Fate.

And though all men do suffer fated things, those led by reason (those whom we said Mind doth guide) do not endure (a) like suffering with the rest; but, since they've freed themselves from viciousness, not being bad, they do not suffer had

Tat: How meanest thou again, my father? Is not the fornicator bad; the murderer bad; and so with all the rest?

Hermes: I meant not that; but that the Mind-led man, my son, though not a fornicator, will suffer just as though he had committed fornication, and though he be no murderer, as though he had committed murder.

The quality of change he can no more escape than that of genesis.

But it is possible for one who hath the Mind, to free himself from vice.

8. Wherefore I've ever heard, my son, Good Daimon also say - (and had He set it down in written words, He would have greatly helped the race of men; for He alone, my son, doth truly, as the Firstborn God, gazing on all things, give voice to words (logoi) divine) - yea, once I heard Him say:

"All things are one, and most of all the bodies which the mind alone perceives. Our life is owing to God's Energy and Power and Aeon. His Mind is good, so is His Soul as well. And this being so, intelligible things know naught of separation. So, then, Mind, being Ruler of all things, and being Soul of God, can do whate it wills."

 So do thou understand, and carry back this word (logos) unto the question thou didst ask before - I mean about Mind's Fate

For if thou dost with accuracy, son, eliminate all captious arguments (logoi), thou wilt discover that of very truth the Mind, the Soul of God, doth rule o'er all - o'er Fate, and Law, and all things else; and nothing is impossible to it - neither o'er Fate to set a human soul, nor under Fate to set a soul neglectful of what comes to pass. Let this so far suffice from the Good Daimon's most good words.

Tat: Yea, words divinely spoken, father mine, truly and helpfully. But further still explain me this.

10. Thou said'st that Mind in lives irrational worked in them as their nature, co-working with their impulses.

But impulses of lives irrational, as I do think, are passions. Now if the Mind co-worketh with these impulses, and if the impulses of lives irrational be passions, then is Mind also passion, taking its color from the passions.

Hermes: Well put, my son! Thou questionest right nobly, and it is just that I as well should answer nobly

11. All things incorporeal when in a body are subject unto passion, and in the proper sense they are themselves all passions.

For every thing that moves itself is incorporeal; while every thing that's moved is body.

Incorporeals are further moved by Mind, and movement's (i.e., movement is) passion.

Both, then, are subject unto passion - both mover and the moved, the former being ruler and the latter ruled.

But when a man hath freed himself from body, then is he also freed from passion.

But, more precisely, son, naught is impassible, but all are passible.

Yet passion differeth from passibility; for that the one is active, while the other's passive.

Incorporeals moreover act upon themselves, for either they are motionless or they are moved; but whichsoe'er it be, it's

But bodies are invaribly acted on, and therefore they are passible.

Do not, then, let terms trouble thee; action and passion are both the selfsame thing. To use the fairer sounding term, however, does no harm.

12. Tat: Most clearly hast thou, father mine, set forth the teaching (logos).

Hermes: Consider this as well, my son; that these two things God hath bestowed on man beyond all mortal lives - both mind and speech (logos) equal to immortality. He hath the mind for knowing God and uttered speech (logos) for eulogy of Him

And if one useth these for what he ought, he'll differ not a whit from the immortals. Nay, rather, on departing from the body, he will be guided by the twain unto the Choir of Gods and Blessed Ones.

13. Tat: Why, father mine! - do not the other lives make use of speech (logos)?

Hermes: Nay, son; but (i.e., only) use of voice; speech is far different from voice. For speech is general among all men, while voice doth differ in each class of living thing.

Tat: But with men also, father mine, according to each race, speech differs.

Hermes: Yea, son, but man is one; so also speech is one and is interpreted, and it is found the same in Egypt, and in Persia, and in Greece.

Thou seemest, son, to be in ignorance of Reason's (Logos) worth and greatness. For that the Blessed God, Good Daimon, hath declared:

"Soul is in Body, Mind in Soul; but Reason (Logos) is in Mind, and Mind in God; and God is Father of all these."

14. The Reason, then, is the Mind's image, and Mind God's image; while Body is the image of the Form; and Form the image of the Soul.

The subtlest part of Matter is, then, Air (or vital spirit); of Air, Soul; of Soul, Mind; and of Mind, God.

And God surroundeth all and permeateth all; while Mind Surroundeth Soul, Soul Air, Air Matter.

Necessity and Providence and Nature are instruments of Cosmos and of Matter's ordering; while of intelligible things each is Essence, and Sameness is their Essence.

But of the bodies of the Cosmos each is many; for through possessiong Sameness, these composed bodies, though they do change from one into another of themselves, do natheless keep the incorruption of their Sameness.

15. Whereas in all the rest of composed bodies, of each there is a certain number; for without number structure cannot be, or composition, or decomposition.

Now it is units that give birth to number and increase it, and, being decomposed, are taken back again into themselves.

Matter is one; and this whole Cosmos - the mighty God and image of the mightier One, both with Him unified, and the conserver of the Will and Order of the Father - is filled full of Life

Naught is there in it throughout the whole of Aeon, the Father's everlasting Re-establishment - nor of the whole, nor of the parts - which doth not live.

For not a single thing that's dead, hath been, or is, or shall be in this Cosmos.

For that the Father willed it should have Life as long as it should be. Wherefore it needs must be a God.

16. How then, O son, could there be in the God, the image of the Father, in the plenitude of Life - dead things?

For that death is corruption, and corruption destruction. How then could any part of that which knoweth no

corruption be corrupted, or any whit of him the God destroyed?

Tat: Do they not, then, my father, die - the lives in it, that

are its parts?

Hermes: Hush, son! - led into error by the term in use for what takes place.

They do not die, my son, but are dissolved as compound bodies.

Now dissolution is not death, but dissolution of a compound; it is dissolved not so that it may be destroyed, but that it may become renewed.

For what is the activity of life? Is it not motion? What then in Cosmos is there that hath no motion? Naught is there, son!

17. Tat: Doth not Earth even, father, seem to thee to have no motion?

Hermes: Nay, son; but rather that she is the only thing which, though in very rapid motion, is also stable.

For how would it not be a thing to laugh at, that the Nurse of all should have no motion, when she engenders and brings forth all things?

For 'tis impossible that without motion one who doth engender, should do so.

That thou should ask if the fourth part (or element) is not inert, is most ridiculous; for the body which doth have no motion, gives sign of nothing but inertia.

18. Know, therefore, generally, my son, that all that is in Cosmos is being moved for increase or for decrease.

Now that which is kept moving, also lives; but there is no necessity that that which lives, should be all same.

For being simultaneous, the Cosmos, as a whole, is not subject to change, my son, but all its parts are subject unto it; yet naught of it is subject to corruption, or destroyed.

It is the terms employed that confuse men. For 'tis not genesis that constituteth life, but 'tis sensation; it is not change that constituteth death, but 'tis forgetfulness.

Since, then, these things are so, they are immortal all-Matter, and Life, and Spirit, Mind and Soul, of which whatever liveth, is composed.

19. Whatever then doth live, oweth its immortality unto the Mind, and most of all doth man, he who is both recipient of God, and co-essential with Him.

For with this life alone doth God consort; by visions in the night, by tokens in the day, and by all things doth He foretell the future unto him - by birds, by inward parts, by wind, by

Wherefore doth man lay claim to know things past, things present and to come.

20. Observe this too, my son; that each one of the other lives inhabiteth one portion of the Cosmos - aquatic creatures water, terrene earth, and aery creatures air; while man doth use all these - earth, water air and fire; he seeth Heaven, too, and doth contact it with his sense.

But God surroundeth all, and permeateth all, for He is energy and power; and it is nothing difficult, my son, to conceive God.

21. But if thou wouldst Him also contemplate, behold the ordering of the Cosmos, and see the orderly behavior of its ordering (this is a play on the word "cosmos", which means "order, arrangement"); behold thou the Necessity of things made manifest, and see the Providence of things become and things becoming; behold how Matter is all-full of Life; behold this so great God in movement, with all the good and noble ones - gods, daimones and men!

Tat: But these are purely energies, O father mine!

Hermes: If, then, they're purely energies, my son - by whom, then, are they energized except by God?

Or art thou ignorant, that just as Heaven, Earth, Water, Air, are parts of Cosmos, in just the selfsame way God's parts are Life and Immortality, and Energy, and Spirit, and Necessity, and Providence, and Nature, Soul, and Mind, and the Duration (that is, Aeon or Eternity) of all these that is called Good?

And there are naught of things that have become, or are becoming, in which God is not.

22. Tat: Is He in Matter, father, then?

Hermes: Matter, my son, is separate from God, in order that thou may'st attribute to it the quality of space. But what thing else than mass think'st thou it is, if it's not energized? Whereas if it be energized, by whom is it made so? For energies, we said, are parts of God.

By whom are, then, all lives enlivened? By whom are things immortal made immortal? By whom changed things made changeable?

And whether thou dost speak of Matter, of Body, or of Essence, know that these too are energies of God; and that materiality is Matter's energy, that corporeality is Bodies' energy, and that essentiality doth constituteth the energy of Essence; and this is God - the All.

23. And in the All is naught that is not God. Wherefore nor (i.e., neither) size, nor space, nor quality, nor form, nor time, surroundeth God; for He is All, and All surroundeth all, and permeateth all.

Unto this Reason (Logos), son, thy adoration and thy worship pay. There is one way alone to worship God; it is not to be bad.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 13

The Secret Sermon on the Mountain

(Notes on the text: This dialogue is in many ways the culmination of the whole Corpus, summing up the theory of the Hermetic system at the same time as it provides an intriguing glimpse at the practice. The focus of the dialogue is the experience of Rebirth, which involves the replacement of twelve Tormentors within the self by ten divine Powers, leading to the awakening of knowledge of the self and God.

The "Secret Hymnody" (sections 17-20) is presented as a litany for worship, to be performed twice each day, at sunrise and sunset. It's interesting to note that while the sunrise worship is performed facing east, the sunset worship is done to the south; Egyptian tradition from Pharaonic times onward saw the west as the direction of death.

The usual difficulties with the multiple meanings of the Greek word logos appear in the translation, compounded by Mead's awkward style. Additionally, one of Mead's few evasions can be found in section 12, where he relates the twelve Tormentors to the "twelve types-of-life". This should more simply, and more accurately, have been translated as "the twelve signs of the Zodiac". The Theosophical distaste for astrology may well have been involved here.)

1. Tat: Now in the General Sermons, father, thou didst speak in riddles most unclear, conversing on Divinity; and when thou saidst no man could e'er be saved before Rebirth, thy meaning thou didst hide.

Further, when I became thy Suppliant, in Wending up the Mount, after thou hadst conversed with me, and when I longed to learn the Sermon (Logos) on Rebirth (for this beyond all other things is just the thing I know not), thou saidst, that thou wouldst give it me - "when thou shalt have become a stranger to the world".

Wherefore I got me ready and made the thought in me a stranger to the world-illusion.

And now do thou fill up the things that fall short in me with what thou saidst would give me the tradition of Rebirth, setting it forth in speech or in the secret way.

I know not, O Thrice-greatest one, from out what matter and what womb Man comes to birth, or of what seed.

Hermes: Wisdom that understands in silence such is the matter and the womb from out which Man is born, and the True Good the seed.

Tat: Who is the sower, father? For I am altogether at a loss. Hermes: It is the Will of God, my son.

Tat: And of what kind is he that is begotten, father? For I have no share of that essence in me, which doth transcend the senses. The one that is begot will be another one from God, God's Son?

Hermes: All in all, out of all powers composed.

Tat: Thou tellest me a riddle, father, and dost not speak as father unto son.

Hermes: This Race, my son, is never taught; but when He willeth it, its memory is restored by God.

3. Tat: Thou sayest things impossible, O father, things that are forced. Hence answers would I have direct unto these things. Am I a son strange to my father's race?

Keep it not, father, back from me. I am a true-born son; explain to me the manner of Rebirth.

Hermes: What may I say, my son? I can but tell thee this. Whene'er I see within myself the Simple Vision brought to birth out of God's mercy, I have passed through myself into a Body that can never die. And now i am not as I was before; but I am born in Mind.

The way to do this is not taught, and it cannot be seen by the compounded element by means of which thou seest.

Yea, I have had my former composed form dismembered for me. I am no longer touched, but I have touch; I have dimension too; and yet am I a stranger to them now.

Thou seest me with eyes, my son; but what I am thou dost not understand even with fullest strain of body and of sight.

4. Tat: Into fierce frenzy and mind-fury hast thou plunged me, father, for now no longer do I see myself.

Hermes: I would, my son, that thou hadst even passed right through thyself, as they who dream in sleep yet sleepless.

Tat: Tell me this too! Who is the author of Rebirth? Hermes: The Son of God, the One Man, by God's Will.

5. Tat: Now hast thou brought me, father, unto pure stupefaction. Arrested from the senses which I had before, . . . (Iacuna in original text) . . . ; for now I see thy Greatness identical with thy distinctive form.

Hermes: Even in this thou art untrue; the mortal form doth change with every day. 'Tis turned by time to growth and waning, as being an untrue thing.

6. Tat: What then is true, Thrice-greatest One?

Hermes: That which is never troubled, son, which cannot be defined; that which no color hath, nor any figure, which is not turned, which hath no garment, which giveth light; that which is comprehensible unto itself alone, which doth not suffer change; that which no body can contain.

Tat: In very truth I lose my reason, father. Just when I thought to be made wise by thee, I find the senses of this mind of mine blocked up.

Hermes: Thus is it, son: That which is upward borne like fire, yet is borne down like earth, that which is moist like water, yet blows like air, how shalt thou this perceive with sense - the that which is not solid nor yet moist, which naught can bind or loose, of which in power and energy alone can man have any notion - and even then it wants a man who can perceive the Way of Birth in God?

7. Tat: I am incapable of this, O father, then?

Hermes: Nay, God forbid, my son! Withdraw into thyself, and it will come; will, and it comes to pass; throw out of work the body's senses, and thy Divinity shall come to birth; purge from thyself the brutish torments - things of matter.

Tat: I have tormentors then in me. O father?

Hermes: Ay, no few, my son; nay, fearful ones and manifold. Tat: I do not know them, father.

Hermes: Torment the first is this Not-knowing, son; the second one is Grief; the third, Intemperance; the fourth, Concupiscence; the fifth, Unrighteousness; the sixth is Avarice; the seventh, Error; the eighth is Envy; the ninth, Guile; the tenth is Anger; eleventh, Rashness; the twelfth is Malice.

These are in number twelve; but under them are many more, my son; and creeping through the prison of the body they force the man that's placed therein to suffer in his senses. But they depart (though not all at once) from him who hath been taken pity on by God; and this it is which constitutes the manner of Rebirth. And... (lacuna in the original text) the Reason (Logos).

8. And now, my son, be still and solemn silence keep! Thus shall the mercy that flows on us from God not cease.

Henceforth rejoice, O son, for by the Powers of God thou art being purified for the articulation of the Reason (Logos).

Gnosis of God hath come to us, and when this comes, my son, Not-knowing is cast out.

Gnosis of Joy hath come to us, and on its coming, son, Sorrow will flee away to them who give it room. The Power that follows Joy do I invoke, thy Self-control. O Power most sweet! Let us most gladly bid it welcome, son! How with its coming doth it chase Intemperance away!

9. Now fourth, on Continence I call, the Power against Desire. (lacuna in the original text) This step, my son, is Righteousness' firm seat. For without judgement (other translators read this "without effort") see how she hath chased Unrighteousness away. We are made righteous, son, by the departure of Unrighteousness.

Power sixth I call to us - that against Avarice, Sharing-with-all.

And now that Avarice is gone, I call on Truth. And Error flees, and Truth is with us.

See how the measure of the Good is full, my son, upon Truth's coming. For Envy is gone from us; and unto Truth is joined the Good as well, with Life and Light. And now no more doth any torment of the Darkness venture nigh, but vanquished all have fled with whirring wines

10. Thou knowest now, my son, the manner of Rebirth. And when the Ten is come, my son, that driveth out the Twelve, the Birth in understanding (literally "intellectual birth", noera genesis) is complete, and by this birth we are made into Gods.

Who then doth by His mercy gain this Birth in God, abandoning the body's senses, knows himself to be of Light and Life and that he doth consist of these, and thus is filled with bliss.

11. Tat: By God made steadfast, father, no longer with the sight my eyes afford I look on things, but with the energy the Mind doth give me through the Powers.

In Heaven am I, in earth, in water, air; I am in animals, in plants; I'm in the womb, before the womb, after the womb; I'm everwhere!

But further tell me this: How are the torments of the Darkness, when they are twelve in number, driven out by the ten Powers? What is the way of it, Thrice-greatest one?

12. Hermes: This dwelling-place through which we have just passed (i.e., the human body), my son, is constituted from the circle of the twelve types-of-life, this being composed of elements, twelve in number, but of one nature, an omniform diea. For man's delusion there are disunions in them, son, while in their action they are one. Not only can we never part Rashness from Wrath; they cannot even be distinguished.

According to right reason (logos), then, they (the Twelve) naturally withdraw once and for all, in as much as they are chased out by no less than ten powers, that is, the Ten.

For, son, the Ten is that which giveth birth to souls. And Life and Light are unified there, where the One hath being from the Spirit. According then to reason (logos) the One contains the Ten, the Ten the One.

13. Tat: Father, I see the All, I see myself in Mind.

Hermes: This is, my son, Rebirth - no more to look on things from body's view-point (a thing three ways in space extended)... (lacuna in text), though this Sermon (Logos) on Rebirth, on which I did not comment - in order that we may not be calumniators of the All unto the multitude, to whom indeed God Himself doth will we should not.

14. Tat: Tell me, O father: This Body which is made up of the Powers, is it at any time dissolved?

Hermes: Hush, son! Speak not of things impossible, else wilt thou sin and thy Mind's eye be quenched.

The natural body which our sense perceives is far removed from this essential birth.

The first must be dissolved, the last can never be; the first must die, the last death cannot touch.

Dost thou not know thou hast been born a God, Son of the One, even as I myself?

15. Tat: I would, O father, hear the Praise-giving with hymn which thou didst say thou heardest then when thou wert at the Eight the Ogdoad of Powers

Hermes: Just as the Shepherd did foretell I should, my son, when I came to the Eight.

Well dost thou haste to "strike thy tent" (i.e., be free from the physical body), for thou hast been made pure.

The Shepherd, Mind of all masterhood, hath not passed on to me more than hath been written down, for full well did he know that I should of myself be able to learn all, and hear what I should wish, and see all things.

He left to me the making of fair things; wherefore the Powers within me. even as they are in all, break into song.

16. Tat: Father, I wish to hear; I long to know these things. Hermes: Be still, my son; hear the Praise-giving now that keeps the soul in tune, Hymn of Re-birth - a hymn I would not have thought fit so readily to tell, had'st thou not reached the end of all.

Wherefore this is not taught, but is kept hid in silence.

Thus then, my son, stand in a place uncovered to the sky, facing the southern wind, about the sinking of the setting sun, and make thy worship; so in like manner too when he doth rise, with face to the east wind.

Now, son, be still!

The Secret Hymnody

17. Let every nature of the World receive the utterance of my hymn!

Open thou Earth! Let every bolt of the Abyss be drawn for me. Stir not, ye Trees!

I am about to hymn creation's Lord, both All and One.

Ye Heavens open and ye Winds stay still; and let God's deathless Sphere receive my word (logos)!

For I will sing the praise of Him who founded all; who fixed the Earth, and hung up Heaven, and gave command that Ocean should afford sweet water to the Earth, to both those parts that are inhabited and those that are not, for the support and use of every man; who made the Fire to shine for gods and men for every act.

Let us together all give praise to Him, sublime above the Heavens, of every nature Lord!

'Tis He who is the Eye of Mind; may He accept the praise of these my Powers!

18. Ye powers that are within me, hymn the One and All; sing with my Will, Powers all that are within me!

O blessed Gnosis, by thee illumined, hymning through thee the Light that mond alone can see, I joy in Joy of Mind.

Sing with me praises all ye Powers!

Sing praise, my Self-control; sing thou through me, my Righteousness, the praises of the Righteous; sing thou, my Sharing-all, the praises of the All; through me sing, Truth, Truth's praises!

Sing thou, O Good, the Good! O Life and Light, from us to you our praises flow!

Father, I give Thee thanks, to Thee Thou Energy of all my Powers; I give Thee thanks, O God, Thou Power of all my Energies!

19. Thy Reason (Logos) sings through me Thy praises. Take back through me the All into Thy Reason - my reasonable oblation!

Thus cry the Powers in me. They sing Thy praise, Thou All; they do Thy Will.

From Thee Thy Will; to Thee the All. Receive from all their reasonable oblation. The All that is in us, O Life, preserve; O Light(,) illumine it; O God(,) in-spirit it.

It it Thy Mind that plays the shepherd to Thy Word, O Thou Creator, Bestower of the Spirit upon all.

20. For Thou art God, Thy Man thus cries to Thee through Fire, through Air, through Earth, through Water, and through Spirit, through Thy creatures.

'Tis from Thy Aeon I have found praise-giving; and in thy Will, the object of my search, have I found rest.

Tat: By thy good pleasure have I seen this praise-giving being sung, O father; I have set it in my Cosmos too.

Hermes: Say in the Cosmos that thy mind alone can see, my

Tat: Yea, father, in the Cosmos that the mind alone can see; for I have been made able by thy Hymn, and by thy Praise-giving my mind hath been illumined. But further I myself as well would from my natural mind send praise-giving to God.

21. Hermes: But not unheedfully, my son.

Tat: Aye. What I behold in mind, that do I say.

To thee, thou Parent of my Bringing into Birth, as unto God I, Tat, send reasonable offerings. o God and Father, thou art the Lord, thou art the Mind. Receive from me oblations reasonable as thou would'st wish; for by thy Will all things have been perfected.

Hermes: Send thou oblation, son, acceptable to God, the Sire of all; but add, my son, too, "through the Word" (Logos). Tat: I give thee, father, thanks for showing me to sing such hymns.

22. Hermes: Happy am I, my son, that though hast brought the good fruits forth of Truth, products that cannot die.

And now that thou hast learnt this lesson from me, make promise to keep silence on thy virtue, and to no soul, my son, make known the handing on to thee the manner of Rebirth, that we may not be thought to be calumniators.

And now we both of us have given heed sufficiently, both I the speaker and the hearer thou.

In Mind hast thou become a Knower of thyself and our common Sire.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 14

A Letter Of Thrice-Greatest Hermes To Asclepius Unto Asclepius Good Health Of Soul! (Text: P. 128-134; Pat. 49, 50.)

1. Since in thy absence my son Tat desired to learn the nature of the things that are, and would not let me hold it over, as natural to a younger son fresh come to gnosis of the teachings on each single point,—I was compelled to tell him more, in order that the contemplation of them might be the easier for him to follow.

I would, then, choosing out the chiefest heads of what was said, write them in brief to thee, explaining them more mystic-ly, as unto one of greater age and one well versed in Nature.

2. If all things manifest have been and are being made, and made things are not made by their own selves but by another; if made things are the many,—nay more, are all things manifest and all things different and not alike; and things that are being made are being made by other than themselves;—there is some one who makes these things; and He cannot be made, but is more ancient than the things that can.

For things that can be made, I say, are made by other than themselves; but of the things that owe their being to their being made, it is impossible that anything should be more ancient than them all, save only That which is not able to be made.

3. So He is both Supreme, and One, and Only, the truly wise in all, as having naught more ancient than Himself.

For He doth rule o'er both the number, size and difference of things that are being made, and o'er the continuity of their making too.

Again, things makeable are seeable; but He cannot be seen. For for this cause He maketh,—that He may not be able to be seen.

He, therefore, ever maketh; and therefore can He never be

To comprehend Him thus is meet; and comprehending, it is meet to marvel; and marvelling, to count oneself as blessed, as having learnt to know one's Sire.

4. For what is sweeter than one's own true Sire? Who, then, is He; and how shall we learn how to know Him?

Is it not right to dedicate to Him alone the name of God, or that of Maker, or of Father, or rather all the three;—God for His Power, and Maker for His Energy, and Father for His Good?

Now Power doth differ from the things which are being made; while Energy consisteth in all things being made.

Wherefore we ought to put away verbosity and foolish talk, and understand these two—the made and Maker. For that of them there is no middle term; there is no third.

5. Wherefore in all that thou conceivest, in all thou nearest, these two recall to mind; and think all things are they, reckoning as doubtful naught, nor of the things above, nor of the things below, neither of things divine, nor things that suffer change or things that are in obscuration.

For all things are these twain, Maker and made, and 'tis impossible that one should be without the other; for neither is it possible that "Maker" should exist without the "made," for each of them is one and the same thing.

Wherefore 'tis no more possible for one from other to be parted, than self from self.

6. Now if the Maker is naught else but That which makes, Alone, Simple, Uncompound, it needs must do this making to Itself,—to Which its Maker's making is "its being made."

And as to all that's being made,—it cannot be so made by being made by its own self; but it must needs be made by being made by other. Without the "Maker" "made" is neither made nor is; for that the one without the other doth lose its proper nature by deprivation of that other.

If, 1 then, all things have been admitted to be two,—the "that which is being made" and "that which makes,"—all then are one in union of these,—the "that which leadeth" and the "that which followeth."

The making God is "that which leadeth"; the "that which is being made," whatever it be, the "that which followeth."

7. And do not thou be chary of things made because of their variety, from fear of attribution of a low estate and lack of glory unto God.

For that His Glory's one,—to make all things; and this is as it were God's Body, the making of them.

But by the Maker's self naught is there thought or bad or base.

These things are passions which accompany the making process, as rust doth brass and filth doth body; but neither doth the brass-smith make the rust, nor the begetters of the body filth, nor God make evil.

It is continuance in the state of being made that makes them lose, as though it were, their bloom; and 'tis because of this God hath made change, as though it were the making clean of genesis.

8. Is it, then, possible for one and the same painter man to make both heaven, and gods, and earth, and sea, and men, and all the animals, and lifeless things, and trees, and yet impossible for God to make all things?

What monstraus lack of understanding; what want of knowledge as to God!

For such the strangest lot of all do suffer; for though they say they worship piously and sing the praise of God, yet by their not ascribing unto Him the making of all things, they know not God; and, added unto this not-knowing, they're guilty even of the worst impiety to Him—passions to Him attributing, or arrogance, or impotency.

For if He doth not make all things, from arrogance He doth not make, or not being able,—which is impiety to think.

9. One Passion hath God only—Good; and He who's Good is neither arrogant nor impotent.

For this is God—the Good, which hath all power of making all.

And all that can be made is made by God,—that is, by Him who is the Good and who can make all things.

But would'st thou learn how He doth make, and how things made are made, thou may'st do so.

10. Behold a very fair and most resemblant image—a husbandman casting the seed into the ground; here wheat, there barley, and there again some other of the seeds!

Behold one and the same man planting the vine, the apple, and all other trees!

In just the selfsame way doth God sow Immortality in Heaven, and Change on Earth, and Life and Motion in the universe

These are not many, but few and easy to be numbered; for four in all are they,—and God Himself and Genesis, in whom are all that are.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 15
The Definitions Of Asclepius Unto King Ammon
The Perfect Sermon Of Asclepius Unto The King

The Perfect Sermon Of Asclepius Unto The King (Text: R. 348-354; Pat. at end. 1)

1. Great is the sermon (logos) which I send to thee, O King—the summing up and digest, as it were, of all the rest.

For it is not composed to suit the many's prejudice, since it contains much that refuteth them.

Nay, it will seem to thee as well to contradict sometimes my sermons too.

Hermes, my master, in many a conversation, both when alone, and sometimes, too, when Tat was there, has said, that unto those who come across my books, their composition will seem most simple and most clear; but, on the contrary, as 'tis unclear, and has the inner meaning of its words concealed, it will be still unclearer, when, afterwards, the Greeks will want to turn our tongue into their own,—for this will be a very great distorting and obscuring of even what has been already written.

2. Turned into our own native tongue, the sermon (logos) keepeth clear the meaning of the words (logoi) at any rate.

For that its very quality of sound, the very power of the Egyptian names, have in themselves the bringing into act of what is said

As far as, then, thou canst, O King—(and thou canst do all things)—keep this our sermon from translation; in order that such mighty mysteries may not come to the Greeks, and the disdainful speech of Greece, with all its looseness, and its surface beauty, so to speak, take all the strength out of the solemn and the strong—the energetic speech of Names.

The Greeks, O King, have novel words, energic of "argumentation" only; and thus is the philosophising of the Greeks—the noise of words.

But we do not use words; but we use sounds full-filled with deeds.

3. Thus, then, will I begin the sermon by invocation unto God, the universals' Lord and Maker, their Sire, and their Encompasser; who though being All is One, and though being One is All; for that the Fullness of all things is One, and is in One, this latter One not coming as a second One, but both being One.

And this is the idea that I would have thee keep, through the whole study of our sermon, Sire!

For should one try to separate what seems to be both All and One and Same from One,—he will be found to take his epithet of "All" from the idea of multitude, and not from that of) fullness—which is impossible; for if he part All from the One, he will destroy the All.

For all things must be One—if they indeed are One. Yea, they are One; and they shall never cease being One—in order that the Fullness may not be destroyed.

* * * *

4. See then in Earth a host of founts of Water and of Fire forth-spirting in its midmost parts; in one and the same space all the three natures visible—of Fire, and Water, and of Earth, depending from one Root.

Whence, too, it is believed to be the Treasury of every matter. It sendeth forth of its abundance, and in the place of what it sendeth forth receiveth the subsistence from above.

For thus the Demiurge—I mean the Sun—eternally doth order Heaven and Earth, pouring down Essence, and taking Matter up, drawing both round Himself and to Himself all things, and from Himself giving all things to all.

For He it is whose goodly energies extend not only through the Heaven and the Air, but also onto Earth, right down unto the lowest Depth and the Abyss.

6. And if there be an Essence which the mind alone can grasp, this is his Substance, the reservoir of which would be His Light.

But whence this Substance doth arise, or floweth forth, He, and He only, knows.

Or rather, in space and nature, He is near unto Himself . . . though as He is not seen by us, . . . understand Him by conjecture.

7. The spectacle of Him, however, is not left unto conjecture; nay for His very rays, in greatest splendour, shine all round on all the Cosmos that doth lie above and lie below.

For He is stablished in the midst, wreathed with the Cosmos, and just as a good charioteer, He safely drives the cosmic team, and holds them in unto Himself, lest they should run away in dire disorder.

The reins are Life, and Soul, and Spirit, Deathlessness, and Genesis. He lets it, then, drive round not far off from Himself—nay, if the truth be said, together with Himself.

8. And in this way He operates all things. To the immortals He distributeth perpetual permanence; and with the upper hemisphere of His own Light—all that he sends above from out His other side, the side of him which looks to Heaven—He nourisheth the deathless parts of Cosmos.

But with that side that sendeth down its Light, and shineth round all of the hemisphere of Water, and of Earth, and Air, He vivifieth, and by births and changes keepeth in movement to and fro the animals in these the lower parts of Cosmos....

9. He changes them in spiral fashion, and doth transform them into one another, genus to genus, species into species, their mutual changes into one another being balanced—just as He does when He doth deal with the Great Bodies.

For in the case of every body, its permanence consists in transformation.

In case of an immortal one, there is no dissolution; but when it is a mortal one, it is accompanied with dissolution.

And this is how the deathless body doth differ from the mortal, and how the mortal one doth differ from the deathless.

10. Moreover, as His Light's continuous, so is His Power of giving Life to lives continuous, and not to be brought to an end in space or in abundance.

For there are many choirs of daimons round Him, like unto hosts of very various kinds; who though they dwell with mortals, yet are not far from the immortals; but having as their lot from here unto the spaces of the Gods, they watch o'er the affairs of men, and work out things appointed by the Gods—by means of storms, whirlwinds and hurricanes, by transmutations wrought by fire and shakings of the earth, with famines also and with wars requiting man's impiety,—for this is in man's case the greatest ill against the Gods.

11. For that the duty of the Gods is to give benefits; the duty of mankind is to give worship; the duty of the daimons is to give requital.

For as to all the other things men do, through error, or foolhardiness, or by necessity, which they call Fate, or ignorance—these are not held requitable among the Gods; impiety alone is guilty at their bar.

12. The Sun is the preserver and the nurse of every class

And just as the Intelligible World, holding the Sensible in its embrace, fills it all full, distending it with forms of every kind and every shape—so, too, the Sun distendeth all in Cosmos, affording births to all, and strengtheneth them.

When they are weary or they fail, He takes them in His arms again.

13. And under Him is ranged the choir of daimons—or, rather, choirs; for these are multitudinous and very varied, ranked underneath the groups of Stars, in equal number with each one of them.

So, marshalled in their ranks, they are the ministers of each one of the Stars, being in their natures good, and bad, that is, in their activities (for that a daimon's essence is activity); while some of them are of mixed natures, good and bad.

14. To all of these has been allotted the authority o'er things upon the Earth; and it is they who bring about the multifold confusion of the turmoils on the Earth—for states and nations generally, and for each individual separately.

For they do shape our souls like to themselves, and set them moving with them,—obsessing nerves, and marrow, veins and arteries, the brain itself, down to the very heart.

15. For on each one of us being born and made alive, the daimons take hold on us—those daimones who are in service at that moment of the wheel of Genesis, who are ranged under each one of the Stars.

For that these change at every moment; they do not stay the same, but circle back again.

These, then, descending through the body to the two parts of the soul, set it awhirling, each one towards its own activity. But the soul's rational part is set above the lordship of the daimons—designed to be receptacle of God.

16. Who then doth have a Ray shining upon him through the Sun within his rational part—and these in all are few on them the daimons do not act; for no one of the daimons or of Gods has any power against one Ray of God.

As for the rest, they are all led and driven, soul and body, by the daimons—loving and hating the activities of these.

The reason (logos), then, is not the love that is deceived and that deceives.

The daimons, therefore, exercise the whole of this terrene economy, using our bodies as their instruments.

And this economy Hermes has called Heimarmenē

17. The World Intelligible, then, depends from God; the Sensible from the Intelligible World.

The Sun, through the Intelligible and the Sensible Cosmos, pours forth abundantly the stream from God of Good,—that is, the demiurgic operation.

And round the Sun are the Eight Spheres, dependent from Him—the Sphere of the Non-wandering Ones, the Six Spheres of the Wanderers, and one Circumterrene.

And from the Spheres depend the daimones; and from these, men.

And thus all things and all of them depend from God.

18. Wherefore God is the Sire of all; the Sun's their Demiurge; the Cosmos is the instrument of demiurgic operation.

Intelligible Essence regulateth Heaven; and Heaven, the Gods; the daimones, ranked underneath the Gods, regulate

This is the host of Gods and daimones

Through these God makes all things for His own self.

And all of them are parts of God; and if they all are parts—then, God is all.

Thus, making all, He makes Himself; nor ever can He cease His making, for He Himself is ceaseless.

Just, then, as God doth have no end and no beginning, so doth His making have no end and no beginning.

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CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 16

Of Asclepius To The King

(Text: R. 354; Pat. at end of last piece.)

Asclepius. If thou dost think of it, O King, even of bodies there are things bodiless.

The King. What are they?—(asked the King.)

Asc. The bodies that appear in mirrors—do they not seem then to have no body?

The King. It is so, O Asclepius; thou thinkest like a God!—(the King replied.)

Asc. There are things bodiless as well as these; for instance, forms—do not they seem to thee to have no body, but to appear in bodies not only of the things which are ensouled, but also of those which are not ensouled?

The King. Thou sayest well, Asclepius.

Asc. Thus, then, there are reflexions of things bodiless on bodies, and of bodies too upon things bodiless—that is to say, reflexions of the Sensible on the Intelligible World, and of the World Intelligible on the Sensible.

Wherefore, pay worship to the images, O King, since they too have their forms as from the World Intelligible.

(Thereon His Majesty arose and said:)

The King. It is the hour, O Prophet, to see about the comfort of our guests. Tomorrow, then, will we resume our sacred converse.

CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 17

The Encomium Of Kings

(About The Soul's Being Hindered By The Passion Of The Body)

(Text: R. 355-360; Pat. at end.)

1. Now in the case of those professing the harmonious art of muse-like melody—if, when the piece is played, the discord of the instruments doth hinder their intent, its rendering becomes ridiculous.

For when his instruments are quite too weak for what's required of them, the music-artist needs must be laughed at by the audience.

For He, with all good will, gives of His art unweariedly; they blame the artist's weakness.

He then who is the Natural Musician-God, not only in His making of the harmony of His celestial songs, but also in His sending forth the rhythm of the melody of His own songs right down unto the separate instruments, is, as God, never wearied.

For that with God there is no growing weary.

2. So, then, if ever a musician desires to enter into the highest contest of his art he can—when now the trumpeters have rendered the same phrase of the composer's skill, and afterwards the flautists played the sweet notes of the melody upon their instruments, and they complete the music of the piece with pipe and plectrum—if any thing goes wrong, one does not lay the blame upon the inspiration of the music-maker.

Nay, by no means,—to him one renders the respect that is his due; one blames the falseness of the instrument, in that it has become a hindrance to those who are most excellent—embarrassing the maker of the music in the execution of his melody, and robbing those who listen of the sweetness of the song.

3. In like way also, in our case, let no one of our audience for the weakness that inheres in body, blame impiously our Race.

Nay, let him know God is Unwearied Spirit—for ever in the self-same way possessed of His own science, unceasing in His joyous gifts, the self-same benefits bestowing everywhere.

4. And if the Pheidias—the Demiurge—is not responded to, by lack of matter to perfect His skilfulness, although for His own part the Artist has done all he can, let us not lay the blame on Him.

But let us, rather, blame the weakness of the string, in that, because it is too slack or is too tight, it mars the rhythm of the harmony.

5. So when it is that the mischance occurs by reason of the instrument, no one doth blame the Artist.

Nay, more; the worse the instrument doth chance to be, the more the Artist gains in reputation by the frequency with which his hand doth strike the proper note, and more the love the listeners pour upon that Music-maker, without the slightest thought of blaming him.

So will we too, most noble Sirs, set our own lyre in tune again, within, with the Musician!

6. Nay, I have seen one of the artist-folk—although he had no power of playing on the lyre—when once he had been trained for the right noble theme, make frequent use of his own self as instrument, and tune the service of his string by means of mysteries, so that the listeners were amazed at how he turned necessitude into magnificence.

Of course you know the story of the harper who won the favour of the God who is the president of music-work.

One day, when he was playing for a prize, and when the breaking of a string became a hindrance to him in the contest, the favour of the Better One supplied him with another string, and placed within his grasp the boon of fame.

A grasshopper was made to settle on his lyre, through the foreknowledge of the Better One, and so fill in the melody in substitution of the broken string.

And so by mending of his string the harper's grief was stayed, and fame of victory was won.

7. And this I feel is my own case, most noble Sirs!

For but just now I seemed to make confession of my want of strength, and play the weakling for a little while; but now, by virtue of the strength of that Superior One, as though my song about the King had been perfected by Him, I seem to wake my muse

For, you must know, the end of this our duty will be the glorious fame of Kings, and the good-will of our discourse (logos) will occupy itself about the triumphs which they win.

Come then, let us make haste! For that the singer willeth it, and hath attuned his lyre for this; nay more, more sweetly will he play, more fitly will he sing, as he has for his song the greater subjects of his theme.

8. Since, then, he has the stringing of his lyre tuned specially to Kings, and has the key of laudatory songs, and as his goal the Royal praises, let him first raise himself unto the highest King—the God of wholes.

Beginning, then, his song from the above, he, hus, in second place, descends to those after His likeness who hold the sceptre's power; since Kings themselves, indeed, prefer the topics of the song should step by step descend from the above, and where they have their gifts of victory presided o'er for them, thence should their hopes be led in orderly succession.

9. Let, then, the singer start with God, the greatest King of wholes, who is for ever free from death, both everlasting and possessed of all the might of everlastingness, the Glorious Victor, the very first, from whom all victories descend to those who in succession do succeed to victory.

10. Our sermon (logos) then, doth hasten to descend to Kingly praises and to the Presidents of common weal and peace, the Kings—whose lordship in most ancient times was placed upon the highest pinnacle by God Supreme; for whom the prizes have already been prepared even before their prowess in the war; of whom the trophies have been raised even before the shock of conflict

For whom it is appointed not only to be Kings but also to be best.

At whom, before they even stir, the foreign land doth quake.

(ABOUT THE BLESSING OF THE BETTER ONE AND PRAISING OF THE KING)

11. But now our theme (logos) doth hasten on to blend its end with its beginnings—with blessing of the Better One; and then to make a final end of its discourse (logos) on those divinest Kings who give us the great prize of peace.

For just as we began by treating of the Better One and of the Power Above, so let us make the end bend round again unto the same—the Better One.

Just as the Sun, the nurse of all the things that grow, on his first rising, gathers unto himself the first-fruits of their yield with his most mighty hands, using his rays as though it were for plucking off their fruits—yea, for his rays are truly hands for him who plucketh first the most ambrosial essences of plants—so, too, should we, beginning from the Better One, and thus recipient of His wisdom's stream, and turning it upon the garden of our souls above the heavens,—we should direct and train these streams of blessing back again unto their source, blessing whose entire power of germination in us He hath Himself poured into us.

12. Tis fit ten thousand tongues and voices should be used to send His blessings back again unto the all-pure God, who is the Father of our souls; and though we cannot utter what is fit—for we are far unequal to the task—yet will we say what best we can.

For Babes just born have not the strength to sing their Father's glory as it should be sung; but they give proper thanks for them, according to their strength, and meet with pardon for their feebleness.

Nay, it is rather that God's glory doth consist in this one very thing—that He is greater than His children; and that the prelude and the source, the middle and the end, of blessings, is to confess the Father to be infinitely puissant and never knowing what a limit means.

13. So is it, too, in the King's case.

For that we men, as though we were the children of the King, feel it our natural duty to give praise to him. Still must we ask for pardon for our insufficiency, even though it is granted by our Sire before we even ask.

And as it cannot be the Sire will turn from Babes new-born because they are so weak, but rather will rejoice when they begin to recognise his love—so also will the Gnosis of the all rejoice, which doth distribute life to all, and power of giving blessing back to God, which He hath given us.

14. For God, being Good, and having in Himself eternally the limit of His own eternal fitness, and being deathless, and containing in Himself that lot of that inheritance that cannot come unto an end, and thus for ever ever-flowing from out that energy of His, He doth send tidings to this world down here to urge us to the rendering of praise that brings us home again.

With Him, therefore, is there no difference with one another; there is no partiality with Him.

But they are one in Thought. One is the Prescience of all. They have one Mind—their Father.

One is the Sense that's active through them—their passion for each other. 'Tis Love Himself who worketh the one harmony of all.

15. Thus, therefore, let us sing the praise of God.

Nay, rather, let us first descend to those who have received their sceptres from Him.

For that we ought to make beginning with our Kings, and so by practising ourselves on them, accustom us to songs of praise, and train ourselves in pious service to the Better One.

We ought to make the very first beginnings of our exercise of praise begin from him, 3 and through him exercise the practice of our praise, that so there may be in us both the exercising of our piety towards God, and of our praise to Kings.

16. For that we ought to make return to them, in that they have extended the prosperity of such great peace to us.

It is the virtue of the King, nay, tis his name alone, that doth establish peace.

He has his name of King because he levelleth the summits of dissension with his smooth tread, 4 and is the lord of reason (logos) that makes for peace.

And in as much, in sooth, as he hath made himself the natural protector of the kingdom which is not his native land, I his very name is made the sign of peace.

For that, indeed, you know, the appellation of the King has frequently at once restrained the foe.

Nay, more, the very statues of the King are peaceful harbours for those most tempest-tossed.

The likeness of the King alone has to appear to win the victory, and to assure to all the citizens freedom from hurt and fear.

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CORPUS HERMETICUM CHAPTER 18

The Perfect Sermon Or The Asclepius

(Text: The Greek original is lost, and only a Latin version remains to us. Mead uses the text of Hildebrand (G. F.), L. Apuleii Opera Omnia ex Fide Optimorum Codicum (Leipzig, 1842), Pars II., pp. 279-334; but have very occasionally preferred the text in Patrizzi's Nova de Universis Philosophia (Venice, 1593), or of the Bipontine edition of Appuleius, Lucii Apuleji Madaurensis Platonici Philosophi Opera (Biponti, 1788), pp. 285-325.)

Part 1

1. I. M. 2 Trismegistus. God, O Asclepius, hath brought thee unto us that thou mayest hear a Godly sermon, a sermon such as well may seem of all the previous ones we've either uttered, or with which we've been inspired by the Divine, more Godly than the piety of ordinary faith.

If thou with eye of intellect 1 shalt see this Word thou shalt in thy whole mind be filled quite full of all things good.

If that, indeed, the "many" be the "good," and not the "one," in which are "all." Indeed the difference between the two is found in their agreement,—"All" is of "One" or "One" is "All." So closely bound is each to other, that neither can be parted from its mate.

But this with diligent attention shalt thou learn from out the sermon that shall follow this.

But do thou, O Asclepius, go forth a moment and call in the one who is to hear.

(And when he had come in, Asclepius proposed that Ammon too should be allowed to come. Thereon Thricegreatest said:)

Trismegistus. There is no cause why Ammon should be kept away from us. For we remember how we have ourselves set down in writing many things to his address, as though unto a son most dear and most beloved, of physics many things, of ethics too as many as could be.

It is, however, with thy name I will inscribe this treatise.

But call, I prithee, no one else but Ammon, lest a most pious sermon on a so great theme be spoilt by the admission of the multitude.

For 'tis the mark of an unpious mind to publish to the knowledge of the crowd a tractate brimming o'er with the full Greatness of Divinity.

(When Ammon too had come within the holy place, and when the sacred group of four was now complete with piety and with God's goodly presence—to them, sunk in fit silence reverently, their souls and minds pendent on Hermes' lips, thus Love 1 Divine began to speak.)

1. Trismegistus. The soul of every man, O my Asclepius, is deathless; yet not all in like fashion, but some in one way or one time, some in another.

Asc. Is not, then, O Thrice-greatest one, each soul of one and the same quality?

Tris. How quickly hast thou fallen, O Asclepius, from

reason's true sobriety!

Did not I say that "All" is "One," and "One" is "All," in as much as all things have been in the Creator before they were created. Nor is He called unfitly "All," in that His members are the "All."

Therefore, in all this argument, see that thou keep in mind Him who is "One"-"All," or who Himself is maker of the

2. All things descend from Heaven to Earth, to Water and

'Tis Fire alone, in that it is borne upwards, giveth life; that which is carried downwards is subservient to Fire.

Further, whatever doth descend from the above, begetteth; what floweth upwards, nourisheth.

'Tis Earth alone, in that it resteth on itself, that is Receiver of all things, and also the Restorer of all genera that it

receives.

This Whole, therefore, as thou rememberest, in that it is of all,—in other words, all things, embraced by nature under "Soul" and "World," are in perpetual flux, so varied by the multiform equality of all their forms, that countless kinds of well-distinguished qualities may be discerned, yet with this bond of union, that all should seem as One, and from "One"

Part 3

1. That, then, from which the whole Cosmos is formed, consisteth of Four Elements-Fire, Water, Earth, and Air; Cosmos itself is one, its Soul is one, and God is one.

Now lend to me the whole of thee, -all that thou canest in mind, all that thou skillest in penetration.

For that the Reason of Divinity may not be known except by an intention of the senses like to it.

Tis likest to the torrent's flood, down-dashing headlong from above with all-devouring tide; so that it comes about, that by the swiftness of its speed it is too quick for our attention, not only for the hearers, but also for the very teachers

SUPPLEMENT

3 Hermetic Texts in the Nag Hammadi Collection:

A.) The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth

B.) Prayer of Thanksgiving

C.) Asclepius (chapter 21-29)

The collection of Gnostic texts found at Nag Hammadi in 1945 (known as the Nag Hammadi Library), includes a previously unknown and crucially important Hermetic document, The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth. Probably dating to the third century or earlier, this text appears to be an initiation rite into visionary journey. This document provides singular evidence of the liturgical and experiential elements within Hermetic tradition. It gives witness to the existence of a ritual genera of Hermetic writings previously unknown and now lost.

Also included in the Nag Hammadi collection is the Hermetic Prayer of Thanksgiving, and an excerpt from the Asclepius. These texts, bound together in Nag Hammadi Codex 6 with other classical Christian Gnostic texts (e.g., The Authoritative Teaching, The Thunder, Perfect Mind, The Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles) evidence the ancient association of Christian and Hermetic Gnosticism -- at very least in the physical grouping of this literature together in the Nag Hammadi codices.

THE DISCOURSE ON THE EIGHTH AND NINTH

Source: Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt Translation: James Brashler, Peter A. Dirkse, and Douglas M. Parrott Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd century A.D.

(Archive Notes: The Nag Hammadi collection includes a previously unknown and crucially important Hermetic document, The Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth. Probably dating to the third century AD or earlier, this text appears to be an initiation rite into visionary journey. This document provides singular evidence of the liturgical and experiential elements within Hermetic tradition. It gives witness to the existence of a ritual genera of Hermetic writings previously unknown and now lost. The ritual vowel phrases shown in the text are meditational vocalisations (perhaps similar to a mantra) based on the sacred name: IAO (They should be read with intonation.)

Text of the Discourse on the Eighth and Ninth:

"My father, yesterday you promised me that you would bring my mind into the eighth and afterwards you would bring me into the ninth. You said that this is the order of the tradition.'

"My son, indeed this is the order. But the promise was according to human nature. For I told you when I initiated the promise, I said, 'If you hold in mind each one of the steps. After I had received the spirit through the power, I set forth the action for you. Indeed, the understanding dwells in you; in me (it is) as though the power were pregnant. For when I conceived from the fountain that flowed to me, I gave birth."

"My father, you have spoken every word well to me. But I am amazed at this statement that you have just made. For you said, 'The power that is in me'.'

He said, "I gave birth to it (the power), as children are born '

"Then, my father, I have many brothers, if I am to be numbered among the offspring.

"Right, my son! This good thing is numbered by . . .

..... (3 lines missing) and . . . at all times. Therefore, my son, it is necessary for you to recognise your brothers and to honor them rightly and properly, because they come from the same father. For each generation I have called. I have named it, because they were offspring like these sons.

'Then, my father, do they have (a) day?"

"My son, they are spiritual ones. For they exist as forces that grow other souls. Therefore I say that they are immortal."

"Your word is true: it has no refutation from now on. My father, begin the discourse on the eighth and the ninth, and include me also with my brothers."

"Let us pray, my son, to the father of the universe, with your brothers who are my sons, that he may give the spirit of eloquence."

"How do they pray, my father, when joined with the generations? I want to obey, my father.'

. . . (2 lines missing)

. . . But it is not Nor is it a But he is satisfied with her . . . him And it is right for you to remember the progress that came to you as wisdom in the books, my son. Compare yourself to the early years of life. As children (do), you have posed senseless, unintelligent questions.

"My father, the progress that has come to me now, and the foreknowledge, according to the books, that has come to me, exceeding the deficiency - these things are foremost in me.'

"My son, when you understand the truth of your statement, you will find your brothers, who are my sons, praying with you."

"My father, I understand nothing else except the beauty that came to me in the books."

'This is what you call the beauty of the soul, the edification that came to you in stages. May the understanding come to you, and you will teach.

"I have understood, my father, each one of the books. And especially the ...

. (2 lines missing)

. which is in . . .

"My son, . . . in praises from those who extolled them."

"My father, from you I will receive the power of the discourse that you will give. As it was told to both (of us), let us pray, my father."

'My son, what is fitting is to pray to God with all our mind and all our heart and our soul, and to ask him that the gift of the eighth extend to us, and that each one receive from him what is his. Your part, then, is to understand; my own is to be able to deliver the discourse from the fountain that flows to me."
"Let us pray, my father:

I call upon you, who rules over the kingdom of power, whose word comes as (a) birth of light. And his words are immortal. They are eternal and unchanging. He is the one whose will begets life for the forms in every place. His nature gives form to substance. By him, the souls of the eighth and the angels are moved . . .

. (2 lines missing)

. . those that exist. His providence extends to everyone . begets everyone. He is the one who . . . the aeon among spirits. He created everything. He who is self-contained cares for everything. He is perfect, the invisible God to whom one speaks in silence - his image is moved when it is directed, and

it governs - the one mighty power, who is exalted above majesty, who is better than the honoured (ones),

> Zo xa tha zo A OO EE OO EEE 0000 ee 000000 00000 000000 uuuuuuu00000000000 000 Zo za zoth.

"Lord, grant us a wisdom from your power that reaches us, so that we may describe to ourselves the vision of the eighth and the ninth. We have already advanced to the seventh, since we are pious and walk in your law. And your will we fulfill always. For we have walked in your way, and we have renounced . . ., so that your vision may come. Lord, grant us the truth in the image. Allow us through the spirit to see the form of the image that has no deficiency, and receive the reflection of the pleroma from us through our praise.

"And acknowledge the spirit that is in us. For from you the universe received soul. For from you, the unbegotten one, the begotten one came into being. The birth of the self-begotten one is through you, the birth of all begotten things that exist. Receive from us these spiritual sacrifices, which we send to you with all our heart and our soul and all our strength. Save that which is in us and grant us the immortal wisdom.

"Let us embrace each other affectionately, my son. Rejoice over this! For already from them the power, which is light, is coming to us. For I see! I see indescribable depths. How shall I tell you, my son? \dots from the \dots the places. How shall I describe the universe? I am Mind, and I see another Mind, the one that moves the soul! I see the one that moves me from pure forgetfulness. You give me power! I see myself! I want to speak! Fear restrains me. I have found the beginning of the power that is above all powers, the one that has no beginning. I see a fountain bubbling with life. I have said, my son, that I am Mind. I have seen! Language is not able to reveal this. For the entire eighth, my son, and the souls that are in it, and the angels, sing a hymn in silence. And I, Mind, understand.'

What is the way to sing a hymn through it (silence)?

"Have you become such that you cannot be spoken to?" "I am silent, my father. I want to sing a hymn to you while I

"Then sing it, for I am Mind."

"I understand Mind, Hermes, who cannot be interpreted, because he keeps within himself. And I rejoice, my father, because I see you smiling. And the universe rejoices. Therefore, there is no creature that will lack your life. For you are the lord of the citizens in every place. Your providence protects. I call you 'father', 'aeon of the aeons', 'great divine spirit'. And by a spirit he gives rain upon everyone. What do you say to me, my father, Hermes?'

"Concerning these things, I do not say anything, my son. For it is right before God that we keep silent about what is

"Trismegistus, let not my soul be deprived of the great divine vision. For everything is possible for you as master of the universe.

"Return to praising, my son, and sing while you are silent. Ask what you want in silence.'

What he had finished praising, he shouted, "Father Trismegistus! What shall I say? We have received this light. And I myself see this same vision in you. And I see the eighth, and the souls that are in it, and the angels singing a hymn to the ninth and its powers. And I see him who has the power of them all, creating those (that are) in the spirit."

"It is advantageous from now on, that we keep silence in a reverent posture. Do not speak about the vision from now on. It is proper to sing a hymn to the father until the day to quit (the) body."

"What you sing, my father, I too want to sing."

"I am singing a hymn within myself. While you rest yourself, be active in praise. For you have found what you seek.

"But is it proper, my father, that I praise because I am filled in my heart?

"What is proper is your praise that you will sing to God, so that it might be written in this imperishable book.

"I will offer up the praise in my heart, as I pray to the end of the universe and the beginning of the beginning, to the object of man's quest, the immortal discovery, the begetter of light and truth, the sower of reason, the love of immortal life. No hidden word will be able to speak about you, Lord. Therefore, my mind wants to sing a hymn to you daily. I am the instrument of your spirit; Mind is your plectrum. And your counsel plucks me. I see myself! I have received power from you. For your love has reached us.'

"Right my son '

"Grace! After these things, I give thanks by singing a hymn to you. For I have received life from you, when you made me wise. I praise you. I call your name that is hidden within me:

A O EE O EEE 000 iii 0000 00000 ooooo uuuuuu oo 000000000 000000000 00.

You are the one who exists with the spirit, I sing a hymn to you reverently."

"My son, write this book for the temple at Diospolis in hieroglyphic characters, entitling it 'The Eighth Reveals the Ninth

"I will do it, my father, as you command now."

"My son, write the language of the book on steles of turquoise. My son, it is proper to write this book on steles of turquoise, in hieroglyphic characters. For Mind himself has become overseer of these. Therefore, I command that this teaching be carved on stone, and that you place it in my sanctuary. Eight guardians guard it with . . . of the Sun. The males on the right are frog-faced, and the females on the left are cat-faced. And put a square milk-stone at the base of the turquoise tablets, and write the name on the azure stone tablet in hieroglyphic characters. My son, you will do this when I am in Virgo, and the sun is in the first half of the day, and fifteen degrees have passed by me."

"My father, everything that you say I will do eagerly."

'And write an oath in the book, lest those who read the book bring the language into abuse, and not (use it) to oppose the acts of fate. Rather, they should submit to the law of God, without having transgressed at all, but in purity asking God for wisdom and knowledge. And he who will not be begotten at the start by God comes to be by the general and guiding discourses. He will not be able to read the things written in this book, although his conscience is pure within him, since he does not do anything shameful, nor does he consent to it. Rather, by stages he advances and enters into the way of immortality. And thus he enters into the understanding of the eighth that reveals the ninth.

'So shall I do it, my father.'

"This is the oath: I make him who will read this holv book swear by heaven and earth, and fire and water, and seven rulers of substance, and the creating spirit in them, and the (unbegotten) God, and the self-begotten one, and him who has been begotten, that he will guard the things that Hermes has said. And those who keep the oath, God will be reconciled with them and everyone whom we have named. But wrath will come to each one of those who violate the oath. This is the perfect one who is, my son.'

THE PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING

Source: Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt Translation: James Brashler, Peter A. Dirkse and Douglas M. Parrott Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd - 4th centuries A.D.

This the prayer that they spoke:

'We give thanks to You! Every soul and heart is lifted up to You, undisturbed name, honored with the name 'God' and praised with the name 'Father', for to everyone and everything (comes) the fatherly kindness and affection and love, and any teaching there may be that is sweet and plain, giving us mind, speech, (and) knowledge: mind, so that we may understand You, speech, so that we may expound You, knowledge, so that we may know You. We rejoice, having been illuminated by Your knowledge. We rejoice because You have shown us Yourself. We rejoice because while we were in (the) body, You have made us divine through Your knowledge.

"The thanksgiving of the man who attains to You is one thing: that we know You. We have known You, intellectual light. Life of life, we have known You. Womb of every creature, we have known You. Womb pregnant with the nature of the Father, we have known You. Eternal permanence of the begetting Father, thus have we worshiped Your goodness. There is one petition that we ask: we would be preserved in knowledge. And there is one protection that we desire: that we not stumble in this kind of life."

When they had said these things in the prayer, they embraced each other and they went to eat their holy food, which has no blood in it.

Note of the (unknown) Scribe:

I have copied this one discourse of his. Indeed, very many have come to me. I have not copied them because I thought that they had come to you (all). Also, I hesitate to copy these for you because, perhaps they have (already) come to you, and the matter may burden you. Since the discourses of that one, which have come to me, are numerous . .

ASCLEPIUS (Chapter 21-29) Source: Nag Hammadi Library, Egypt Translated by James Brashler, Peter A. Dirkse, and Douglas M. Parrott

Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd - 4th centuries A.D.

"And if you (Asclepius) wish to see the reality of this mystery, then you should see the wonderful representation of the intercourse that takes place between the male and the female. For when the semen reaches the climax, it leaps forth. In that moment, the female receives the strength of the male; the male, for his part, receives the strength of the female, while the semen does this.

"Therefore, the mystery of intercourse is performed in secret, in order that the two sexes might not disgrace themselves in front of many who do not experience that reality. For each of them (the sexes) contributes its (own part in) begetting. For if it happens in the presence of those who do not understand the reality, (it is) laughable and unbelievable. And, moreover, they are holy mysteries, of both words and deeds, because not only are they not heard, but also they are not seen.

Therefore, such people (the unbelievers) are blasphemers. They are atheistic and impious. But the others are not many; rather, the pious who are counted are few. Therefore, wickedness remains among (the) many, since learning concerning the things which are ordained does not exist among them. For the knowledge of the things which are ordained is truly the healing of the passions of the matter. Therefore, learning is something derived from knowledge.

"But if there is ignorance, and learning does not exist in the soul of man, (then) the incurable passions persist in it (the soul). And additional evil comes with them (the passions), in the form of an incurable sore. And the sore constantly gnaws at the soul, and through it the soul produces worms from the evil. and stinks. But God is not the cause of these things, since he sent to men knowledge and learning.

Trismegistus, did he send them to men alone?"

"Yes, Asclepius, he sent them to them alone. And it is fitting that we tell you why to men alone he granted knowledge and learning, the allotment of his good.

"And now listen! God and the Father, even the Lord, created man subsequent to the gods, and he took him from the region of matter. Since matter is involved in the creation of man, of . . ., the passions are in it. Therefore, they continually flow over his body, for this living creature would not have existed in any other way except that he had taken this food, since he is mortal. It is also inevitable that inopportune desires, which are harmful, dwell in him. For the gods, since they came into being out of a pure matter, do not need learning and knowledge. For the immortality of the gods is learning and knowledge, since they came into being out of pure matter. It (immortality) assumed for them the position of knowledge and learning. By necessity, he (God) set a boundary for man; he placed him in learning and knowledge.

"Concerning these things (learning and knowledge) which we have mentioned from the beginning, he (God) perfected them in order that by means of these things he might restrain passions and evils, according to his will. He brought his (man's) mortal existence into immortality; he (man) became good (and) immortal, just as I have said. For he (God) created (a) two-fold nature for him: the immortal and the mortal.

"And it happened this way because of the will of God that men be better than the gods, since, indeed, the gods are immortal, but men alone are both immortal and mortal. Therefore, man has become akin to the gods, and they know the affairs of each other with certainty. The gods know the things of men, and men know the things of the gods. And I am speaking about men, Asclepius, who have attained learning and knowledge. But (about) those who are more vain than these, it is not fitting that we say anything base, since we are divine and are introducing holy matters.

"Since we have entered the matter of the communion between the gods and men, know, Asclepius, that in which man can be strong! For just as the Father, the Lord of the universe, creates gods, in this very way man too, this mortal, earthly, living creature, the one who is not like God, also himself creates gods. Not only does he strengthen, but he is also strengthened. Not only is he god, but he also creates gods. Are you astonished, Asclepius? Are you yourself another disbeliever like the many?"

"Trismegistus, I agree with the words (spoken) to me. And I believe you as you speak. But I have also been astonished at the discourse about this. And I have decided that man is blessed, since he has enjoyed this great power.

"And that which is greater than all these things, Asclepius, is worthy of admiration. Now it is clear to us concerning the race of the gods, and we confess it along with everyone else, that it (the race of the gods) has come into being out of a pure matter. And their bodies are heads only. But that which men create is the likeness of the gods. They (the gods) are from the farthest part of the matter, and it (the object created by men) is from the outer (part) of the being of men. Not only are they (what men created) heads, but (they are) also all the other members of the body, and according to their likeness. Just as God has willed that the inner man be created according to his image, in the very same way, man on earth creates gods according to his likeness.'

Trismegistus, you are not talking about idols, are you?"

"Asclepius, you yourself are talking about idols. You see that again, you yourself, Asclepius, are also a disbeliever of the discourse. You say about those who have soul and breadth, that they are idols - these who bring about these great events. You are saving about these who give prophecies that they are idols - these who give men sickness and healing that . . . them.

"Or are you ignorant, Asclepius, that Egypt is (the) image of heaven? Moreover, it is the dwelling place of heaven and all the forces that are in heaven. If it is proper for us to speak the truth, our land is (the) temple of the world. And it is proper for you not to be ignorant that a time will come in it (our land, when) Egyptians will seem to have served the divinity in vain, and all their activity in their religion will be despised. For all divinity will leave Egypt, and will flee upward to heaven. And Egypt will be widowed; it will be abandoned by the gods. For foreigners will come into Egypt, and they will rule it. Egypt! Moreover, Egyptians will be prohibited from worshipping God. Furthermore, they will come into the ultimate punishment, especially whoever among them is found worshipping (and) honoring God.

"And in that day, the country that was more pious than all countries will become impious. No longer will it be full of temples, but it will be full of tombs. Neither will it be full of gods, but (it will be full of) corpses. Egypt! Egypt will become like the fables. And your religious objects will be . . . the marvelous things, and ..., and if your words are stones and are wonderful. And the barbarian will be better than you, Egyptian, in his religion, whether (he is) a Scythian, or the Hindus, or some other of this sort.

"And what is this that I say about the Egyptian? For they (the Egyptians) will not abandon Egypt. For (in) the time (when) the gods have abandoned the land of Egypt, and have fled upward to heaven, then all Egyptians will die. And Egypt will be made a desert by the gods and the Egyptians. And as for you, River, there will be a day when you will flow with blood more than water. And dead bodies will be (stacked) higher than the dams. And he who is dead will not be mourned as much as he who is alive. Indeed, the latter will be known as an Egyptian on account of his language in the second period (of time). - Asclepius, why are you weeping? -He will seem like (a) foreigner in regard to his customs. Divine Egypt will suffer evils greater than these. Egypt - lover of God, and the dwelling place of the gods, school of religion will become an example of impiousness.

"And in that day, the world will not be marveled at, . . . and immortality, nor will it be worshiped . . ., since we say that it is not good It has become neither a single thing nor a vision. But it is in danger of becoming a burden to all men. Therefore, it will be despised - the beautiful world of God, the incomparable work, the energy that possesses goodness, the man-formed vision. Darkness will be preferred to light, and death will be preferred to life. No one will gaze into heaven. And the pious man will be counted as insane, and the impious man will be honored as wise. The man who is afraid will be considered as strong. And the good man will be punished like a criminal.

"And concerning the soul, and the things of the soul, and the things of immortality, along with the rest of what I have said to you, Tat, Asclepius, and Ammon - not only will they be considered ridiculous, but they will also be thought of as vanity. But believe me (when I say) that people of this kind will be endangered by the ultimate danger to their soul. And a new law will be established . .

- ... (2 lines missing) ...
- ... they will ...
- . . . (line missing) .
- . . . good. The wicked angels will remain among men, (and) be with them, (and) lead them into wicked things recklessly, as well as into atheism, wars, and plunderings, by teaching them things contrary to nature

"In those days, the earth will not be stable, and men will not sail the sea, nor will they know the stars in heaven. Every sacred voice of the word of God will be silenced, and the air will be diseased. Such is the senility of the world: atheism, dishonor, and the disregard of noble words.

"And when these things had happened, Asclepius, then the Lord, the Father and god from the only first god, the creator, when he looked upon the things that happened, established his design, which is good, against the disorder. He took away error, and cut off evil. Sometimes, he submerged it in a great flood; at other times, he burned it in a searing fire; and at still other times, he crushed it in wars and plagues, until he brought . . .

... (4 lines missing) .

of the work. And this is the birth of the world.

"The restoration of the nature of the pious ones who are good will take place in a period of time that never had a beginning. For the will of God has no beginning, even as his nature, which is his will (has no beginning). For the nature of God is will. And his will is the good.

"Trismegistus, is purpose, then, (the same as) will?"

"Yes, Asclepius, since will is (included) in counsel. For (he) (God) does not will what he has from deficiency. Since he is complete in every part, he wills what he (already) fully has. And he has every good. And what he wills, he wills. And he has the good that he wills. Therefore, he has everything. And God wills what he wills. And the good world is an image of the Good One."

"Trismegistus, is the world good?"

"Asclepius, it is good, as I shall teach you. For just as . . .

... (2 lines missing) ...

... of soul and life ... of the world ... come forth in matter, those that are good, the change of the climate, and beauty, and the ripening of the fruits, and the things similar to all these. Because of this, God has control over the heights of heaven. He is in every place, and he looks out over every place. And (in) his place there is neither heaven nor star. And he is free from (the) body.

"Now the creator has control in the place that is between the earth and heaven. He is called 'Zeus', that is, 'Life'. Plutonius Zeus is lord over the earth and sea. And he does not possess the nourishment for all mortal living creatures, for (it is) Kore who bears the fruit. These forces always are powerful in the circle of the earth, but those of others are always from Him-who-is

"And the lords of the earth will withdraw themselves. And they will establish themselves in a city that is in a corner of Egypt and that will be built toward the setting of the sun. Every man will go into it, whether they come on the sea or on the shore."

"Trismegistus, where will these be settled now?"

"Asclepius, in the great city that is on the Libyan mountain . . .

... (2 lines missing) ...

...it frightens...as a great evil, in ignorance of the matter. For death occurs, which is the dissolution of the labours of the body, and the number (of the body), when it (death) completes the number of the body. For the number is the union of the body. Now the body dies when it is not able to support the man. And this is death: the dissolution of the body and the destruction of the sensation of the body. And it is not necessary to be afraid of this, nor because of this, but because of what is not known, and is disbelieved (is one afraid)."

"But what is not known, or is disbelieved?"

"Listen, Asclepius! There is a great demon. The great God has appointed him to be overseer or judge over the souls of men. And God has placed him in the middle of the air, between earth and heaven. Now when the soul comes forth from (the) body, it is necessary that it meet this daimon. Immediately, he (the daimon) will surround this one (masc.), and he will examine him in regard to the character that he has developed in his life. And if he finds that he piously performed all of his actions for which he came into the world, this (daimon) will allow him . . .

... (1 line missing) ...

... turn him ... But if he sees ... in this one ... he brought his life into evil deeds, he grasps him, as he flees upward, and throws him down, so that he is suspended between heaven and earth, and is punished with a great punishment. And he will be deprived of his hope, and will be in great pain.

"And that soul has been put neither on the earth nor in heaven, but it has come into the open sea of the air of the world, the place where there is a great fire, and crystal water, and furrows of fire, and a great upheaval. The bodies are tormented (in) various (ways). Sometimes they are cast down into the fire, in order that it may destroy them. Now, I will not say that this is the death of the soul, for it has been delivered from evil. but it is a death sentence.

"Asclepius, it is necessary to believe these things and to fear them, in order that we might not encounter them. For unbelievers are impious, and commit sin. Afterwards, they will be compelled to believe, and they will not hear by word of mouth only, but will experience the reality itself. For they kept believing that they would not endure these things. Nor only...

. . . (1 line missing).

First, Asclepius, all those of the earth die, and those who are of the body cease . . . of evil . . . with these of this sort. For those who are here are not like those who are there. So with the daimons who . . men, they despite . . . there. Thus, it is not the same. But truly, the gods who are here will punish more whoever has hidden it here every day."

"Trismegistus, what is the character of the iniquity that is

"Now you think, Asclepius, that when one takes something in a temple, he is impious. For that kind of a person is a thief and a bandit. And this matter concerns gods and men. But do not compare those here with those of the other place. Now I want to speak this discourse to you confidentially; no part of it will be believed. For the souls that are filled with much evil will not come and go in the air, but they will be put in the places of the daimons, which are filled with pain, (and) which

are always filled with blood and slaughter, and their food, which is weeping, mourning, and groaning."

"Trismegistus, who are these (daimons)?"

"Asclepius, they are the ones who are called 'stranglers', and those who roll souls down on the dirt, and those who scourge them, and those who cast into the water, and those who cast into the fire, and those who bring about the pains and calamities of men. For such as these are not from a divine soul, nor from a rational soul of man. Rather, they are from the terrible evil."

ANCIENT LITERATURE FROM MESOPOTAMIA

(Mesopotamia is the site of the earliest developments of the Neolithic Revolution from around 10,000 BC. It has been identified as having "inspired some of the most important developments in human history, including the invention of systematic writing and the wheel, the planting of the first cereal crops, and the development of mathematics, astronomy, and agriculture". It has been known as one of the earliest civilisations to ever exist in the world.

Mesopotamia (Greek for "Between the two Rivers," refering to the River Euphrates and the River Tigris; Aramaic: Aram-Nahrin or Bet Nahrin) is a historical region of Western Asia situated in the eastern and northern part of the Fertile Crescent, the western part to be represented by Egypt and Canaan (Phoenicia and Judaea).

Mesopotamia occupies the area of present-day Iraq, and parts of Iran, Turkey, Syria and Kuwait. The Sumerians and Akkadians (including Assyrians, Canaanites, Hebrews, Phoenicians and Babylonians) dominated Mesopotamia from the beginning of written history (c. 3100 BC) to the fall of Babylon in 539 BC, when it was conquered by the Persian Achaemenid Empire. It fell to Alexander the Great in 332 BC, and after his death, it became part of the Greek Seleucid Empire. Later, Arameans and Hebrews dominated major parts of Mesopotamia (c. 900 BC – 270 AD)

Around 150 BC, Mesopotamia was under the control of the Persian Parthian Empire. Mesopotamia became a battleground between the Romans and Parthians, with western parts of Mesopotamia coming under Roman control. A number of primarily neo-Assyrian and Christian native Mesopotamian states existed between the 1st century BC and 3rd century BC, including Adiabene, Osroene, and Hatra. In 226 AD, the eastern regions of Mesopotamia fell to the Sassanid Persians. The division of Mesopotamia between Roman and Sassanid Empires lasted until the 7th century Muslim conquest of Persia of the Sassanid Empire and Muslim conquest of the Levant from the (Eastern) Romans. Up to that time, Mesopotamia represented one of the most influencial driving forces of civilisation. Having the Sumerian texts before our very eyes means looking back for 5.000 years.

ARCHAEOLOGY

In Ancient Mesopotamia, a foundation deposit of the Akkadian Empire ruler Naram-Sin (ruled circa 2200 BC) was discovered and analysed by king Nabonidus, circa 550 BC, who is thus known as the first archaeologist. Not only did be lead the first excavations which were to find the foundation deposits of the temples of Shamash the sun god, the warrior goddess Anunitu (both located in Sippar), and the sanctuary that Naram-Sin built to the moon god, located in Harran*, but he also had them restored to their former glory. He was also the first to date an archaeological artifact in his attempt to date Naram-Sin's temple during his search for it. Even though his estimate was inaccurate by about 1,500 years, it was still quite a good one considering the lack of accurate dating technology at the time.

[* Harran in the south of Turkey is, by virtually all scholars, associated with the biblical place Haran (Hebrew Aramaic: Charan). The Biblical Haran was where Terah, his son Abram (Abraham), his nephew Lot, and Abram's wife Sarai settled on the way to Canaan and Egypt, coming from "Ur of the Chaldees" (Genesis 11:26-32), meaning Ur / Urim in Sumer. The name Aram also might well be a short form refering to Abram / Abraham which here coule represent an entire tribe rather than a person. Aram as toponym, Aramean as ethnonym, and Aramaic as name for the language go back to Aram, son of Shem, a grandson of Noah in the Hebrew Bible, Genesis 10:20-22: "These are the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, and in their nations. Unto Shem also, the father of all the children of Eber, the brother of Japheth the elder, even to him were children born. The children of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram."]

Particularly between the 18th and the 20th centuries, famous archaeologists made ground-breaking discoveries in Mesopotamia. Names like George Smith, Abbe Beauchamp, Robert Koldewey, Paul-Emile Botta, Austen H. Layard, Jacques de Morgan, Charles Leonard Woolley, Gertrude Bell, and even illustrious persons such as Benjamin de Tulela or Thomas Edward Lawrence, speak for themselves. Phantastic discoveries in Ur, Uruk, Babylon, or Susa thrilled the public. However, the discoveries of millions of cuneiform tablets, found in the ancient libraries, changed our horizon of knowledge fundamentally.

Between half a million and two million cuneiform tablets are estimated to have been excavated in modern times [Cuneiform Tablets: Who's Got What?", Biblical Archaeology Review, 31 (2), 2005, archived from the original on July 15, 2014], of which only approximately 30,000—100,000 have been read or published. The British Museum holds the largest collection (approx. 130,000 tablets), followed by the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin, the Louvre,

the Istanbul Archaeology Museums, the National Museum of Iraq, the Yale Babylonian Collection (approx. 40,000), and Penn Museum Most of these have "lain in these collections for a century without being translated, studied or published", as there are only a few hundred qualified cuneiformists in the world. The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (ETCSL) was an attempt of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Oxford, to promote the important translation work of ancient documents. The project was founded by Jeremy Black in 1997 and is based at the Oriental Institute of the University of Oxford in Britain. It was funded by the University along with the Leverhulme Trust and the Arts and Humanities Research Board. With the death of Black in 2004, the project died in 2006. The ETCSL web site with all the transliterations and translations remains available.

Cuneiform is the world's oldest known writing system. The earliest texts appear in Mesopotamia around 3200 BC and the last native cuneiform texts were written around 75 AD. The ancient scribes pressed the ends of their styluses into damp clay in order to write the approximately 800 different logographic, syllabic, or alphabetic signs. The clay tablets were sun-dried or oven-baked and were thus preserved in the sands of the Near East for millennia.

Cuneiform script was in use up the the 2nd century AD and Biblical scholars and the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls still could read the tablets. With the death of those writers, the ability to read cuneiform died with them. More than 17 hundred years later, script analists tried to decipher that mysterious writing. It took almost 200 years before they have learned to read most cuneiform documents which were written in over a dozen different ancient languages.

Since the decipherment of Babylonian cuneiform some 150 years ago museums have accumulated perhaps 300,000 tablets written in most of the major languages of the Ancient Near East - Sumerian, Akkadian (Babylonian and Assyrian), Eblaite, Hittite, Persian, Hurrian, Elamite, and Ugaritic. These texts include genres as variegated as mythology and mathematics, law codes and beer recipes.

In most cases these documents are the earliest exemplars of their genres, and cuneiformists, like Jeremy Black and Irwing Finkel, have made unique and valuable contributions to the study of such moderns disciplines as history, law, religion, linguistics, mathematics, and science.

In spite of continued great interest in mankind's earliest documents it has been estimated that only about 1/10 of the extant cuneiform texts have been read even once in modern times. There are various reasons for this: the complex Sumero / Akkadian script system is inherently difficult to learn; there is, as yet, no standard computer encoding for cuneiform; there are only a few hundred qualified cuneiformists in the world; the pedagogical tools are, in many cases, non-optimal; and access to the widely distributed tablets is expensive, time-consuming, and, due to the vagaries of politics, becoming increasingly difficult.

The Digital Hammurabi Project, originating at the Johns Hopkins University, is a multi-disciplinary effort aimed at addressing the two major technological obstacles to greater productivity in cuneiform research - namely, the lack of a standard computer encoding for cuneiform text and the current inadequate state of the graphic representation of cuneiform tablets. We know now, in language, writing, literature, science, technology, as well as in mathematics, astronomy, medicine, technology, philosophy and religion, Mesopotamia influenced Phoenicians, Canaanites, Hebrews and reached as far as Rome, India, and China.

Sumerian Literature and Akkadian Literature are the two greatest literary representatives of the museum collections. Sumerian literature constitutes the earliest known corpus of recorded literature, including the religious writings and other traditional stories maintained by the Sumerian civilization and largely preserved by the later Akkadian and Babylonian empires. These records were written in the Sumerian language during the Middle Bronze Age. Akkadian literature is the ancient literature written in the Akkadian language (Assyrian and Babylonian dialects) in Mesopotamia (Assyria, Babylonia but also abroad in Persia, Canaan, Phoenicia and even in Egypt) during the period spanning the Middle Bronze Age to the Iron Age (roughly the 23rd to 6th centuries BC). Drawing on the traditions of Sumerian literature, the Babylonians compiled a substantial textual tradition of mythological narrative, legal texts, scientific works, letters and other literary forms.

We shall show here some of the most influential cuneiform works tranlated into English.

The following works have been added as Supplement to the Inanna Cycle: The Sumerian King List; The Kesh Temple Hymn; A Hymn To Nisaba (Nisaba A); A Shir-Namshub To Nisaba (Nisaba B); Inanna and the Mes; Inanna and Ebih; Inanna and Shukaletuda; Inanna and Gudam; Inanna and An; Inanna and Enki; The Descent of Inanna into the Underworld; The Dream of Dumuzid.

The following works have been added as Supplement to the Gilgamesh Cycle: Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta; Enmerkar and En-Suhgir-Ana; Lugalbanda in the Mountain

Cave; Lugalbanda and the Anzud Bird; Gilgamesh and Huwawa (Version A); Gilgamesh and Huwawa (Version B); Gilgamesh and The Bull Of Heaven; Gilgamesh and Aga; Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Nether World; The Death of Gilgamesh; The Flood Story; The Lament for Urim (Ur); The Lament for Sumer and Urim (Ur); The Lament for Nibru (Nippur); The Lament for Unug (Uruk); The Lament for Eridug (Eridu).

Eridug (Eridu).
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Letter from Aradgu to Shulgi about missing troops • Letter from Aradgu to Shulgi about fortress Igi-hursaga · Letter from Shulgi to Aradgu about Aba-indasa's letter · Letter from Puzur-Shulgi to Shulgi about enemy advance · Letter from Shulgi to Puzur-Shulgi about the fortress • Letter from Shulgi to Puzur-Shulgi about waterways • Letter from Aradg u to Shulgi about bandits and Apillasa • Letter from Ur-Dun to Shulgi about Apillasa • Letter from Shulgi to Aradgu about troops · Letter from Shulgi to Isbi-Erra about purchase of grain. • Letter from Sarrum-bani to Su-Suen about the Martu • Letter from Su-Suen to Sarrum-bani about a trench • Letter from Isbi-Erra to Ibbi-Suen about grain purchase • Letter from Ibbi-Suen to Isbi-Erra about his bad conduct. · Letter from Puzur-Shulgi to Ibbi-Suen about Isbi-Erra · Letter from Ibbi-Suen to Puzur-Shulgi about Isbi-Erra · Letter from Aba-indasa to Shulgi about his neglect Isin, Larsa, and other dynasties: · Letter from Sin-illat to Iddin-Dagan about the Martu • Letter from Iddin-Dagan to Sin-illat about the troops • Letter from Nanna-ki-ag to Lipit-Estar about troops · Letter from Lipit-Estar to Nanna-ki-ag about the enemy • Letter from Sin-iddinam to the god Utu Other letters and letter-prayers: · Letter from Ur-saga to a king on his father's household · Letter from Lugal-nesage to a king radiant as the moon · Letter from Lugal-nesage to a king radiant as the sun • Letter from Ur-Enlila to a governo · Letter from a governor to a king • Letter from Aba-tah-lugalg a to his brothers • Letter from Ugubi to his mother • Letter from Samas-ṭab to Ilak-ni'id · Letter from Lugal-nesage to Enlil-massu • Letter from Inanaka to the goddess Nintinuga · Letter from Inim-Inana to Enlil-massu · Letter from Inim-Inana to Lugal-ibila · Letter from Gudea to his personal deity · Letter from the scribe Nanna-mansum to Ninisina Letter from X to the god Nanna • Letter from Inim-Enlila to a king · Letter from Kug-Nanna to the god Ninsubur THE FIVE CITY LAMENTS (Sumer)5293 • The Lament for Urim (Ur); • The Lament for Sumer and Urim (Ur); • The Lament for Nibru (Nippur); • The Lament for Unug (Uruk); • The Lament for Eridug (Eridu). CHRONICLES. • The Sumerian King List (CM 1 + 2) ++ • Chronicle of Early Kings (ABC 20) • Esagila (or Weidner) Chronicle (ABC 19) • The History of the Tummal (Tummal Inscription) • The Assyrian King List (CM 5) • Walker Chronicle (ABC 25) • Nabu-suma-iskun (CM 52) • From Nabu-Nasir to Samas-suma-ukin (ABC 1) • Esarhaddon Chronicle (ABC 14) • Jerusalem Chronicle (ABC 5) · Nabonidus Cylinder from Sippar • Alexander Chronicle (ABC 8; BCHP 1) • Diadochi Chronicle (BCHP 3) • Antiochus, Bactria, India Chronicle (BCHP 7) Antiochus Cvlinder • Uruk King List, Kinglist 5

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· Shulgi On Achievements, Hunger, And Arts

· Shulgi On Cornelian From India

· Shulgi "The Shepherd" On Kingship

· Shulgi On Justice And Wealth

• A sir-namsub to Nanna for Ùr-Namma (Ur-Namma E)

• A sir-namsub to Nanna for Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma F)

· The Building of Ningirsu's Temple by Gudea

• A tigi to Enlil for Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma B)

• The death of Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma A)

• praise poem of Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma C)

• Ur-Namma the canal-digger (Ur-Namma D)

The Ur-Nammu Cycle:

· The victory of Utu-hegal

The Shulgi Cycle:

THE CREATION MYTH

THE ENUMA ELISH

The Babylonian Epic of Creation Source: Library of King Ashurbanipal, Niniveh Copy of an earlier cuneiform script tablet, c. 668-626 B.C. Translation: Version A and Version B: Translation: L. W. King, 1902. / W. G. Lambert Estimated Range of Dating: c. 1900-1600 B.C.

(The Enuma Elish or Enuma Elis (Akkadian language), is the (Old) Babylonian creation myth (named after its opening words). The Akkadian language was also spoken and written by Babylonians. This creation story was discovered by Austen Henry Layard in 1849 (in fragmentary form) in the ruined Library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (Mosul, Iraq). The story has many elements that we also can find in the Hebrew Bible (the Old Testament).

A form of the myth was first published by George Smith in 1876; active research and further excavations led to near completion of the texts, and improved translation. The Enuma Elish has about a thousand lines and is recorded in Old Babylonian (which is just another name for Akkadian) on seven clay tablets, each holding between 115 and 170 lines of Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform script. Most of Tablet 5 has never been recovered but, aside from this lacuna, the text is almost complete.

This epic is one of the most important sources for understanding the Mesopotamian world view. This is important to understand because this view and, as a result, most Hebrew and Islamic laws derive from this world of thoughts. Over the seven tablets it describes the creation of the world, a battle between gods focused on supremacy of Marduk, the creation of man destined for the service of the Mesopotamian deities, and ends with a long passage praising Marduk. Its primary original purpose is unknown, although a version is known to have been used for certain festivals. There may also have been a political element to the myth, centred on the legitimisation or primacy of Mesopotamia over Assyria. Some later versions replace Marduk with the Assyrian primary god Ashur (Assur). The Enuma Elish exists in various copies from Babylon and Assyria. The version from the Library of Ashurbanipal dates to the 7th century B.C. The composition of the text probably dates to the late second millennium B.C., or even earlier, to the time of Hammurabi during the Old Babylonian Period (1900 - 1600 BC). Some elements of the myth are attested by illustrations that date to, at least, as early as the Kassite era (roughly 18th to 16th centuries BC).

Prior to the discovery of the tablets, substantial elements of the myth had survived via the writings of Berossus, a 3rdcentury BC Babylonian writer and priest of Bel (Marduk). These were preseved in Alexander Polyhistor's book on Chaldean History, which was reproduced by Eusebius in Book 1 of his Chronicon. In it are described the primeval state of an abyssal darkness and water, the two primeval beings existing therein, said to be of a twofold principle. The description then relates the creation of further beings, partly human but with variants of wings, animal heads and bodies, and some with both sex organs. (Berossus states images of these are to be found at the temple of Bel in Babylon.) The text also describes a female being leading over them, named as Omoroca (Chaldean: Thalatth), and her slaying by Bel, who cut her in half, forming Heaven of one part and Earth of the other - this, Berossus claims to have been an allegory. The text also describes the beheading of a god, and the mixing of the god's blood with the Earth's soil, leading to the creation of men (people). Finally, there is also reference to Bel's creation of the stars, Sun, Moon, and planets. Berossus also gave an account of the Oannes, a sort of fish-man hybrid, who appeared from the sea and taught people all manner of knowledge, including writing, lawmaking, construction, mathematics, and agriculture; Berossus presented the account of creation in the form of a speech given by the Oannes. The neo-platonist Damascius also gave a short version of the Babylonian cosmological view, which closely matches the Enuma Elish.

Clay tablets containing inscriptions relating to analogues of biblical stories were discovered by A.H. Layard, Hormuzd Rassam, and George Smith in the ruins of the Palace and Library of Ashurbanipal (668-626 B.C.) during excavations at the mound of Kuyunjik, Nineveh (near Mosul) between 1848 and 1876. Smith worked through Rassam's find of circa 20,000 fragments from 1852, and identified references to the kings Shalmaneser II, Tiglath-Pileser III, Sargon II, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and other rulers mentioned in the Bible - furthermore he discovered versions of a Babylonian deluge myth (see Gilgamesh Epic), as well as creation myths. On examination it became clear that the Assyrian myths were drawn from or similar to the Babylonian ones. Sir Henry Rawlinson had noted similarities between Biblical accounts of creation and the geography of Babylonia - he suggested that biblical creation stories might have their origin in that area a link was found on a tablet labeled K 63 at the British

Museum's collection by Smith, as well as similar text on other tablets - Smith then began searching the collection for textual similarities between the two mythoses, and found several references to a deluge myth with an 'Izdubar' (literal translation of cuneiform for Gilgamesh). Smith envisioned that the creation myth, including a part describing the fall of man must have originally spanned at least nine or ten tablets. He also identified tablets that in part were closer with Borusus' account. Some of Smith's early assignments, such as references to the stories of the temptation of Eve, to the Tower of Babel, and to instructions given from God to Adam and Eve, were later held to be erroneous. The connection with the Bible stories brought a great deal of additional attention to the tablets

Further expeditions by German researchers uncovered further tablet fragments (specifically tablet 1, 6, and 7) during the period 1902–1914 – these works replaced Marduk with the Assyrian god Ashur; additional important sources for tablets 1 and 6, and tablet 7 were discovered by expeditions in 1924-5, and 1928-9 respectively. The Ashur texts uncovered by the Germans necessitated some corrections it was Kingu not Marduk who was killed and whose blood made men. These discoveries were further supplemented by purchases from antiquity dealers – as a result by the mid 20th century most of the text of the work was known, with the exception of Tablet 5.

King's set of tablets dated to no earlier than the 7th century BC, being from the library of Ashur-bani-pal at Nineveh – however King proposed that the tablets were copies of earlier Babylonian works as they glorified Marduk (of Babylon), and not the Assyrians' favoured god, Ashur. He also thought sculptures found at the temple of Ninib at Nimrud depicted Marduk fighting Tiamat and so date the dragon legend to at least Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC), two centuries earlier than the date of Ashur-bani-pal's library. Legends of Tiamat and her monsters existed much earlier, as far as the Kassite ruler Agum I, circa 17th century B.C. It has been suggested that the myth, or at least the promotion of Marduk in it, dates to the ascendancy of the First Babylonian dynasty (1894–1595 BC), during the same period that Marduk became a national god. A similar promotion of Marduk is seen in the first lines of the Code of Hammurabi (c. 1754 BC).

Genesis and Enuma Elish creation myth comparisons

One of the two Bible creation myths was probably derived from the much older Mesopotamian creation myth "Enuma Elish".

The six days of creation in the Genesis myth parallel the six generations of gods in the Enuma Elish myth in type of god in Enuma Elish that is created (i.e. god of the earth) to what is created or happens on the corresponding day in Genesis (i.e. the waters are gathered together to expose dry land).

Marduk the sixth generation god makes man as a slave so the other gods can rest.

God (Elohim) makes man on the sixth day and he himself

The Enuma Elish six generations of gods:

- 1. Tiamat and Apsu (Irst generation) who created
- 2. Lahamu (2nd generation) who created 3. Kishar (3rd generation) who created
- 4. Anu (4rth generation) who created 5. Ea (5th generation) who created
- 6. Marduk (6th generation).

Similarities between Enuma Elish (*) and Genesis (**)

• 1st generation of gods and 1st day of Genesis creation: (From start of Enuma Elish)

When on high the heaven had not been named, Firm ground below had not been called by name, Naught but primordial Apsu, their begetter, And Mummu-Tiamat, she who bore them all, Their waters commingling as a single body; Apsu is the god of water: Tiamat (Tehowm in the Bible) is the god of primeval chaos and bearer of the sky and the earth.

- • (Gen 1:1-2 KJV) In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep (or watery chaos). And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters. (Gen 1:5 KJV) ... And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day.
- 2nd and 3rd generation of gods and 2nd and 3rd day of Genesis creation: ... Lahmu and Lahamu were brought forth, by name they were called. ... Anshar and Kishar were formed, surpassing the others. ... (Lahamu was the god of muddy silt and Kishar was the god of the Earth)
- •• (Gen 1:6-7 KJV) And God said, "Let there be a dome in the midst of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters " (Here God (Elohim) slices the waters into two with a sky dome to make the sky and the oceans, in Enuma Elish this also parallels Marduk slicing Tiamat into two to make the land and sky.) (Gen 1:8 KJV) ...evening and there was morning, the second day. (Gen 1:9-10 NRSV) And God said, "Let the waters under the sky be gathered together into one

place, and let the dry land appear." And it was so. God called the dry land Earth, and the waters that were gathered together he called Seas. ... (Gen 1:13 KJV) ...evening and there was morning, the third day.

- 4th generation of gods and 4rth day of Genesis creation: Anu was their heir... (Anu was the god of the sky) ...
 •• (Gen 1:16 KJV) God made the two great lights--the
- greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night-- and the stars. ... (and set them in the sky dome); (Gen 1:19 KJV) ... evening and there was morning, the fourth day.
- 5th generation of gods and 5th day of Genesis creation: He who begot him (Marduk) was Ea, (Ea was the god of all things of the Earth and also of cantations, when he speaks things are made (God (Elohim) makes things by speaking))
- • (Gen 1:21 KJV) So God created the great sea monsters and every living creature that moves, of every kind, with which the waters swarm, and every winged bird of every kind. And God saw that it was good. ... (Gen 1:23 KJV) evening and there was morning, the fifth day.
- 6th generation of gods and 6th day of Genesis creation: In the heart of holy Apsu was Marduk created. He who begot him was Ea, his father; (Marduk became king of the Gods and creator of man) "Blood I will mass and cause bones to be. I will establish a savage, 'man' shall be his name. truly, savageman I will create. He shall be charged with the service of the gods That they might be at ease! (Parallel this with God (Elohim) resting after creating man)
- • (Gen 1:26 KJV) Then God said, "Let us make humankind in our image, (Gen 1:31 KJV) ...evening and there was morning, the sixth day. (Gen 2:2 KJV) And on the seventh day God finished the work that he had done, and he rested on the seventh day from all the work that he had done.
- So Marduk made man a slave so the gods could rest.
- · · After God (Elohim) makes man he rests on the seventh

ENUMA ELISH, VERSION A Translation: Leonard William King, 1902.

ENUMA ELISH A TABLET 1

When in the height heaven was not named. And the earth beneath did not yet bear a name, And the primeval Apsu, who begat them, And chaos, Tiamut, the mother of them both Their waters were mingled together, And no field was formed, no marsh was to be seen; When of the gods none had been called into being, And none bore a name, and no destinies were ordained. Then were created the gods in the midst of heaven, Lahmu and Lahamu were called into being...

Ages increased, . . . Then Ansar and Kisar were created, and over them Long were the days, then there came forth Anu, their son, . . . Ansar and Anu . . . And the god Anu . . . Nudimmud, whom his fathers, his begetters . . . Abounding in all wisdom, . . . ' He was exceeding strong . . . He had no rival - Thus were established and were . . . the great gods. But Tiamat and Apsu were still in confusion . . . They were troubled and . . . In disorder . . . Apru was not diminished in might . . . And Tiamat roared . . . She smote, and their deeds . . . Their way was evil . . . Then Apsu, the begetter of the great gods, Cried unto Mummu, his minister, and said unto him: "O Mummu, thou minister that rejoicest my spirit, Come, unto Tiamut let us go! So they went and before Tiamat they lay down, They consulted on a plan with regard to the gods, their sons. Apsu opened his mouth and spake, And unto Tiamut, the glistening one, he addressed the word: . . . their way . . . By day I can not rest, by night I can not lie down in peace. But I will destroy their way, I will . .

Let there be lamentation, and let us lie down again in peace." When Tiamat heard these words, She raged and cried aloud . . . She . . . grievously . . . , She uttered a curse, and unto Apsu she spake: "What then shall we do? Let their way be made difficult, and let us lie down again in peace." Mummu answered, and gave counsel unto Apsu, . . . and hostile to the gods was the counsel Mummu gave: Come, their way is strong, but thou shalt destroy it; Then by day shalt thou have rest, by night shalt thou lie down in peace." Apsu harkened unto him and his countenance grew bright, Since he (Mummu) planned evil against the gods his sons. . . . he was afraid . . ., His knees became weak; they gave way beneath him, Because of the evil which their first-born had planned. . . . their . . . they altered. . . . they . . ., Lamentation they sat in sorrow Then Ea, who knoweth all that is, went up and he beheld their muttering.

[about 30 lines unreadable]

... he spake: ... thy ... he hath conquered and ... he weepeth and sitteth in tribulation. . . . of fear, . . . we shall not lie down in peace. . . . Apsu is laid waste, . . . and Mummu, who were taken captive, in thou didst let us lie down in peace. . . . they will smite let us lie down in peace. . . . thou shalt take vengeance for them, . . . unto the tempest shalt thou ...!" And Tiamat harkened unto the word of the bright god, and said: . . . shalt thou entrust! let us wage war!" ... the gods in the midst of for the gods did she create. They banded themselves together and at the side of

Tiamat they advanced; They were furious; they devised mischief without resting night and day.

They prepared for battle, fuming and raging; They joined their forces and made war, Ummu-Hubur [Tiamat] who formed all things, Made in addition weapons invincible; she spawned monster-serpents, Sharp of tooth, and merciless of fang; With poison, instead of blood, she filled their bodies. Fierce monster-vipers she clothed with terror, With splendour she decked them, she made them of lofty stature. Whoever beheld them, terror overcame him, Their bodies reared up and none could withstand their attack. She set up vipers and dragons, and the monster Lahamu, And hurricanes, and raging hounds, and scorpion-men, And mighty tempests, and fish-men, and rams; They bore cruel weapons, without fear of the fight. Her commands were mighty, none could resist them; After this fashion, huge of stature, she made eleven [kinds of] monsters.

Among the gods who were her sons, inasmuch as he had given her support, She exalted Kingu; in their midst she raised him to power. To march before the forces, to lead the host, To give the battle-signal, to advance to the attack, To direct the battle, to control the fight, Unto him she entrusted; in costly raiment she made him sit, saying: I have uttered thy spell, in the assembly of the gods I have raised thee to power. The dominion over all the gods have I entrusted unto him. Be thou exalted, thou my chosen spouse, May they magnify thy name over all of them the Anunnaki." She gave him the Tablets of Destiny, on his breast she laid them, saying: Thy command shall not be without avail, and the word of thy mouth shall be established." Now Kingu, thus exalted, having received the power of Anu, Decreed the fate among the gods his sons, saying: "Let the opening of your mouth quench the Fire-god; Whoso is exalted in the battle, let him display his might!"

ENUMA ELISH A TABLET 2

Tiamat made weighty her handiwork, Evil she wrought against the gods her children. To avenge Apsu, Tiamat planned evil, But how she had collected her forces, the god unto Ea divulged. Ea harkened to this thing, and He was grievously afflicted and he sat in sorrow. The days went by, and his anger was appeased, And to the place of Ansar his father he took his way. He went and, standing before Ansar, the father who begat him, All that Tiamat had plotted he repeated unto him, Saying, "Tiamat our mother hath conceived a hatred for us, With all her force she rageth, full of wrath. All the gods have turned to her, With those, whom ye created, they go at her side. They are banded together and at the side of Tiamat they advance: They are furious, they devise mischief without resting night and day. They prepare for battle, fuming and raging; They have joined their forces and are making war. Ummu-Hubur, who formed all things, Hath made in addition weapons invincible; she hath spawned monster-serpents, Sharp of tooth, and merciless of fang. With poison, instead of blood, she hath filled their bodies. Fierce monster-vipers she hath clothed with terror. With splendour she hath decked them; she hath made them of lofty stature. Whoever beholdeth them is overcome by terror, Their bodies rear up and none can withstand their attack. She hath set up vipers, and dragons, and the monster Lahamu, And hurricanes and raging hounds, and scorpion-men, And mighty tempests, and fish-men and rams; They bear cruel weapons, without fear of the fight. Her commands are mighty: none can resist them; After this fashion, huge of stature, hath she made eleven monsters.

Among the gods who are her sons, inasmuch as he hath given her support, She hath exalted Kingu; in their midst she hath raised him to power. To march before the forces, to lead the host, To give the battle-signal, to advance to the attack. To direct the battle, to control the fight, Unto him hath she entrusted; in costly raiment she hath made him sit, saying: I have uttered thy spell; in the assembly of the gods I have raised thee to power, The dominion over all the gods have I entrusted unto thee. Be thou exalted, thou my chosen spouse, May they magnify thy name over all of them She hath given him the Tablets of Destiny, on his breast she laid them, saving 'Thy command shall not be without avail, and the word of thy mouth shall be established.' Now Kingu, thus exalted, having received the power of Anu, Decreed the fate for the gods, her sons, saying: 'Let the opening of your mouth quench the Firegod; Whoso is exalted in the battle, let him display his might!" When Ansar heard how Tiamat was mightily in revolt, he bit his lips, his mind was not at peace, . . ., he made a bitter lamentation: . . . battle, . . . thou . . . Mummu and Apsu thou hast smitten But Tiamat hath exalted Kingu, and where is one who can oppose her? . . . deliberation . . . the . . . of the gods, -Nudimmud.

[A gap of about 12 lines occurs here.]

Ansar unto his son addressed the word: "... my mighty hero, Whose strength is great and whose onslaught can not be withstood, Go and stand before Tiamat, That her spirit may be appeased, that her heart may be merciful. But if she will not harken unto thy word, Our word shalt thou speak unto her, that she may be pacified." He heard the word of his father Ansar And he directed his path to her, toward her he took the

way. Ann drew nigh, he beheld the muttering of Tiamat, But he could not withstand her, and he turned back.... Ansar... he spake unto him:

[A gap of over 20 lines occurs here.]

... an avenger.... valiant ... in the place of his decision ... he spake unto him: ... thy father "Thou art my son, who maketh merciful his heart... to the battle shall thou draw nigh, he that shall behold thee shall have peace." And the lord rejoiced at the word of his father, And he drew nigh and stood before Ansar. Ansar beheld him and his heart was filled with joy, He kissed him on the lips and his fear departed from him. "O my father, let not the word of thy lips be overcome, Let me go, that I may accomplish all that is in thy heart. O Ansar, let not the word of thy lips be overcome, Let me go, that I may accomplish all that is in thy heart." What man is it, who hath brought thee forth to battle? ... Tiamat, who is a woman, is armed and attacketh thee. ... rejoice and be glad; The neck of Tiamat shalt thou swiftly trample under foot. ... rejoice and be glad; The neck of Tiamat shalt thou swiftly trample under foot. O my son, who knoweth all wisdom

Pacify Tiamat with thy pure incantation. Speedily set out upon thy way, For thy blood shall not be poured out; thou shalt return again." The lord rejoiced at the word of his father, His heart exulted, and unto his father he spake:

"O Lord of the gods, Destiny of the great gods, If I, your avenger, Conquer Tiamat and give you life, Appoint an assembly, make my fate preeminent and proclaim it. In Upsukkinaku seat yourself joyfully together, With my word in place of you will I decree fate. May whatsoever I do remain unaltered, May the word of my lips never be chanced nor made of no avail."

ENUMA ELISH A TABLET 3

Ansar opened his mouth, and Unto Gaga, his minister, spake the word. "O Gaga, thou minister that rejoicest my spirit, Unto Lahmu and Lahamu will I send thee. . canst attain, . . . thou shalt cause to be brought before thee. . . . let the gods, all of them, Make ready for a feast, at a banquet let them sit, Let them eat bread, let them mix wine, That for Marduk, their avenger they may decree the fate. Go, Gaga, stand before them, And all that I tell thee, repeat unto them, and say: 'Ansar, vour son, hath sent me, The purpose of his heart he hath made known unto me. The purpose of his heart he hath made known unto me. He saith that Tiamat our mother hath conceived a hatred for us, With all her force she rageth, full of wrath. All the gods have turned to her, With those, whom ve created, they go at her side. They are banded together, and at the side of Tiamat they advance: They are furious, they devise mischief without resting night and day.

They prepare for battle, fuming and raging; They have joined their forces and are making war. Ummu-Hubur, who formed all things, Hath made in addition weapons invincible; she hath spawned monster-serpents, Sharp of tooth and merciless of fang. With poison, instead of blood, she hath filled their bodies. Fierce monster-vipers she hath clothed with terror, With splendour she hath decked them; she hath made them of lofty stature. Whoever beboldeth them, terror overcometh him, Their bodies rear up and none can withstand their attack. She hath set up vipers, and dragons, and the monster Lahamu, And hurricanes, and raging bounds, and scorpion-men, And mighty tempests, and fish-men, and rams: They bear merciless weapons, without fear of the fight. Her commands are miahty; none can. resist them; After this fashion, huge of stature, hath she made eleven monsters. Among the gods who are her sons, inasmuch as he hath given her support. She hath exalted Kingu: in their midst she hath raised him to power. To march before the forces, to lead the host, To give the battle-signal, to advance to the attack. To direct the battle, to control the fight, Unto him hath she entrusted; in costly raiment she hath made him sit, saying: I have uttered thy spell; in the assembly of the gods I have raised thee to power, The dominion over all the gods have I entrusted unto thee. Be thou exalted, thou my chosen spouse, May they magnify thy name over all of them ... the Anunnaki." She hath given him the Tablets of Destiny, on his breast she laid them, saying: Thy command shall not be without avail, and the word of thy mouth shall be established." Now Kingu, thus exalted, having received the power of Anu, Decreed the fate for the gods, her sons, saving: Let the opening of your mouth quench the Fire-god; Whoso is exalted in the battle, let him display his might!" I sent Anu, but he could not withstand her; Nudimmud was afraid and turned back.

But Marduk hath set out, the director of the gods, your son; To set out against Tiamat his heart hath prompted him. He opened his mouth and spake unto me, saying: "If I, your avenger, Conquer Tiamat and give you life, Appoint an assembly, make my fate preeminent and proclaim it. In Upsukkinaku seat yourself joyfully together; With my word in place of you will I decree fate. May whatsoever I do remain unaltered, May the word of my lips never be changed nor made of no avail."" Hasten, therefore, and swiftly decree for

him the fate which you bestow, That he may go and fight your strong enemy.

Gaga went, he took his way and Humbly before Lahmu and Lahamu, the gods, his fathers, He made obeisance, and he kissed the ground at their feet. He humbled himself; then he stood up and spake unto them saying: "Ansar, your son, hath sent me, The purpose of his heart he hath made known unto me. He saith that Tiamat our mother hath conceived a hatred for us. With all her force she rageth, full of wrath. All the gods have turned to her, With those, whom ye created, they go at her side. They are banded together and at the side of Tiamat they advance; They are furious, they devise mischief without resting night and day. They prepare for battle, fuming and raging; They have joined their forces and are making war. Ummu-Hubur, who formed all things, Hath made in addition weapons invincible; she hath spawned monster-serpents, Sharp of tooth and merciless of fang. With poison, instead of blood, she hath filled their bodies. Fierce monster-vipers she hath clothed with terror, With splendour she hath decked them, she hath made them of lofty stature. Whoever beboldeth them, terror overcometh him. Their bodies rear up and none can withstand their attack. She hath set up vipers, and dragons, and the monster Lahamu, And hurricanes, and raging hounds, and scorpion-men, And mighty tempests, and fish-men, and rams; They bear merciless weapons, without fear of the fight.

Her commands are mighty; none can resist them; After this fashion, huge of stature, hath she made eleven monsters. Among the gods who are her sons, inasmuch as he hath given her support, She hath exalted Kingu; in their midst she hath raised him to power. To march before the forces, to lead the host, To give the battle-signal, to advance to the attack, To direct the battle, to control the fight, Unto him hath she entrusted; in costly raiment she hath made him sit, saving: I have uttered thy spell; in the assembly of the gods I have raised thee to power, The dominion over all the gods have I entrusted unto thee. Be thou exalted, thou my chosen spouse, May they magnify thy name over all of them...the Anunnaki. She hath given him the Tablets of Destiny on his breast she laid them, saving: Thy command shall not be without avail, and the word of thy mouth shall be established.' Now Kingu. thus exalted, having received the power of Anu, Decreed the fate for the gods, her sons, saying: 'Let the opening of your mouth quench the Fire-god; Whoso is exalted in the battle, let him display his might!' I sent Anu, but he could not withstand her; Nudimmud was afraid and turned back.

But Marduk hath set out, the director of the gods, your son; To set out against Tiamat his heart hath prompted him. He opened his mouth and spake unto me, saying: 'If I, your avenger, Conquer Tiamat and give you life, Appoint an assembly, make my fate preeminent and proclaim it. In Upsukkinaku seat yourselves joyfully together; With my word in place of you will I decree fate. May, whatsoever I do remain unaltered, May the word of my lips never be changed nor made of no avail.' Hasten, therefore, and swiftly decree for him the fate which you bestow, That he may go and fight your strong enemy! Lahmu and Lahamu heard and cried aloud All of the Igigi [The elder gods] wailed bitterly, saying: What has been altered so that they should We do not understand the deed of Tiamat!

Then did they collect and go, The great gods, all of them, who decree fate. They entered in before Ansar, they filled. . . They kissed one another, in the assembly . . . ; They made ready for the feast, at the banquet they sat; They ate bread, they mixed sesame-wine. The sweet drink, the mead, confused their . . . They were drunk with drinking, their bodies were filled. They were wholly at ease, their spirit was exalted; Then for Marduk, their avenger, did they decree the fate.

ENUMA ELISH A TABLET 4

They prepared for him a lordly chamber, Before his fathers as prince he took his place. "Thou art chiefest among the great gods, Thy fate is unequaled, thy word is Anu! O Marduk, thou art chiefest among the great gods, Thy fate is unequaled, thy word is Anu! Henceforth not without avail shall be thy command, In thy power shall it be to exalt and to abase. Established shall be the word of thy mouth, irresistible shall be thy command, None among the gods shall transgress thy boundary. Abundance, the desire of the shrines of the gods, Shall be established in thy sanctuary, even though they lack offerings. O Marduk, thou art our avenger! We give thee sovereignty over the whole world. Sit thou down in might; be exalted in thy command. Thy weapon shall never lose its power; it shall crush thy foe. O Lord, spare the life of him that putteth his trust in thee, But as for the god who began the rebellion, pour out his life."

Then set they in their midst a garment, And unto Marduk,their first-born they spake: "May thy fate, O lord, be supreme among the gods, To destroy and to create; speak thou the word, and thy command shall be fulfilled. Command now and let the garment vanish; And speak the word again and let the garment reappear!

Then he spake with his mouth, and the garment vanished; Again he commanded it, and. the garment reappeared. When

the gods, his fathers, beheld the fulfillment of his word, They rejoiced, and they did homage unto him, saying, " Marduk is They bestowed upon him the scepter, and the throne, and the ring, They give him an invincible weapony which overwhelmeth the foe. Go, and cut off the life of Tiamat, And let the wind carry her blood into secret places." After the gods his fathers had decreed for the lord his fate. They caused him to set out on a path of prosperity and success. He made ready the bow, he chose his weapon. He slung a spear upon him and fastened it . . . He raised the club, in his right hand he grasped it, The bow and the quiver he hung at his side. He set the lightning in front of him, With burning flame he filled his body. He made a net to enclose the inward parts of Tiamat, The four winds he stationed so that nothing of her might escape: The South wind and the North wind and the East wind and the West wind He brought near to the net, the gift of his father Anu. He created the evil wind, and the tempest, and the hurricane, And the fourfold wind, and the sevenfold wind, and the whirlwind, and the wind which had no equal; He sent forth the winds which he had created, the seven of them; To disturb the inward parts of Tiamat, they followed after him.

Then the lord raised the thunderbolt, his mighty weapon, He mounted the chariot, the storm unequaled for terror, He harnessed and yoked unto it four horses, Destructive, ferocious, overwhelming, and swift of pace; . . were their teeth, they were flecked with foam; They were skilled in . . ., they had been trained to trample underfoot. . . mighty in battle, Left and right . . . His garment was . . . , he was clothed with terror, With overpowering brightness his head was crowned. Then he set out, he took his way, And toward the raging Tiamat he set his face. On his lips he held . . , . . . he grasped in his hand.

Then they beheld him, the gods beheld him, The gods his fathers beheld him, the gods beheld him. And the lord drew nigh, he gazed upon the inward parts of Tiamat, He perceived the muttering of Kingu, her spouse. As Marduk gazed, Kingu was troubled in his gait, His will was destroyed and his motions ceased. And the gods, his helpers, who marched by his side, Beheld their leader's . . . , and their sight was troubled. But Tiamat . . . , she turned not her neck, With lips that failed not she uttered rebellious words: ". . . thy coming as lord of the gods, From their places have they gathered, in thy place are they! "

Then the lord raised the thunderbolt, his mighty weapon And against Tiamat, who was raging, thus he sent the word: Thou art become great, thou hast exalted thyself on high, And thy heart hath prompted thee to call to battle. . fathers . . . , . . . their . . . thou hatest . . . Thou hast exalted Kingu to be thy spouse, Thou hast . . . him, that, even as Anu, he should issue deerees. thou hast followed after evil, And against the gods my fathers thou hast contrived thy wicked plan. Let then thy host be equipped, let thy weapons be girded on! Stand! I and thou, let us join battle! When Tiamat heard these words. She was like one posessed, she lost her reason. Tiamat uttered wild, piercing cries, She trembled and shook to her very foundations. She recited an incantation, she pronounced her spell, And the gods of the battle cried out for their weapons. Then advanced Tiamat and Marduk, the counselor of the gods; To the fight they came on, to the battle they drew nigh.

The lord spread out his net and caught her, And the evil wind that was behind him he let loose in her face. As Tiamat opened her mouth to its full extent, He drove in the evil wind, while as yet she had not shut her lips. The terrible winds filled her belly, And her courage was taken from her, and her mouth she opened wide. He seized the spear and burst her belly, He severed her inward parts, he pierced her heart. He overcame her and cut off her life; He cast down her body and stood upon it. When he had slain Tiamat, the leader, Her might was broken, her host was scattered.

And the gods her helpers, who marched by her side, Trembled, and were afraid, and turned back. They took to flight to save their lives; But they were surrounded, so that they could not escape. He took them captive, he broke their weapons; In the net they were caught and in the snare they sat down. The . . . of the world they filled with cries of grief. They received punishment from him, they were held in bondage. And on the eleven creatures which she had filled with the power of striking terror, Upon the troop of devils, who marched at her . . . , He brought affliction, their strength he . . .; Them and their opposition he trampled under his feet. Moreover, Kingu, who had been exalted over them, He conquered, and with the god Dug-ga he counted him. He took from him the Tablets of Destiny that were not rightly his, He sealed them with a seal and in his own breast he laid them.

Now after the hero Marduk had conquered and cast down his enemies, And had made the arrogant foe even like And had fully established Ansar's triumph over the enemy And had attained the purpose of Nudimmud, Over the captive gods he strengthened his durance, And unto Tiamat, whom he had conquered, he returned. And the lord stood upon Tiamat's hinder parts, And with his merciless club he smashed her skull. He cut through the channels of her blood, And he made the

North wind bear it away into secret places. His fathers beheld, and they rejoiced and were glad; Presents and gifts they brought unto him. Then the lord rested, gazing upon her dead body.

While he divided the flesh of the . . . , and devised a cunning plan. He split her up like a flat fish into two halves; One half of her he stablished as a covering for heaven. He fixed a bolt, he stationed a watchman, And bade them not to let her waters come forth. He passed through the heavens, he surveyed the regions thereof, And over against the Deep he set the dwelling of Nudimmud. And the lord measured the structure of the Deep, And he founded E-sara, a mansion like unto it. The mansion E-sara which he created as heaven, He caused Anu, Bel, and Ea in their districts to inhabit.

ENUMA ELISH A TABLET 5

He (Marduk) made the stations for the great gods; The stars, their images, as the stars of the Zodiac, he fixed. He ordained the year and into sections he divided it; For the twelve months he fixed three stars. After he had ... the days of the year ... images, He founded the station of Nibir [the planet Jupiter] to determine their bounds: That none might err or go astray. He set the station of Bel and Ea along with him. He opened great gates on both sides, He made strong the bolt on the left and on the right. In the midst thereof he fixed the zenith; The Moon-god he caused to shine forth, the night he entrusted to him. He appointed him, a being of the night, to determine the days; Every month without ceasing with the crown he covered him, saying: "At the beginning of the month, when thou shinest upon the land, Thou commandest the horns to determine six days, And on the seventh day to divide the crown. On the fourteenth day thou shalt stand opposite, the . When the Sun-god on the foundation of heaven . . . thee, The . . . thou shalt cause to . . ., and thou shalt make his unto the path of the Sun-god shalt thou cause to draw nigh, And on the . . . day thou shalt stand opposite, and the Sun-god shall . . . to traverse her way. . . thou shalt cause to draw nigh, and thou shalt judge the right. . . to

[Nearly 50 lines are here lost.]

The gods, his fathers, beheld the net which he had made, They beheld the bow and how its work was accomplished. They praised the work which he had done . . . Then Anu raised the . . . in the assembly of the gods. He kissed the bow, saving, "It is . . .!" And thus he named the names of the bow, saving, "'Long-wood' shall be one name, and the second name shall be . . . , And its third name shall be the Bow-star, in heaven shall it . . . !" Then he fixed a station for it . . . Now after the fate of . . . He set a throne . . . in heaven . . .

[The remainder of this tablet is missing.]

ENUMA ELISH A TABLET 6

When Marduk heard the word of the gods, His heart prompted him and he devised a cunning plan. He opened his mouth and unto Ea he spake That which he had conceived in his heart he imparted unto him: "My blood will I take and bone will I fashion I will make man, that man may I will create man who shall inhabit the earth, That the service of the gods may be established, and that their shrines may be built. But I will alter the ways of the gods, and I will change their paths; Together shall they be oppressed and unto evil shall they . . . And Ea answered him and spake the word: ". . . the . . . of the gods I have changed . . and one . . . shall be destroyed and men will I . . and the gods . . and they . . "

[The rest of the text is wanting with the exception of the last few lines of the tablet, which read as follows:] They rejoiced... In Upsukkinnaku they set their dwelling. Of the heroic son, their avenger, they cried: "We, whom he succored...!" They seated themselves and in the assembly they named him..., They all cried aloud, they exalted him...

ENUMA ELISH A TABLET 7

O Asari, [Marduk] "Bestower of planting," "Founder of sowing" "Creator of grain and plants," "who caused the green herb to spring up!" O Asaru-alim, [Mardk] "who is revered in the house of counsel," "who aboundeth in counsel," The gods paid homage, fear took hold upon them! O Asaru-alim-nuna, [Marduk] "the mighty one," "the Light of the father who begat him," "Who directeth the decrees of Anu Bel, and Ea!" He was their patron, be ordained their . . .; He, whose provision is abundance, goeth forth . . . Tutu [Marduk] is "He who created them anew"; Should their wants be pure, then are they satisfied; Should he make an incantation, then are the gods appeased; Should they attack him in anger, he withstandeth their onslaught! Let him therefore be exalted, and in the assembly of the gods let him . . .; None among the gods can rival him! Tutu [Marduk] is Zi-ukkina, "the Life of the host of the gods," Who established for the gods the bright heavens. He set them on their way, and ordained their path: Never shall his . . . deeds be forgotten among men. Tutu as Ziazag thirdly they named, "the Bringer of Purification," "The God of the Favouring Breeze," "the Lord of Hearing and Mercy," "The Creator of Fulness and Abundance," Founder of Plenteousness," "Who increaseth all that is small." In sore distress we felt his favouring breeze," Let them say, let them pay reverence, let them bow in humility before him! Tutu as Aga-azag may mankind fourthly magnify! "The Lord of the Pure Incantation," " the Quickener of the Dead," "Who had mercy upon the captive gods," "Who removed the yoke from upon the gods his enemies," "For their forgiveness did he create mankind," "The Merciful One, with whom it is to bestow life!" May his deeds endure, may they never be forgotten. In the mouth of mankind whom his hands have made! Tutu as Mu-azag, fifthly, his "Pure incantation" may their mouth proclaim, Who through his Pure Incantation hath destroyed all the evil ones!" Sag-zu, [Marduk] "who knoweth the heart of the gods," " who seeth through the innermost part!" "The evil-doer he hath not caused to go forth with him!" "Founder of the assembly of the gods," who ... their heart!" "Subduer of the disobedient," "Director of Righteousness," "...," "Who rebellion and ...!"
Tutu as Zi-si, "the ...," "Who put an end to anger," "who . . .!" Tutu as Suh-kur, thirdly, "the Destroyer of the foe," "Who put their plans to confusion," "Who destroyed all foe," '...," ... let them ...! [There is a gap here of the wicked sixty lines.

But somewhere among the lost lines belong the following fragments.] . . who . . . He named the four quarters of the world, mankind hecreated, And upon him understanding . . . "The mighty one . .!" Agil . . . "The Creator of the earth . .!" Zulummu . . "The Giver of counsel and of whatsoever . .!" Mummu, "the Creator of . .!" Mulil, the heavens . . , "Who for . .!" Giskul, let . . , "Who brought the gods to naught . .!" . . . " the Chief of all lords," . . . supreme is his might! Lugal-durmah, "the King of the band of the gods," "the Lord of rulers." "Who is exalted in a royal habitation," "Who among the gods is gloriously supreme! Adu-nuna, " the Counselor of Ea," who created the gods his fathers, Unto the path of whose majesty, No god can ever attain! . . in Dul-azag be made it known, . . . pure is his dwelling! . . . the... of those without understanding is Lugaldul-azaga! . . . supreme is his might! . . . their... in the midst of Tiamat, . . . of the battle!

[Here follows the better-preserved ending.]

. the star, which shineth in the heavens. May be hold the Beginning and the Future, may they pay homage unto him, Saying, "He who forced his way through the midst of Tiamat without resting, Let his name be Nibiru, 'the Seizer of the Midst'! For the stars of heaven he upheld the paths, He shepherded all the gods like sheep! He conquered Tiamat, he troubled and ended her life," In the future of mankind, when the days grow old. May this be heard without ceasing; may it hold sway forever! Since he created the realm of heaven and fashioned the firm earth, The Lord of the World," the father Bel hath called his name. This title, which all the Spirits of Heaven proclaimed, Did Ea hear, and his spirit was rejoiced, and he said: "He whose name his fathers have made glorious, Shall be even as I, his name shall be Ea! The binding of all my decrees shall he control, All my commands shall he make known!" By the name of "Fifty" did the great gods Proclaim his fifty names, they, made his path preeminent.

EPILOGUE

Let them [i.e. the names of Marduk] be held in remembrances and let the first man proclaim them; Let the wise and the understanding consider them together! Let the father repeat them and teach them to his son; Let them be in the ears of the pastor and the shepherd! Let a man rejoice in Marduk, the Lord of the gods, That be may cause his land to be fruitful, and that he himself may have prosperity! His word standeth fast, his command is unaltered; The utterance of his mouth hath no god ever annulled. He gazed in his anger, he turned not his neck; When he is wroth, no god can withstand his indignation. Wide is his heart, broad is his compassion; The sinner and evil-doer in his presence . . . They received instruction, they spake before him, . . . unto . . . of Marduk may the gods . . . ; . . May they . . his name . . ! . . . they took and!

END OF THE CREATION EPIC THE FIGHT WITH TIAMAT (ANOTHER VERSION)

[Note: Strictly speaking, the text is not a creation-legend, though it gives a variant form of the principal incident in the history of the creation according to the Enuma Elish. Here the fight with the dragon did not precede the creation of the world, but took place after men had been created and cities had been built.]

The cities sighed, men . . . Men uttered lamentation, they . . . For their lamentation there was none to help, For their grief there was none to take them by the hand. "Who was the dragon . . .? Tiamat was the dragon . . . Bel in heaven hath formed . . . Fifty kaspu [A kaspu is the space that can be covered in two hours travel, i.e. six or seven miles] in his length, one kaspu in his height, Six cubits is his mouth, twelve cubits his . . ., Twelve cubits is the circuit of his ears . . .; For the space of sixty cubits he . . . a bird; In water nine cubits

deep he draggeth . . . " He raiseth his tail on high . . .; All the gods of heaven . . . In heaven the gods bowed themselves down before the Moon-god . . .; The border of the Moon-god's robe they hastily grasped: "Who will go and slay the dragon," And deliver the broad land from . . . And become king over . . .? "Go, Tishu, slay the dragon, And deliver the broad land from . . . , And become king over . . .!" Thou hast sent me, O Lord, to... the raging creatures of the river, But I know not the . . . of the Dragon! [The rest of the Obverse and the upper part of the Reverse of the tablet are wanting.]

REVERSE

"Stir up cloud, and storm and tempest! The seal of thy life shalt thou set before thy face, Thou shalt grasp it, and thou shalt slay the dragon." He set the seal of his life before his face, He grasped it, and he slew the dragon. For three years and three months, one day and one night The blood of the dragon flowed.....

ENUMA ELISH, VERSION B Translation: Wilfred George Lambert, 2005

ENUMA ELISH B TABLET 1

When the heavens above did not exist, And earth beneath had not come into being — There was Apsu, the first in order, their begetter, And demiurge Tiamat, who gave birth to them all: They had mingled their waters together Before meadowland had coalesced and reed-bed was to he found - When not one of the gods had been formed Or had come into being, when no destinies had been decreed, The gods were created within them: Lah(mu and Lah(amu were formed and came into being. While they grew and increased in stature Anshar and Kishar, who excelled them, were created. They prolonged their days, they multiplied their years. Anu, their son, could rival his fathers. Anu, the son, equalled Anshar, And Anu begat Nudimmud, his own equal. Nudimmud was the champion among his fathers: Profoundly discerning, wise, of robust strength; Very much stronger than his father's begetter, Anshar He had no rival among the gods, his brothers. The divine brothers came together, Their clamour got loud, throwing Tiamat into a turmoil. They jarred the nerves of Tiamat, And by their dancing they spread alarm in Anduruna. Apsu did not diminish their clamour, And Tiamat was silent when confronted with them. Their conduct was displeasing to her, Yet though their behaviour was not good, she wished to spare them. Thereupon Apsu, the begetter of the great gods, Called Mummu, his vizier, and addressed him, "Vizier Mummu, who gratifies my pleasure, Come, let us go to Tiamat!" They went and sat, facing Tiamat, As they conferred about the gods, their sons. Apsu opened his mouth And addressed Tiamat "Their behaviour has become displeasing to me And I cannot rest in the day-time or sleep at night. I will destroy and break up their way of life That silence may reign and we may sleep." When Tiamat heard this, She raged and cried out to her spouse, She cried in distress, fuming within herself, She grieved over the (plotted) evil, "How can we destroy what we have given birth to? Though their behaviour causes distress, let us tighten discipline graciously." Mummu spoke up with counsel for Apsu— (As from) a rebellious vizier was the counsel of his Mummu— "Destroy, my father, that lawless way of life, That you may rest in the day-time and sleep by night!" Apsu was pleased with him, his face beamed Because he had plotted evil against the gods, his sons. Mummu put his arms around Apsu's neck, He sat on his knees kissing him. What they plotted in their gathering Was reported to the gods, their sons. The gods heard it and were frantic. They were overcome with silence and sat quietly. Ea, who excels in knowledge, the skilled and learned, Ea, who knows everything, perceived their tricks. He fashioned it and made it to be all-embracing, He executed it skilfully as supreme-his pure incantation. He recited it and set it on the waters, He poured sleep upon him as he was slumbering deeply. He put Apsu to slumber as he poured out sleep, And Mummu, the counsellor, was breathless with agitation. He split (Apsu's) sinews, ripped off his crown, Carried away his aura and put it on himself. He bound Apsu and killed him; Mummu he confined and handled roughly. He set his dwelling upon Apsu, And laid hold on Mummu, keeping the nose-rope in his hand. After Ea had bound and slain his enemies, Had achieved victory over his foes. He rested quietly in his chamber, He called it Apsu, whose shrines he appointed. Then he founded his living-quarters within it, And Ea and Damkina, his wife, sat in splendour. In the chamber of the destinies, the room of the archetypes, The wisest of the wise, the sage of the gods, Be-l was conceived. In Apsu was Marduk born, In pure Apsu was Marduk born. Ea his father begat him. Damking his mother hore him. He sucked the breasts of goddesses, A nurse reared him and filled him with terror. His figure was well developed, the glance of his eyes was dazzling, His growth was manly, he was mighty from the beginning. Anu, his father's begetter, saw him, He exulted and smiled; his heart filled with joy. Anu rendered him perfect: his divinity

was remarkable, And he became very lofty, excelling them in his attributes. His members were incomprehensibly wonderful. Incapable of being grasped with the mind, hard even to look on. Four were his eyes, four his ears, Flame shot forth as he moved his lips. His four ears grew large, And his eyes likewise took in everything. His figure was lofty and superior in comparison with the gods, His limbs were surpassing, his nature was superior. 'Mari-utu, Mari-utu, The Son, the Sungod, the Sun-god of the gods.' He was clothed with the aura of the Ten Gods, so exalted was his strength, The Fifty Dreads were loaded upon him. Anu formed and gave birth to the four winds, He delivered them to him, "My son, let them whirl!" He formed dust and set a hurricane to drive it, He made a wave to bring consternation on Tiamat. Tiamat was confounded: day and night she was frantic. The gods took no rest, they In their minds they plotted evil, And addressed their mother Tiamat, "When Apsu, your spouse, was killed, You did not go at his side, but sat quietly. The four dreadful winds have been fashioned To throw you into confusion, and we cannot sleep. You gave no thought to Apsu, your spouse, Nor to Mummu, who is a prisoner. Now you sit alone. Henceforth you will be in frantic consternation! And as for us, who cannot rest, you do not love us! Consider our burden, our eyes are hollow. Break the immovable yoke that we may sleep. Make battle, avenge them! [. .] reduce to nothingness! Tiamat heard, the speech pleased her, (She said,) "Let us make demons, [as you] have advised." The gods assembled within her. They conceived [evil] against the gods their begetters. They and took the side of Tiamat, Fiercely plotting, unresting by night and day, Lusting for battle, raging, storming, They set up a host to bring about conflict. Mother H(ubur, who forms everything, Supplied irresistible weapons, and gave birth to giant serpents. They had sharp teeth, they were merciless With poison instead of blood she filled their bodies. She clothed the fearful monsters with dread, She loaded them with an aura and made them godlike. (She said,) "Let their onlooker feebly perish, May they constantly leap forward and never retire." She created the Hydra, the Dragon, the Hairy Hero The Great Demon, the Savage Dog, and the Scorpion-man, Fierce demons, the Fish-man, and the Bull-man, Carriers of merciless weapons, fearless in the face of battle. Her commands were tremendous, not to be resisted. Altogether she made eleven of that kind. Among the gods, her sons, whom she constituted her host, She exalted Qingu, and magnified him among them. The leadership of the army, the direction of the host, The bearing of weapons, campaigning, the mobilisation of conflict. The chief executive power of battle, supreme command. She entrusted to him and set him on a throne, "I have cast the spell for you and exalted you in the host of the gods, I have delivered to you the rule of all the gods. You are indeed exalted, my spouse, you are renowned, Let your commands prevail over all the Anunnaki." She gave him the Tablet of Destinies and fastened it to his breast (Saying) "Your order may not be changed; let the utterance of your mouth be firm." After Oingu was elevated and had acquired the power of Anuship, He decreed the destinies for the gods, her sons: "May the utterance of your mouths subdue the fire-god, May your poison by its accumulation put down

ENUMA ELISH B TABLET 2

Tiamat gathered together her creation And organised battle against the gods, her offspring. Henceforth Tiamat plotted evil because of Apsu It became known to Ea that she had arranged the conflict. Ea heard this matter, He lapsed into silence in his chamber and sat motionless. After he had reflected and his anger had subsided He directed his steps to Anshar his father. He entered the presence of the father of his begetter, Anshar, And related to him all of Tiamat's plotting. "My father, Tiamat our mother has conceived a hatred for us, She has established a host in her savage fury. All the gods have turned to her, Even those you (pl.) begat also take her side . and took the side of Tiamat, Fiercely plotting, unresting by night and day, Lusting for battle, raging, storming, They set up a host to bring about conflict. Mother H(ubur, who forms everything, Supplied irresistible weapons, and gave birth to giant serpents. They had sharp teeth, they were merciless. With poison instead of blood she filled their bodies. She clothed the fearful monsters with dread, She loaded them with an aura and made them godlike. (She said,) "Let their onlooker feebly perish, May they constantly leap forward and never retire." She created the Hydra, the Dragon, the Hairy Hero, The Great Demon, the Savage Dog, and the Scorpion-man, Fierce demons, the Fish-man, and the Bullman, Carriers of merciless weapons, fearless in the face of battle. Her commands were tremendous, not to be resisted. Altogether she made eleven of that kind. Among the gods, her sons whom she constituted her host. She exalted Oingu and magnified him among them. The leadership of the army, the direction of the host, The bearing of weapons, campaigning, the mobilisation of conflict, The chief executive power of battle supreme command, She entrusted to him and set him on a throne. "I have cast the spell for you and exalted you in the

host of the gods, I have delivered to you the rule of all the gods. You are indeed exalted, my spouse, you are renowned, Let your commands prevail over all the Anunnaki." She gave him the tablet of Destinies and fastened it to his breast, (Saying) "Your order may not he changed; let the utterance of your mouth be firm." After Qingu was elevated and had acquired the power of Anuship He decreed the destinies for the gods. her sons: "May the utterance of your mouths subdue the fire-god. May your poison by its accumulation put down aggression." Anshar heard; the matter was profoundly disturbing. He cried "Woe!" and bit his lip. His heart was in fury, his mind could not be calmed. Over Ea his son his cry was faltering. "My son, you who provoked the war, Take responsibility for whatever you alone have done! You set out and killed Apsu. And as for Tiamat, whom you made furious, where is her equal?" The gatherer of counsel, the learned prince, The creator of wisdom, the god Nudimmud With soothing words and calming utterance Gently answered [his] father Anshar "My father, deep mind, who decrees destiny, Who has the power to bring into being and destroy, Anshar, deep mind, who decrees destiny, Who has the power to bring into being and to destroy, I want to say something to you, calm down for me for a moment And consider that I performed a helpful deed. Before I killed Apsu Who could have seen the present situation? Before I quickly made an end of him What were the circumstances were I to destroy him?" Anshar heard, the words pleased him. His heart relaxed to speak to Ea, "My son, your deeds are fitting for a god, You are capable of a fierce, unequalled blow . . [. . .] Ea, your deeds are fitting for a god, You are capable of a fierce, unequalled blow .. [...] Go before Tiamat and appease her attack, .. [...] ... her fury with [your] incantation." He heard the speech of Anshar his father, He took the road to her, proceeded on the route to her. He went, he perceived the tricks of Tiamat, [He stopped], fell silent, and turned back. [He] entered the presence of august Anshar Penitently addressing him, "[My father], Tiamat's deeds are too much for me. I perceived her planning, and [my] incantation was not equal (to it). Her strength is mighty, she is full of dread, She is altogether very strong, none can go against her. Her very loud cry did not diminish, [I became afraid] of her cry and turned back. [My father], do not lose hope, send a second person against her. Though a woman's strength is very great, it is not equal to a man's. Disband her cohorts, break up her plans Before she lays her hands on us." Anshar cried out in intense fury, Addressing Anu his son, "Honoured son, hero, warrior, Whose strength is mighty, whose attack is irresistible Hasten and stand before Tiamat. Appease her rage that her heart may relax If she does not harken to your words. Address to her words of petition that she may be appeased." He heard the speech of Anshar his father, He took the road to her, proceeded on the route to her. Anu went, he perceived the tricks of Tiamat, He stopped, fell silent, and turned back. He entered the presence of Anshar the father who begat him, Penitently addressing him. "My father, Tiamat's [deeds] are too much for me. I perceived her planning, but my [incantation] was not [equal] (to it). Her strength is mighty, she is [full] of dread, She is altogether very strong, no one [can go against her]. Her very loud noise does not diminish, I became afraid of her cry and turned back. My father, do not lose hope, send another person against her. Though a woman's strength is very great, it is not equal to a man's. Disband her cohorts, break up her plans, Before she lays her hands on us." Anshar lapsed into silence, staring at the ground, He nodded to Ea, shaking his head. The Igigi and all the Anunnaki had assembled, They sat in tight-lipped silence. No god would go to face . . [. .] Would go out against Tiamat [. .] Yet the lord Anshar, the father of the great gods, Was angry in his heart, and did not summon any one. A mighty son, the avenger of his father, He who hastens to war, the warrior Marduk Ea summoned (him) to his private chamber To explain to him his plans. "Marduk, give counsel, listen to your father. You are my son, who gives me pleasure, Go reverently before Anshar, Speak, take your stand, appease him with your glance." Be-l rejoiced at his father's words, He drew near and stood in the presence of Anshar. Anshar saw him, his heart filled with satisfaction, He kissed his lips and removed his fear. "My [father] do not hold your peace, but speak forth, I will go and fulfil your desires! [Anshar,] do not hold your peace, but speak forth, I will go and fulfil your desires! Which man has drawn up his battle array against you? And will Tiamat, who is a woman, attack you with (her) weapons? ["My father], begetter, rejoice and be glad, Soon you will tread on the neck of Tiamat! [Anshar], begetter, rejoice and be glad, Soon you will tread on the neck of Tiamat! ["Go,] my son, conversant with all knowledge, Appease Tiamat with your pure spell. Drive the storm chariot without delay, And with a [. .] which cannot be repelled turn her back." Be-l rejoiced at his father's words, With glad heart he addressed his father, "Lord of the gods, Destiny of the great gods, If I should become your avenger, If I should bind Tiamat and preserve you, Convene an assembly and proclaim for me an exalted destiny. Sit, all of you, in Upshukkinakku

with gladness, And let me, with my utterance, decree destinies

instead of you. Whatever I instigate must not be changed, Nor may my command be nullified or altered.'

ENUMA ELISH B TABLET 3

Anshar opened his mouth And addressed Kaka, his vizier, "Vizier Kaka, who gratifies my pleasure, I will send you to Lah(mu and Lah(amu. You are skilled in making inquiry, learned in address. Have the gods, my fathers, brought to my presence. Let all the gods be brought, Let them confer as they sit at table. Let them eat grain, let them drink ale, Let them decree the destiny for Marduk their avenger. Go, be gone, Kaka, stand before them, And repeat to them all that I tell you: "Anshar, your son, has sent me, And I am to explain his plans. (.) I sent Anu, but he could not face her. Nudimmud took fright and retired. Marduk, the sage of the gods, your son, has come forward, He has determined to meet Tiamat. He has spoken to me and said, (.) Quickly, now, decree your destiny for him without delay, That he may go and face your powerful enemy." Kaka went. He directed his steps To Lah(mu and Lah(amu, the gods his fathers. He prostrated himself, he kissed the ground before them, He got up, saying to them he stood, (.) When Lah(h(a and Lah(amu heard, they cried aloud. All the Igigi moaned in distress, "What has gone wrong that she took this decision about us? We did not know what Tiamat was doing." All the great gods who decree destinies Gathered as they went, They entered the presence of Anshar and became filled with [joy] They kissed one another as they . [. .] in the assembly. They conferred as they sat at table, They are grain, they drank ale. They strained the sweet liquor through their straws, As they drank beer and felt good, They became quite carefree, their mood was merry, And they decreed the fate for Marduk, their

ENUMA ELISH B TABLET 4

They set a lordly dais for him And he took his seat before his fathers to receive kingship. (They said,) "You are the most honoured among the great gods, Your destiny is unequalled, your command is like Anu's. Marduk, you are the most honoured among the great gods, Your destiny is unequalled, your command is like Anu's. Henceforth your order will not be annulled. It is in your power to exalt and abase. Your utterance is sure, your command cannot be rebelled against, None of the gods will transgress the line you draw. Shrines for all the gods needs provisioning, That you may be established where their sanctuaries are. You are Marduk, our avenger, We have given you kingship over the sum of the whole universe. Take your seat in the assembly, let your word be exalted, Let your weapons not miss the mark, but may they slay your enemies. Be-l, spare him who trusts in you, But destroy the god who set his mind on evil." They set a constellation in the middle And addressed Marduk, their son, "Your destiny, Be-l, is superior to that of all the gods, Command and bring about annihilation and re-creation. Let the constellation disappear at your utterance, With a second command let the constellation reappear." He gave the command and the constellation disappeared, With a second command the constellation came into being again. When the gods, his fathers, saw (the effect of) his utterance, They rejoiced and offered congratulation: "Marduk is the king!" They added to him a mace, a throne, and a rod, They gave him an irresistible weapon that overwhelms the foe: (They said.) 'Go, cut Tiamat's throat, And let the winds bear up her blood to give the news." The gods, his fathers, decreed the destiny of Be-l, And set him on the road, the way of prosperity and success. He fashioned a bow and made it his weapon, He set an arrow in place, put the bow string on. He took up his club and held it in his right hand, His bow and quiver he hung at his side. He placed lightning before him, And filled his body with tongues of flame. He made a net to enmesh the entrails of Tiamat, And stationed the four winds that no part of her

The South Wind, the North Wind, the East Wind, the West Wind, He put beside his net, winds given by his father, Anu. He fashioned the Evil Wind, the Dust Storm, Tempest, The Four-fold Wind, the Seven-fold Wind, the Chaos-spreading Wind, the Wind. He sent out the seven winds that he had fashioned, And they took their stand behind him to harass Tiamat's entrails. Be-l took up the Storm-flood, his great weapon, He rode the fearful chariot of the irresistible storm. Four steeds he yoked to it and harnessed them to it, The Destroyer, The Merciless, The Trampler, The Fleet, Their lips were parted, their teeth bore venom, They were strangers to weariness, trained to sweep forward. At his right hand he stationed raging battle and strife, On the left, conflict that overwhelms a united battle array. He was clad in a tunic, a fearful coat of mail, And on has head he wore an aura of terror. Be-1 proceeded and set out on his way. He set his face toward the raging Tiamat. In his lips he held a spell, He grasped a plant to counter poison in his hand, Thereupon they milled around him, the gods milled around him, The gods, his fathers, milled around him, the gods milled around him. Be-l drew near, surveying the maw of Tiamat, He observed the tricks of Qingu, her spouse. As he looked, he lost

his nerve. His determination went and he faltered. His divine aides, who were marching at his side, Saw the warrior, the foremost, and their vision became dim. Tiamat cast her spell without turning her neck, In her lips she held untruth and lies, Be-l [lifted up] the Storm-flood, his great weapon, And with these words threw it at the raging Tiamat, "Why are you aggressive and arrogant, And strive to provoke battle? The younger generation have shouted, outraging their elders, But you, their mother, hold pity in contempt. Qingu you have named to be your spouse, And you have improperly appointed him to the rank of Anuship. Against Anshar, king of the gods, you have stirred up trouble, And against the gods, my fathers, your trouble is established. Deploy your troops, gird on your weapons, You and I will take our stand and do battle." When Tiamat heard this She went insane and lost her reason. Tiamat cried aloud and fiercely, All her lower members trembled beneath her. She was reciting an incantation, kept reciting her spell, While the (battle-)gods were sharpening their weapons of war. Tiamat and Marduk, the sage of the gods, came together, Joining in strife, drawing near to battle. Be-l spread out his net and enmeshed her; He let loose the Evil Wind, the rear guard, in her face. Tiamat opened her mouth to swallow it, She let the Evil Wind in so that she could not close her lips. The fierce winds weighed down her belly, Her inwards were distended and she opened her mouth wide. He let fly an arrow and pierced her belly, He tore open her entrails and slit her inwards. He bound her and extinguished her life. He threw down her corpse and stood on it. After he had killed Tiamat, the leader, Her assembly dispersed, her host scattered. Her divine aides, who went beside her, In trembling and fear beat a retreat. to save their lives, But they were completely surrounded, unable to escape. He bound them and broke their weapons, And they lay enmeshed, sitting in a snare, Hiding in corners, filled with grief, Bearing his punishment, held in a prison. The eleven creatures who were laden with fearfulness, The throng of devils who went as grooms at her right hand, He put ropes upon them and bound their arms, Together with their warfare he trampled them beneath him. Now Qingu, who had risen to power among them. He bound and reckoned with the Dead Gods. He took from him the Tablet of Destinies, which was not properly his. Sealed it with a seal and fastened it to his own breast. After the warrior Marduk had bound and slain his enemies, Had the arrogant enemy . . . , Had established victory for Anshar over all his foes, Had fulfilled the desire of Nudimmud, He strengthened his hold on the Bound Gods, And returned to Tiamat whom he had bound Be-I placed his feet on the lower parts of Tiamat And with his merciless club smashed her skull. He severed her arteries And let the North wind bear up (her blood) to give the news. His fathers saw it and were glad and exulted; They brought gifts and presents to him. Be-l rested, surveying the corpse, In order to divide the lump by a clever scheme. He split her into two like a dried fish: One half of her he set up and stretched out as the heavens. He stretched the skin and appointed a watch With the instruction not to let her waters escape. He crossed over the heavens, surveyed the celestial parts, And adjusted them to match the Apsu, Nudimmud's abode. Be-l measured the shape of the Apsu And set up Esharra, a replica of Eshgalla. In Eshgalla, Esharra which he had built, and the heavens, He settled in their shrines Anu. Enlil. and Ea.

ENUMA ELISH B TABLET 5

He fashioned heavenly stations for the great gods, And set up constellations, the patterns of the stars. He appointed the year, marked off divisions. And set up three stars each for the twelve months. After he had organized the year, He established the heavenly station of Ne-beru to fix the stars' intervals. That none should transgress or be slothful He fixed the heavenly stations of Enlil and Ea with it. Gates he opened on both sides, And put strong bolts at the left and the right. He placed the heights (of heaven) in her (Tiamat's) belly, He created Nannar, entrusting to him the night. He appointed him as the jewel of the night to fix the days, And month by month without ceasing he elevated him with a crown, (Saying,) "Shine over the land at the beginning of the month, Resplendent with horns to fix six days. On the seventh day the crown will be half size, On the fifteenth day, halfway through each month, stand in opposition. When SHamash [sees] you on the horizon, Diminish in the proper stages and shine backwards. On the 29th day, draw near to the path of Shamash, . [. .] the 30th day, stand in conjunction and rival SHamash. I have (. . . .] . the sign, follow its track, Draw near . . (.) give judgement. . [. . . .] . Shamash,

The year [. . . Let there be regularly [. . . The projecting bolt [. . . After he had [. . . The watches of night and day [. . . The foam which Tiamat [. . . Marduk fashioned [. . . He gathered it together and made it into clouds. The

raging of the winds, violent rainstorms, The billowing of mist-the accumulation of her spittle- He appointed for himself and took them in his hand. He put her head in position and poured out . . [. .] . He opened the abyss and it was sated with water. From her two eyes he let the Euphrates and Tigris flow, He blocked her nostrils, but left . . He heaped up the distant [mountains] on her breasts, He bored wells to channel the springs. He twisted her tail and wove it into the Durmah(u, [. . .] . . the Apsu beneath his feet. [He set up] her crotch—it wedged up the heavens—

[(Thus) the half of her] he stretched out and made it firm as the earth. [After] he had finished his work inside Tiamat, [He spread] his net and let it right out. He surveyed the heavens and the earth . . [.] . [. .] their bonds After he had formulated his regulations and composed [his] decrees, He attached guide-ropes and put them in Ea's hands. [The Tablet] of Destinies which Qingu had taken and carried, He took charge of it as a trophy and presented it to Anu. [The .] . of battle, which he had tied on or had put on his head, [.] . he brought before his fathers. [Now] the eleven creatures to which Tiamat had given birth and . . . , He broke their weapons and bound them (the creatures) to his feet. He made images of them and stationed them at the [Gate] of the Apsu, To be a sign never to be forgotten. [The gods] saw it and were jubilantly happy, (That is,) Lah(mu, Lah(amu and all his fathers. Anshar [embraced] him and published abroad his title, "Victorious King," Anu, Enlil and Ea gave him gifts. Mother Damkina, who bore him, hailed him, With a clean festal robe she made his face shine. To Usmu, who held her present to give the news, [He entrusted] the vizierate of the Apsu and the care of the holy places. The Igigi assembled and all did obeisance to him, Every one of the Anunnaki was kissing his feet. They all [gathered] to show their submission, [. . .] . they stood, they bowed down, "Behold the king!" His fathers [. . .] . and took their fill of his beauty, Be-l listened to their utterance, being girded with the dust of battle. [..... Anointing his body with . [...] cedar perfume. He clothed himself in [his] lordly robe, With a crown of terror as a royal aura. He took up his club and held it in his right hand, . . .] . he grasped in his left.
[......] . he set his feet. He put upon.
[...The sceptre of prosperity and success [he hung] at his side. After [he had . . .] the aura [He adorned his sack, the Apsu, with a fearful [. .] Was settled like . [. . . In [his] throne room ... In his cella [... Every one of the gods [... Lah(mu and Lah(amu . [.] . Opened their mouths and [addressed] the Igigi gods, "Previously Marduk was our beloved son, Now he is your king, heed his command!" Next, they all spoke up together, "His name is Lugaldimmerankia, trust in him!" When they had given kingship to Marduk, They addressed to him a benediction for prosperity and success, "Henceforth you are the caretaker of our shrine, Whatever you command, we will do!" Marduk opened his mouth to speak And addressed the gods his fathers, "Above the Apsu, the emerald abode, Opposite Esharra, which I built for you. Beneath the celestial parts, whose floor I made firm, I will build a house to be my luxurious abode. Within it I will establish its shrine, I will found my chamber and establish my kingship. When you come up from the Apsu to make a decision This will be your resting place before the assembly. When you descend from heaven to make a decision This will be your resting place before the assembly. I shall call its name 'Babylon', "The Homes of the Great Gods", Within it we will hold a festival: that will be the evening festival. [The gods], his fathers, [heard] this speech of his, . [..........] . they said, "With regard to all that your hands have made, Who has your [...]? With regard to the earth that your hands have made, Who has your [... Babylon, as you have named it, Put our [resting place] for ever. . [.] let them our bring regular offerings . light, . [.] his speech . [.] He made wide [.] . . . The gods bowed down, speaking to him, They addressed Lugaldimmerankia, their lord, "Formerly, lord, [you were our beloved] son, Now you are our king, .. [...] He who. [.] [.] preserved [us].. [...] the aura of club and sceptre. we . [. . .

ENUMA ELISH B TABLET 6

When Marduk heard the gods' speech He conceived a desire to accomplish clever things. He opened his mouth addressing Ea, He counsels that which he had pondered in his heart, "I will bring together blood to form bone. I will bring into being Lullu whose name shall be 'man' I will create Lullu man On whom the toil of the gods will be laid that they may rest. I will skilfully alter the organisation of the gods: Though they are honoured as one, they shall be divided into two." Ea answered, as he addressed a word to him, Expressing his comments on the resting of the gods, "Let one brother of

theirs be given up. Let him perish that people may be fashioned. Let the great gods assemble And let the guilty one be given up that they may be confirmed." Marduk assembled the great gods, Using gracious direction as he gave his order, As he spoke the gods heeded him: The king addressed a word to the Anunnaki. "Your former oath was true indeed, (Now also) tell me the solemn truth: Who is the one who instigated warfare. Who made Tiamat rebel, and set battle in motion? Let him who instigated warfare be given up That I may lay his punishment on him; but you sit and rest. The Igigi, the great gods, answered him, That is, Lugaldimmerankia, the counsellor of the gods, the lord, "Qingu is the one who instigated warfare, Who made Tiamat rebel and set battle in motion." They bound him, holding him before Ea, They inflicted the penalty on him and severed his blood-vessels. From his blood he (Ea) created mankind, On whom he imposed the service of the gods, and set the gods free.

After the wise Ea had created mankind And had imposed the service of the gods upon them— That task is beyond comprehension For Nudimmud performed the creation with the skill of Marduk— King Marduk divided the gods, All the Anunnaki into upper and lower groups. He assigned 300 in the heavens to guard the decrees of Anu And appointed them as a guard. Next he arranged the organisation of the netherworld. In heaven and netherworld he stationed 600 gods. After he had arranged all the decrees, And had distributed incomes among the Anunnaki of heaven and netherworld, The Anunnaki opened their mouths And addressed their lord Marduk, "Now, lord, seeing you have established our freedom What favour can we do for you? Let us make a shrine of great renown: Your chamber will be our resting place wherein we may repose. Let us erect a shrine to house a pedestal Wherein we may repose when we finish (the work)."

When Marduk heard this, He beamed as brightly as the light of day, "Build Babylon, the task you have sought. Let bricks for it be moulded, and raise the shrine!" The Anunnaki wielded the pick. For one year they made the needed bricks. When the second year arrived, They raised the peak of Esagil, a replica of the Apsu. They built the lofty temple tower of the Apsu And for Anu, Enlil, and Ea they established its . . as a dwelling. He sat in splendour before them, Suveying its horns, which were level with the base of Esharra. After they had completed the work on Esagil All the Anunnaki constructed their own shrines. 300 Igigi of heaven and 600 of the Apsu, all of them, had assembled. Be-I seated the gods, his fathers, at the banquet In the lofty shrine which they had built for his dwelling, (Saying,) "This is Babylon, your fixed dwelling, Take your pleasure here! Sit down in joy! The great gods sat down, Beer-mugs were set out and they sat at the banquet.

After they had enjoyed themselves inside They held a service in awesome Esagil. The regulations and all the rules were confirmed: All the gods divided the stations of heaven and netherworld. The college of the Fifty great gods took their seats, The Seven gods of destinies were appointed to give decisions. Be-I received his weapon, the bow, and laid it before them: His divine fathers saw the net which he had made. His fathers saw how skilfully wrought was the structure of the bow As they praised what he had made. Anu lifted it up in the divine assembly, He kissed the bow, saying, "It is my daughter!" Thus he called the names of the bow: "Long Stick" was the first; the second was, "May it hit the mark." With the third name, "Bow Star", he made it to shine in the sky, He fixed its heavenly position along with its divine brothers.

After Anu had decreed the destiny of the bow, He set down a royal throne, a lofty one even for a god, Anu set it there in the assembly of the gods. The great gods assembled, They exalted the destiny of Marduk and did obeisance. They invoked a curse on themselves And took an oath with water and oil, and put their hands to their throats. They granted him the right to exercise kingship over the gods, They confirmed him as lord of the gods of heaven and netherworld. Anshar gave him his exalted name, Asalluh(i "At the mention of his name, let us show submission! When he speaks, let the gods heed him, Let his command be superior in upper and lower regions. May the son, our avenger, be exalted. Let his lordship be superior and himself without rival. Let him shepherd the black-heads, his creatures, Let them tell of his character to future days without forgetting. Let him establish lavish food offerings for his fathers, Let him provide for their maintenance and be caretaker of their sanctuaries, Let him burn incense to rejoice their sanctums. Let him do on earth the same as he has done in heaven: Let him appoint the blackheads to worship him. The subject humans should take note and call on their gods, Since he commands they should heed their goddesses, Let food offerings be brought [for] their gods and goddesses, May they not be forgotten, may they remember their gods, May they . . . their . . , may they . . . their shrines. Though the black-heads worship some one, some another god. He is the god of each and every one of us! Come, let us call the fifty names Of him whose character is resplendent, whose achievement is the same.

Marduk As he was named by his father Anu from his birth, Who supplies pasturage and watering, making the stables

flourish. Who bound the boastful with his weapon, the storm flood, And saved the gods, his fathers, from distress. He is the son, the sun-god of the gods, he is dazzling, Let them ever walk in his bright light. On the peoples that he created, the living beings, He imposed the service of the gods and they took rest. Creation and annihilation, forgiveness and exacting the penalty Occur at his command, so let them fix their eyes on him

Marukka: he is the god who created them Who put the Anunnaki at ease, the Igigi at rest. Marutukku: he is the support of land, city, and its peoples, Henceforth let the peoples ever heed him. Mershakushu: fierce yet deliberating, angry yet relenting, His mind is wide, his heart is allembracing. Lugaldimmerankia is the name by which we all called him, Whose command we have exalted above that of the gods his fathers. He is the lord of all the gods of heaven and netherworld, The king at whose injunctions the gods in upper and lower regions shudder. Narilugaldimmerankia is the name we gave him, the mentor of every god, Who established our dwellings in heaven and netherworld in time of trouble, Who distributed the heavenly stations between Igigi and Anunnaki, Let the gods tremble at his name and quake on their seats.

Asalluh(i is the name by which his father Anu called him, He is the light of the gods, a mighty hero, Who, as his name says, is a protecting angel for god and land, Who by a terrible combat saved our dwelling in time of trouble.

Asalluh(i-Namtilla they called him secondly, the life-giving god, Who, in accordance with the form (of) his (name), restored all the ruined gods, The lord, who brought to life the dead gods by his pure incantation, Let us praise him as the destroyer of the crooked enemies.

Asalluh(i-Namru, as his name is called thirdly, The pure god, who cleanses our character." Anshar, Lah(mu, and Lah(amu (each) called him by three of his names, Then they addressed the gods, their sons, "We have each called him by three of his names, Now you call his names, like us." The gods rejoiced as they heard their speech, In Upshuukkinaki they held a conference, "Of the warrior son, our avenger, Of the provisioner, let us extol the name." They sat down in their assembly, summoning the destinies, And with all due rites they called his name:

ENUMA ELISH B TABLET 7

Asarre, the giver of arable land who established ploughland, The creator of barley and flax, who made plant life grow. Asaralim, who is revered in the counsel chamber, whose counsel excels, The gods heed it and grasp fear of him. Asaralimnunna, the noble, the light of the father, his begetter, Who directs the decrees of Anu, Enlil, and Ea, that is Ninshiku. He is their provisioner, who assigns their incomes, Whose turban multiplies abundance for the land.

Tutu is he, who accomplishes their renovation, Let him purify their sanctuaries that they may repose. Let him fashion an incantation that the gods may rest, Though they rise up in fury, let them withdraw. He is indeed exalted in the assembly of the gods, his [fathers], No one among the gods can [equal] him.

Tutu-Ziukkinna, the life of [his] host, Who established, the pure heavens for the gods, Who took charge of their courses, who appointed [their stations], May he not be forgotten among mortals, but flet them remember! his deeds.

Tutu-Ziku they called him thirdly, the establisher of purification, The god of the pleasant breeze, lord of success and obedience, Who produces bounty and wealth, who establishes abundance, Who turns everything scant that we have into profusion, Whose pleasant breeze we sniffed in time of terrible trouble, Let men command that his praises be constantly uttered, let them offer worship to him. As Tutu-Agaku, fourthly, let humans extol him, Lord of the pure incantation, who brought the dead back to life, Who showed mercy on the Bound Gods, Who threw the imposed yoke on the gods, his enemies, And to spare them created mankind. The merciful, in whose power it is to restore to life, Let his words be sure and not forgotten From the mouths of the black-heads, his creatures. As Tutu-Tuku, fifthly, let their mouth give expression to his pure spell, Who extirpated all the wicked by his pure incantation.

Shazu, who knew the heart of the gods, who saw the reins, Who did not let an evil-doer escape from him, Who established the assembly of the gods, who rejoiced their hearts, Who subjugated the disobedient, he is the gods' encompassing protection. He made truth to prosper, he uprooted perverse speech, He separated falsehood from truth. As Shazu-Zisi, secondly, let them continually praise him, the subduer of aggressors, Who ousted consternation of from the bodies of the gods, his fathers. Shazu-Suh(rim, thirdly, who extirpated every foe with his weapons. Who confounded their plans and turned them into wind. He snuffed out all the wicked who came against him, Let the gods ever shout acclamations in the assembly. Shazu-Suh(gurim, fourthly, who established success for the gods, his fathers, Who extirpated foes and destroyed their offspring, Who scattered their achievements, leaving no part of them, Let his name be spoken and proclaimed in the

land. As Shazu-Zah(rim, fifthly, let future gererations discuss him, The destroyer of every rebel, of all the disobedient, Who brought all the fugitive gods into the shrines, Let this name of his be established. As Shazu-Zah(gurim, sixthly, let them altogether and everywhere worship him, Who himself destroyed all the foes in battle.

Enbilulu is he, the lord who supplies them abundantly, Their great chosen one, who provides cereal offerings, Who keeps pasturage and watering in good condition and established it for the land, Who opened watercourses and distributed plentiful water. Enbilulu-Epadun, lord of common land and . . ., let them [call him] secondly, Canal supervisor of heaven and netherworld, who sets the furrow, Who establishes clean arable land in the open country, Who directs irrigation ditch and canal, and marks out the furrow. As Enbilulu-Gugal, canal supervisor of the water courses of the gods, let them praise him thirdly, Lord of abundance, profusion, and huge stores (of grain), Who provides bounty, who enriches human habitations, Who gives wheat, and brings grain into being. Enbilulu-H(egal, who accumulates abundance for the peoples Who rains down riches on the broad earth, and supplies abundant vegetation. Sirsir, who heaped up a mountain on top of Tiamat, Who plundered the corpse of Tiamat with [his] weapons, The guardian of the land, their trustworthy shepherd, Whose hair is a growing crop, whose turban is a furrow, Who kept crossing the broad Sea in his fury, And kept crossing over the place of her battle as though it were a bridge.

Sirsir-Malah(they named him secondly—so be it— Tiamat was his boat, he was her sailor. Gil, who ever heaps up piles of barley, massive mounds, The creator of grain and flocks, who gives seed for the land. Gilima, who made the bond of the gods firm, who created stability, A snare that overwhelmed them, who yet extended favours.

Agilima, the lofty, who snatches off the crown, who takes charge of snow, Who created the earth on the water and made firm the height of heaven. Zulum, who assigns meadows for the gods and divides up what he has created, Who gives incomes and food-offerings, who administers shrines.

Mummu, creator of heaven end underworld, who protects refugees, The god who purifies heaven and underworld, secondly Zulummu, In respect of whose strength none other among the gods can equal him. Gishnumunab, creator of all the peoples, who made the world regions, Who destroyed Tiamat's gods, and made peoples from part of them.

Lugalabdubur, the king who scattered the works of Tiamat, who uprooted her weapons, Whose foundation is secure on the "Fore and Aft". Pagalguenna, foremost of all lords, whose strength is exalted, Who is the greatest among the gods, his brothers, the most noble of them all. Lugaldurmah(, king of the bond of the gods, lord of Durmah(u, Who is the greatest in the royal abode, infinitely more lofty than the other gods.

Aranunna, counsellor of Ea, creator of the gods, his fathers. Whom no god can equal in respect of his lordly walk. Dumuduku, who renews for himself his pure abode in Duku, Dumuduku, without whom Lugalduku does not make a decision. Lugalshuanna, the king whose strength is exalted among the gods, The lord, the strength of Anu, he who is supreme, chosen of Anshar. Irugga, who plundered them all in the Sea, Who grasps all wisdom, is comprehensive in understanding. Irqingu, who plundered Qingu in . . . battle, Who directs all decrees and establishes lordship. Kinma, the director of all the gods, who gives counsel, At whose name the gods bend down in reverence as before a hurricane. Dingir-Esiskur-let him take his lofty seat in the House of Benediction, Let the gods bring their presents before him Until he receives their offerings. No one but he accomplishes clever things The four (regions) of black-heads are his creation, Apart from him no god knows the measure of their days.Girru, who makes weapons hard, Who accomplished clever things in the battle with Tiamat, Comprehensive in wisdom, skilled in understanding, A deep mind, that all the gods combined do not understand. Let Addu be his name. let him cover the whole span of heaven, Let him thunder with his pleasant voice upon the earth, May the rumble fill the clouds And give sustenance to the peoples below.

Asha-ru, who, as his name says, mustered the Divine Fates He indeed is the warden of absolutely all peoples. As Ne-beru let him hold the crossing place of heaven and underworld, They should not cross above or below, but should wait for him. Ne-beru is his star, which he caused to shine in the sky, Let him take his stand on the heavenly staircase that they may look at him. Yes, he who constantly crosses the Sea without resting, Let his name be Ne-beru, who grasps her middle, Let him fix the paths of the stars of heaven, Let him shepherd all the gods like sheep, Let him bind Tiamat and put her life in mortal danger, To generations yet unborn, to distant future days. May he continue unchecked, may he persist into eternity. Since he created the heavens and fashioned the earth, Enlil, the father, called him by his own name, 'Lord of the Lands'. Ea heard the names which all the Igigi called And his spirit became radiant. "Why! He whose name was extolled by his

fathers Let him, like me, be called 'Ea'. Let him control the sum of all my rites, Let him administer all my decrees."

With the word "Fifty" the great gods Called his fifty names and assigned him an outstanding position. They should be remembered; a leading figure should expound them, The wise and learned should confer about them, A father should repeat them and teach them to his son, One should explain them to shepherd and herdsman. If one is not negligent to Marduk, the Enlil of the gods, May one's land flourish, and oneself prosper, (For) his word is reliable, his command unchanged, No god can alter the utterance of his mouth. When he looks in fury, he does not relent, When his anger is ablaze, no god can face him. His mind is deep, his spirit is all-embracing, Before whom sin and transgression are sought out. Instruction which a leading figure repeated before him (Marduk): He wrote it down and stored it so that generations to come might hear it. [. .] . Marduk, who created the Igigi gods, Though they diminish . . . let them call on his name. . . , the song of Marduk, Who defeated Tiamat and took kingship

MESOPOTAMIAN PRECEPTS AND LAWS

(Language is one of the main attributes that can make us understand cultural relations. Sumerian was a language isolate spoken by most people in Mesopotamia throughout the 4th and 3rd millenia BC. The Semitic Akkadian language, spoken by Assyrians and Babylonians, gradually replaced Sumerian during the last half of the 3rd millenium and it even became a kind of international language used in Egypt, Anatolia, and Persia. The Sumerian cuneiform script and most contents of the Sumerian cuneiform tablets, however, were absorbed by these new Semitic people. Their language and culture was closely related to Phoenician Canaanite, a Semitic language spoken by Phoenicians, Hebrews, and Aramaeans. These people replaced the very complex Akkadian cuneiform script with a consonantal cuneiform alphabet (Abjad) from around either the 15th or 14th century BC; which in turn was replaced with the easy-to-use consonantal Phoenician alphabet only 2 or 3 centuries later (See Grand Bible, Image Plate 57-60). This was the very ancestor of all alphabets in the World that followed. The Semitic Aramaic language gradually replaced Akkadian as well as Canaanite and Hebrew towards the beginning of the 1st millenium BC. Scholars though, still read the original cuneiform records up until the 2nd century AD.

This line of language and script evolution explains to a large extent why precepts, laws, and narratives that we can find in the Torah [Pentateuch, 5 Books of Moses; the Ten Commandment, or the 613 Mitzvot], are surpisingly similar to the contents of the cuneiform tablets found in Mesopotamia. In fact, the conveyed precepts and laws of the ancient cuneiform tablets build the basis of the Halaka, the Jewish Law. As the Christians have taken the Hebrew Bible, which they call "Old Testament," as part of their very own scripture, these contents have influenced also Christianity. A fair amount of those ancient precepts, such as Purity Laws and the Five Precepts, can also be found in India and China.)

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF SHURUPPAK

The Teachings of King Shuruppak The Commandments of Shuruppak Translation: Anonymus Estimated Time Range 2600-2500 BC.

(In 1963 and 1965, an American expedition from the Oriental Institute of Chicago led by Donald P. Hansen made an amazing find at Abu Salabikh, which lies around 20 km (12 mi) northwest of the site of the ancient city of Nippur in Al-Qadisiyyah Governorate, Iraq. During the excavation campain, that lasted for a total of 8 weeks, the archaeologists found around 500 tablets and fragments, containing some of the earliest ancient literature.

Among them was the book "Instructions of Shuruppak". This book is a sensation as it is the very oldest example of the Commandments or Precepts which much later appeared in the Bible and manuscripts in India and China. The book was written on clay tablets which were found in a low "tell" (mound) at Abu Salabikh, Its contemporary name probably was Eresh and it was a small Sumerian city of the mid third millennium BC, with cultural connexions to the cities of Kish, Mari and Ebla.

This book was obviously written to teach virtues in order to preserve community standards. The precepts are placed in the mouth of a King Shuruppak, son of Ubara-Tutu. Ubara-Tutu is recorded in the Sumerian king list as being the final king of Sumer prior to the Deluge. The ancient Sumerian city of Shuruppak probably was named after King Shuruppak. It was situated not far away from the finding place of the clay tablets, at the site of the modern Tell Fara, about 55 kilometres (35

mi) south of Nippur on the banks of the Euphrates in Iraq's Al-Oadisivvah Governorate.

The text consists of admonitory sayings of King Shuruppak addressed to his son Ziusudra (the flood hero who is also known as Utnapishtin in Akkad). Lots of the book's precepts bear resemblance to those ones which we can read in the Torah (the Five books of Moses). But the Commandments of King Shuruppak are far more detailed, much more direct, and refreshingly blunt. Here a little selection:

Thou shouldst not speak arrogantly to thy mother.

Thou shouldst not kill.

Thou shouldst not steal.

Thou shouldst not commit robbery.

Thou shouldst not speak improperly.

Thou shouldst not play around with a married young woman.

Thou shouldst not have sex with thy slave girl.

Thou shouldst not wish for the money chest.

Thou shouldst not pass judgement when thou drinkst beer. Thou shouldst not pick a quarrel.

Some of the Commandmends are purely practical: Thou shouldst not locate a field on a road; Thou shouldst not make a well in thy field: people will cause damage on it for thee. (lines 15–18). Moral precepts are followed by the negative practical results of transgression: Thou shouldst not play around with a married young woman: the slander could be serious. (lines 32–34). Community opinion and the possibility of slander (line 35) play a major role, whether the valued opinion of "the courtyard" (line 62) or the less valued opinion of the marketplace, where insults and stupid speaking receive the attention of the land. (line 142).)

[The square brackets [...] refer to the gaps of the text, they contain the editors suggestions the round brackets (...) refer to extra information]

BOOK 1

The First Delivery Of Commandments.

In those days, in those far remote days, in those nights, in those faraway nights, in those years, in those far remote years, at that time the wise one who kneweth how to speak in elaborate words lived in the Land; Shuruppak, the wise one, who kneweth how to speak with elaborate words lived in the Land. Shuruppak gave instructions to his son; Shuruppak, the son of Ubara-Tutu gave instructions to his son Ziusudra: My son, let me give thee instructions: thou shouldst pay attention! Ziusudra, let me speak a word to thee: thou shouldst pay attention! Do not neglect my instructions! Do not transgress the words I speak! instructions of an old man are precious: thou shouldst comply with them!

Thou shouldst not buy a donkey which brays; it will split thy midriff.

Thou shouldst not locate a field on a road; thou shouldst not plough a field at a road or a path; thou shouldst not make a well in thy field: people will cause damage on it for thee. Thou shouldst not place thy house next to a public square: there is always a crowd there.

Thou shouldst not vouch for someone: that man will have a hold on thee; and thee thyself, thou shouldst not let somebody vouch for thee. That man will despise thee.

Thou shouldst not make an inspection on a man: the flood will give it back to thee.

Thou shouldst not loiter about where there is a quarrel; thou shouldst not let the quarrel make thee a witness. Thou shouldst not let thyself [involved] in a quarrel. Thou shouldst not cause a quarrel; [...] [...] the gate of the palace [...] Stand aside from a quarrel, [and] thou shouldst not take another way.

Thou shouldst not steal anything; thou shouldst not [betray] thyself. Thou shouldst not break into a house; thou shouldst not wish for the money chest [of others]. A thief is a lion, but after he has been caught, he will be a slave. My son, thou shouldst not commit robbery; thou shouldst not cut thyself with an axe (as a punishment of law).

Thou shouldst not make a young man best man. Thou shouldst not [mislead] thyself. Thou shouldst not play around with a married young woman: the slander could be serious. My son, thou shouldst not sit alone in a chamber with a married woman.

Thou shouldst not pick a quarrel; thou shouldst not disgrace thyself. Thou shouldst not [tell] lies; [. . .] Thou shouldst not boast; then thy words will be trusted. Thou shouldst not deliberate for too long; thou canst not bear flosing thel glances.

Thou shouldst not eat stolen food with a thief. Thou shouldst not sink thy hand into blood. After thou hast apportioned the bones, thou wilt be made to restore the ox, thou wilt be made to restore the sheep.

Thou shouldst not speak improperly; later it will lay a trap for thee.

Thou shouldst not scatter thy sheep into unknown pastures. Thou shouldst not hire someone's ox for an uncertain [time]. A safe [way] means a safe journey.

Thou shouldst not travel during the night: it can hide both good and evil.

Thou shouldst not buy an onager: it lasteth only until the end of the day (Reason: Onagers are a species of the horse family. Unlike most horses and donkeys, they have never been domesticated. They are among the fastest mammals, as they can run as fast as 70 km/h or 43 mph).

Thou shouldst not have sex with thy slave girl: she will chew thee up [making thee her slave].

Thou shouldst not curse strongly: it reboundeth on thee.

Thou shouldst not draw up water which thou canst not reach nor grasp: it will maketh thee weak.

(1 line unreadable)

Thou shouldst not drive away a debtor: he will be hostile towards thee.

Thou shouldst not establish a home with an arrogant man: he will make thy life like that of a slave girl. Thou wilt not be able to travel through any human dwelling without be being shouted at: "There thou goest! There thou goest!"

Thou shouldst not undo the [laces] of the garden's reed fence; "Restore it! Restore it!" they will say to thee.

Thou shouldst not provide a stranger with food; thou shouldst not wipe out [and be oblivious to] a quarrel.

My son, thou shouldst not use violence; Listen! Thou shouldst not commit rape on someone's daughter; the courtyard will learn of it [and punish thee].

Thou shouldst not drive away a powerful and strong man; thou shouldst not destroy the outer wall. Thou shouldst not drive away a young man; thou shouldst not make him turn against the city.

The eyes of the slanderer always move around as shiftily as a spindle. Thou shouldst never remain in his presence; his intentions should not be allowed to have an effect on thee.

Thou shouldst not boast in beer halls and breweries like a deceitful man: then thy words will be trusted.

Having reached the field of manhood, thou shouldst not jump with thy hand. The warrior is unique, he alone is the equal of many; Utu is unique, he alone is the equal of many. With thy life thou shouldst always be on the side of the warrior; with thy life thou shouldst always be on the side of Utu [the God of the Sun, justice, morality, and truth].

Shuruppak gaveth these instructions to his son. Shuruppak, the son of Ubara-Tutu, gaveth these instructions to his son Ziusudra.

BOOK 2

The Second Delivery Of Commandments.

A second time, Shuruppak gaveth instructions to his son. Shuruppak, the son of Ubara-Tutu gaveth instructions to his son Ziusudra: My son, let me give thee instructions: thou shouldst pay attention! Ziusudra, let me speak a word to thee: thou shouldst pay attention! Do not neglect my instructions! Do not transgress the words I speak! (1 ms. adds the line: The instructions of an old man are precious; thou shouldst comply with them!)

The beer-drinking mouth [talketh]. My little one [be careful]. The beer-drinking mouth [flustereth]. Ninkasi (the Goddess of alcohol and beer) [laugheth at thee]

(5 lines unclear)

Thine own man will not repay it for thee. The reed-beds are [thick], they can hide slander.

The palace is like a mighty river: its middle is goring bulls; what floweth in is never enough to fill it, and what floweth out can never be stopped.

When it is about someone's else bread, it is easy to say "I will give it to thee", but the time of actual giving can be as far away as the sky. If thou goest after the man who said "I will give it to thee", he will say "I cannot give it to thee -- the bread has just been finished up".

Property is something to be expanded; but nothing can equal my little ones (my children).

The artistic mouth recites words; the harsh mouth brings litigation documents; the sweet mouth gathers sweet herbs.

The garrulous and liar) filleth his bread bag; the haughty one brings an empty bag and can fill his empty mouth only with boasting.

Who works with leather will eventually work with his own leather.

The strong one can escape from anyone's hand.

The fool loseth something. When sleeping, the fool loseth something. "Do not tie me up!" he pleads; "Let me live!" he pleads.

The imprudent decrees fateth; the shameless one pileth up things in another's lap: "I am such that I deserve admiration". A weak wife is always seized (and overwhelmed) by fate.

If thou hirest a worker, he will share the bread bag with thee; he eats with thee from the same bag, and finishes up the bag with thee. Then he will quit working with thee and,

bag with thee. Then he will quit working with thee and, saying "I have to live on something", he will serve at the palace.

Thou tellest thy son to come to thy home; thou tellest thy

Thou tellest thy son to come to thy home; thou tellest the daughter to go to her women's quarters.

Thou shouldst not pass judgement when thou drinkest beer. Thou shouldst not worry unduly about what leaveth the house.

Heaven is far, earth is most precious, but it is with heaven that thou augmentest thy goods, and all foreign lands breathe

At harvest time, at the most priceless time, collect like a slave girl, eat like a queen; my son, to collect like a slave girl, to eat like a queen, this is how it should be.

Who insulteth can hurt only the skin; greedy eyes, however, can kill. The liar, shouting, teareth up his garments. Insults bring (only) advice to the wicked. To speak arrogantly is like an abscess: a herb that makes the stomach sick.

(1 line is unclear)

My words of prayer bring abundance. Prayer is cool water that cools the heart. Only insults and stupid speaking receive the attention of the Land

Shuruppak gaveth these instructions to his son. Shuruppak. the son of Ubara-Tutu, gaveth these instructions to his son Ziusudra.

BOOK 3

The Third Delivery Of Commandments.

A third time, Shuruppak gaveth instructions to his son. Shuruppak, the son of Ubara-Tutu gaveth instructions to his son Ziusudra: My son, let me give thee instructions: thou shouldst pay attention! Ziusudra, let me speak a word to thee: thou shouldst pay attention! Do not neglect my instructions! Do not transgress the words I speak! (Some mss. add the line: The instructions of an old man are precious; thou shouldst comply with them!)

Thou shouldst not beat a farmer's son: he has constructed thy embankments and ditches.

Thou shouldst not buy a prostitute: she is a mouth that bites. Thou shouldst not buy a house-born slave: he is a herb that makes the stomach sick. Thou shouldst not buy a free man: he will always lean against the wall. Thou shouldst not buy a palace slave girl: she will always be the bottom of the barrel.Thou shouldst rather bring down a foreign slave from the mountains, or thou shouldst bring somebody from a place where he is an alien; my son, then he will pour water for thee where the sun rises and he will walk before thee. He doth not belong to any family, so he doth not want to go to his family; he doth not belong to any city, so he doth not want to go to his city. He cannot knock at the door of [...], he cannot enter [...]. He will not [...] with thee, he will not be presumptuous with thee.

My son, thou shouldst not travel alone eastwards. Thine acquaintance should not [...]

A name placed on another one [. . .]; thou shouldst not pile up a mountain on another one

Fate is a wet bank; it can make one slip.

The elder brother is indeed like a father; the elder sister is indeed like a mother. Listen therefore to thine elder brother, and thou shouldst be obedient to thine elder sister as if she were thy mother.

Thou shouldst not work using only thine eyes; thou wilt not multiply thy possessions using only thy mouth.

The negligent one ruineth his family.

The need for food maketh some people ascend the mountains; it also bringeth traitors and foreigners, since the need for food brings down other people from the mountains.

A small city provides its king with a calf; a huge city digs a house plot.

[The rich man] is well equipped. The poor man inflicteth all kinds of illnesses on the rich man. The married man is well equipped; the unmarried maketh his bed in a haystack. He who wisheth to destroy a house will go ahead and destroy the house; he who wisheth to raise up will go ahead and raise up.

By grasping the neck of a huge ox, thou canst cross the river. By moving along at the side of the mighty men of thy city, my son, thou wilt certainly ascend (to greater wealth and power).

When thou bringest a slave girl from the hills, she bringeth both good and evil with her. The good is in the hands; the evil is in the heart. The heart doth not let go of the good; but the heart cannot let go of the evil either. As if it were a watery place, the heart doth not abandon the good. Evil is a storeroom [...]

(1 ms. adds: 2 lines unclear)

May the boat with the evil sink in the river! May his waterskin split in the desert!

A loving heart maintains a family; a hateful heart destroys a family.

To have authority, to have possessions and to be steadfast are princely divine powers. Thou shouldst submit to the respected; thou shouldst be humble before the powerful. My son, thou wilt then survive against the wicked.

Thou shouldst not choose a wife during a festival. Her inside is illusory; her outside is illusory. The silver on her is borrowed: the lapis lazuli on her is borrowed: the jewellery on her is borrowed: the dress on her is borrowed: the linen garment on her is borrowed. With [. . .] nothing is comparable.

Thou shouldst not buy a [...] bull. Thou shouldst not buy a vicious bull; [...] a hole in the cattle-pen [...]

One appointeth a reliable woman for a good household.

Thou shouldst not buy a donkey at the time of harvest. A

donkey which eateth [...] will [...] with another donkey.

A vicious donkey hangeth its neck; however, a vicious man. my son, [...]

A woman with her own property ruineth the house.

A drunkard will drown the harvest.

A female burglar [...] ladder; she flieth into the houses like a fly. A she-donkey [. . .] on the street. A sow suckleth its child on the street. A woman who pricked herself beginneth to cry and holdeth the spindle which pricked (?) her in her hand. She cometh into every house; she peereth into all streets. [...] she keepeth saying "Get out!" She looketh around from all parapets. She panteth where there is a quarrel.

(2 lines unclear)

Marry [never a woman] whose heart hateth, My son, [...] (4 lines unclear)

A heart which overfloweth with joy [...]

Nothing at all is to be valued, but life should be sweet. Thou shouldst not serve things; things should serve thee. My son, [. . .]

Thou shouldst not [...] grain; its [...] are numerous.

Thou shouldst not abuse a ewe; otherwise thou wilt give birth to a daughter. Thou shouldst not throw a lump of earth into the money chest; otherwise thou wilt give birth to a son.

Thou shouldst not abduct a wife; thou shouldst not make her cry. The place where the wife is abducted to [becometh the graveyard of her heart].

"Let us run in circles, saying: "Oh, my foot, oh, my neck!" Let us with united forces make the mighty bow!

Thou shouldst not kill a [...], he is a child born by [...]. Thou shouldst not kill [...] like [...]; thou shouldst not bind

The wet-nurses in the women's quarters determine the fate of their lord.

Thou shouldst not speak arrogantly to thy mother; that causes hatred for thee. Thou shouldst not question the words of thy mother and thy personal God. The mother, like Utu, giveth birth to the man; the father, like a god, maketh him bright. The father is like a god: his words are reliable. The instructions of the father should be complied with.

Without suburbs a city hath no centre either.

My son, a field situated at the bottom of the embankments, be it wet or dry, is nevertheless a source of income.

It is inconceivable that something is lost forever.

[...] of Dilmun [...]

An unknown place is terrible; to get lost is shameful for a dog. On the unfamiliar way at the edge of the mountains, the gods of the mountains are man-eaters. They do not build houses there as men do; they do not build cities there as men

(1 line unclear)

For the shepherd, he stopped searching, he stopped bringing back the sheep. For the farmer, he stopped ploughing the field.

(1 line unclear)

This gift of words is something which sootheth the mind . .]; when it cometh into the palace, it sootheth the mind .]. The gift of many words [. . .] stars

These are the instructions given by Shuruppak, the son of Ubara-Tutu

Praise be to the lady who completed the great tablets, the maiden Nisaba (the Goddess of writing, learning, and the harvest), that Shuruppak, the son of Ubara-Tutu gave his

THE CODE OF UR-NAMMU

Possible Author: Shulgi the son of Ur-Nammu Translation: Samuel Noah Kramer, 1952 Estimated Range of Dating: 2100-2000 B.C.

(The Code of Ur-Nammu is the oldest known law code surviving today. It is from Mesopotamia and is written on tablets, in the Sumerian language c. 2100-2050 BC. The first copy of the code, in two fragments found at Nippur, was translated by Samuel Noah Kramer in 1952. These fragments are held at the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. Owing to its partial preservation, only the prologue and 5 of the laws were discernible. Further tablets were found in Ur and translated in 1965, allowing some 30 of the 57 laws to be reconstructed. Another copy found in Sippar contains slight variants.

The preface directly credits the laws to king Ur-Nammu of Ur (also known as Úr-Namma; 2112-2095 BC). The author who had the laws written onto cuneiform tablets is still somewhat under dispute. Some scholars have attributed it to Ur-Nammu's son Shulgi. Shulgi of Ur was the second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur during the Sumerian Renaissance. He reigned for 48 years, from (c. 2094–2046 BC)

Although it is known that earlier law-codes existed, such as the Code of Urukagina, this represents the earliest extant legal text. It is three centuries older than the Code of Hammurabi. The laws are arranged in casuistic form of IF

(crime) THEN (punishment)—a pattern followed in nearly all later codes. It institutes fines of monetary compensation for bodily damage as opposed to the later lex talionis ('eye for an eye') principle of Babylonian law. However, murder, robbery, adultery and rape were capital offenses.

The code reveals a glimpse at societal structure during the "Sumerian Renaissance". Beneath the lugal ("great man" or king), all members of society belonged to one of two basic strata: the "lu" or free person, or the slave (male, arad; female geme). The son of a lu was called a dumu-nita until he married, becoming a "young man" (gurus). A woman (munus) went from being a daughter (dumu-mi) to a wife (dam), then if she outlived her husband, a widow (nu-ma-su), who could remarry.)

(The prologue, typical of Mesopotamian law codes, invokes the deities for Ur-Nammu's kingship, Nanna and Utu, and decrees "equity in the land".)

... After An and Enlil had turned over the Kingship of Ur to Nanna, at that time did Ur-Nammu, son born of Ninsun, for his beloved mother who bore him, in accordance with his principles of equity and truth... Then did Ur-Nammu the mighty warrior, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad, by the might of Nanna, lord of the city, and in accordance with the true word of Utu, establish equity in the land; he banished malediction, violence and strife, and set the monthly Temple expenses at 90 gur of barley, 30 sheep, and 30 sila of butter. He fashioned the bronze sila-measure, standardised the onemina weight, and standardised the stone weight of a shekel of silver in relation to one mina... The orphan was not delivered up to the rich man; the widow was not delivered up to the mighty man; the man of one shekel was not delivered up to the man of one mina.

[One mina (1/60 of a talent) was made equal to 60 shekels (1 shekel = 8.3 grams, or 0.3 oz.).

- 1 If a man commits a murder, that man must be killed.
- 2 If a man commits a robbery, he will be killed.
- 3 If a man commits a kidnapping, he is to be imprisoned and pay 15 shekels of silver.
- 4 If a slave marries a slave, and that slave is set free, he does not leave the household.^
- 5 If a slave marries a native (i.e. free) person, he/she is to hand the firstborn son over to his owner.
- 6 If a man violates the right of another and deflowers the virgin wife of a young man, they shall kill that male.
- 7 If the wife of a man followed after another man and he slept with her, they shall slay that woman, but that male shall be set free.
- 8 If a man proceeded by force, and deflowered the virgin female slave of another man, that man must pay five shekels of silver
- 9 If a man divorces his first-time wife, he shall pay (her) one mina of silver.
- 10 If it is a (former) widow whom he divorces, he shall pay (her) half a mina of silver.
- 11 If the man had slept with the widow without there having been any marriage contract, he need not pay any silver. 13 If a man is accused of sorcery he must undergo ordeal by
- water; if he is proven innocent, his accuser must pay 3 shekels. 14 If a man accused the wife of a man of adultery, and the river ordeal proved her innocent, then the man who had accused her must pay one-third of a mina of silver.
- 15 If a prospective son-in-law enters the house of his prospective father-in-law, but his father-in-law later gives his daughter to another man, the father-in-law shall return to the rejected son-in-law twofold the amount of bridal presents he had brought.

16 If [text destroyed...], he shall weigh and deliver to him 2 shekels of silver.

- 17 If a slave escapes from the city limits, and someone returns him, the owner shall pay two shekels to the one who returned him.
- 18 If a man knocks out the eve of another man, he shall weigh out 1/2 a mina of silver.
- 19 If a man has cut off another man's foot, he is to pay ten 20 If a man, in the course of a scuffle, smashed the limb of
- another man with a club, he shall pay one mina of silver. 21 If someone severed the nose of another man with a
- copper knife, he must pay two-thirds of a mina of silver. 22 If a man knocks out a tooth of another man, he shall pay two shekels of silver.
- 24 [text destroyed...] If he does not have a slave, he is to pay 10 shekels of silver. If he does not have silver, he is to give another thing that belongs to him.
- 25 If a man's slave-woman, comparing herself to her mistress, speaks insolently to her, her mouth shall be scoured with 1 quart of salt.
- 26 If a slave woman strikes someone acting with the authority of her mistress, [text destroyed...]

- 28 If a man appeared as a witness, and was shown to be a perjurer, he must pay fifteen shekels of silver.
- 29 If a man appears as a witness, but withdraws his oath, he must make payment, to the extent of the value in litigation of
- 30 If a man stealthily cultivates the field of another man and he raises a complaint, this is however to be rejected, and this man will lose his expenses.
- 31 If a man flooded the field of a man with water, he shall measure out three kur of barley per iku of field.
- 32 If a man had let an arable field to a(nother) man for cultivation, but he did not cultivate it, turning it into wasteland, he shall measure out three kur of barley per iku of field

THE CODE OF LIPIT-ISHTAR

Translation; Anonymus Estimated Range of Dating: 1870-1860 B.C.

(Lipit-Ishtar (r. c. 1870 BC — c. 1860 BC by the short chronology of the ancient near east) was the 5th king of the First Dynasty of Isin, according to the "Sumerian King List" (SKL). Also according to the SKL: he was the successor of Ishme-Dagan. Ur-Ninurta then succeeded Lipit-Ishtar. Some documents and royal inscriptions from his time have survived, however: Lipit-Ishtar is mostly known due to the Sumerian language hymns that were written in his honour, as well as a legal code written in his name (preceding the famed Code of Hammurabi by about 100 years)—which were used for school instruction for hundreds of years after Lipit-Ishtar's death. The annals of Lipit-Ishtar's reign recorded that he also repulsed the Amorites. The text exists on several partial fragments. The following complete laws have been reconstructed:)

- 8 If a man gave bare ground to another man to set out as an orchard and the latter did not complete setting out that bare ground as an orchard, he shall give to the man who set out the orchard the bare ground which he neglected as part of his
- 9 If a man entered the orchard of another man and was seized there for stealing, he shall pay ten shekels of silver.
- 10 If a man cut down a tree in the garden of another man, he shall pay one-half mina of silver.
- 11 If adjacent to the house of a man the bare ground of another man has been neglected and the owner of the house has said to the owner of the bare ground, "Because your ground has been neglected someone may break into my house: strengthen your house," and this agreement has been confirmed by him, the owner of the bare ground shall restore to the owner of the house any of his property that is lost.
- 12 If a slave-girl or slave of a man has fled into the heart of the city and it has been confirmed that he (or she) dwelt in the house of (another) man for one month, he shall give slave for
 - 13 If he has no slave, he shall pay fifteen shekels of silver.
- 14 If a man's slave has compensated his slave-ship to his master and it is confirmed (that he has compensated) his master two-fold, that slave shall be freed.
- 15 If a miqtum [servant] is the grant of a king, he shall not he taken away.
- 16 If a migtum went to a man of his own free will, that man shall not hold him; he (the miqtum) may go where he desires.
- 17 If a man without authorisation bound another man to a matter of which he (the latter) had no knowledge, that man is not affirmed (i.e., legally obligated); he (the first man) shall bear the penalty in regard to the matter to which he had bound him.
- 18 If the master of an estate or the mistress of an estate has defaulted on the tax of an estate and a stranger has borne it, for three years he (the owner) may not be evicted. Afterwards, the man who bore the tax of the estate shall possess that estate and the former owner of the estate shall not raise any claim.
- 22 If the father is living, his daughter whether she be a high priestess, a priestess, or a hierodule shall dwell in his house like an heir.
- 24 If the second wife whom he had married bore him children, the dowry which she brought from her father's house belongs to her children but the children of his first wife and the children of his second wife shall divide equally the property of their father.
- 25 If a man married his wife and she bore him children and those children are living, and a slave also bore children for her master but the father granted freedom to the slave and her children, the children of the slave shall not divide the estate with the children of their former master.
- 27 If a man's wife has not borne him children but a harlot from the public square has borne him children, he shall provide grain, oil and clothing for that harlot. The children which the harlot has borne him shall be his heirs, and as long as his wife lives the harlot shall not live in the house with the

29 If a son-in-law has entered the house of his (prospective) father-in-law and afterwards they made him go out (of the house) and gave his wife to his companion, they shall present to him the betrothal gifts which he brought and that wife may not marry his companion.

- 34 If a man rented an ox and injured the flesh at the nose ring, he shall pay one-third of its price.
- 35 If a man rented an ox and damaged its eye, he shall pay one-half its price.
- 36 If a man rented an ox and broke its horn, he shall pay one-fourth its price.
- 37 If a man rented an ox and damaged its tail, he shall pay one-fourth its price.

THE CODE OF HAMMURABI

by King Hammurabi, 1st Babylonian Dynasty Estimated Time Range: c. 1760 BC Translation: Leonard William King, 1910

(The stele was discovered in 1901 at the site of Susa in present-day Iran, where it had been taken as plunder 600 years after its creation. The top of the stele features an image in relief of Hammurabi with Shamash, the Babylonian sun god and god of justice. Below the relief are about 4,130 lines of cuneiform text: one fifth contains a prologue and epilogue in poetic style, while the remaining four fifths contain what are generally called the laws. The laws, which numbered from 1 to 282 (numbers 13 and 66-99 are missing), are inscribed in Old Babylonian on an eight-foot tall stela of black basalt. The code is often pointed to as the first example of the legal concept that some laws are so basic as to be beyond the ability of even a king to change. Because Hammurabi had the laws inscribed in basalt stone (also known as diorite which was most likely quarried in Yesemek. Anatolia which was then the North of Canaan), they were indestructible.

The stele is about 2.25 m tall, weighs about a tonne and has been a valuable object at that time. According to the Mohs scale of mineral hardness which is a qualitative ordinal scale, from 1 to 10 (characterising scratch resistance of various minerals through the ability of harder material to scratch softer material) fine basalt or diorite has a hardness of about 7. This means that the sculptor's tool have to have a similar hardness of 7. Iron or steel with a harness of only 5 would have been too soft for that task. The sculptor might have used quite expensive tools made of quartz, topaz or even diamond to finish that stele in a feasible time.

The code was created circa 1760 BC, is one of the earliest extant sets of laws and one of the best preserved examples of this type of document from ancient Mesopotamia. The Code contains an enumeration of crimes and their various punishments as well as settlements for common disputes and guidelines for citizen's conduct. The Code does not provide opportunity for explanation or excuses, though it does imply one's right to present evidence. The Code of Hammurabi and the Law of Moses in the Torah contain numerous similarities, These are probably due to shared background and the strong influence of the Babylonian Empire on all neighbour regions.

Hammurabi and his dynasty spoke Amorite, meaning a northern Canaanite dialect from Phoenicia and closely related to the Canaanite from Ugarit. The Amorites, were called "Amurru." in Akkadian cuneiform tablets which was also a region nearby. Amurru, the "Amorite kingdom" (c. 2000-1200 BC) was established in a region spanning present-day western and north-western Syria and northern Lebanon. Phoenician Canaanites were not only exploring the Mediterranean Sea in the West but they went also to the East, to Sumer in about 2000 BC. That Hamurabi's dynasty ruled Babvlon shows that the Amorite-Canaanites settled there. Already a few decades later, Abraham left Sumer with his tribe, first heading towards Harran in Anatolia, then to Egypt. There, it was most likely Abraham's tribe who became known as "Hyksos," the Hekau Khasut, meaning "rulers of foreign lands" in Egyptian.

This edition was translated by Leonard William King in 1910. Some portions of the text have been lost in the intervening centuries; these are designated with [...].)

PROLOGUE

When Anu the Sublime, King of the Anunaki, and Bel, the lord of Heaven and earth, who decreed the fate of the land, assigned to Marduk, the over-ruling son of Ea, God of righteousness, dominion over earthly man, and made him great among the Igigi, they called Babylon by his illustrious name, made it great on earth, and founded an everlasting kingdom in it, whose foundations are laid so solidly as those of heaven and earth: then Anu and Bel called by name me. Hammurabi, the exalted prince, who feared God, to bring about the rule of righteousness in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evil-doers; so that the strong should not harm the weak; so that I should rule over the black-headed people like Shamash, and enlighten the land, to further the wellbeing of mankind.

Hammurabi, the prince, called of Bel am I, making riches and increase, enriching Nippur and Dur-ilu beyond compare, sublime patron of E-kur; who reestablished Eridu and purified the worship of E-apsu; who conquered the four quarters of the world, made great the name of Babylon, rejoiced the heart of Marduk, his lord who daily pays his devotions in Saggil; the royal scion whom Sin made; who enriched Ur; the humble, the reverent, who brings wealth to Gish-shir-gal; the white king, heard of Shamash, the mighty, who again laid the foundations of Sippara; who clothed the gravestones of Malkat with green; who made E-babbar great, which is like the heavens, the warrior who guarded Larsa and renewed E-babbar, with Shamash as his helper; the lord who granted new life to Uruk, who brought plenteous water to its inhabitants, raised the head of E-anna, and perfected the beauty of Anu and Nana; shield of the land, who reunited the scattered inhabitants of Isin; who richly endowed E-gal-mach; the protecting king of the city, brother of the god Zamama; who firmly founded the farms of Kish, crowned E-me-te-ursag with glory, redoubled the great holy treasures of Nana, managed the temple of Harsag-kalama; the grave of the enemy, whose help brought about the victory; who increased the power of Cuthah; made all glorious in E-shidlam, the black steer, who gored the enemy; beloved of the god Nebo, who rejoiced the inhabitants of Borsippa, the Sublime; who is indefatigable for E-zida; the divine king of the city; the White, Wise; who broadened the fields of Dilbat, who heaped up the harvests for Urash; the Mighty, the lord to whom come scepter and crown, with which he clothes himself; the Elect of Ma-ma; who fixed the temple bounds of Kesh, who made rich the holy feasts of Nin-tu; the provident, solicitous, who provided food and drink for Lagash and Girsu, who provided large sacrificial offerings for the temple of Ningirsu; who captured the enemy, the Elect of the oracle who fulfilled the prediction of Hallab, who rejoiced the heart of Anunit; the pure prince, whose prayer is accepted by Adad; who satisfied the heart of Adad, the warrior, in Karkar, who restored the vessels for worship in E-ud-gal-gal; the king who granted life to the city of Adab; the guide of E-mach; the princely king of the city, the irresistible warrior, who granted life to the inhabitants of Mashkanshabri, and brought abundance to the temple of Shidlam: the White, Potent, who penetrated the secret cave of the bandits, saved the inhabitants of Malka from misfortune, and fixed their home fast in wealth; who established pure sacrificial gifts for Ea and Dam-gal-nun-na, who made his kingdom everlastingly great; the princely king of the city, who subjected the districts on the Ud-kib-nun-na Canal to the sway of Dagon, his Creator; who spared the inhabitants of Mera and Tutul; the sublime prince, who makes the face of Ninni shine; who presents holy meals to the divinity of Nin-a-zu, who cared for its inhabitants in their need, provided a portion for them in Babylon in peace; the shepherd of the oppressed and of the slaves; whose deeds find favour before Anunit, who provided for Anunit in the temple of Dumash in the suburb of Agade; who recognizes the right, who rules by law; who gave back to the city of Ashur its protecting god; who let the name of Ishtar of Nineveh remain in E-mish-mish; the Sublime, who humbles himself before the great gods; successor of Sumula-il; the mighty son of Sinmuballit; the royal scion of Eternity; the mighty monarch, the sun of Babylon, whose rays shed light over the land of Sumer and Akkad; the king, obeyed by the four quarters of the world; Beloved of Ninni, am I.

When Marduk sent me to rule over men, to give the protection of right to the land, I did right and righteousness in [...], and brought about the well-being of the oppressed.

The Code of Laws

- 1 If any one ensnare another, putting a ban upon him, but he can not prove it, then he that ensnared him shall be put to
- 2 If any one bring an accusation against a man, and the accused go to the river and leap into the river, if he sink in the river his accuser shall take possession of his house. But if the river prove that the accused is not guilty, and he escape unhurt, then he who had brought the accusation shall be put to death, while he who leaped into the river shall take possession of the house that had belonged to his accuser.
- 3 If any one bring an accusation of any crime before the elders, and does not prove what he has charged, he shall, if it be a capital offense charged, be put to death.
- 4 If he satisfy the elders to impose a fine of grain or money. he shall receive the fine that the action produces.
- 5 If a judge try a case, reach a decision, and present his judgement in writing; if later error shall appear in his decision, and it be through his own fault, then he shall pay twelve times the fine set by him in the case, and he shall be publicly removed from the judge's bench, and never again shall he sit there to render judgement.
- 6 If any one steal the property of a temple or of the court, he shall be put to death, and also the one who receives the stolen thing from him shall be put to death.
- If any one buy from the son or the slave of another man, without witnesses or a contract, silver or gold, a male or

female slave, an ox or a sheep, an ass or anything, or if he take it in charge, he is considered a thief and shall be put to death.

8 If any one steal cattle or sheep, or an ass, or a pig or a goat, if it belong to a god or to the court, the thief shall pay thirtyfold therefor; if they belonged to a freed man of the king he shall pay tenfold; if the thief has nothing with which to pay he shall be put to death.

9 If any one lose an article, and find it in the possession of another: if the person in whose possession the thing is found say "A merchant sold it to me, I paid for it before witnesses," and if the owner of the thing say, "I will bring witnesses who know my property," then shall the purchaser bring the merchant who sold it to him, and the witnesses before whom he bought it, and the owner shall bring witnesses who can identify his property. The judge shall examine their testimony both of the witnesses before whom the price was paid, and of the witnesses who identify the lost article on oath. The merchant is then proved to be a thief and shall be put to death. The owner of the lost article receives his property, and he who bought it receives the money he paid from the estate of the merchant.

10 If the purchaser does not bring the merchant and the witnesses before whom he bought the article, but its owner bring witnesses who identify it, then the buyer is the thief and shall be put to death, and the owner receives the lost article.

11 If the owner do not bring witnesses to identify the lost article, he is an evil-doer, he has traduced, and shall be put to death

12 If the witnesses be not at hand, then shall the judge set a limit, at the expiration of six months. If his witnesses have not appeared within the six months, he is an evil-doer, and shall bear the fine of the pending case.

[13 missing]

14 If any one steal the minor son of another, he shall be put to death.

15 If any one take a male or female slave of the court, or a male or female slave of a freed man, outside the city gates, he shall be put to death.

16 If any one receive into his house a runaway male or female slave of the court, or of a freedman, and does not bring it out at the public proclamation of the major domus, the master of the house shall be put to death.

17 If any one find runaway male or female slaves in the open country and bring them to their masters, the master of the slaves shall pay him two shekels of silver.

18 If the slave will not give the name of the master, the finder shall bring him to the palace; a further investigation must follow, and the slave shall be returned to his master.

19 If he hold the slaves in his house, and they are caught there, he shall be put to death.

20 If the slave that he caught run away from him, then shall he swear to the owners of the slave, and he is free of all blame.

21 If any one break a hole into a house (break in to steal), he shall be put to death before that hole and be buried.

22 If any one is committing a robbery and is caught, then he shall be put to death.

23 If the robber is not caught, then shall he who was robbed claim under oath the amount of his loss; then shall the community, and [...] on whose ground and territory and in whose domain it was compensate him for the goods stolen.

24 If persons are stolen, then shall the community and [...] pay one mina of silver to their relatives.

25 If fire break out in a house, and some one who comes to put it out cast his eye upon the property of the owner of the house, and take the property of the master of the house, he shall be thrown into that self-same fire.

26 If a chieftain or a man (common soldier), who has been ordered to go upon the king's highway for war does not go, but hires a mercenary, if he withholds the compensation, then shall this officer or man be put to death, and he who represented him shall take possession of his house.

27 If a chieftain or man be caught in the misfortune of the king (captured in battle), and if his fields and garden be given to another and he take possession, if he return and reaches his place, his field and garden shall be returned to him, he shall take it over again.

28 If a chieftain or a man be caught in the misfortune of a king, if his son is able to enter into possession, then the field and garden shall be given to him, he shall take over the fee of his father.

29 If his son is still young, and can not take possession, a third of the field and garden shall be given to his mother, and she shall bring him up.

30 If a chieftain or a man leave his house, garden, and field and hires it out, and some one else takes possession of his house, garden, and field and uses it for three years: if the first owner return and claims his house, garden, and field, it shall not be given to him, but he who has taken possession of it and used it shall continue to use it.

31 If he hire it out for one year and then return, the house, garden, and field shall be given back to him, and he shall take it over again.

32 If a chieftain or a man is captured on the "Way of the King" (in war), and a merchant buy him free, and bring him

back to his place; if he have the means in his house to buy his freedom, he shall buy himself free: if he have nothing in his house with which to buy himself free, he shall be bought free by the temple of his community; if there be nothing in the temple with which to buy him free, the court shall buy his freedom. His field, garden, and house shall not be given for the purchase of his freedom.

33 If a [...] or a [...] enter himself as withdrawn from the "Way of the King," and send a mercenary as substitute, but withdraw him, then the [...] or [...] shall be put to death.

34 If a [...] or a [...] harm the property of a captain, injure the captain, or take away from the captain a gift presented to him by the king, then the [...] or [...] shall be put to death.

35 If any one buy the cattle or sheep which the king has given to chieftains from him, he loses his money.

36 The field, garden, and house of a chieftain, of a man, or of one subject to quit-rent, can not be sold.

37 If any one buy the field, garden, and house of a chieftain, man, or one subject to quit-rent, his contract tablet of sale shall be broken (declared invalid) and he loses his money. The field, garden, and house return to their owners.

38 A chieftain, man, or one subject to quit-rent can not assign his tenure of field, house, and garden to his wife or daughter, nor can he assign it for a debt.

39 He may, however, assign a field, garden, or house which he has bought, and holds as property, to his wife or daughter or give it for debt.

40 He may sell field, garden, and house to a merchant (royal agents) or to any other public official, the buyer holding field, house, and garden for its usufruct.

41 If any one fence in the field, garden, and house of a chieftain, man, or one subject to quit-rent, furnishing the palings therefor; if the chieftain, man, or one subject to quit-rent return to field, garden, and house, the palings which were given to him become his property.

42 If any one take over a field to till it, and obtain no harvest therefrom, it must be proved that he did no work on the field, and he must deliver grain, just as his neighbour raised, to the owner of the field.

43 If he do not till the field, but let it lie fallow, he shall give grain like his neighbour's to the owner of the field, and the field which he let lie fallow he must plow and sow and return to its owner.

44 If any one take over a waste-lying field to make it arable, but is lazy, and does not make it arable, he shall plow the fallow field in the fourth year, harrow it and till it, and give it back to its owner, and for each ten gan (a measure of area) ten gur of grain shall be paid.

45 If a man rent his field for tillage for a fixed rental, and receive the rent of his field, but bad weather come and destroy the harvest, the injury falls upon the tiller of the soil.

46 If he do not receive a fixed rental for his field, but lets it on half or third shares of the harvest, the grain on the field shall be divided proportionately between the tiller and the owner

47 If the tiller, because he did not succeed in the first year, has had the soil tilled by others, the owner may raise no objection; the field has been cultivated and he receives the harvest according to agreement.

48 If any one owe a debt for a loan, and a storm prostrates the grain, or the harvest fail, or the grain does not grow for lack of water; in that year he need not give his creditor any grain, he washes his debt-tablet in water and pays no rent for this year.

49 If any one take money from a merchant, and give the merchant a field tillable for corn or sesame and order him to plant corn or sesame in the field, and to harvest the crop; if the cultivator plant corn or sesame in the field, at the harvest the corn or sesame that is in the field shall belong to the owner of the field and he shall pay corn as rent, for the money he received from the merchant, and the livelihood of the cultivator shall he give to the merchant.

50 If he give a cultivated corn-field or a cultivated sesamefield, the corn or sesame in the field shall belong to the owner of the field, and he shall return the money to the merchant as rent.

51 If he have no money to repay, then he shall pay in corn or sesame in place of the money as rent for what he received from the merchant, according to the royal tariff.

52 If the cultivator do not plant corn or sesame in the field, the debtor's contract is not weakened.

53 If any one be too lazy to keep his dam in proper condition, and does not so keep it; if then the dam break and all the fields be flooded, then shall he in whose dam the break occurred be sold for money, and the money shall replace the corn which he has caused to be ruined.

54 If he be not able to replace the corn, then he and his possessions shall be divided among the farmers whose corn he has flooded

55 If any one open his ditches to water his crop, but is careless, and the water flood the field of his neighbour, then he shall pay his neighbour corn for his loss.

56 If a man let in the water, and the water overflow the plantation of his neighbour, he shall pay ten gur of corn for every ten gan of land.

57 If a shepherd, without the permission of the owner of the field, and without the knowledge of the owner of the sheep, lets the sheep into a field to graze, then the owner of the field shall harvest his crop, and the shepherd, who had pastured his flock there without permission of the owner of the field, shall pay to the owner twenty gur of corn for every ten gan.

58 If after the flocks have left the pasture and been shut up in the common fold at the city gate, any shepherd let them into a field and they graze there, this shepherd shall take possession of the field which he has allowed to be grazed on, and at the harvest he must pay sixty gur of corn for every ten gan.

59 If any man, without the knowledge of the owner of a garden, fell a tree in a garden he shall pay half a mina in

60 If any one give over a field to a gardener, for him to plant it as a garden, if he work at it, and care for it for four years, in the fifth year the owner and the gardener shall divide it, the owner taking his part in charge.

61 If the gardener has not completed the planting of the field, leaving one part unused, this shall be assigned to him as him.

62 If he do not plant the field that was given over to him as a garden, if it be arable land (for corn or sesame) the gardener shall pay the owner the produce of the field for the years that he let it lie fallow, according to the product of neighbouring fields, put the field in arable condition and return it to its owner

63 If he transform waste land into arable fields and return it to its owner, the latter shall pay him for one year ten gur for

64 If any one hand over his garden to a gardener to work, the gardener shall pay to its owner two-thirds of the produce of the garden, for so long as he has it in possession, and the other third shall he keep.

65 If the gardener do not work in the garden and the product fall off, the gardener shall pay in proportion to other neighbouring gardens.

[66-99 missing]

100 [...] interest for the money, as much as he has received, he shall give a note therefor, and on the day, when they settle, pay to the merchant.

101 If there are no mercantile arrangements in the place whither he went, he shall leave the entire amount of money which he received with the broker to give to the merchant.

102 If a merchant entrust money to an agent (broker) for some investment, and the broker suffer a loss in the place to which he goes, he shall make good the capital to the merchant.

103 If, while on the journey, an enemy take away from him anything that he had, the broker shall swear by God and be free of obligation.

104 If a merchant give an agent corn, wool, oil, or any other goods to transport, the agent shall give a receipt for the amount, and compensate the merchant therefor. Then he shall obtain a receipt form the merchant for the money that he gives the merchant.

105 If the agent is careless, and does not take a receipt for the money which he gave the merchant, he can not consider the unreceipted money as his own.

106 If the agent accept money from the merchant, but have a quarrel with the merchant (denying the receipt), then shall the merchant swear before God and witnesses that he has given this money to the agent, and the agent shall pay him three times the sum.

107 If the merchant cheat the agent, in that as the latter has returned to him all that had been given him, but the merchant denies the receipt of what had been returned to him, then shall his agent convict the merchant before God and the judges, and if he still deny receiving what the agent had given him shall pay six times the sum to the agent.

108 If a tavern-keeper (feminine) does not accept corn according to gross weight in payment of drink, but takes money, and the price of the drink is less than that of the corn, she shall be convicted and thrown into the water.

109 If conspirators meet in the house of a tavern-keeper, and these conspirators are not captured and delivered to the court, the tavern-keeper shall be put to death.

110 If a "sister of a god" open a tavern, or enter a tavern to drink, then shall this woman be burned to death.

111 If an inn-keeper furnish sixty ka of usakani-drink to [...] she shall receive fifty ka of corn at the harvest.

112 If any one be on a journey and entrust silver, gold, precious stones, or any movable property to another, and wish to recover it from him; if the latter do not bring all of the property to the appointed place, but appropriate it to his own use, then shall this man, who did not bring the property to hand it over, be convicted, and he shall pay fivefold for all that had been entrusted to him.

113 If any one have consignment of corn or money, and he take from the granary or box without the knowledge of the owner, then shall he who took corn without the knowledge of

the owner out of the granary or money out of the box be legally convicted, and repay the corn he has taken. And he shall lose whatever commission was paid to him, or due him.

- 114 If a man have no claim on another for corn and money, and try to demand it by force, he shall pay one-third of a mina of silver in every case.
- 115 If any one have a claim for corn or money upon another and imprison him; if the prisoner die in prison a natural death, the case shall go no further.
- 116 If the prisoner die in prison from blows or maltreatment, the master of the prisoner shall convict the merchant before the judge. If he was a free-born man, the son of the merchant shall be put to death; if it was a slave, he shall pay one-third of a mina of gold, and all that the master of the prisoner gave he shall forfeit.
- 117 If any one fail to meet a claim for debt, and sell himself, his wife, his son, and daughter for money or give them away to forced labor: they shall work for three years in the house of the man who bought them, or the proprietor, and in the fourth year they shall be set free.
- 118 If he give a male or female slave away for forced labor, and the merchant sublease them, or sell them for money, no objection can be raised.
- 119 If any one fail to meet a claim for debt, and he sell the maid servant who has borne him children, for money, the money which the merchant has paid shall be repaid to him by the owner of the slave and she shall be freed.
- 120 If any one store corn for safe keeping in another person's house, and any harm happen to the corn in storage, or if the owner of the house open the granary and take some of the corn, or if especially he deny that the corn was stored in its house: then the owner of the corn shall claim his corn before God (on oath), and the owner of the house shall pay its owner for all of the corn that he took.
- 121 If any one store corn in another man's house he shall pay him storage at the rate of one gur for every five ka of corn per year.
- 122 If any one give another silver, gold, or anything else to keep, he shall show everything to some witness, draw up a contract, and then hand it over for safe keeping.
- 123 If he turn it over for safe keeping without witness or contract, and if he to whom it was given deny it, then he has no legitimate claim.
- 124 If any one deliver silver, gold, or anything else to another for safe keeping, before a witness, but he deny it, he shall be brought before a judge, and all that he has denied he shall bay in full.
- shall pay in full.

 125 If any one place his property with another for safe keeping, and there, either through thieves or robbers, his property and the property of the other man be lost, the owner of the house, through whose neglect the loss took place, shall compensate the owner for all that was given to him in charge. But the owner of the house shall try to follow up and recover his property, and take it away from the thief.
- 126 If any one who has not lost his goods state that they have been lost, and make false claims: if he claim his goods and amount of injury before God, even though he has not lost them, he shall be fully compensated for all his loss claimed. (i.e., the oath is all that is needed.)
- 127 If any one "point the finger" (slander) at a sister of a god or the wife of any one, and can not prove it, this man shall be taken before the judges and his brow shall be marked. (by cutting the skin, or perhaps hair.)
- 128 If a man take a woman to wife, but have no intercourse with her, this woman is no wife to him.
- 129 If a man's wife be surprised (in flagrante delicto) with another man, both shall be tied and thrown into the water, but the husband may pardon his wife and the king his slaves.
- 130 If a man violate the wife (betrothed or child-wife) of another man, who has never known a man, and still lives in her father's house, and sleep with her and be surprised, this man shall be put to death, but the wife is blameless.
- 131 If a man bring a charge against one's wife, but she is not surprised with another man, she must take an oath and then may return to her house.
- 132 If the "finger is pointed" at a man's wife about another man, but she is not caught sleeping with the other man, she shall jump into the river for her husband.
- 133 If a man is taken prisoner in war, and there is a sustenance in his house, but his wife leave house and court, and go to another house: because this wife did not keep her court, and went to another house, she shall be judicially condemned and thrown into the water.
- 134 If any one be captured in war and there is not sustenance in his house, if then his wife go to another house this woman shall be held blameless.
- 135 If a man be taken prisoner in war and there be no sustenance in his house and his wife go to another house and bear children; and if later her husband return and come to his home: then this wife shall return to her husband, but the children follow their father.
- 136 If any one leave his house, run away, and then his wife go to another house, if then he return, and wishes to take his

- wife back: because he fled from his home and ran away, the wife of this runaway shall not return to her husband.
- 137 If a man wish to separate from a woman who has borne him children, or from his wife who has borne him children: then he shall give that wife her dowry, and a part of the usufruct of field, garden, and property, so that she can rear her children. When she has brought up her children, a portion of all that is given to the children, equal as that of one son, shall be given to her. She may then marry the man of her heart.
- 138 If a man wishes to separate from his wife who has borne him no children, he shall give her the amount of her purchase money and the dowry which she brought from her father's house, and let her go.
- 139 If there was no purchase price he shall give her one mina of gold as a gift of release.
- 140 If he be a freed man he shall give her one-third of a mina of gold.
- 141 If a man's wife, who lives in his house, wishes to leave it, plunges into debt, tries to ruin her house, neglects her husband, and is judicially convicted: if her husband offer her release, she may go on her way, and he gives her nothing as a gift of release. If her husband does not wish to release her, and if he take another wife, she shall remain as servant in her husband's house.
- 142 If a woman quarrel with her husband, and say: "You are not congenial to me," the reasons for her prejudice must be presented. If she is guiltless, and there is no fault on her part, but he leaves and neglects her, then no guilt attaches to this woman, she shall take her dowry and go back to her father's house.
- 143 If she is not innocent, but leaves her husband, and ruins her house, neglecting her husband, this woman shall be cast into the water.
- 144 If a man take a wife and this woman give her husband a maid-servant, and she bear him children, but this man wishes to take another wife, this shall not be permitted to him; he shall not take a second wife.
- 145 If a man take a wife, and she bear him no children, and he intend to take another wife: if he take this second wife, and bring her into the house, this second wife shall not be allowed equality with his wife.
- 146 If a man take a wife and she give this man a maidservant as wife and she bear him children, and then this maid assume equality with the wife: because she has borne him children her master shall not sell her for money, but he may keep her as a slave, reckoning her among the maid-servants.
- 147 If she have not borne him children, then her mistress may sell her for money.
- 148 If a man take a wife, and she be seized by disease, if he then desire to take a second wife he shall not put away his wife, who has been attacked by disease, but he shall keep her in the house which he has built and support her so long as she lives.
- 149 If this woman does not wish to remain in her husband's house, then he shall compensate her for the dowry that she brought with her from her father's house, and she may go.
- 150 If a man give his wife a field, garden, and house and a deed therefor, if then after the death of her husband the sons raise no claim, then the mother may bequeath all to one of her sons whom she prefers, and need leave nothing to his brothers.
- 151 If a woman who lived in a man's house made an agreement with her husband, that no creditor can arrest her, and has given a document therefor: if that man, before he married that woman, had a debt, the creditor can not hold the woman for it. But if the woman, before she entered the man's house, had contracted a debt, her creditor can not arrest her husband therefor.
- 152 If after the woman had entered the man's house, both contracted a debt, both must pay the merchant.
- 153 If the wife of one man on account of another man has their mates (her husband and the other man's wife) murdered, both of them shall be impaled.
- 154 If a man be guilty of incest with his daughter, he shall be driven from the place (exiled).
- 155 If a man betroth a girl to his son, and his son have intercourse with her, but he (the father) afterward defile her, and be surprised, then he shall be bound and cast into the water (drowned).
- 156 If a man betroth a girl to his son, but his son has not known her, and if then he defile her, he shall pay her half a gold mina, and compensate her for all that she brought out of her father's house. She may marry the man of her heart.
- 157 If any one be guilty of incest with his mother after his father, both shall be burned.
- 158 If any one be surprised after his father with his chief wife, who has borne children, he shall be driven out of his father's house.
- 159 If any one, who has brought chattels into his father-inlaw's house, and has paid the purchase-money, looks for another wife, and says to his father-in-law: "I do not want your daughter," the girl's father may keep all that he had brought.
- 160 If a man bring chattels into the house of his father-inlaw, and pay the "purchase price" (for his wife): if then the

- father of the girl say: "I will not give you my daughter," he shall give him back all that he brought with him.
- 161 If a man bring chattels into his father-in-law's house and pay the "purchase price," if then his friend slander him, and his father-in-law say to the young husband: "You shall not marry my daughter," the he shall give back to him undiminished all that he had brought with him; but his wife shall not be married to the friend.
- 162 If a man marry a woman, and she bear sons to him; if then this woman die, then shall her father have no claim on her dowry; this belongs to her sons.
- 163 If a man marry a woman and she bear him no sons; if then this woman die, if the "purchase price" which he had paid into the house of his father-in-law is repaid to him, her husband shall have no claim upon the dowry of this woman; it belongs to her father's house.
- 164 If his father-in-law do not pay back to him the amount of the "purchase price" he may subtract the amount of the "Purchase price" from the dowry, and then pay the remainder to her father's house.
- 165 If a man give to one of his sons whom he prefers a field, garden, and house, and a deed therefor: if later the father die, and the brothers divide the estate, then they shall first give him the present of his father, and he shall accept it; and the rest of the paternal property shall they divide.
- 166 If a man take wives for his son, but take no wife for his minor son, and if then he die: if the sons divide the estate, they shall set aside besides his portion the money for the "purchase price" for the minor brother who had taken no wife as yet, and secure a wife for him.
- 167 If a man marry a wife and she bear him children: if this wife die and he then take another wife and she bear him children: if then the father die, the sons must not partition the estate according to the mothers, they shall divide the dowries of their mothers only in this way; the paternal estate they shall divide equally with one another.
- 168 If a man wish to put his son out of his house, and declare before the judge: "I want to put my son out," then the judge shall examine into his reasons. If the son be guilty of no great fault, for which he can be rightfully put out, the father shall not put him out.
- 169 If he be guilty of a grave fault, which should rightfully deprive him of the filial relationship, the father shall forgive him the first time; but if he be guilty of a grave fault a second time the father may deprive his son of all filial relation.
- 170 If his wife bear sons to a man, or his maid-servant have borne sons, and the father while still living says to the children whom his maid-servant has borne: "My sons," and he count them with the sons of his wife; if then the father die, then the sons of the wife and of the maid-servant shall divide the paternal property in common. The son of the wife is to partition and choose.
- 171 If, however, the father while still living did not say to the sons of the maid-servant: "My sons," and then the father dies, then the sons of the maid-servant shall not share with the sons of the wife, but the freedom of the maid and her sons shall be granted. The sons of the wife shall have no right to enslave the sons of the maid; the wife shall take her dowry (from her father), and the gift that her husband gave her and deeded to her (separate from dowry, or the purchase-money paid her father), and live in the home of her husband: so long as she lives she shall use it, it shall not be sold for money. Whatever she leaves shall belong to her children.
- 172 If her husband made her no gift, she shall be compensated for her gift, and she shall receive a portion from the estate of her husband, equal to that of one child. If her sons oppress her, to force her out of the house, the judge shall examine into the matter, and if the sons are at fault the woman shall not leave her husband's house. If the woman desire to leave the house, she must leave to her sons the gift which her husband gave her, but she may take the dowry of her father's house. Then she may marry the man of her heart.
- 173 If this woman bear sons to her second husband, in the place to which she went, and then die, her earlier and later sons shall divide the dowry between them.
- 174 If she bear no sons to her second husband, the sons of her first husband shall have the dowry.
- 175 If a State slave or the slave of a freed man marry the daughter of a free man, and children are born, the master of the slave shall have no right to enslave the children of the free.
- 176 If, however, a State slave or the slave of a freed man marry a man's daughter, and after he marries her she bring a dowry from a father's house, if then they both enjoy it and found a household, and accumulate means, if then the slave die, then she who was free born may take her dowry, and all that her husband and she had earned; she shall divide them into two parts, one-half the master for the slave shall take, and the other half shall the free-born woman take for her children. If the free-born woman had no gift she shall take all that her husband and she had earned and divide it into two parts; and the master of the slave shall take one-half and she shall take the other for her children.
- 177 If a widow, whose children are not grown, wishes to enter another house (remarry), she shall not enter it without

the knowledge of the judge. If she enter another house the judge shall examine the state of the house of her first husband. Then the house of her first husband shall be entrusted to the second husband and the woman herself as managers. And a record must be made thereof. She shall keep the house in order, bring up the children, and not sell the house-hold utensils. He who buys the utensils of the children of a widow shall lose his money, and the goods shall return to their owners.

178 If a "devoted woman" or a prostitute to whom her father has given a dowry and a deed therefor, but if in this deed it is not stated that she may bequeath it as she pleases, and has not explicitly stated that she has the right of disposal; if then her father die, then her brothers shall hold her field and garden, and give her corn, oil, and milk according to her portion, and satisfy her. If her brothers do not give her corn, oil, and milk according to her share, then her field and garden shall support her. She shall have the usufruct of field and garden and all that her father gave her so long as she lives, but she can not sell or assign it to others. Her position of inheritance belongs to her brothers.

179 If a "sister of a god," or a prostitute, receive a gift from her father, and a deed in which it has been explicitly stated that she may dispose of it as she pleases, and give her complete disposition thereof: if then her father die, then she may leave her property to whomsoever she pleases. Her brothers can raise no claim thereto.

180 If a father give a present to his daughter — either marriageable or a prostitute (unmarriageable) — and then die, then she is to receive a portion as a child from the paternal estate, and enjoy its usufruct so long as she lives. Her estate belongs to her brothers.

181 If a father devote a temple-maid or temple-virgin to God and give her no present: if then the father die, she shall receive the third of a child's portion from the inheritance of her father's house, and enjoy its usufruct so long as she lives. Her estate belongs to her brothers.

182 If a father devote his daughter as a wife of Mardi of Babylon (as in 181), and give her no present, nor a deed; if then her father die, then shall she receive one-third of her portion as a child of her father's house from her brothers, but Marduk may leave her estate to whomsoever she wishes.

183 If a man give his daughter by a concubine a dowry, and a husband, and a deed; if then her father die, she shall receive no portion from the paternal estate.

184 If a man do not give a dowry to his daughter by a concubine, and no husband; if then her father die, her brother shall give her a dowry according to her father's wealth and secure a husband for her.

185 If a man adopt a child and to his name as son, and rear him, this grown son can not be demanded back again.

186 If a man adopt a son, and if after he has taken him he injure his foster father and mother, then this adopted son shall return to his father's house.

187 The son of a paramour in the palace service, or of a prostitute, can not be demanded back.

prostitute, can not be demanded back.

188 If an artizan has undertaken to rear a child and teaches him his craft, he can not be demanded back.

189 If he has not taught him his craft, this adopted son may return to his father's house.

190 If a man does not maintain a child that he has adopted as a son and reared with his other children, then his adopted son may return to his father's house.

191 If a man, who had adopted a son and reared him, founded a household, and had children, wish to put this adopted son out, then this son shall not simply go his way. His adoptive father shall give him of his wealth one-third of a child's portion, and then he may go. He shall not give him of the field, garden, and house.

192 If a son of a paramour or a prostitute say to his adoptive father or mother: "You are not my father, or my mother," his tongue shall be cut off.

193 If the son of a paramour or a prostitute desire his father's house, and desert his adoptive father and adoptive mother, and goes to his father's house, then shall his eye be put out.

194 If a man give his child to a nurse and the child die in her hands, but the nurse unbeknown to the father and mother nurse another child, then they shall convict her of having nursed another child without the knowledge of the father and mother and her breasts shall be cut off.

195 If a son strike his father, his hands shall be hewn off.

196 If a man put out the eye of another man, his eye shall be put out.

197 If he break another man's bone, his bone shall be broken.

198 If he put out the eye of a freed man, or break the bone of a freed man, he shall pay one gold mina.

199 If he put out the eye of a man's slave, or break the bone of a man's slave, he shall pay one-half of its value.

200 If a man knock out the teeth of his equal, his teeth shall

200 If a man knock out the teeth of his equal, his teeth shall be knocked out.

201 If he knock out the teeth of a freed man, he shall pay one-third of a gold mina.

202 If any one strike the body of a man higher in rank than he, he shall receive sixty blows with an ox-whip in public.

203 If a free-born man strike the body of another free-born man or equal rank, he shall pay one gold mina.

204 If a freed man strike the body of another freed man, he shall pay ten shekels in money.

205 If the slave of a freed man strike the body of a freed man, his ear shall be cut off.

206 If during a quarrel one man strike another and wound him, then he shall swear, "I did not injure him wittingly," and pay the physicians.

207 If the man die of his wound, he shall swear similarly, and if he (the deceased) was a free-born man, he shall pay half a mina in money.

208 If he was a freed man, he shall pay one-third of a mina. 209 If a man strike a free-born woman so that she lose her

unborn child, he shall pay ten shekels for her loss.
210 If the woman die, his daughter shall be put to death.

211 If a woman of the free class lose her child by a blow, he shall pay five shekels in money.

212 If this woman die, he shall pay half a mina.

213 If he strike the maid-servant of a man, and she lose her child, he shall pay two shekels in money.

214 If this maid-servant die, he shall pay one-third of a mina.

215 If a physician make a large incision with an operating knife and cure it, or if he open a tumor (over the eye) with an operating knife, and saves the eye, he shall receive ten shekels in money.

216 If the patient be a freed man, he receives five shekels.

217 If he be the slave of some one, his owner shall give the physician two shekels.

218 If a physician make a large incision with the operating knife, and kill him, or open a tumor with the operating knife, and cut out the eye, his hands shall be cut off.

219 If a physician make a large incision in the slave of a freed man, and kill him, he shall replace the slave with another slave.

220 If he had opened a tumor with the operating knife, and put out his eye, he shall pay half his value.

221 If a physician heal the broken bone or diseased soft part of a man, the patient shall pay the physician five shekels in money.

222 If he were a freed man he shall pay three shekels.

223 If he were a slave his owner shall pay the physician two shekels.

224 If a veterinary surgeon perform a serious operation on an ass or an ox, and cure it, the owner shall pay the surgeon one-sixth of a shekel as a fee.

225 If he perform a serious operation on an ass or ox, and kill it, he shall pay the owner one-fourth of its value.

226 If a barber, without the knowledge of his master, cut the sign of a slave on a slave not to be sold, the hands of this barber shall be cut off

227 If any one deceive a barber, and have him mark a slave not for sale with the sign of a slave, he shall be put to death, and buried in his house. The barber shall swear: "I did not mark him wittingly," and shall be guiltless.

228 If a builder build a house for some one and complete it, he shall give him a fee of two shekels in money for each sar of surface

229 If a builder build a house for some one, and does not construct it properly, and the house which he built fall in and kill its owner, then that builder shall be put to death.

230 If it kill the son of the owner the son of that builder shall be put to death.

231 If it kill a slave of the owner, then he shall pay slave for slave to the owner of the house.

232 If it ruin goods, he shall make compensation for all that has been ruined, and inasmuch as he did not construct properly this house which he built and it fell, he shall re-erect the house from his own means.

233 If a builder build a house for some one, even though he has not yet completed it; if then the walls seem toppling, the builder must make the walls solid from his own means.

234 If a shipbuilder build a boat of sixty gur for a man, he shall pay him a fee of two shekels in money.

235 If a shipbuilder build a boat for some one, and do not make it tight, if during that same year that boat is sent away and suffers injury, the shipbuilder shall take the boat apart and put it together tight at his own expense. The tight boat he shall give to the boat owner.

236 If a man rent his boat to a sailor, and the sailor is careless, and the boat is wrecked or goes aground, the sailor shall give the owner of the boat another boat as compensation.

237 If a man hire a sailor and his boat, and provide it with corn, clothing, oil and dates, and other things of the kind needed for fitting it: if the sailor is careless, the boat is wrecked, and its contents ruined, then the sailor shall compensate for the boat which was wrecked and all in it that he ruined.

238 If a sailor wreck any one's ship, but saves it, he shall pay the half of its value in money. $239\ \mathrm{If}\ a$ man hire a sailor, he shall pay him six gur of corn per year.

240 If a merchantman run against a ferryboat, and wreck it, the master of the ship that was wrecked shall seek justice before God; the master of the merchantman, which wrecked the ferryboat, must compensate the owner for the boat and all that he ruined.

241 If any one impresses an ox for forced labor, he shall pay one-third of a mina in money.

242 If any one hire oxen for a year, he shall pay four gur of corn for plow-oxen.

243 As rent of herd cattle he shall pay three gur of corn to the owner.

244 If any one hire an ox or an ass, and a lion kill it in the field, the loss is upon its owner.

245 If any one hire oxen, and kill them by bad treatment or blows, he shall compensate the owner, oxen for oxen.

246 If a man hire an ox, and he break its leg or cut the ligament of its neck, he shall compensate the owner with ox for ox.

247 If any one hire an ox, and put out its eye, he shall pay the owner one-half of its value.

248 If any one hire an ox, and break off a horn, or cut off its tail, or hurt its muzzle, he shall pay one-fourth of its value in money.

249 If any one hire an ox, and God strike it that it die, the man who hired it shall swear by God and be considered guiltless.

250 If while an ox is passing on the street (market) some one push it, and kill it, the owner can set up no claim in the suit (against the hirer).

251 If an ox be a goring ox, and it shown that he is a gorer, and he do not bind his horns, or fasten the ox up, and the ox gore a free-born man and kill him, the owner shall pay one-half a mina in money.

252 If he kill a man's slave, he shall pay one-third of a mina.
253 If any one agree with another to tend his field, give him seed, entrust a yoke of oxen to him, and bind him to cultivate the field, if he steal the corn or plants, and take them for

himself, his hands shall be hewn off.

254 If he take the seed-corn for himself, and do not use the yoke of oxen, he shall compensate him for the amount of the seed-corn.

255 If he sublet the man's yoke of oxen or steal the seedcorn, planting nothing in the field, he shall be convicted, and for each one hundred gan he shall pay sixty gur of corn.

256 If his community will not pay for him, then he shall be placed in that field with the cattle (at work).

257 If any one hire a field laborer, he shall pay him eight gur of corn per year.

258 If any one hire an ox-driver, he shall pay him six gur of corn per year.

259 If any one steal a water-wheel from the field, he shall pay five shekels in money to its owner.

260 If any one steal a shadduf (used to draw water from the river or canal) or a plow, he shall pay three shekels in money.

261 If any one hire a herdsman for cattle or sheep, he shall pay him eight gur of corn per annum.

262 If any one, a cow or a sheep [...]

263 If he kill the cattle or sheep that were given to him, he shall compensate the owner with cattle for cattle and sheep for sheep.

264 If a herdsman, to whom cattle or sheep have been entrusted for watching over, and who has received his wages as agreed upon, and is satisfied, diminish the number of the cattle or sheep, or make the increase by birth less, he shall make good the increase or profit which was lost in the terms of settlement.

265 If a herdsman, to whose care cattle or sheep have been entrusted, be guilty of fraud and make false returns of the natural increase, or sell them for money, then shall he be convicted and pay the owner ten times the loss.

266 If the animal be killed in the stable by God (an accident), or if a lion kill it, the herdsman shall declare his innocence before God, and the owner bears the accident in the stable.

267 If the herdsman overlook something, and an accident happen in the stable, then the herdsman is at fault for the accident which he has caused in the stable, and he must compensate the owner for the cattle or sheep.

268 If any one hire an ox for threshing, the amount of the hire is twenty kg of corn.

269 If he hire an ass for threshing, the hire is twenty ka of corn.

270 If he hire a young animal for threshing, the hire is ten ka of corn.

271 If any one hire oxen, cart and driver, he shall pay one hundred and eighty ka of corn per day.

272 If any one hire a cart alone, he shall pay forty ka of corn per day.

273 If any one hire a day laborer, he shall pay him from the New Year until the fifth month (April to August, when days are long and the work hard) six gerahs in money per day;

from the sixth month to the end of the year he shall give him five gerahs per day.

274 If any one hire a skilled artizan, he shall pay as wages of the [...] five gerahs, as wages of the potter five gerahs, of a tailor five gerahs, of [...] gerahs, [...] of a ropemaker four gerahs, of [...] gerahs, of a mason [...] gerahs per day.

275 If any one hire a ferryboat, he shall pay three gerahs in money per day.

276 If he hire a freight-boat, he shall pay two and one-half gerahs per day.

277 If any one hire a ship of sixty gur, he shall pay one-sixth of a shekel in money as its hire per day.

278 If any one buy a male or female slave, and before a month has elapsed the benu-disease be developed, he shall return the slave to the seller, and receive the money which he had paid.

279 If any one by a male or female slave, and a third party claim it, the seller is liable for the claim.

280 If while in a foreign country a man buy a male or female slave belonging to another of his own country; if when he return home the owner of the male or female slave recognize it: if the male or female slave be a native of the country, he shall give them back without any money.

281 If they are from another country, the buyer shall declare the amount of money paid therefor to the merchant, and keep the male or female slave.

282 If a slave say to his master: "You are not my master," if they convict him his master shall cut off his ear.

THE EPILOGUE

Laws of justice which Hammurabi, the wise king, established. A righteous law, and pious statute did he teach the land. Hammurabi, the protecting king am I. I have not withdrawn myself from the men, whom Bel gave to me, the rule over whom Marduk gave to me, I was not negligent, but I made them a peaceful abiding-place. I expounded all great difficulties, I made the light shine upon them. With the mighty weapons which Zamama and Ishtar entrusted to me, with the keen vision with which Ea endowed me, with the wisdom that Marduk gave me, I have uprooted the enemy above and below (in north and south), subdued the earth, brought prosperity to the land, guaranteed security to the inhabitants in their homes; a disturber was not permitted. The great gods have called me, I am the salvation-bearing shepherd, whose staff is straight, the good shadow that is spread over my city; on my breast I cherish the inhabitants of the land of Sumer and Akkad; in my shelter I have let them repose in peace: in my deep wisdom have I enclosed them. That the strong might not injure the weak, in order to protect the widows and orphans, I have in Babylon the city where Anu and Bel raise high their head, in E-Sagil, the Temple, whose foundations stand firm as heaven and earth, in order to bespeak justice in the land, to settle all disputes, and heal all injuries, set up these my precious words, written upon my memorial stone, before the image of me, as king of righteousness.

The king who ruleth among the kings of the cities am I. My words are well considered; there is no wisdom like unto mine. By the command of Shamash, the great judge of heaven and earth, let righteousness go forth in the land: by the order of Marduk, my lord, let no destruction befall my monument. In E-Sagil, which I love, let my name be ever repeated; let the oppressed, who has a case at law, come and stand before this my image as king of righteousness; let him read the inscription, and understand my precious words: the inscription will explain his case to him; he will find out what is just, and his heart will be glad, so that he will say: "Hammurabi is a ruler, who is as a father to his subjects, who holds the words of Marduk in reverence, who has achieved conquest for Marduk over the north and south, who rejoices the heart of Marduk, his lord, who has bestowed benefits for ever and ever on his subjects, and has established order in the

When he reads the record, let him pray with full heart to Marduk, my lord, and Zarpanit, my lady; and then shall the protecting deities and the gods, who frequent E-Sagil, graciously grant the desires daily presented before Marduk, my lord, and Zarpanit, my lady.

In future time, through all coming generations, let the king, who may be in the land, observe the words of righteousness which I have written on my monument; let him not alter the law of the land which I have given, the edicts which I have enacted; my monument let him not mar. If such a ruler have wisdom, and be able to keep his land in order, he shall observe the words which I have written in this inscription; the rule, statute, and law of the land which I have given; the decisions which I have made will this inscription show him; let him rule his subjects accordingly, speak justice to them, give right decisions, root out the miscreants and criminals from this land, and grant prosperity to his subjects.

Hammurabi, the king of righteousness, on whom Shamash has conferred right (or law) am I. My words are well considered; my deeds are not equaled; to bring low those that were high; to humble the proud, to expel insolence. If a

succeeding ruler considers my words, which I have written in this my inscription, if he do not annul my law, nor corrupt my words, nor change my monument, then may Shamash lengthen that king's reign, as he has that of me, the king of righteousness, that he may reign in righteousness over his subjects. If this ruler do not esteem my words, which I have written in my inscription, if he despise my curses, and fear not the curse of God, if he destroy the law which I have given, corrupt my words, change my monument, efface my name, write his name there, or on account of the curses commission another so to do, that man, whether king or ruler, patesi, or commoner, no matter what he be, may the great God (Anu), the Father of the gods, who has ordered my rule, withdraw from him the glory of royalty, break his scepter, curse his destiny. May Bel, the lord, who fixeth destiny, whose command can not be altered, who has made my kingdom great, order a rebellion which his hand can not control; may he let the wind of the overthrow of his habitation blow, may he ordain the years of his rule in groaning, years of scarcity, years of famine, darkness without light, death with seeing eyes be fated to him; may he (Bel) order with his potent mouth the destruction of his city, the dispersion of his subjects, the cutting off of his rule, the removal of his name and memory from the land. May Belit, the great Mother, whose command is potent in E-Kur (the Babylonian Olympus), the Mistress, who harkens graciously to my petitions, in the seat of judgement and decision (where Bel fixes destiny), turn his affairs evil before Bel, and put the devastation of his land, the destruction of his subjects, the pouring out of his life like water into the mouth of King Bel. May Ea, the great ruler, whose fated decrees come to pass, the thinker of the gods, the omniscient, who maketh long the days of my life, withdraw understanding and wisdom from him, lead him to forgetfulness, shut up his rivers at their sources, and not allow corn or sustenance for man to grow in his land. May Shamash, the great Judge of heaven and earth, who supporteth all means of livelihood, Lord of life-courage, shatter his dominion, annul his law, destroy his way, make vain the march of his troops, send him in his visions forecasts of the uprooting of the foundations of his throne and of the destruction of his land. May the condemnation of Shamash overtake him forthwith: may he be deprived of water above among the living, and his spirit below in the earth. May Sin (the Moon-god), the Lord of Heaven, the divine father, whose crescent gives light among the gods, take away the crown and regal throne from him; may he put upon him heavy guilt, great decay, that nothing may be lower than he. May he destine him as fated, days, months and years of dominion filled with sighing and tears, increase of the burden of dominion, a life that is like unto death. May Adad, the lord of fruitfulness, ruler of heaven and earth, my helper, withhold from him rain from heaven, and the flood of water from the springs, destroying his land by famine and want; may he rage mightily over his city, and make his land into flood-hills (heans of ruined cities). May Zamama, the great warrior, the first-born son of E-Kur, who goeth at my right hand, shatter his weapons on the field of battle, turn day into night for him, and let his foe triumph over him. May Ishtar, the goddess of fighting and war, who unfetters my weapons, my gracious protecting spirit, who loveth my dominion, curse his kingdom in her angry heart; in her great wrath, change his grace into evil, and shatter his weapons on the place of fighting and war. May she create disorder and sedition for him, strike down his warriors, that the earth may drink their blood, and throw down the piles of corpses of his warriors on the field; may she not grant him a life of mercy, deliver him into the hands of his enemies, and imprison him in the land of his enemies. May Nergal, the might among the gods, whose contest is irresistible, who grants me victory, in his great might burn up his subjects like a slender reedstalk, cut off his limbs with his mighty weapons, and shatter him like an earthen image. May Nin-tu, the sublime mistress of the lands, the fruitful mother, deny him a son, vouchsafe him no name, give him no successor among men. May Nin-karak, the daughter of Anu, who adjudges grace to me, cause to come upon his members in Ekur high fever, severe wounds, that can not be healed, whose nature the physician does not understand, which he can not treat with dressing, which, like the bite of death, can not be removed, until they have sapped away his life. May he lament the loss of his life-power, and may the great gods of heaven and earth, the Anunaki, altogether inflict a curse and evil upon the confines of the temple, the walls of this E-barra (the Sun temple of Sippara), upon his dominion, his land, his warriors, his subjects, and his troops. May Bel curse him with the potent curses of his mouth that can not be altered, and may they come upon him forthwith.

THE CODE OF THE NESILIM

The Ancient Laws Of The Hittites Source: Hatusha cuneiform tablets CTH 291-292 From: The Library of Original Sources Vol. 3: The Roman World, pp. 9-11. Translation: Oliver J. Thatcher, 1901 Estimated Range of Dating: c. 1650-1500 B.C.

(Written somewhere from 1650-1500 BC, the Code of Nesilim was a document that stated ancient laws of the Hittites. Nesilim is the Hittites' name for themselves. The Hittites ruled the central Anatolian kingdom of Hatti from c. 1900 – 800 BC. They formed the earliest known Anatolian civilisation and employed an advanced system of government based on an established legal system. The Hittites created Hattusha, the capital of the kingdom, located in Turkey. The Hittite empire reached its height during the mid-14th century BC when it encompassed an area that included most of Asia Minor. Their military was well trained, well equipped, and employed chariots that were the lightest and fastest of their time

After 1180 B.C. the empire came to an end during the Bronze Age collapse. Several independent Neo-Hittite city-states were established and some of them survived until the 8th century BC.

The Hittite laws have been preserved on a number of Hittite cuneiform tablets found at Hattusa (CTH 291-292, listing 200 laws). Copies have been found written in Old Hittite as well as in Middle and Late Hittite, indicating that they had validity throughout the duration of the Hittite Empire (ca. 1650–1100 BC).

In general, the Code of Nesilim reveals much about the social structure of the society. The Hittite laws have been preserved on a number of Hittite cuneiform tablets found at Hattusa (CTH 291-292, listing 200 laws). Copies have been found written in Old Hittite as well as in Middle and Late Hittite, indicating that they had validity throughout the duration of the Hittite Empire (ca. 1650–1100 BC).

One of its most significant topics concerned the treatment of slaves.

As in all other ancient civilisations, slaves were not on the same level as free men. Yet, the Code of Nesilim was surprisingly fair, allowing slaves to marry whomever they wanted, to buy property, to open businesses, and to purchase their freedom. Under the Code of Nesilim, slaves were not treated as human chattel, or property that could be used and abused by their masters however they saw fit. They had a limited number of rights that guaranteed them a level of dignity and protection.

Some laws in the Code of Nesilim were rather unusual according to modern standards. For example, if a man raped a woman outdoors, he was sentenced to death. However, if the rape happened at home, it was deemed to be the fault of the woman and she was sentenced to die.

However, compared to the Code of Hammurabi, where death was the punishment for the majority of the offenses described the punishments stated in the Code of Nesilim were not very severe, almost humane.)

Text:

- If anyone slay a man or woman in a quarrel, he shall bring this one. He shall also give four persons, either men or women, he shall let them go to his home.
- 2. If anyone slay a male or female slave in a quarrel, he shall bring this one and give two persons, either men or women, he shall let them go to his home.
- 3. If anyone smite a free man or woman and this one die, he shall bring this one and give two persons, he shall let them go to his home.
- 4. If anyone smite a male or female slave, he shall bring this one also and give one person, he shall let him or her go to his home
- 5. If anyone slay a merchant of Hatti, he shall give one and a half pounds of silver, he shall let it go to his home.
- If anyone blind a free man or knock out his teeth, formerly they would give one pound of silver, now he shall give twenty half-shekels of silver.
- 8. If anyone blind a male or female slave or knock out their teeth, he shall give ten half-shekels of silver, he shall let it go to his home.
- 10. If anyone injure a man so that he cause him suffering, he shall take care of him. Yet he shall give him a man in his place, who shall work for him in his house until he recovers. But if he recover, he shall give him six half-shekels of silver. And to the physician this one shall also give the fee.
- 17. If anyone cause a free woman to miscarry, if it be the tenth month, he shall give ten half-shekels of silver, if it be the fifth month, he shall give five half-shekels of silver.
- 18. If anyone cause a female slave to miscarry, if it be the tenth month, he shall give five half-shekels of silver.
- 20. If any man of Hatti steal a Nesian slave and lead him here to the land of Hatti, and his master discover him, he shall give him twelve half-shekels of silver, he shall let it go to his home.

- 21. If anyone steal a slave of a Luwian from the land of Luwia, and lead him here to the land of Hatti, and his master discover him, he shall take his slave only.
- 24. If a male or female slave run away, he at whose hearth his master finds him or her, shall give fifty half-shekels of silver a year.
- 31. If a free man and a female slave be fond of each other and come together and he take her for his wife and they set up house and get children, and afterward they either become hostile or come to close quarters, and they divide the house between them, the man shall take the children, only one child shall the woman take.
- 32. If a slave take a woman as his wife, their case is the same. The majority of the children to the wife and one child to the slave.
- 33. If a slave take a female slave their case is the same. The majority of children to the female slave and one child to the slave
- 34. If a slave convey the bride price to a free son and take him as husband for his daughter, nobody dare surrender him to slavery.
- 36. If a slave convey the bride price to a free son and take him as husband for his daughter, nobody dare surrender him to slavery.
- 40. If a soldier disappear, and a vassal arise and the vassal say, AThis is my military holding, but this other one is my tenancy,@ and lay hands upon the fields of the soldier, he may both hold the military holding and perform the tenancy duties. If he refuse the military service, then he forfeits the vacant fields of the soldier. The men of the village shall cultivate them. If the king give a captive, they shall give the fields to him, and he becomes a soldier.
- 98. If a free man set a house ablaze, he shall build the house, again. And whatever is inside the house, be it a man, an ox, or a sheep that perishes, nothing of these he need compensate.
- 99. If a slave set a house ablaze, his master shall compensate for him. The nose of the slave and his ears they shall cut off, and give him back to his master. But if he do not compensate, then he shall give up this one.
- 158. If a man go for wages, bind sheaves, load it into carts, spread it on the straw barn and so forth "till they clear the threshing floor, for three months his wages are thirty pecks of barley. If a woman go for wages in the harvest, for two months he shall give twelve pecks of barley.
- 159. If anyone harness a yoke of oxen, his wages are one-half peck of barley.
- 160. If a smith make a copper box, his wages are one hundred pecks of barley. He who makes a copper dish of two-pound weight, his wages are one peck of emmer.
- 164. If anyone come for borrowing, then make a quarrel and throw down either bread or wine jug, then he shall give one sheep, ten loaves, and one jug of beer. Then he cleanses his house by the offering. Not until the year has elapsed may he salute again the other's house.
- 170. If a free man kill a serpent and speak the name of another, he shall give one pound of silver; if a slave, this one shall die.
- 173. If anyone oppose the judgement of the king, his house shall become a ruin. If anyone oppose the judgement of a lord, his head shall be cut off. If a slave rise against his master, he shall go into the pit.
- 176. If anyone buy an artisan's apprentice, buy either a potter, a smith, a carpenter, a leatherworker, a tailor, a weaver, or a lace-maker, he shall give ten half-shekels.
- 178. A plow-ox costs fifteen half-shekels of silver, a bull costs ten half-shekels of silver, a great cow costs seven half-shekels of silver, a sheep one half-shekel of silver, a draft horse twenty half-shekels of silver, a mule one pound of silver, a horse fourteen half-shekels of silver.
- 181-182. Four pounds of copper cost one half-shekel of silver; one tub of lard, one half-shekel of silver; two cheese one half-shekel of silver; a gown twelve half-shekels of silver; one blue woolen garment costs twenty half-shekels of silver; breeches cost ten half-shekels of silver...
- 187. If a man have intercourse with a cow, it is a capital crime, he shall die. They shall lead him to the king's hall. But the king may kill him, the king may grant him his life. But he shall not approach the king.
- 188. If a man have intercourse with his own mother, it is a capital crime, he shall die. If a man have intercourse with a daughter, it is a capital crime, he shall die. If a man have intercourse with a son, it is a capital crime, he shall die.
- 190. If a man and a woman come willingly, as men and women, and have intercourse, there shall be no punishment. And if a man have intercourse with his stepmother, there shall be no punishment; except if his father is living, it is a capital crime, the son shall die.
- 191. If a free man picks up now this woman, now that one, now in this country, then in that country, there shall be no punishment if they came together sexually willingly.
- 192. If the husband of a woman die, his wife may take her husband's patrimony.
- 194. If a free man pick up female slaves, now one, now another, there is no punishment for intercourse. If brothers

sleep with a free woman, together, or one after the other, there is no punishment. If father and son sleep with a female slave or harlot, together, or one after the other, there is no punishment.

195. If a man sleep with the wife of his brother, while his brother is living, it is a capital crime, he shall die. If a man have taken a free woman, then have intercourse also with her daughter, it is a capital crime, he shall die. If he have taken her daughter, then have intercourse with her mother or her sister, it is a capital crime, he shall die.

197. If a man rape a woman in the mountain, it is the man's wrong, he shall die. But if he rape her in the house, it is the woman's fault, the woman shall die. If the husband find them and then kill them, there is no punishing the husband.

199. If anyone have intercourse with a pig or a dog, he shall die. If a man have intercourse with a horse or a mule, there is no punishment. But he shall not approach the king, and shall not become a priest. If an ox spring upon a man for intercourse, the ox shall die but the man shall not die. One sheep shall be fetched as a substitute for the man, and they shall kill it. If a pig spring upon a man for intercourse, there is no punishment. If any man have intercourse with a foreign woman and pick up this one, now that one, there is no punishment.

200. If anyone give a son for instruction, be it a carpenter, or a potter, or a weaver, or a tailor, or a smith, he shall give six half-shekels of silver for the instruction.

ENKI CYCLE

THE ENKI AND NINHUR SAGA

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.1.1

- 1-4. Pure are the cities -- and you are the ones to whom they are allotted. Pure is Dilmun land. Pure is Sumer -- and you are the ones to whom it is allotted. Pure is Dilmun land. Pure is Dilmun land. Virginal is Dilmun land. Virginal is Dilmun land. Pristine is Dilmun land.
- 5-10. He laid her down all alone in Dilmun, and the place where Enki had lain down with his spouse, that place was still virginal, that place was still pristine. He laid her down all alone in Dilmun, and the place where Enki had lain down with Ninsikila, that place was virginal, that place was pristine.
- 11-16. In Dilmun the raven was not yet cawing, the partridge not cackling. The lion did not slay, the wolf was not carrying off lambs, the dog had not been taught to make kids curl up, the pig had not learned that grain was to be eaten.
- 17-19. When a widow has spread malt on the roof, the birds did not yet eat that malt up there. The pigeon then did not tuck the head under its wing.
- 20-26. No eye-diseases said there: "I am the eye disease." No headache said there: "I am the headache." No old woman belonging to it said there: "I am an old woman." No old man belonging to it said there: "I am an old man." No maiden in her unwashed state in the city. No man dredging a river said there: "It is getting dark." No herald made the rounds in his border district.
- 27-28. No singer sang an elulam there. No wailings were wailed in the city's outskirts there.
- 29-32. Ninsikila said to her father Enki: "You have given a city. You have given a city. What does your giving avail me? You have given a city. Dilmun. You have given a city. What does your giving avail me? You have given You have given a city. What avails me your giving?"
- given a city. What avails me your giving?"
 33-39. "You have given, a city that has no river quay.
 You have given a city. What does your giving avail me?"
- 1 line fragmentary "A city that has no fields, glebe or furrow"
- 3 lines missing
- 40-43. (Enki answered Ninsikila:) "When Utu steps up into heaven, fresh waters shall run out of the ground for you from the standing vessels on Ezen's shore, from Nanna's radiant high temple, from the mouth of the waters running underground."
- 44-49. "May the waters rise up from it into your great basins. May your city drink water aplenty from them. May Dilmun drink water aplenty from them. May your pools of salt water become pools of fresh water. May your city become an emporium on the quay for the Land. May Dilmun become an emporium on the quay for the Land."
- [(Possible insertion point for additional lines in a ms. from Urim:)

49A-49P. "May the land of Tukris hand over to you gold from Ḥarali, lapis lazuli and May the land of Meluha load precious desirable cornelian, mes wood of Magan and the best abba wood into large ships for you. May the land of Marhasi yield you precious stones, topazes. May the land of Magan offer you strong, powerful copper, dolerite, u stone and sumin stone. May the Sea-land offer you its own ebony wood, of a king. May the 'Tent'-lands offer you fine multicoloured wools. May the land of Elam hand over to you choice wools, its tribute. May the manor of Urim, the royal

throne dais, the city, load up into large ships for you sesame, august raiment, and fine cloth. May the wide sea yield you its wealth."

49Q-49V. The city's dwellings are good dwellings. Dilmun's dwellings are good dwellings. Its grains are little grains, its dates are big dates, its harvests are triple, its wood is wood.]

50-54. At that moment, on that day, and under that sun, when Utu stepped up into heaven, from the standing vessels on Ezen's shore, from Nanna's radiant high temple, from the mouth of the waters running underground, fresh waters ran out of the ground for her.

55-62. The waters rose up from it into her great basins. Her city drank water aplenty from them. Dilmun drank water aplenty from them. Her pools of salt water indeed became pools of fresh water. Her fields, glebe and furrows indeed produced grain for her. Her city indeed became an emporium on the quay for the Land. Dilmun indeed became an emporium on the quay for the Land. At that moment, on that day, and under that sun, so it indeed happened.

63-68. All alone the wise one, toward Nintur, the country's mother, Enki, the wise one, toward Nintur, the country's mother, was digging his phallus into the dykes, plunging his phallus into the reedbeds. The august one pulled his phallus aside and cried out: "No man take me in the marsh."

69-74. Enki cried out: "By the life's breath of heaven I adjure you. Lie down for me in the marsh, lie down for me in the marsh, that would be joyous." Enki distributed his semen destined for Damgalnuna. He poured semen into Ninhursaga's womb and she conceived the semen in the womb, the semen of Enki.

75-87. But her one month was one day, but her two months were two days, but her three months were three days, but her four months were four days, but her five months were five days, but her six months were six days, but her seven months were seven days, but her eight months were eight days, but her nine months were nine days. In the month of womanhood, like fine oil, like fine oil, like oil of abundance, Nintur, mother of the country, like fine oil, gave birth to Ninnisig.

88-96. In turn Ninnisig went out to the riverbank. Enki was able to see up there from in the marsh, he was able to see up there, he was. He said to his minister Isimud: "Is this nice youngster not to be kissed? Is this nice Ninnisig not to be kissed?" His minister Isimud answered him: "Is this nice youngster not to be kissed? Is this nice Ninnisig not to be kissed? My master will sail, let me navigate. He will sail, let me navigate."

97-107. First he put his feet in the boat, next he put them on dry land. He clasped her to the bosom, kissed her, Enki poured semen into the womb and she conceived the semen in the womb, the semen of Enki. But her one month was one day, but her two months were two days, but her nine months were nine days. In the month of womanhood, like fine oil, like fine oil, like fine oil of abundance, gave birth to Ninkura.

108-116. In turn Ninkura went out to the riverbank. Enki was able to see up there from in the marsh, he was able to see up there, he was. He said to his minister Isimud: "Is this nice youngster not to be kissed? Is this nice Ninkura not to kissed?" His minister Isimud answered him: "Kiss this nice youngster. Kiss this nice Ninkura. My master will sail, let me navigate. He will sail, let me navigate."

117-126. First he put his feet in the boat, next he put them on dry land. He clasped her to the bosom, kissed her, Enki poured semen into the womb and she conceived the semen in the womb, the semen of Enki. But her one month was one day, but her nine months were nine days. In the month of womanhood, like fine oil, like fine oil, like oil of abundance, Ninkura, like fine oil, like fine oil, like oil of abundance, gave birth to Uttu, the exalted woman.

[(Insertion point for additional lines in a ms. of unknown origin:)

126A-126K. Ninkura in turn gave birth to Ninimma. She brought the child up and made her flourish. Ninimma in turn went out to the riverbank. Enki was towing his boat along and was able to see up there, He laid eyes on Ninimma on the riverbank and said to his minister Isimud: "Have I ever kissed one like this nice youngster? Have I ever made love to one like nice Ninimma?" His minister Isimud answered him: "My master will sail, let me navigate. He will sail, let me navigate."

1261-126Q. First he put his feet in the boat, next he put them on dry land. He clasped her to the bosom, lying in her crotch, made love to the youngster and kissed her. Enki poured semen into Ninimma's womb and she conceived the semen in the womb, the semen of Enki.

126R-126CC. To the woman its one month was but its one day, its two months were but its two days, its three months were but its five days, its four months were but its five months were but its five days, its six months were but its six days, its seven days, its eight months were but its eight days, and at its nine days, in the month of womanhood, like fine oil, like fine oil, like oil of

abundance, Ninimma, like fine oil, like oil of abundance, gave birth to Uttu, the exalted woman.

127-146. Nintur said to Uttu: "Let me advise you, and may you take heed of my advice. Let me speak words to you and may you heed my words. From in the marsh one man is able to see up here, is able to see up here, he is; from in the marsh Enki is able to see up here, is able to see up here, he is. He will set eyes on you."

[10 lines fragmentary] Uttu, the exalted woman

[3 lines fragmentary]

147-151. (Uttu said:) "Bring cucumbers in, bring apples with their stems sticking out, bring grapes in their clusters, and in the house you will indeed have hold of my halter. O Enki, you will indeed have hold of my halter."

152-158. When he was filling with water a second time, he filled the dykes with water, he filled the canals with water, he filled the fallows with water. The gardener in his joy rose from the dust and embraced him: "Who are you who the garden?"

159-166. Enki (said to) the gardener:

[4 lines missing]

He brought him cucumbers in, brought him apples with their stems sticking out (?), brought him grapes in their clusters, filled his lap.

167-177. Enki made his face attractive and took a staff in his hand. Enki came to a halt at Uttu's, knocked at her house (demanding): "Open up, open up." (She asked): "Who are you?" (He answered:) "I am a gardener. Let me give you cucumbers, apples, and grapes for your consent." Joyfully Uttu opened the house. Enki gave Uttu, the exalted woman, cucumbers in, gave her apples with their stems sticking out, gave her grapes in their clusters. [(1 line not in the ms. from Nibru:) He poured beer for her in the large ban measure.]

178-185. Uttu, the exalted woman, to the left for him, waved the hands for him. Enki aroused Uttu. He clasped her to the bosom, lying in her crotch, fondled her thighs, fondled her with the hand. He clasped her to the bosom, lying in her crotch, made love to the youngster and kissed her. Enki poured semen into Uttu's womb and she conceived the semen in the womb, the semen of Enki.

186-189. Uttu, the beautiful woman, cried out: "Woe, my thighs." She cried out: "Woe, my body. Woe, my heart." Ninhursaga removed the semen from the thighs.

2 lines fragmentary

190-197. She grew the 'tree' plant, she grew the 'honey' plant, she grew the 'vegetable' plant, she grew the esparto grass, she grew the atutu plant, she grew the astaltal plant, she grew the plant, she grew the amharu plant.

198-201. Enki was able to see up there from in the marsh, he was able to see up there, he was. He said to his minister Isimud: "I have not determined the destiny of these plants. What is this one? What is that one?"

202-210. His minister Isimud had the answer for him. "My master, the 'tree' plant," he said to him, cut it off for him and Enki ate it. "My master, the 'honey' plant," he said to him, pulled it up for him and Enki ate it. "My master, the 'vegetable' plant," he said to him, cut it off for him and Enki ate it. "My master, the alfalfa grass (?)," he said to him, pulled it up for him and Enki ate it.

211-219. "My master, the atutu plant," he said to him, cut it off for him and Enki ate it. "My master, the astaltal plant," he said to him, pulled it up for him and Enki ate it. "My master, the plant," he said to him, cut it off for him and Enki ate it. "My master, the amharu plant," he said to him, pulled it up for him and Enki ate it. Enki determined the destiny of the plants. had them know it in their hearts.

220-227. Ninhursaga cursed the name Enki: "Until his dying day, I will never look upon him with life-giving eye." The Anuna sat down in the dust. But a fox was able to speak to Enlil: "If I bring Ninhursaga to you, what will be my reward?" Enlil answered the fox: "If you bring Ninhursaga to me, I shall erect two birch (?) trees for you in my city and you will be renowned."

228-234. The fox first anointed his body, first shook out his fur (?), first put kohl on his eyes.

[4 lines fragmentary]

235-246. (The fox said to Ninhursaga:) "I have been to Nibru, but Enlil I have been to Urim, but Nanna I have been to Larsam, but Utu I have been to Unug, but Inana I am seeking refuge with one who is"

17 lines fragmentary!

247-253. Ninhursaga hastened to the temple. The Anuna slipped off her garment, made, determined its destiny and Ninhursaga made Enki sit by her vagina. [(1 line not in the ms. from Nibru:) She placed her hands on

and on its outside.]

254-263. (Ninhursaga asked:) "My brother, what part of you hurts you?" "The top of my head (ugu-dili) hurts me." She gave birth to Ab-u out of it. "My brother, what part of you hurts you?" "The locks of my hair (siki) hurt me." She gave birth to Ninsikila out of it. "My brother, what part of you hurts you?" "My nose (giri) hurts me." She gave birth to Ningiriutud out of it. "My brother, what part of you hurts

you?" "My mouth (ka) hurts me." She gave birth to Ninkasi out of it.

264-271. "My brother, what part of you hurts you?" "My throat (zi) hurts me." She gave birth to Nazi out of it. "My brother, what part of you hurts you?" "My arm (a) hurts me." She gave birth to Azimua out of it. "My brother, what part of you hurts you?" "My ribs (ti) hurt me." She gave birth to Ninti out of it. "My brother, what part of you hurts you?"

"My sides (zag) hurt me." She gave birth to Ensag out of it. 272-280. (She said:) "For the little ones to whom I have given birth may rewards not be lacking. Ab-u shall become king of the grasses, Ninsikila shall become lord of Magan, Ningiriutud shall marry Ninazu, Ninkasi shall be what satisfies the heart, Nazi shall marry Nindara, Azimua shall marry Ningiszida, Ninti shall become the lady of the month, and Ensag shall become lord of Dilmun."

281. Praise be to Father Enki.

ENKI AND NINMAH

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.1.2

1-11. In those days, in the days when heaven and earth were created; in those nights, in the nights when heaven and earth were created; in those years, in the years when the fates were determined; when the Anuna gods were born; when the goddesses were taken in marriage; when the goddesses were distributed in heaven and earth; when the goddesses were distributed in heaven and earth; when the goddesses were obliged their food dining halls; the senior gods oversaw the work, while the minor gods were bearing the toil. The gods were digging the canals and piling up the silt in Harali. The gods, crushing the clay, began complaining about this life.

12-23. At that time, the one of great wisdom, the creator of all the senior gods. Enki lay on his bed, not waking up from his sleep, in the deep engur, in the subterranean water, the place the inside of which no other god knows. The gods said, weeping: "He is the cause of the lamenting!" Namma, the primeval mother who gave birth to the senior gods, took the tears of the gods to the one who lay sleeping, to the one who did not wake up from his bed, to her son: "Are you really lying there asleep, and not awake? The gods, your creatures, are smashing their My son, wake up from your bed! Please apply the skill deriving from your wisdom and create a substitute for the gods so that they can be freed from their toil!"

24-37. At the word of his mother Namma, Enki rose up from his bed. In Ḥal-an-kug, his room for pondering, he slapped his thigh in annoyance. The wise and intelligent one, the prudent, of skills, the fashioner of the design of everything brought to life birth-goddesses. Enki reached out his arm over them and turned his attention to them. And after Enki, the fashioner of designs by himself, had pondered the matter, he said to his mother Namma: "My mother, the creature you planned will really come into existence. Impose on him the work of carrying baskets. You should knead clay from the top of the abzu; the birth-goddesses will nip off the clay and you shall bring the form into existence. Let Ninmah act as your assistant; and let Ninimma, Su-zi-ana, Ninmada, Ninbarag, Ninmug, and Ninguna stand by as you give birth. My mother, after you have decreed his fate, let Ninmah impose on him the work of carrying baskets."

[5 lines fragmentary] she placed it on grass and purified the birth.

44-51. Enki brought joy to their heart. He set a feast for his mother Namma and for Ninmah. All the princely birth-goddesses ate delicate reed and bread. An, Enlil, and Lord Nudimmud roasted holy kids. All the senior gods praised him: "O lord of wide understanding, who is as wise as you? Enki, the great lord, who can equal your actions? Like a corporeal father, you are the one who has the me of deciding destinies, in fact you are the me."

52-55. Enki and Ninmah drank beer, their hearts became elated, and then Ninmah said to Enki: "Man's body can be either good or bad and whether I make a fate good or bad depends on my will."

56-61. Enki answered Ninmah: "I will counterbalance whatever fate -- good or bad -- you happen to decide." Ninmah took clay from the top of the abzu in her hand and she fashioned from it first a man who could not bend his outstretched weak hands. Enki looked at the man who cannot bend his outstretched weak hands, and decreed his fate: he appointed him as a servant of the king.

62-65. Second, she fashioned one who turned back the light, a man with constantly opened eyes. Enki looked at the who turned back the light, the man with constantly opened eyes, and decreed his fate allotting to it the musical arts, making him as the chief..... in the king's presence.

66-68. [Third, she fashioned one with both feet broken, one with paralysed feet. Enki looked at the one with both feet broken, the one with paralysed feet and him for the work of and the silversmith and] [(1 ms. has instead:) She fashioned one, a third one, born as an idiot.

Enki looked at this one, the one born as an idiot, and decreed his fate: he appointed him as a servant of the king.]

69-71. Fourth, she fashioned one who could not hold back his urine. Enki looked at the one who could not hold back his urine and bathed him in enchanted water and drove out the namtar demon from his body.

72-74. Fifth, she fashioned a woman who could not give birth. Enki looked at the woman who could not give birth, [and decreed her fate: he made her belong to the queen's household.] [(1 ms. has instead:) as a weaver, fashioned her to belong to the queen's household.]

75-78. Sixth, she fashioned one with neither penis nor vagina on its body. Enki looked at the one with neither penis nor vagina on its body and gave it the name 'Nibru eunuch', and decreed as its fate to stand before the king.

79-82. [Ninmah threw the pinched-off clay from her hand on the ground and a great silence fell][(1 ms. has instead:) Enki threw all the clay to the ground and was greatly]. The great lord Enki said to Ninmah: "I have decreed the fates of your creatures and given them their daily bread. Come, now I will fashion somebody for you, and you must decree the fate of the newborn one!"

83-91. Enki devised a shape with head, and mouth in its middle, and said to Ninmah: "Pour ejaculated semen into a woman's womb, and the woman will give birth to the semen of her womb." Ninmah stood by for the newborn and the woman brought forth in the midst In return, this was Umul: its head was afflicted, its place of was afflicted, its eyes were afflicted, its neck was afflicted. It could hardly breathe, its ribs were shaky, its lungs were afflicted, its heart was afflicted, its bowels were afflicted. With its hand and its lolling head it could not not put bread into its mouth; its spine and head were dislocated. The weak hips and the shaky feet could not carry it on the field -- Enki fashioned it in this way.

92-101. Enki said to Ninmah: "For your creatures I have decreed a fate, I have given them their daily bread. Now, you should decree a fate for my creature, give him his daily bread too." Ninmah looked at Umul and turned to him. She went nearer to Umul asked him questions but he could not speak. She offered him bread to eat but he could not reach out for it. He could not lie on, he could not Standing up he could not sit down, could not lie down, he could not a house, he could not eat bread. Ninmah answered Enki: "The man you have fashioned is neither alive nor dead. He cannot support himself."

102-110. Enki answered Ninmah: "I decreed a fate for the first man with the weak hands, I gave him bread. I decreed a fate for the man who turned back the light, I gave him bread. I decreed a fate for the man with broken, paralysed feet, I gave him bread. I decreed a fate for the man who could not hold back his urine, I gave him bread. I decreed a fate for the woman who could not give birth, I gave her bread. I decreed the fate for the one with neither penis nor vagina on its body, I gave it bread. My sister, "

[2 lines fragmentary]

112. Ninmah answered Enki:

[9 lines fragmentary]

122-128. (Ninmah's answer continues) "You entered Look, you do not dwell in heaven, you do not dwell on earth, you do not come out to look at the Land. Where you do not dwell but where my house is built, your words cannot be heard. Where you do not live but where my city is built, I myself am silenced. My city is ruined, my house is destroyed, my child has been taken captive. I am a fugitive who has had to leave the E-kur, even I myself could not escape from your hand."

129-139. Enki replied to Ninmah: "Who could change the words that left your mouth? Remove Umul from your lap Ninmah, may your work be, you for me what is imperfect; who can oppose this? The man whom I shaped after you, let him pray! Today let my penis be praised, may your wisdom be confirmed! May the enkum and ninkum proclaim your glory My sister, the heroic strength The song the writing The gods who heard let Umul build my house"

140-141. Ninmah could not rival the great lord Enki. Father Enki, your praise is sweet!

ENKI AND THE WORLD ORDER

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.1.3

1-16. Grandiloquent lord of heaven and earth, self-reliant, Father Enki, engendered by a bull, begotten by a wild bull, cherished by Enlil, the Great Mountain, beloved by holy An, king, mes tree planted in the Abzu, rising over all lands; great dragon who stands in Eridug, whose shadow covers heaven and earth, a grove of vines extending over the Land, Enki, lord of plenty of the Anuna gods, Nudimmud, mighty one of the E-kur, strong one of heaven and earth! Your great house is founded in the Abzu, the great mooring-post of heaven and earth. Enki, from whom a single glance is enough to unsettle

the heart of the mountains; wherever bison are born, where stags are born, where ibex are born, where wild goats are born, in meadows, in hollows in the heart of the hills, in green unvisited by man, you have fixed your gaze on the heart of the Land as on split reeds.

17-31. Counting the days and putting the months in their houses, so as to complete the years and to submit the completed years to the assembly for a decision, taking decisions to regularise the days: Father Enki, you are the king of the assembled people. You have only to open your mouth for everything to multiply and for plenty to be established. Your branches green with their fruit, ... do honour to the gods in its forests is like a fleecy garment. Good sheep and good lambs do honour to When the prepared fields, will accumulate stockpiles and stacks. there is oil, there is milk, produced by the sheepfold and cow-pen. The shepherd sweetly sings his rustic song, the cowherd spends the day rocking his churns. Their products would do honour to the late lunches in the gods' great dining hall.

32-37. Your word fills the young man's heart with vigour, so that like a thick-horned bull he butts about in the courtyard. Your word bestows loveliness on the young woman's head, so that the people in their settled cities gaze at her in wonder.

[2 lines unclear]

38-47. Enlil, the Great Mountain, has commissioned you to gladden the hearts of lords and rulers and wish them well. Enki, lord of prosperity, lord of wisdom, lord, the beloved of An, the ornament of Eridug, who establish commands and decisions, who well understands the decreeing of fates: you close up the days, and make the months enter their houses. You bring down, you have reached their number. You make the people dwell in their dwelling places, you make them follow their herdsman

[2 lines unclear]

50-51. You turn weapons away from their houses, you make the people safe in their dwellings

52-60. When Father Enki goes forth to the inseminated people, good seed will come forth. When Nudimmud goes forth to the good pregnant ewes, good lambs will be born; when he goes forth to the fecund cows, good calves will be born; whe he goes forth to the good pregnant goats, good kids will be born. If you go forth to the cultivated fields, to the good germinating fields, stockpiles and stacks can be accumulated on the high plain. If you go forth to the parched areas of the L and.

[2 lines missing or unclear]

61-80. Enki, the king of the Abzu, rejoicing in great splendour, justly praises himself: "My father, the king of heaven and earth, made me famous in heaven and earth. My elder brother, the king of all the lands, gathered up all the divine powers and placed them in my hand. I brought the arts and crafts from the E-kur, the house of Enlil, to my Abzu in Eridug, I am the good semen, begotten by a wild bull, I am the first born of An. I am a great storm rising over the great earth, I am the great lord of the Land. I am the principal among all rulers, the father of all the foreign lands. I am the big brother of the gods, I bring prosperity to perfection. I am the seal-keeper of heaven and earth. I am the wisdom and understanding of all the foreign lands. With An the king, on An's dais, I oversee justice. With Enlil, looking out over the lands, I decree good destinies. He has placed in my hands the decreeing of fates in the place where the sun rises. I am cherished by Nintur. I am named with a good name by Ninhursaga. I am the leader of the Anuna gods. I was born as the firstborn son of holy An.'

81-83. After the lord had proclaimed his greatness, after the great prince had eulogised himself, the Anuna gods stood there in prayer and supplication:

84-85. "Praise be to Enki, the much-praised lord who controls all the arts and crafts, who takes decisions!"

86-88. In a state of high delight Enki, the king of the Abzu, rejoicing in great splendour, again justly praises himself: "I am the lord, I am one whose word is reliable, I am one who excels in everything."

89-99. "At my command, sheepfolds have been built, cowpens have been fenced off. When I approach heaven, a rain of abundance rains from heaven. When I approach earth, there is a high carp-flood. When I approach the green meadows, at my word stockpiles and stacks are accumulated. I have built my house, a shrine, in a pure place, and named it with a good name. I have built my Abzu, a shrine, in, and decreed a good fate for it. The shade of my house extends over the pool. By my house the suhur carp dart among the honey plants, and the estub carp wave their tails among the small gizi reeds. The small birds chirp in their nests."

100-122. "The lords pay heed to me. I am Enki! They stand before me, praising me. The abgal priests and abrig officials who stand before me distant days. The enkum and ninkum officiants organise They purify the river for me, they the interior of the shrine for me. In my Abzu, sacred songs and incantations resound for me. My barge 'Crown', the 'Stag of the Abzu', transports me there

most delightfully. It glides swiftly for me through the great marshes to wherever I have decided, it is obedient to me. The stroke-callers make the oars pull in perfect unison. They sing for me pleasant songs, creating a cheerful mood on the river. Nigir-sig, the captain of my barge, holds the golden sceptre for me. I am Enki! He is in command of my boat 'Stag of the Abzu'. I am the lord'! I will trave!! I am Enki! I will go forth into my Land! I, the lord who determines the fates,,"

[4 lines unclear]

123-130. "I will admire its green cedars. Let the lands of Meluha, Magan and Dilmun look upon me, upon Enki. Let the Dilmun boats be loaded with timber. Let the Magan boats be loaded sky-high. Let the magilum boats of Meluha transport gold and silver and bring them to Nibru for Enlil, king of all the lands."

131-133. He presented animals to those who have no city, to those who have no houses, to the Martu nomads.

134-139. The Anuna gods address affectionately the great prince who has travelled in his Land: "Lord who rides upon the great powers, the pure powers, who controls the great powers, the numberless powers, foremost in all the breadth of heaven and earth; who received the supreme powers in Eridug, the holy place, the most esteemed place, Enki, lord of heaven and earth -- praise!"

140-161. All the lords and rulers, the incantation-priests of Eridug and the linen-clad priests of Sumer, perform the purification rites of the Abzu for the great prince who has travelled in his land; for Father Enki they stand guard in the holy place, the most esteemed place. They the chambers, they the emplacements, they purify the great shrine of the Abzu They bring there the tall juniper, the pure plant. They organise the holy in the great watercourse of Enki. Skilfully they build the main stairway of Eridug on the Good Quay. They prepare the sacred uzea shrine, where they utter endless prayers.

[7 lines fragmentary or unclear]

162-165. For Enki, squabbling together, and the suhurmas carp dart among the honey plants, again fighting amongst themselves for the great prince. The estub carp wave their tails among the small gizi reeds.

166-181. The lord, the great ruler of the Abzu, issues instructions on board the 'Stag of the Abzu' — the great emblem erected in the Abzu, providing protection, its shade extending over the whole land and refreshing the people, the pillar and pole planted in the marsh, rising high over all the foreign lands. The noble captain of the lands, the son of Enlil, holds in his hand the sacred punt-pole, a mes tree ornamented in the Abzu which received the supreme powers in Eridug, the holy place, the most esteemed place. The hero proudly lifts his head towards the Abzu.

[6 lines missing or unclear]

182-187. Sirsir, the boatman of the barge, the boat for the lord. Nigir-sig, the captain of the barge, holds the holy sceptre for the lord. The fifty lahama deities of the subterranean waters speak affectionately to him. The stroke-callers, like heavenly gamgam birds,

188-191. The intrepid king, Father Enki in the Land. Prosperity was made to burgeon in heaven and on earth for the great prince who travels in the Land. Enki decreed its fate:

192-209. "Sumer, great mountain, land of heaven and earth, trailing glory, bestowing powers on the people from sunrise to sunset: your powers are superior powers, untouchable, and your heart is complex and inscrutable. Like heaven itself, your just matrix, in which gods too can be born, is beyond reach. Giving birth to kings who put on the good diadem, giving birth to lords who wear the crown on their heads -- your lord, the honoured lord, sits with An the king on An's dais. Your king, the Great Mountain, Father Enlil, the father of all the lands, has blocked you impenetrably like a cedar tree. The Anuna, the great gods, have taken up dwellings in your midst, and consume their food in your giguna shrines among the unique and exceptional trees. Household Sumer, may your sheepfolds be built and your cattle multiply, may your giguna touch the skies. May your good temples reach up to heaven. May the Anuna determine the destinies in your midst."

210-211. Then he proceeded to the sanctuary of Urim. Enki, lord of the Abzu, decreed its fate:

212-218. "City which possesses all that is fitting, bathed by water! Sturdy bull, altar of abundance that strides across the mountains, rising like the hills, forest of hasur cypresses with broad shade, self-confident! May your perfect powers be well-directed. The Great Mountain Enlil has pronounced your name great in heaven and on earth. City whose fate Enki has decreed, sanctuary of Urim, you shall rise high to heaven!"

219-220. Then he proceeded to the land of Meluha. Enki,

lord of the Abzu, decreed its fate:

221-237. "Black land, may your trees be great trees, may your forests be forests of highland mes trees! Chairs made from them will grace royal palaces! May your reeds be great reeds, may they! Heroes shall them on the battlefield as weapons! May your bulls be great bulls, may they be bulls of the mountains! May their bellowing be the bellowing of wild bulls of the mountains! The great powers of

the gods shall be made perfect for you! May the francolins of the mountains wear cornelian beards! May your birds all be peacocks! May their cries grace royal palaces! May all your silver be gold! May all your copper be tin-bronze! Land, may all you possess be plentiful! May your people! May your men go forth like bulls against their fellow men!"

[2 lines unclear]

238-247. He cleansed and purified the land of Dilmun. He placed Ninsikila in charge of it. He gave for the fish spawn, ate its fish, bestowed palms on the cultivated land, ate its dates. Elam and Marhasi to devour The king endowed with strength by Enlil destroyed their houses, demolished their walls. He brought their silver and lapis-lazuli, their treasure, to Enlil, king of all the lands, in Nibru.

248-249. Enki presented animals to those who have no city, who have no houses, to the Martu nomads.

250-266. After he had turned his gaze from there, after Father Enki had lifted his eyes across the Euphrates, he stood up full of lust like a rampant bull, lifted his penis, ejaculated and filled the Tigris with flowing water. He was like a wild cow mooing for its young in the wild grass, its scorpion-infested cow-pen. The Tigris at his side like a rampant bull. By lifting his penis, he brought a bridal gift. The Tigris rejoiced in its heart like a great wild bull, when it was born It brought water, flowing water indeed: its wine will be sweet. It brought barley, mottled barley indeed: the people will eat it. It filled the E-kur, the house of Enlil, with all sorts of things. Enlil was delighted with Enki, and Nibru was glad. The lord put on the diadem as a sign of lordship, he put on the good crown as a sign of kingship, touching the ground on his left side. Plenty came forth out of the earth for him.

267-273. Enki, the lord of the destinies, Enki, the king of the Abzu, placed in charge of all this him who holds a sceptre in his right hand, him who with glorious mouth submits to verification the devouring force of the Tigris and Euphrates, while prosperity pours forth from the palace like oil -- Enbilulu, the inspector of waterways.

274-277. He called the marshes and gave them the various species of carp, he spoke to the reedbeds and bestowed on them the old and new growths of reeds.

[2 lines missing]

278-284. He issued a challenge Enki placed in charge of all this him from whose net no fish escapes, him from whose trap no living thing escapes, him from whose bird-net no bird escapes,

[1 line unclear]

--...., who loves fish.

285-298. The lord established a shrine, a holy shrine, whose interior is elaborately constructed. He established a shrine in the sea, a holy shrine, whose interior is elaborately constructed. The shrine, whose interior is a tangled thread, is beyond understanding. The shrine's emplacement is situated by the constellation the Field, the holy upper shrine's emplacement faces towards the Chariot constellation. Its errifying sea is a rising wave, its splendour is fearsome. The Anuna gods dare not approach it. to refresh their hearts, the palace rejoices. The Anuna stand by with prayers and supplications. They set up a great altar for Enki in the Eengura, for the lord The great prince the pelican of the sea.

[1 line unclear]

299-308. He filled the E-kur, the house of Enlil, with goods of all sorts. Enlil was delighted with Enki, and Nibru was glad. Enki placed in charge of all this, over the wide extent of the sea, her who sets sail in the holy shrine, who induces sexual intercourse, who over the enormous high flood of the subterranean waters, the terrifying waves, the inundation of the sea, who comes forth from the, the mistress of Sirara, - Nanse.

309-317. He called to the rain of the heavens. He as floating clouds. He made rising at the horizon. He turned the mounds into fields Enki placed in charge of all this him who rides on the great storms, who attacks with lightning bolts, the holy bar which blocks the entrance to the interior of heaven, the son of An, the canal inspector of heaven and earth -- Iskur, the bringer of plenty, the son of An.

318-325. He organised ploughs, yokes and teams. The great prince Enki bestowed the horned oxen that follow the tools, he opened up the holy furrows, and made the barley grow on the cultivated fields. Enki placed in charge of them the lord who wears the diadem, the ornament of the high plain, him of the implements, the farmer of Enlil — Enkimdu, responsible for ditches and dykes.

326-334. The lord called the cultivated fields, and bestowed on them mottled barley. Enki made chickpeas, lentils and grow. He heaped up into piles the early, mottled and innuha varieties of barley. Enki multiplied the stockpiles and stacks, and with Enlil's help he enhanced the people's prosperity. Enki placed in charge of all this her whose head and body are dappled, whose face is covered in syrup, the mistress who causes sexual intercourse, the power of the Land,

the life of the black-headed -- Ezina, the good bread of the whole world.

335-340. The great prince fixed a string to the hoe, and organised brick moulds. He penetrated the like precious oil. Enki placed in charge of them him whose sharp-bladed hoe is a corpse-devouring snake that, whose brick mould in place is a tidy stack of hulled grain for the ewes -- Kulla. who bricks in the Land.

341-348. He tied down the strings and coordinated them with the foundations, and with the power of the assembly he planned a house and performed the purification rituals. The great prince put down the foundations, and laid the bricks. Enki placed in charge of all this him whose foundations once laid do not sag, whose good houses once built do not collapse (?), whose vaults reach up into the heart of the heavens like a rainbow -- Musdama, Enlil's master builder.

349-357. He raised a holy crown over the upland plain. He fastened a lapis-lazuli beard to the high plain, and made it wear a lapis-lazuli headdress. He made this good place perfect with greenery in abundance. He multiplied the animals of the high plain to an appropriate degree, he multiplied the ibex and wild goats of the pastures, and made them copulate. Enki placed in charge of them the hero who is the crown of the high plain, who is the king of the countryside, the great lion of the high plain, the muscular, the hefty, the burly strength of Enlil -- Sakkan, the king of the hills.

358-367. He built the sheepfolds, carried out their cleaning, made the cow-pens, bestowed on them the best fat and cream, and brought luxury to the gods' dining places. He made the plain, created for greenery, achieve prosperity. Enki placed in charge of all this the king, the good provider of E-ana, the friend of An, the beloved son-in-law of the youth Suen, the holy spouse of Inana the mistress, the lady of the great powers who allows sexual intercourse in the open squares of Kulaba -- Dumuzid-usumgal-ana, the friend of An.

368-380. He filled the E-kur, the house of Enlil, with possessions. Enlil was delighted with Enki and Nibru was glad. He demarcated borders and fixed boundaries. For the Anuna gods, Enki situated dwellings in cities and disposed agricultural land into fields. Enki placed in charge of the whole of heaven and earth the hero, the bull who comes out of the hasur forest bellowing truculently, the youth Utu, the bull standing triumphantly, audaciously, majestically, the father of the Great City (an expression for the underworld), the great herald in the east of holy An, the judge who searches out verdicts for the gods, with a lapis-lazuli beard, rising from the horizon into the holy heavens -- Utu, the son born by Ningal.

381-386. He picked out the tow from the fibres, and set up the loom. Enki greatly perfected the task of women. For Enki, the people in garments. Enki placed in charge of them the honour of the palace, the dignity of the king -- Uttu, the conscientious woman, the silent one.

387-390. Then, alone lacking any functions, the great woman of heaven, Inana, lacking any functions -- Inana came in to see her father Enki in his house, weeping to him, and making her complaint to him:

391-394. "Enlil left it in your hands to confirm the functions of the Anuna, the great gods. Why did you treat me, the woman, in an exceptional manner? I am holy Inana -- where are my functions?"

395-402. "Aruru, Enlil's sister, Nintur, the lady of giving

395-402. "Aruru, Enlil's sister, Nintur, the lady of giving birth, is to get the holy birth-bricks as her prerogative. She is to carry off the lancet for umbilical cords, the special sand and leeks. She is to get the sila-gara bowl of translucent lapis lazuli (in which to place the afterbirth). She is to carry off the holy consecrated ala vessel. She is to be the midwife of the land! The birthing of kings and lords is to be in her hands."

403-405. "My illustrious sister, holy Ninisina, is to get the jewellery of suba stones. She is to be the mistress of heaven. She is to stand beside An and speak to him whenever she desires."

406-411. "My illustrious sister, holy Ninmug, is to get the golden chisel and the silver burin. She is to carry off her big flint antasura blade. She is to be the metal-worker of the Land The fitting of the good diadem when a king is born and the crowning with the crown when a lord is born are to be in her hands."

412-417. "My illustrious sister, holy Nisaba, is to get the measuring-reed. The lapis-lazuli measuring tape is to hang over her arm. She is to proclaim all the great powers. She is to demarcate boundaries and mark borders. She is to be the scribe of the Land. The planning of the gods' meals is to be in her hands."

418-421. "Nanse, the august lady, who rests her feet on the holy pelican, is to be the fisheries inspector of the sea. She is to be responsible for accepting delectable fish and delicious birds from there to go to Nibru for her father Enlil."

422-423. "But why did you treat me, the woman, in an exceptional manner? I am holy Inana -- where are my functions?"

424-436. Enki answered his daughter, holy Inana: "How have I disparaged you? Goddess, how have I disparaged you? How can I enhance you? Maiden Inana, how have I disparaged

you? How can I enhance you? I made you speak as a woman with pleasant voice. I made you go forth I covered with a garment. I made you exchange its right side and its left side. I clothed you in garments of women's power. I put women's speech in your mouth. I placed in your hands the spindle and the hairpin. I to you women's adornment. I settled on you the staff and the crook, with the shepherd's stick beside them."

437-444. "Maiden Inana, how have I disparaged you? How can I enhance you? Amongst the ominous ocurrences in the hurly-burly of battle, I shall make you speak vivifying words; and in its midst, although you are not an arabu bird" (a bird of ill omen), I shall make you speak ill-omened words also. I made you tangle straight threads; maiden Inana, I made you straighten out tangled threads. I made you put on garments, I made you dress in linen. I made you pick out the tow from the fibres, I made you spin with the spindle. I made you colour tufted cloth with coloured threads.

445-450. "Inana, you heap up human heads like piles of dust, you sow heads like seed. Inana, you destroy what should not be destroyed; you create what should not be created. You remove the cover from the sem drum of lamentations, Maiden Inana, while shutting up the tigi and adab instruments in their homes. You never grow weary with admirers looking at you. Maiden Inana, you know nothing of tying the ropes on deep wells."

451-471. "But now, the heart has overflowed, the Land is

451-471. "But now, the heart has overflowed, the Land is restored; Enlil's heart has overflowed, the Land is restored. In his overflowing heart of mankind."

[4 lines unclear]

"..... lapis-lazuli headdress is your prerogative, is your prerogative, is your prerogative, is your prerogative."

[10 lines unclear]

472. Praise be to Father Enki.

ENKI'S JOURNEY TO NIBRU (Nippur) Translation: ETCSL: t.1.1.4

1-8. In those remote days, when the fates were determined; in a year when An brought about abundance, and people broke through the earth like green plants -- then the lord of the abzu, King Enki, Enki, the lord who determines the fates, built up his temple entirely from silver and lapis lazuli. Its silver and lapis lazuli were the shining daylight. Into the shrine of the abzu he brought joy.

9-17. An artfully made bright crenellation rising out from the abzu was erected for Lord Nudimmud. He built the temple from precious metal, decorated it with lapis lazuli, and covered it abundantly with gold. In Eridug, he built the house on the bank. Its brickwork makes utterances and gives advice. Its eaves roar like a bull; the temple of Enki bellows. During the night the temple praises its lord and offers its best for him.

18-25. Before Lord Enki, Isimud the minister praises the temple; he goes to the temple and speaks to it. He goes to the brick building and addresses it: "Temple, built from precious metal and lapis lazuli; whose foundation pegs are driven into the abzu; which has been cared for by the prince in the abzu! Like the Tigris and the Euphrates, it is mighty and aweinsniring low has been brought into Enki's abzu."

inspiring. Joy has been brought into Enki's abzu."

26-32. "Your lock has no rival. Your bolt is a fearsome lion. Your roof beams are the bull of heaven, an artfully made bright headgear. Your reed-mats are like lapis lazuli, decorating the roof-beams. Your vault is a [bull] [(some mss. have instead:) wild bull] raising its horns. Your door is a lion who [seizes a man] [(1 ms. has instead:) is awe-inspiring]. Your stairway is a lion coming down on a man."

33-43. "Abzu, pure place which fulfils its purpose! E-engura! Your lord has directed his steps towards you. Enki, lord of the abzu, has embellished your foundation pegs with cornelian. He has adorned you with and lapis lazuli. The temple of Enki is provisioned with holy wax; it is a bull obedient to its master, roaring by itself and giving advice at the same time. E-engura, which Enki has surrounded with a holy reed fence! In your midst a lofty throne is erected, your door-jamb is the holy locking bar of heaven."

44-48. "Abzu, pure place, place where the fates are determined -- the lord of wisdom, Lord Enki, [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) the lord who determines the fates,] Nudimmud, the lord of Eridug, lets nobody look into its midst. Your abgal priests let their hair down their backs."

49-61. "Enki's beloved Eridug, E-engura whose inside is full of abundance! Abzu, life of the Land, beloved of Enki! Temple built on the edge, befitting the artful divine powers! Eridug, your shadow extends over the midst of the sea! Rising sea without a rival; mighty awe-inspiring river which terrifies the Land! E-engura, high citadel standing firm on the earth! Temple at the edge of the engur, a lion in the midst of the abzu; lofty temple of Enki, which bestows wisdom on the Land; your cry, like that of a mighty rising river, reaches King Enki."

62-67. "He made [the lyre, the algar instrument, the balag drum with the drumsticks] [(some mss. have instead:) the lyre,

the algar instrument, the balag drum of your sur priests] [(1 ms. has instead:) your lyre and algar instrument, the balag drum with the drumsticks] [(1 ms. has instead:) the lyre, the algar instrument, the balag drum and even the plectrum], the harhar, the sabitum, and the miritum instruments offer their best for his holy temple. The resounded by themselves with a sweet sound. The holy algar instrument of Enki played for him on his own and seven [singers sang] [(some mss. have instead:) tigi drums resounded.]"

68-70. "What Enki says is irrefutable; is well established." This is what Isimud spoke to the brick building; he praised the E-engura [with sweet songs] [(1 ms. has instead:) duly.]

71-82. As it has been built, as it has been built; as Enki has raised Eridug up, it is an artfully built mountain which floats on the water. His shrine spreads out into the reedbeds; birds brood [(1 ms. adds:) at night] in its green orchards laden with fruit. The suhur carp play among the honey-herbs, and the estub carp dart among the small gizi reeds. When Enki rises, the fish rise before him like waves. He has the abzu stand as a marvel, as he brings joy into the engur.

83-92. Like the sea, he is awe-inspiring; like a mighty river, he instils fear. The Euphrates rises before him as it does before the fierce south wind. His punting pole is [Nirah] [(some mss. have instead:) Imdudul; his oars are the small reeds. When Enki embarks, the year will be full of abundance. The ship departs of its own accord, with tow rope held by itself. As he leaves the temple of Eridug, the river gurgles to its lord: its sound is a call's mooing, the mooing of a good cow.

93-95. Enki had oxen slaughtered, and had sheep offered there lavishly. Where there were no ala drums, he installed some in their places; where there were no bronze ub drums, he despatched some to their places.

96-103. He directed his steps on his own to Nibru and entered the temple terrace, the shrine of Nibru. Enki reached for the beer, he reached for the liquor. He had liquor poured into big bronze containers, and had emmer-wheat beer pressed out. In kukuru containers which make the beer good he mixed beer-mash. By adding date-syrup to its taste, he made it strong. He its bran-mash.

104-116. In the shrine of Nibru, Enki provided a meal for Enlil, his father. He seated An at the head of the table and seated Enlil next to An. He seated Nintur in the place of honour and seated the Anuna gods at the adjacent places. All of them were drinking and enjoying beer and liquor. They filled the bronze aga vessels to the brim and started a competition, drinking from the bronze vessels of Uras. They made the tilimda vessels shine like holy barges. After beer and liquor had been libated and enjoyed, and after from the house, Enlil was made happy in Nibru.

117-129. Enlil addressed the Anuna gods: "Great gods who are standing here! Anuna, who have lined up in the Ubsuunkena! My son, King Enki has built up the temple! He has made Eridug [rise up] [(1 ms. has instead:) come out] from the ground like a mountain! He has built it in a pleasant place, in Eridug, the pure place, where no one is to enter -- a temple built with silver and decorated with lapis lazuli, a house which tunes the seven tigi drums properly, and provides incantations; where holy songs make all of the house a lovely place -- the shrine of the abzu, the good destiny of Enki, befitting the elaborate divine powers; the temple of Eridug, built with silver: for all this, Father Enki be praised!"

ENLIL CYCLE

ENLIL AND NINLIL Translation: ETCSL: t.1.2.1

1-12. There was a city, there was a city -- the one we live in. Nibru was the city, the one we live in. Dur-gisnimbar was the city, the one we live in. Id-sala is its holy river, Kar-gestina is its quay. Kar-asar is its quay where boats make fast. Pu-lal is its freshwater well. Id-nunbir-tum is its branching canal, and if one measures from there, its cultivated land is 50 sar each way. Enlil was one of its young men, and Ninlil was one its young women. Nun-bar-se-gunu was one of its wise old women.

13-21. At that time the maiden was advised by her own mother, Ninlil was advised by Nun-bar-se-gunu: "The river is holy, woman! The river is holy -- do not bathe in it! Ninlil, don't walk along the bank of the Id-nunbir-tum! His eye is bright, the lord's eye is bright, he will look at you! The Great Mountain, Father Enlil -- his eye is bright, he will look at you! The shepherd who decides all destinies -- his eye is bright, he will look at you! Straight away he will want to have intercourse, he will want to kiss! He will be happy to pour lusty semen into the womb, and then he will leave you to it!"

22-34. She advised her from the heart, she gave wisdom to her. The river is holy; the woman bathed in the holy river. As Ninlil walked along the bank of the Id-nunbir-tum, his eye was bright, the lord's eye was bright, he looked at her. The freat Mountain, Father Enlil -- his eye was bright, he looked at her. The shepherd who decides all destinies -- his eye was

bright, he looked at her. The king said to her, "I want to have sex with you!", but he could not make her let him. Enlil said "I want to kiss you!", but he could not make her let him. "My vagina is small, it does not know pregnancy. My lips are young, they do not know kissing. If my mother learns of it, she will slap my hand! If my father learns of it, he will lay hands on me! But right now, no one will stop me from telling this to my girl friend!"

35-53. Enlil spoke to his minister Nuska: "Nuska, my minister!" "At your service! What do you wish?" "Master builder of the E-kur!" "At your service, my lord!" "Has anyone had intercourse with, has anyone kissed a maiden so beautiful, so radiant -- Ninlil, so beautiful, so radiant?" The minister brought his master across by boat, bringing him over with the rope of a small boat, bringing him over in a big boat. The lord, floating downstream to -- he was actually to have intercourse with her, he was actually to kiss her! --Father Enlil, floating downstream to -- he was actually to have intercourse with her, he was actually to kiss her! -- he grasped hold of her whom he was seeking -- he was actually to have intercourse with her, he was actually to kiss her! -- so as to lie with her on a small bank He actually had intercourse with her, he actually kissed her. At this one intercourse, at this one kissing he poured the seed of Suen-Asimbabbar into her womb.

54-64. Enlil was walking in the Ki-ur. As Enlil was going about in the Ki-ur, the fifty great gods and the seven gods who decide destinies had Enlil arrested in the Ki-ur. [Enlil. the ritually impure, left the city. Nunamnir, the ritually impure, left the city.] [(2 mss. have instead:) "Enlil, ritually impure, leave the city! Nunamnir, ritually impure, leave the city!" Enlil, in accordance with what had been decided, Nunamnir, in accordance with what had been decided, Enlil went. Ninlil followed. Nunamnir went, the maiden chased

65-90. Enlil spoke to the man at the city gate: "City gatekeeper! Keeper of the barrier! Porter! Keeper of the holy barrier! When your lady Ninlil comes, if she asks after me, don't tell her where I am!" Ninlil addressed the city gatekeeper: "City gatekeeper! Keeper of the barrier! Porter! Keeper of the holy barrier! When did your lord Enlil go by?' She spoke to him: Enlil answered as the city gatekeeper: "My lord has not talked with me at all, O loveliest one. Enlil has not talked with me at all, O loveliest one." "I will make clear my aim and explain my intent. You can fill my womb once it is empty -- Enlil, lord of all the lands, has had sex with me! Just as Enlil is your lord, so am I your lady!" "If you are my lady, let my hand touch your!" "The seed of your lord, the bright seed, is in my womb. The seed of Suen, the bright seed, is in my womb." "My master's seed can go up to the heavens! Let my seed go downwards! Let my seed go downwards, instead of my master's seed!" Enlil, as the city gatekeeper, got her to lie down in the chamber. He had intercourse with her there, he kissed her there. At this one intercourse, at this one kissing he poured the seed of Nergal-Meslamta-ea into her

91-116. Enlil went. Ninlil followed. Nunamnir went, the maiden chased him. Enlil approached the man of the Id-kura (river of the underworld), the man-eating river. "My man of the Id-kura, the man-eating river! When your lady Ninlil comes, if she asks after me, don't you tell her where I am!" Ninlil approached the man of the Id-kura, the man-eating river. "My man of the Id-kura, the man-eating river! When did your lord Enlil go by?", she said to him. Enlil answered as the man of the Id-kura: "My lord has not talked with me at all, O loveliest one. Enlil has not talked with me at all, O loveliest "I will make clear my aim and explain my intent. You can fill my womb once it is empty -- Enlil, lord of all the lands, has had sex with me! Just as Enlil is your lord, so am I your "If you are my lady, let my hand touch your .. "The seed of your lord, the bright seed, is in my womb. The seed of Suen, the bright seed, is in my womb." "My master's seed can go up to the heavens! Let my seed go downwards! Let my seed go downwards, instead of my master's seed!" Enlil, as the man of the Id-kura, got her to lie down in the chamber. He had intercourse with her there, he kissed her there. At this one intercourse, at this one kissing he poured into her womb the seed of Ninazu, the king who stretches measuring lines over the fields.

117-142. Enlil went, Ninlil followed, Nunamnir went, the maiden chased him. Enlil approached SI.LU.IGI, the man of the ferryboat. "SI.LU.IGI, my man of the ferryboat! When your lady Ninlil comes, if she asks after me, don't you tell her where I am!" Ninlil approached the man of the ferryboat. "Man of the ferryboat! When did your lord Enlil go by?", she said to him. Enlil answered as the man SI.LU.IGI: "My lord has not talked with me at all, O loveliest one. Enlil has not talked with me at all, O loveliest one." "I will make clear my aim and explain my intent. You can fill my womb once it is empty -- Enlil, king of all the lands, has had sex with me! Just as Enlil is your lord, so am I your lady!" "If you are my lady, let my hand touch your!" "The seed of your lord, the bright seed, is in my womb. The seed of Suen, the bright seed, is in my womb." "My master's seed can go up to the heavens!

Let my seed go downwards! Let my seed go downwards, instead of my master's seed!" Enlil, as SI.LU.IGI, got her to lie down in the chamber. He had intercourse with her there, he kissed her there. At this one intercourse, at this one kissing he poured into her womb the seed of Enbilulu, the inspector

143-154. You are lord! You are king! Enlil, you are lord! You are king! Nunamnir, you are lord! You are king! You are supreme lord, you are powerful lord! Lord who makes flax grow, lord who makes barley grow, you are lord of heaven, lord plenty, lord of the earth! You are lord of the earth, lord plenty, lord of heaven! Enlil in heaven, Enlil is king! Lord [whose utterances] [(2 mss. have instead:) whose pronouncements] cannot be altered at all! His primordial utterances will not be changed! For the praise spoken for Ninlil the mother, praise be to [(1 ms. adds:) the Great Mountain,] Father Enlil!

ENLIL AND SUD Translation: ETCSL: t.1.2.2

Version A Segment A

1-8. she was faithfully sitting on, admirable and full of charms., the noble son -- who like him can compare with An and Enlil? Haia, the, put the holy semen into her womb. Nun-bar-se-gunu (a name of Nisaba) faithfully gave birth to, she brought her up in her and suckled her at her breasts full of good milk. The of the young girl burgeoned, and she became full of flourishing beauty. In the of Nisaba, at the gate of the E zagin, she stood, the object of admiration, like a tall, beautifully shaped cow.

9-26. At that time Enlil had not yet been given a wife in the E-kur: Ninlil's name was not vet famous in the Ki-ur. After travelling through Sumer and to the ends of the universe, he; in his search throughout the Land, Enlil, the Great Mountain, stopped at Eres. As he looked around there, he found the woman of his choice. He approached her and, overflowing with joy, engaged her in conversation: "I will make you perfect in a queen's dress; after standing in the street. you will be How impressed I am by your beauty, even if you are a shameless person!" In her youthful inexperience Sud answered Enlil: "If I want to stand proudly at our gate, who dares to give me a bad reputation? What are your intentions? Why have you come here? from my sight!" Others had already tried to deceive, and made her angry. Enlil answered Sud, standing closer to her: "Come, I want to speak to you! I will have a talk with you about your becoming my wife. Kiss me, my lady of most beautiful eyes -- the matter rests in your hands." But the words had barely left his mouth when, right in front of him, she went into the house

27-43 The heart of the wise lord pounded. He called for Nuska. "What is your wish?" He gave the following instructions to him: "I want you to go back to Eres, the city of Nisaba, the city whose foundations are august. Do not delay! Repeat to her what I am going to tell you: "I am a young man, I have sent this message to you because of my wish: I want to take your daughter as wife. Give me your consent. I will send you presents in my name, my marriage gifts. I am Enlil, the descendant and offspring of Ansar, the noble, the lord of heaven and earth. The name of your daughter shall become Ninlil, and all the foreign countries shall it. I will present her with the Ga-gis-sua as her storehouse. I will give her the Ki-ur to be her beloved private quarters. She shall [sit] [(1 ms. has instead:) live] with me in the E-kur, [my] [(1 ms. has instead:) the august dais. She shall determine fates. She shall apportion the divine powers among the Anuna, the great gods. And as for you, I will place in your hands the lives of the black-headed people." When you get there, let the woman I have chosen for her beauty her mother. Do not go to her empty-handed, but take her some jewellery in your left hand. Waste no time. Return with her answer quickly.'

44-73. When Nuska, the head of the assembly, had received Enlil's instructions, he wasted no time; he directed his steps to Eres. He entered E-zagin, the residence of Nanibgal (a name of Nisaba) and prostrated himself before Nanibgal on her dais. of Enlil, and she asked him: what?"

[7 lines missing / 1 line fragmentary] (Nuska speaks:) Sud What you have told me Nanibgal went on speaking flatteringly to the minister: 'Adviser, fit for his king, ever observant! Who like you could give counsel daily to the Great Mountain? How could I contest the king's message which his slave has received? If there is truth in what you have told me -- and may there be no falsehood -- who could reject one who bestows such exceedingly great favours? makes our mood and hearts happy. Let us consider that amends have been made. By bringing the marriage gifts and the presents in his name the insult is wiped away. Tell him: "You shall become my son-in-law; do as you wish!" Tell Enlil, the Great Mountain: "Do as you wish!" Let his sister come from her side, and she shall accompany Sud from here. Aruru shall become Sud's sister-inlaw: let her be shown the household. Inform your lord thus in his august Ki-ur. Repeat this to Enlil in the privacy of his holy bedchamber."

74-102. After had instructed, and Nuska took his seat on it

[1 line missing]

Nanibgal called and gave her advice: "My little one, asleep indoors your pure, the pleasant private quarters leave the House of Nisaba's Wisdom., Nuska is knowing and wise. to his presence and pour him beer." According to the instructions of her mother, she washed his hands and placed a tankard in his hands. The minister opened his left hand and gave her the jewellery, everything and set it before her. She received the gifts He directed his steps to Nibru. kissed the ground before Enlil. the great Lady had said, as she had instructed him, he repeated: "(She said:) "Adviser, fit for his king, ever observant! Who like you could give counsel daily to the Great Mountain? How could I contest the king's message which his slave has received? If there is truth in what you have told me -and may there be no falsehood -- who could reject one who bestows such exceedingly great favours? makes our mood and hearts happy. Let us consider that amends have been made. By bringing the marriage gifts and the presents in his name the insult is wiped away. Tell him: "You shall become my son-in-law; do as you wish!" Tell Enlil, the Great Mountain: "Do as you wish!" Let his sister come from her side, and she shall accompany Sud from here. Aruru shall become Sud's sister-in-law: let her be shown the household. Inform your lord thus in his august Ki-ur. Repeat this to Enlil in the privacy of his holy bedchamber."

103-113. made feel good, brought great rejoicing in Enlil's heart. He raised his head, and animals came running. herds of four-legged animals that graze together in the desert. He caught living in the mountains, he made wild bulls, red deer, elephants, fallow deer, gazelles, bears, wild sheep and rams, lynxes, foxes, wild cats, tigers, mountain sheep, water buffaloes, monkeys, and thick-horned fat cattle jostle together noisily. Cows and their calves, wild cattle with wide-spread horns, rope, [ewes and lambs, goats and kids, romping] [(1 later ms. from Susa has instead:) and fighting], large kids with long beards, scratching with their hooves, lambs,, and majestic sheep were despatched by Enlil toward Eres.

114-117. Large cheeses, mustard-flavoured cheeses, small cheeses, milk the sweetest dry honey and white honey, and thick and large were despatched by Enlil toward Eres.

118-123., dates, figs, large pomegranates, gipar fruits, plums, halub nuts, almonds, acorns, Dilmun dates packed in baskets, dark-coloured date spadices, large pomegranates gathered from orchards, big clusters of grapes on high, trees in fruit, trees from orchards, grown in winter, and fruits from orchards were despatched by Enlil toward Eres.

124-136. Ores from Harali, the faraway land, storehouses,, rock-crystal, gold, silver,, the yield of the uplands, heavy loads of them, were despatched by Enlil toward Eres. After the personal presents, the transported goods, Ninmah and the minister The dust from their march reached high into the sky like rain clouds. Enormous marriage gifts were being brought for Nanibgal to Eres; the city was getting full inside and out, it was to be replete. The rest on the outlying roads blue sky
[1 line missing / 2 lines fragmentary]

137-145. [Nanibgal, the mother-in-law of Enlil, the woman who had been slandered, was treated kindly by Nuska] [(1 ms. has instead:) the mother-in-law of Enlil, woman Ezina] -- but the lady disregarded the flatterer, and spoke to her daughter: "May you be [Enlil's favourite wife] [(1 ms. has instead:) the wife of Enlil's heart], and may he speak to you sweetly. May he embrace you, the most beautiful of all, and tell you: "Beloved, open wide!" [May the two of you never lose the pleasure of excitement; make it last a long time.] [(1 ms. has instead:) May it be that the pleasure of excitement will never be lost.] You two on the hill, and have children afterwards! When you enter the house to live there, may abundance precede you, and may joy follow you. May the people line up for you wherever you go, and may all the people for you. The fate I have determined for you [should be fulfilled] [(1 ms. has instead:) cannot be altered]! Go with head held high into the E-mah."

146-155. Then Aruru grasped her by the hand and led her away into the Es-mah. She brought her into the E-kur, the house of Enlil, and In the sleeping quarters, in the flowered bed like a fragrant cedar forest, Enlil made love to his wife and took great pleasure in it.

[1 line fragmentary] The lord whose statements are the lady; Nintur, the "Lady who gives birth" En-batibira's (perhaps a name of Aruru)

countenance, He presented her with, everything, and
156-170. (Enlil speaks:) "From now on, a woman shall be

156-170. (Enlil speaks;) "From now on, a woman shall be the; a foreign woman shall be the mistress of the house. May my beautiful wife, who was born by holy Nisaba, be Ezina, the growing grain, the life of Sumer. When you appear in the furrows like a beautiful young girl, may Iskur, the canal inspector, be your provider, supplying you with water from the ground. The height of the year is marked with your new prime flax and your new prime grain; Enlil and Ninlil procreate them (?) as desired.

[1 line unclear]

The harvest crop raises its head high for the great festival of Enlil. The scribal art, the tablets decorated with writing, the stylus, the tablet board, reckoning and calculating, adding and subtracting, the shining measuring rope, the, the head of the surveyor's peg, the measuring rod, the marking of the boundaries, and the are fittingly in your hands. The farmer Woman, the proudest among the Great Princes, ..., from now on, Sud Ninlil"

[unknown numbers of lines missing]

Segment B

1. A holy song of praise Enlil and Ninlil!

Version

(1 later ms. from Susa preserves a slightly variant version of lines 142ff.)

1-4. (Nisaba speaks:) "..... spend your time on the hill! Enter! And may abundance precede you! May the people line up for you; may all the people for you. Your which I have determined for you should be fulfilled; with head held high into the Esmah."

5-14. Aruru grasped her and her away into the Es-mah. She brought her into the shining E-kur, and poured the best perfume over her face. In the sleeping quarters, in the flowered bed fragrant like a cedar forest, Enlil made love to his wife and took great pleasure in it. He sat her on his dais appropriate to the status of Enlil, and made the people pray to her. The lord whose statements are powerful also determined a fate for the Lady (Aruru), the woman of his favour; he gave her the name Nintur, the 'Lady who gives birth', the 'Lady who spreads her knees'. He made beautiful En-batibira's (perhaps a name of Aruru) countenance, He presented her with the of a mistress, everything pertaining to women that no man must see, and

pertaining to women that no man must see, and
15-29. (Enlil speaks:) "From now on, a woman shall be the; a woman shall be the mistress of the house. May my favourite wife, who was born by holy Nisaba, be Ezina, the grain, the life of the Land. When she appears in the furrows like a beautiful young girl, may be her provider, watering her with water from the ground, as she grows prime grain and raine flay.

grain and prime flax

[1 line unclear] the harvest crop the great festival of Enlil, the measuring rod, the marking of the boundaries, and the preparation of canals and levees are fittingly in your hands. The farmer entrusted cultivation into your hands. Proud woman, surpassing the mountains! You who always fulfil your desires -- from now on, Sud, Enlil is the king and Ninlil is the queen. The goddess without name has a famous name now,

[1 line unclear]

May it be you who determine that destiny attends to

30-31. As the presents are given in the shrine Nibru, a holy song of praise is sung. Enlil, the lord of the countries,

INANNA AND DUMUZID CYCLE

(Inanna (or Inana, Sumerian: Nin-an-ak, meaning "Lady of Heaven;" Akkadian: Ishtar, southern Canaanite: Astarte, northern Canaanite: Ashtart) is an ancient Mesopotamian goddess associated with love, beauty, sex, war, justice and political power. She was originally worshiped in Sumer under the name "Inanna", and was later worshipped by the Akkadians, Babylonians, and Assyrians under the name Ishtar. She was known as the "Queen of Heaven" and was the patron goddess of the Eanna temple at the city of Uruk, which was her main cult center. She was associated with the planet Venus and her most prominent symbols included the lion and the eight-pointed star. Her husband was the god Dumuzid (later known as Tammuz) and her sukkal, or personal attendant, was the goddess Ninshubur (who later became conflated with the male deities Ilabrat and Papsukkal). Inanna was worshiped in Sumer at least as early as the Uruk period (c. 4000 BC - c 3100 BC) but she had little cult before the conquest of Sargon of Akkad. During the post-Sargonic era, she became one of the most widely venerated deities in the Sumerian pantheon, with temples across Mesopotamia. The cult of Inanna, which may have been associated with a variety of sexual rites, was continued by the East Semitic-speaking

people (Akkadians, Assyrians and Babylonians) who succeeded and absorbed the Sumerians in the region. She was especially beloved by the Assyrians, who elevated her to become the highest deity in their pantheon, ranking above their own national god Ashur. Inanna/Ishtar is alluded to in the Hebrew Bible and she greatly influenced the Ugaritic Ashtart and later Phoenician Astarte, who in turn possibly influenced the development of the Greek goddess Aphrodite. Her cult continued to flourish until its gradual decline between the first and sixth centuries AD in the wake of Christianity with its Mary character.

Inanna appears in more myths than any other Sumerian deity. She also had an uniquely high number of epithets and alternate names, comparable only to Nergal. Many of her myths involve her taking over the domains of other deities. She was believed to have stolen the mes, which represented all positive and negative aspects of civilisation, from Enki, the god of wisdom. She was also believed to have taken over the Eanna temple from An, the god of the sky. Alongside her twin brother Utu (later known as Shamash), Inanna was the enforcer of divine justice; she destroyed Mount Ehih for having challenged her authority, unleashed her fury upon the gardener Shukaletuda after he raped her in her sleep, and tracked down the bandit woman Bilulu and killed her in divine retribution for having murdered Dumuzid. In the standard Akkadian version of the Epic of Gilgamesh, Ishtar asks Gilgamesh to become her consort. When he refuses, she unleashes the Bull of Heaven, resulting in the death of Enkidu and Gilgamesh's subsequent grapple with his mortality.

Inanna's most famous myth is the story of her descent into and return from Kur, the Ancient Mesopotamian underworld, a myth in which she attempts to conquer the domain of her older sister Ereshkigal, the queen of the underworld, but is instead deemed guilty of hubris by the seven judges of the underworld and struck dead. Three days later, Ninshubur pleads with all the gods to bring Inanna back, but all of them refuse her except Enki, who sends two sexless beings to rescue Inanna. They escort Inanna out of the underworld, but the galla, the guardians of the underworld, drag her husband Dumuzid down to the Underworld as her replacement. Dumuzid is eventually permitted to return to heaven for half the year while his sister Geshtinanna remains in the underworld for the other half, resulting in the cycle of the seasons)

A HYMN TO INANNA

Translation: ETCSL (Inana C)
Estimated Range of Dating: 3rd millenium B.C.

1-10. The great-hearted mistress, the impetuous lady, proud among the Anuna gods and pre-eminent in all lands, the great daughter of Suen, exalted among the Great Princes (a name of the Igigi gods), the magnificent lady who gathers up the divine powers of heaven and earth and rivals great An, is mightiest among the great gods -- she makes their verdicts final. The Anuna gods crawl before her august word whose course she does not let An know; he dare not proceed against her command. She changes her own action, and no one knows how it will occur. She makes perfect the great divine powers, she holds a shepherd's crook, and she is their magnificent pre-eminent one. She is a huge shackle clamping down upon the gods of the Land. Her great awesomeness covers the great mountain and levels the roads.

11-17. At her loud cries, the gods of the Land become scared. Her roaring makes the Anuna gods tremble like a solitary reed. At her rumbling, they hide all together. Without Inana great An makes no decisions, and Enlil determines no destinies. Who opposes the mistress who raises her head and is supreme over the mountains? Wherever she, cities become ruin mounds and haunted places, and shrines become waste land. When her wrath makes people tremble, the burning sensation and the distress she causes are like an ulu demon ensnaring a man.

18-28. She stirs confusion and chaos against those who are disobedient to her, speeding carnage and inciting the devastating flood, clothed in terrifying radiance. It is her game to speed conflict and battle, untiring, strapping on her sandals. Clothed (?) in a furious storm, a whirlwind, she the garment of ladyship. When she touches there is despair, a south wind which has covered Inana sits on harnessed lions, she cuts to pieces him who shows no respect. A leopard of the hills, entering the roads, raging,, the mistress is a great bull trusting in its strength; no one dare turn against her., the foremost among the Great Princes, a pitfall for the disobedient, a trap for the evil, a for the hostile, wherever she casts her venom

29-38. Her wrath is, a devastating flood which no one can withstand. A great watercourse,, she abases those whom she despises. The mistress, an eagle that lets no one escape,, Inana, a falcon preying on the gods, Inana rips to pieces the spacious cattle-pens. The fields of the city which Inana has looked at in anger The furrows of the field which the mistress grass. An opposes her,

Setting on fire, in the high plain the mistress Inana The mistress speeding fighting. conflict.

39-48. she performs a song. This song its established plan, weeping, the food and milk of death. Whoever eats Inana's food and milk of death will not last. Gall will give a burning pain to those she gives it to eat, in their mouth In her joyful heart she performs the song of death on the plain. She performs the song of her heart. She washes their weapons with blood and gore, Axes smash heads, spears penetrate and maces are covered in blood. Their evil mouths the warriors On their first offerings she pours blood, filling them with death.

49-59. On the wide and silent plain, darkening the bright daylight, she turns midday into darkness. People look upon each other in anger, they look for combat. Their shouting disturbs the plain, it weighs on the pasture and the waste land. Her howling is like Ishkur's and makes the flesh of all the lands tremble. No one can oppose her murderous battle—who rivals her? No one can look at her fierce fighting, the speeding carnage. Engulfing (?) water, raging, sweeping over the earth, she leaves nothing behind. The mistress, a breaking plough opening hard ground, The braggarts do not lift their necks, Her great heart performs her bidding, the mistress who alone fashions Exalted in the assembly, she occupies the seat of honour, to the right and left.

[2 lines fragmentary]

73-79. The mistress, a leopard among the Anuna gods, full of pride, has been given authority. Not having struggle ..., lnana She the adolescent girl in her chamber, receiving her, heart charms. She evilly the woman she rejects. In the entire (?) country she She lets her run around in the town square of a house the wife sees her child.

80-90. When she had removed the great punishment from her body, she invoked blessings upon it; she caused it to be named the pilipili. She broke the spear and as if she were a man gave her a weapon. When she had punishment, it is not She the door of the house of wisdom, she makes known its interior. Those who do not respect her suspended net do not escape when she suspends the meshes of her net. The man she has called by name she does not hold in esteem. Having approached the woman, she breaks the weapon and gives her a spear. The male gishgisagkesh, the nisub and the female gishgi ritual officiants, after having punishment, moaning The ecstatic, the transformed pilipili, the kurgara and the sagursag Lament and song They exhaust themselves with weeping and grief, they laments.

91-98. Weeping daily your heart does not 'Alas' heart knows no relaxation. Beloved lady of holy An, your in weeping In heaven On your breast You alone are majestic, you have renown, heaven and earth not You rival An and Enlil, you occupy their seat of honour. You are pre-eminent in the cult places, you are magnificent in your course.

99-108. Ezina august dais Ishkur who roars from the sky His thick clouds When the great divine powers of heaven and earth, Inana, your victory is terrifying The Anuna gods bow down in prostration, they abase themselves. You ride on seven great beasts as you come forth from heaven. Great An feared your precinct and was frightened of your dwelling-place. He let you take a seat in the dwelling-place of great An and then feared you no more, saying: "I will hand over to you the august royal rites and the great divine rites."

109-114. The great gods kissed the earth and prostrated themselves. The high mountain land, the land of cornelian and lapis lazuli, bowed down before you, but Ebih did not bow down before you and did not greet you. Shattering it in your anger, as desired, you smashed it like a storm. Lady, preminent through the power of An and Enlil, Without you no destiny at all is determined, no clever counsel is granted favour.

115-131. To run, to escape, to quiet and to pacify are yours, Inana. To rove around, to rush, to rise up, to fall down and to a companion are yours, Inana. To open up roads and paths, a place of peace for the journey, a companion for the weak, are yours, Inana. To keep paths and ways in good order, to shatter earth and to make it firm are yours, Inana. To

destroy, to build up, to tear out and to settle are yours, Inana. To turn a man into a woman and a woman into a man are yours, Inana. Desirability and arousal, bringing goods into existence and establishing properties and equipment are yours, Inana. Profit, gain, great wealth and greater wealth are yours, Inana. Profit and having success in wealth, financial loss and reduced wealth are yours, Inana. [Observation] [(1 ms. has instead:) Everything], choice, offering, inspection and embellishment are yours, Inana. Assigning virility, dignity, guardian angels, protective deities and cult centres are yours, Inana

[6 lines fragmentary]

132-154. mercy and pity are yours, Inana. are yours, Inana. To cause the heart to tremble, to love are yours, Inana. To have a favourite wife,, to love are yours, Inana. Rejoicing, being haughty, are yours, Inana. Neglect and care, raising and bowing down are yours, Inana. To build a house, to create a woman's chamber, to possess implements, to kiss a child's lips are yours, Inana. To run, to race, to plot and to succeed are yours, Inana. To interchange the brute and the strong and the weak and the powerless is yours, Inana. To interchange the heights and valleys, and raising up and reducing, is yours, Inana. To give the crown, the throne and the royal sceptre is yours, Inana.

12 lines missing

155-157. To diminish, to make great, to make low, to make broad, to and to give a lavish supply are yours, Inana. To bestow the divine and royal rites, to carry out the appropriate instructions, slander, untruthful words, abuse, to speak inimically and to overstate are yours, Inana.

158-168. The false or true response, the sneer, to commit violence, to extend derision, to speak with hostility, to cause smiling and to be humbled or important, misfortune, hardship, grief, to make happy, to clarify and to darken, agitation, terror, panic, awesome brilliance and radiance, triumph, pursuit, imbasur illness, sleeplessness and restlessness, submission, gift, and howling, strife, chaos, opposition, fighting and speeding carnage,, to know everything, to strengthen for the distant future a nest built, to instill fear in the desert like a poisonous snake, to subdue the hostile enemy, and to hate are yours, Inana.

169-173. To the lots, to gather the dispersed people and restore them to their homes, to receive, to are yours, Inana.

1 line fragmentary

182-196. Your understanding all the gods
You alone are magnificent. You are the great cow among the gods of heaven and earth, as many as there are. When you raise your eyes they pay heed to you, they wait for your word. The Anuna gods stand praying in the place where you dwell. Great awesomeness, glory May your praise not cease! Where is your name not magnificent?

[9 lines missing]

197-202. Your song is grief, lament Your cannot be changed, your anger is crushing. Your creation cannot be, An has not diminished your orders. Woman, with the help of An and Enlil you (?) have granted as a gift in the assembly. Unison An and Enlil, giving the Land into your hand. An does not answer the word you have uttered to him.

203-208. Once you have said 'So be it', great An does not for him. Your 'So be it' is a 'So be it' of destruction, to destroy Once you have said your in the assembly, An and Enlil will not disperse it. Once you have made a decision, it cannot be changed in heaven and earth. Once you have specified approval of a place, it experiences no destruction. Once you have specified destruction for a place, it experiences no approval.

209-218. Your divinity shines in the pure heavens like Nanna or Utu. Your torch lights up the corners of heaven, turning darkness into light. The men and women form a row for you and each one's daily status hangs down before you. Your numerous people pass before you, as before Utu, for their inspection. No one can lay a hand on your precious divine powers; all your divine powers You exercise full ladyship over heaven and earth; you hold everything in your hand. Mistress, you are magnificent, no one can walk before you. You dwell with great An in the holy resting-place. Which god is like you in gathering together in heaven and earth? You are magnificent, your name is praised, you alone are magnificent!

219-242. I am En-hedu-ana, the high priestess of the moon god. ; I am the of Nanna.

[1 line fragmentary / 20 lines missing / 1 line fragmentary]
243-253. Advice, grief, bitterness, 'alas'

My lady mercy compassion Lam yours!

My lady, mercy compassion I am yours! This will always be so! May your heart be soothed towards me! May your understanding compassion. May front of you, may it be my offering. Your divinity is resplendent in the Land! My body has experienced your great punishment. Bitter lament keeps me awake with anxiety. Mercy, compassion, care, lenience and homage are yours, and to cause flood storms, to open hard ground and to turn darkness into light.

254-263. My lady, let me proclaim your magnificence in all lands, and your glory! Let me praise your ways and greatness! Who rivals you in divinity? Who can compare with your divine rites? May great An, whom you love, say for you "It is enough!". May the great gods calm your mood. May the lapis lazuli dais, fit for ladyship, May your magnificent dwelling place say to you: "Be seated". May your pure bed say to you: "Relax". Your, where Utu rises,

264-271. They proclaim your magnificence; you are the lady An and Enlil have determined a great destiny for you throughout the entire universe. They have bestowed upon you ladyship in the assembly chamber. Being fitted for ladyship, you determine the destiny of noble ladies. Mistress, you are magnificent, you are great! Inana, you are magnificent, you are great! My lady, your magnificence is resplendent. May your heart be restored for my sake!

272-274. Your great deeds are unparallelled, your magnificence is praised! Young woman, Inana, your praise is sweet!

INANA AND ENKI

Translation: ETCSL t.1.3.1; University of Oxford

SEGMENT A

[approx. 6 lines missing]

1-10. She of the desert. She put the shu-gura, the desert crown, on her head. when she went out to the shepherd, to the sheepfold, her genitals were remarkable. She praised herself, full of delight at her genitals, she praised herself, full of delight at her genitals. She looked at, she looked at, she looked at, when I have gratified the lord, when I have

11-27. "When I have gratified the lord, when I have made brilliant, when I have made beautiful, when I have made glorious, when I have made when I have made have made shining, when I have made shining, when I have made shining, when I have made brilliant, when I have made brilliant, when I have made brilliant, when I have made shinmering, I shall direct my steps to the abzu, to Eridug, I shall direct my steps to Enki, to the abzu, in Eridug, I myself shall speak coaxingly to him, in the abzu, in Eridug, I myself shall speak coaxingly to Enki, in the abzu, in Eridug. had her go out"

[approx. 21 lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-5. "Inana, it is I who I, Inana, personally [intend to go to the abzu] [(1 ms. has instead:) intend to go to Eridug]. I shall utter a plea to Lord Enki. Like the sweet oil of the cedar, who will for my holy perfume? It shall never escape me that I have been neglected by him who has had sex."

6-15. On that day the maiden Inana, holy Inana, directed her steps all by herself towards Enki's abzu in Eridug. On that day, he of exceptional knowledge, who knows the divine powers in heaven and earth, who from his own dwelling already knows the intentions of the gods, Enki, the king of the abzu, who, even before holy Inana had approached within six miles of [the abzu] [(1 ms. has instead:) the temple] in Eridug, knew all about her enterprise -- Enki spoke to his man, gave him instructions: "Come here, my man, listen to my words."

[1 line fragmentary / approx. 2 lines missing]

SEGMENT C

1-14. "..... she will drink, she will eat. Come here! I will, do. The maiden the abzu and Eridug, Inana the abzu and Eridug When the maiden Inana has entered the abzu and Eridug, when Inana has entered the abzu and Eridug, when Eventual Eridug, offer her butter cake to eat. Let her be served cool refreshing water. Pour beer for her, in front of the Lions' Gate, make her feel as if she is in her girlfriend's house, make her as a colleague. You are to welcome holy Inana at the holy table, at the table of An."

15-26. After Enki had spoken thus to him, Isimud the minister followed his master's instructions closely. He let the maiden into the abzu and Eridug. He let Inana into the abzu and Eridug. When the maiden had entered the abzu and Eridug, when Inana had entered the abzu and Eridug, she got butter cake to eat. They poured cool refreshing water for her,

and they gave her beer to drink, in front of the Lions' Gate. He made her feel as if she was in her girlfriend's house, and made her as a colleague. He welcomed holy Inana at the holy table, at the table of An.

27-30. So it came about that Enki and Inana were drinking beer together in the abzu, and enjoying the taste of sweet wine. The bronze aga vessels were filled to the brim, and the two of them started a competition, drinking from the bronze vessels of Urash. [approx. 35 lines missing]

SEGMENT D

1-5. "I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may not" Holy Inana received heroism, power, wickedness, righteousness, the plundering of cities, making lamentations, rejoicing. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may not"

6-9. Holy Inana received deceit, the rebel lands, kindness, being on the move, being sedentary. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana,

my daughter; maynot"

10-13. Holy Inana received the craft of the carpenter, the craft of the coppersmith, the craft of the scribe, the craft of the smith, the craft of the leather-worker, the craft of the fuller, the craft of the builder, the craft of the reed-worker. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may not"

14-17. Holy Inana received wisdom, attentiveness, holy purification rites, the shepherd's hut, piling up glowing charcoals, the sheepfold, respect, awe, reverent silence. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may not"

18-21. Holy Inana received the bitter-toothed, the

18-21. Holy Inana received the bitter-toothed, the kindling of fire, the extinguishing of fire, hard work,, the assembled family, descendants. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may not"

22-27. Holy Inana received strife, triumph, counselling, comforting, judging, decision-making. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may not" Holy Inana received

[approx. 78 lines missing]

SEGMENT E

1-4. "He has given me righteousness. He has given me the plundering of cities. He has given me making lamentations. He has given me rejoicing."

5-9. "He has given me deceit. He has given me the rebel lands. He has given me kindness. He has given me being on the move. He has given me being sedentary."

10-17. "He has given me the craft of the carpenter. He has given me the craft of the coppersmith. He has given me the craft of the scribe. He has given me the craft of the smith. He has given me the craft of the leather-worker. He has given me the craft of the fuller. He has given me the craft of the builder. He has given me the craft of the viller. He has given me the craft of the viller.

18-26. "He has given me wisdom. He has given me attentiveness. He has given me holy purification rites. He has given me the shepherd's hut. He has given me piling up glowing charcoals. He has given me the sheepfold. He has given me respect. He has given me awe. He has given me reverent silence."

27-36. "He has given me the bitter-toothed He has given me the kindling of fire. He has given me the extinguishing of fire. He has given me hard work. He has given me He has given me the assembled family. He has given me descendants. He has given me strife. He has given me triumph. He has given me counselling."

[approx. 34-35 lines missing]

SEGMENT F

1-13. Enki spoke to the minister Isimud: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Since she said that she would not yet depart from here for Unug Kulaba, that she would not yet depart from here to the place where Utu, can I still reach her?" But holy Inana had gathered up the divine powers and embarked onto the Boat of Heaven. The Boat of Heaven had already left the quay. As the effects of the beer cleared from him who had drunk beer, from him who had drunk beer, as the effects of the beer cleared from Father Enki who had drunk beer, the great lord Enki turned his attention to the building. The lord looked up at the abzu. King Enki turned his attention to Eridug.

14-18. Enki spoke to Isimud the minister: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where are the office of en priest, the office of lagar priest, divinity, the great and good crown, the royal throne?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

19-20. "Where are the noble sceptre, the staff and crook, the noble dress, shepherdship, kingship?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

21-22. "Where are the office of egir-zid priestess, the office of nin-digir priestess, the office of ishib priest, the office of lumah priest, the office of gudug priest?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

23-24. "Where are constancy,, going down to the underworld, coming up from the underworld, the kurgara priest?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

25-26. "Where are the sword and club, the cultic functionary sag-ursag, the black garment, the colourful garment, the hair-style, the hair-style?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

27-28. "Where are?" "My master has given them to

29-30. "Where are the standard, the quiver, sexual intercourse, kissing, prostitution, running?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

31-32. "Where are forthright speech, deceitful speech grandiloquent speech,, the cultic prostitute, the holy tavern?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

33-34. "Where are the holy nigin-gar shrine, mistress of heaven, loud musical instruments, the art of song, venerable old age?" "My master has given them to his daughter.

[approx. 33-36 lines missing]

SEGMENT G

1-21. king in the house of Enki should not forget a word. full of advice, loud voiced, knowing much They said: "By the bolt of the temple door, a frog spoke." He showed him to a place. Enki grasped the frog by his right paw. He showed him into his holy He received the halub tree and his box-tree. He gave to the bird of heaven. He gave to the fish of the subterranean waters.

[11 lines fragmentary; approx. 10-15 lines missing]

SEGMENT H

1-7. The prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the Quay." "Go now! The enkum are to take the Boat of Heaven away from

8-19. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"

20-33. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the enkum to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Ninshubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!'

34-41. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the second time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud. Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the "Go now! The fifty giants of Eridug are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!

42-53. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for

54-67. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he

got the fifty giants of Eridug to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven, Holy Inana adressed her minister Ninshubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

68-75. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the third time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the UL.MA hill." "Go now! The fifty lahama of the subterranean waters are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"

76-87. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for

88-101. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could be have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the fifty lahama of the subterranean waters to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Ninshubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fairspoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

102-109. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the fourth time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the Field Hill." "Go now! All the great fish together are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"

110-121. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for

122-135. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got all the great fish together to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Ninshubur: 'Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

136-143. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the fifth time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached" "Go now!, the guardians of Unug, are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"

144-155. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for

156-169 Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the

name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the, the guardians of Unug, to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Ninshubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

170-178. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the sixth time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the Surungal "Go now! The Surungal canal are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her! from holy Inana.'

179-190. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my Why should his father said to you, what has he spoken? important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for

191-205. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the Surungal canal to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. from holy Inana. Holy Inana adressed her minister Ninshubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

206-217. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then

[1 line fragmentary] Unug [1 line fragmentary] the Boat of Heaven. Ninshubur, the Boat of Heaven. A seventh

[1 line fragmentary] The great princely scion, holy . Holy Inana the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana at that time ...

218-223. Her minister Ninshubur spoke to holy Inana: "My lady, today you have brought the Boat of Heaven to the Gate of Joy, to Unug Kulaba. Now there will be rejoicing in our city, now there will be rejoicing in our city. barges on our river

224-248. Holy Inana replied to her: "Today I have brought the Boat of Heaven to the Gate of Joy, to Unug Kulaba. It shall pass along the street magnificently. The people shall stand in the street full of awe."

[1 line fragmentary] in joy. the old men of the city comfort, the old women counsel, the young men \dots strength of arms, \dots the children \dots joy. \dots Unug.

[1 line fragmentary; 1 line missing]

[3 lines fragmentary] "..... festival the Boat of Heaven. He shall recite great prayers. The king shall slaughter bulls, shall sacrifice sheep. He shall pour beer from a bowl. He shall have the shem and ala drums sound, and have the sweetsounding tigi instruments play. The foreign lands shall declare my greatness. My people shall utter my praise.'

249-256. When she had the Boat of Heaven to the Gate of Joy at Unug Kulaba, it passed magnificently along the street. It reached the maiden's house, and she its place. the purified well, her principal well. Inana the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven, at the Gipar Gate. At the Agrun Chamber Holy Inana the Boat of Heaven ..

257-266. The prince addressed his minister Isimud, Enki spoke to the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the White Quay." 'Go now, admiration. admiration the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana admiration

[approx. 3 lines missing]

SEGMENT I

1-5. "Inana, you have brought with you the office of en priest, you have brought with you the office of lagar priest, you have brought with you divinity, you have brought with you the great and good crown, you have brought with you the

6-10. "You have brought with you the noble sceptre, you have brought with you the staff and crook, you have brought with you the noble dress, you have brought with you shepherdship, you have brought with you kingship.

11-15. "You have brought with you the office of egir-zid priestess, you have brought with you the office of nin-digir priestess, you have brought with you the office of ishib priest, you have brought with you the office of lu-mah priest, you have brought with you the office of gudug priest.'

16-21. "You have brought with you constancy, you have brought with you, you have brought with you you have brought with you going down to the underworld you have brought with you coming up from the underworld, you have brought with you the kur-gara priest."

22-27. "You have brought with you sword and club, you have brought with you the cultic functionary sag-ursag, you have brought with you the black garment, you have brought with you the colourful garment, you have brought with you the hair-style, you have brought with you the ...

28-34. "You have brought with you, you have brought with you, you have brought with you ... you have brought with you, you have brought with you, you have brought with you have brought with you

35-40. "You have brought with you the standard, you have brought with you the quiver, you have brought with you sexual intercourse, you have brought with you kissing, you have brought with you prostitution, you have brought with you running (?)."
41-46. "You have brought with you forthright speech, you

have brought with you deceitful speech, you have brought with you grandiloquent speech, you have brought with you, you have brought with you the cultic prostitute, you have brought with you the holy tavern.'

47-52. "You have brought with you the holy nigin-gar shrine, you have brought with you, you have brought with you the mistress of heaven, you have brought with you loud musical instruments, you have brought with you the art of song, you have brought with you venerable old age.'

53-59. "You have brought with you heroism, you have brought with you power, you have brought with you wickedness, you have brought with you righteousness, you have brought with you the plundering of cities, you have brought with you making lamentations, you have brought with you rejoicing."

60-64. "You have brought with you deceit, you have brought with you the rebel lands, you have brought with you kindness, you have brought with you being on the move, you have brought with you being sedentary.'

65-72. "You have brought with you the craft of the carpenter, you have brought with you the craft of the coppersmith, you have brought with you the craft of the scribe, you have brought with you the craft of the smith, you have brought with you the craft of the leather-worker, you have brought with you the craft of the fuller, you have brought with you the craft of the builder, you have brought with you the craft of the reed-worker.

73-81. "You have brought with you wisdom, you have brought with you attentiveness, you have brought with you holy purification rites, you have brought with you the shepherd's hut, you have brought with you piling up glowing charcoals, you have brought with you the sheepfold, you have brought with you respect, you have brought with you awe. you have brought with you reverent silence.

82-88. "You have brought with you the bittertoothed, you have brought with you the kindling of fire, you have brought with you the extinguishing of fire, you have brought with you hard work, you have brought with you, you have brought with you the assembled family, you have brought with you descendants."

89-94. "You have brought with you strife, you have brought with you triumph, you have brought with you counselling, you have brought with you comforting, you have brought with you judging, you have brought with you decision-making.

95-108. "You have brought with you the establishing of plans (?), the attractiveness of women, you have brought with you to handle the perfect divine powers, you have brought with you small, you have brought with you exalted, you have brought with you the holy tigi, holy lilis, ub, meze and ala drums, you have brought with you the of holy An, you have brought with you the of holy An, you have brought with you the of holy An, you have brought with you the of holy An, you have brought with you the of holy An, you have brought with you the of holy An, you have brought with you all of the, beer.'
2 lines fragmentary; 6 lines missing

115-125. Where the woman joy, she named it with the name 'The house Ganzer is rebuilt'. Where the trader said "Fifty shekels" but when he brought it there was less, she named that place with the name 'Potsherds and scrap metal (?)'. Where the boat, she named it with the name '. Where the boat came to dock at the quay, she named that

place with the name 'White Quay'. Where, she named that place with the name 'Blue Quay'.

126-128. Enki spoke to holy Inana: "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will establish in my abzu for the woman."

129-130. (Inana speaks:) "Why has this one now entered here? taking the divine powers from me?'

131-142. [3 lines fragmentary] (A third deity speaks:) "May the in your name!'

[4 lines fragmentary] "May there be a festival! May pass their time at the gate of your Gipar! May the citizens of your city, Inana, the citizens of Unug, live! And as for you, Enki -- may your city, Eridug, and has indeed restored

INANA AND EBIH

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.3.2; University of Oxford Estimated Range of Dating:

1-6. Goddess of the fearsome divine powers, clad in terror, riding on the great divine powers. Inana, made complete by the strength of the holy ankar weapon, drenched in blood, rushing around in great battles, with shield resting on the ground (?), covered in storm and flood, great lady Inana, knowing well how to plan conflicts, you destroy mighty lands with arrow and strength and overpower lands.

7-9. In heaven and on earth you roar like a lion and devastate the people. Like a huge wild bull you triumph over lands which are hostile. Like a fearsome lion you pacify the insubordinate and unsubmissive with your gall.

10-22. My lady, on your acquiring the stature of heaven, maiden Inana, on your becoming as magnificent as the earth, on your coming forth like Utu the king and stretching your arms wide, on your walking in heaven and wearing fearsome terror, on your wearing daylight and brilliance on earth, on your walking in the mountain ranges and bringing forth beaming rays, on your bathing the girin plants of the mountains (in light), on your giving birth to the bright mountain, the mountain, the holy place, on your ... your being strong with the mace like a joyful lord, like an enthusiastic (?) lord, on your exulting in such battle like a destructive weapon -- the black-headed people ring out in song and all the lands sing their song sweetly.

23-24. I shall praise the lady of battle, the great child of Suen, maiden Inana.

25-32. (Inana announced:) "When I, the goddess, was walking around in heaven, walking around on earth, when I, Inana, was walking around in heaven, walking around on earth, when I was walking around in Elam and Subir, when I was walking around in the Lulubi mountains, when I turned towards the centre of the mountains, as I, the goddess, approached the mountain it showed me no respect, as I, Inana, approached the mountain it showed me no respect, as I approached the mountain range of Ebih it showed me no

33-36. "Since they showed me no respect, since they did not put their noses to the ground for me, since they did not rub their lips in the dust for me, I shall personally fill the soaring mountain range with my terror.

37-40. "Against its magnificent sides I shall place magnificent battering-rams, against its small sides I shall place small battering-rams. I shall storm it and start the 'game' of holy Inana. In the mountain range I shall start battles and prepare conflicts.

41-44. "I shall prepare arrows in the quiver. I shall slingstones with the rope. I shall begin the polishing of my lance. I shall prepare the throwstick and the shield.

45-48. "I shall set fire to its thick forests. I shall take an axe to its evil-doing. I shall make Gibil, the purifier, bare his holy teeth at its watercourses. I shall spread this terror through the inaccessible mountain range Aratta.

49-52. "Like a city which An has cursed, may it never be restored. Like a city at which Enlil has frowned, may it never again lift its neck up. May the mountain tremble when I approach. May Ebih give me honour and praise me.

53-58. Inana, the child of Suen, put on the garment of royalty and girded herself in joy. She bedecked her forehead with terror and fearsome radiance. She arranged cornelian rosettes around her holy throat. She brandished the sevenheaded cita weapon vigourously to her right and placed straps of lapis lazuli on her feet.

59-61. At dusk she came forth regally and followed the path to the Gate of Wonder. She made an offering to An and addressed a prayer to him.

62-64. An, in delight at Inana, stepped forward and took his place. He filled the seat of honour of heaven.
65-69. (Inana announced:) "An, my father, I greet you!

Lend your ear to my words. You have made me terrifying among the deities in heaven. Owing to you my word has no rival in heaven or on earth. You have given me the and the cilig weapon, the antibal and mansium emblems.

70-79. "To set the socle in position and make the throne and foundation firm, to carry the might of the cita weapon

which bends like a mubum tree, to hold the ground with the sixfold yoke, to extend the thighs with the fourfold yoke, to pursue murderous raids and widespread miltary campaigns, to appear to those kings in the of heaven like moonlight, to shoot the arrow from the arm and fall on fields, orchards and forests like the tooth of the locust, to take the harrow to rebel lands, to remove the locks from their city gates so the doors stand open -- King An, you have indeed given me all this, and

80-82. "You have placed me at the right hand of the king in order to destroy rebel lands: may he, with my aid, smash heads like a falcon in the foothills of the mountain, King An, and may I your name throughout the land like a thread. 83-88. "May he destroy the lands as a snake in a crevice.

May he make them slither around like a saikal snake coming down from a mountain. May he establish control over the mountain, examine it and know its length. May he go out on the holy campaign of An and know its depth. The gods, since the Anuna deities have

89-95. "How can it be that the mountain did not fear me in heaven and on earth that the mountain did not fear me. Inana in heaven and on earth, that the mountain range of Ebih, the mountain, did not fear me in heaven and on earth? Because it showed me no respect, because it did not put its nose to the ground, because it did not rub its lips in the dust, may I fill my hand with the soaring mountain range and hand it over to my terror.
96-99. "Against its magnificent sides let me place

magnificent battering rams, against its small sides let me place small battering rams. Let me storm it and start the 'game' of holy Inana. In the mountain range let me set up battle and prepare conflicts.

100-103. "Let me prepare arrows in the quiver. Let me . slingstones with the rope. Let me begin the polishing of my lance. Let me prepare the throwstick and the shield.

104-107"Let me set fire to its thick forests. Let me take an axe to its evil-doing. Let me make Gibil, the purifier, bare his holy teeth at its watercourses. Let me spread this terror through the inaccessible mountain range Aratta.

108-111. "Like a city which An has cursed, may it never be restored. Like a city at which Enlil has frowned, may it never again lift its neck up. May the mountain tremble when I approach. May Ebih give me honour and praise me."

112-115. An, the king of the deities, answered her: "My little one demands the destruction of this mountain -- what is she taking on? Inana demands the destruction of this mountain -- what is she taking on? She demands the destruction of this mountain -- what is she taking on?

116-120. "It has poured fearsome terror on the abodes of the gods. It has spread fear among the holy dwellings of the Anuna deities. It has poured its terror and ferocity over this land. It has poured the mountain range's radiance and fear over all the lands. Its arrogance extends grandly to the centre of heaven

121-126. "Fruit hangs in its flourishing gardens and luxuriance spreads forth. Its magnificent trees are themselves a source of wonder to the roots of heaven. In Ebih lions are abundant under the canopy of trees and bright branches. It makes wild rams and stags freely abundant. It stands wild bulls in flourishing grass. Deer couple among the cypress trees of the mountain range.

127-130. "You cannot pass through its terror and fear. The mountain range's radiance is fearsome. Maiden Inana, you cannot oppose it." Thus he spoke.

131-137. The mistress, in her rage and anger, opened the arsenal and pushed on the lapis lazuli gate. She brought out magnificent battle and called up a great storm. Holy Inana reached for the quiver. She raised a towering flood with evil silt. She stirred up an evil raging wind with potsherds.

138-143. My lady confronted the mountain range. She advanced step by step. She sharpened both edges of her dagger. She grabbed Ebih's neck as if ripping up esparto grass. pressed the dagger's teeth into its interior. She roared like thunder

144-151. The rocks forming the body of Ebih clattered down its flanks. From its sides and crevices great serpents spat venom. She damned its forests and cursed its trees. She killed its oak trees with drought. She poured fire on its flanks and made its smoke dense. The goddess established authority over the mountain. Holy Inana did as she wished.

152-159. She went to the mountain range of Ebih and addressed it: "Mountain range, because of your elevation, because of your height, because of your attractiveness, because of your beauty, because of your wearing a holy garment, because of your reaching up to heaven, because you did not put your nose to the ground, because you did not rub your lips in the dust, I have killed you and brought you low.

160-165. "As with an elephant I have seized your tusks. As with a great wild bull I have brought you to the ground by your thick horns. As with a bull I have forced your great strength to the ground and pursued you savagely. I have made tears the norm in your eyes. I have placed laments in your heart. Birds of sorrow are building nests on these flanks.

166-170. For a second time, rejoicing in her fearsome terror, she spoke out righteously: "My father Enlil has poured my great terror over the centre of the mountains. On my right side he has placed a weapon. On my left side a is placed. My anger, a harrow with great teeth, has torn the mountain apart.

171-175. "I have built a palace and done much more. I have put a throne in place and made its foundation firm. I have given the kurjara cult performers a dagger and prod. I have given the gala cult performers ub and lilis drums. I have changed the headgear of the pilipili cult performers.

176-181. "In my victory I rushed towards the mountain. In my victory I rushed towards Ebih, the mountain range. I went forward like a surging flood, and like rising water I overflowed the dam. I imposed my victory on the mountain. I imposed my victory on Ebih."

182-183. For destroying Ebih, great child of Suen, maiden Inana, be praised.

184Nisaba be praised.

INANA AND SHU-KALE-TUDA

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.3.3; University of Oxford Estimated Range of Dating:

1-10. The mistress who, having all the great divine powers, deserves the throne-dais; Inana who, having all the great divine powers, occupies a holy throne-dais; Inana who stands in E-ana as a source of wonder -- once, the young woman went up into the mountains, holy Inana went up into the mountains. To detect falsehood and justice, to inspect the Land closely, to identify the criminal against the just, she went up into the mountains. -- Now, what did one say to another? What further did one add to the other in detail?

11-14. My lady stands among wild bulls at the foot of the mountains, she possesses fully the divine powers. Inana stands among stags in the mountain tops, she possesses fully the divine powers. -- Now, what did one say to another? What further did one add to the other in detail?

15-22. Then the left heaven, left the earth and climbed up into the mountains. Inana left heaven, left the earth and climbed up into the mountains. She left E-ana in Unug and climbed up into the mountains. She left the giguna in Zabalam and climbed up into the mountains. As she had gone up from E-ana, gipar Inana her cloak and climbed up into the mountains. -- Now, what did one say to another? What further did one add to the other in detail?

23-41.

1 line missing

7 lines fragmentary

7 lines missing

After had tired with questions and searching, may come alone (?) to the back-room of my shrine. -- Now, what did one say to another? What further did one add to the other in detail?

42-58. [2 lines missing / 3 lines fragmentary]

"He will its feet", he (Enki) says. Full of wisdom he adds the following words: "Raven, I shall give you instructions. Pay attention to my instructions. Raven, in the shrine I shall give you instructions. Pay attention to my instructions. First, chop up (?) and chew (?) the kohl for the incantation priests of Eridug with the oil and water which are to be found in a lapis-lazuli bowl and are placed in the backroom of the shrine. Then plant them in a trench for leeks in a vegetable plot; then you should pull out (?)" — Now, what did one say to another? What further did one add to the other in detail?

59-71. The raven paid exact attention to the instructions of his master. It chopped up (?) and chewed (?) the kohl for the incantation priests of Eridug with the oil and water which were to be found in a lapis-lazuli bowl and were placed in the back-room of the shrine. It planted them in a trench for leeks in a vegetable plot; then it pulled out (?) A plant growing in a plot like leeks, an oddity [standing up] [(1 ms. has instead:) sticking up] like a leek stalk -- who had ever seen such a thing before?

1 line unclear

That a bird like the raven, performing the work of man, should make the counterweight blocks of the shadouf bump up and settle down; that it should make the counterweight blocks of the shadouf bump down and rise up -- who had ever seen such a thing before?

72-90. Then the raven rose up from this oddity, and climbed up it — a date palm! — with a harness. It rubbed off the kohl (?) which it had stuffed into its beak onto the pistils (?). just as with a date palm, which the ground, a tree growing forever — who had ever seen such a thing before? Its scaly leaves surround its palmheart. Its dried palm-fronds serve as weaving material. Its shoots are like surveyor's gleaming line; they are fit for the king's fields. Its (?) branches are used in the king's palace for cleaning. Its dates, which are piled up near purified barley, are fit for the temples of the great gods. That a bird like the raven, performing the

work of man, makes the counterweight blocks of the shadouf bump up and settle down; that it makes the counterweight blocks of the shadouf bump down and rise up — who had ever seen such a thing before? At his master's command, the raven stepped into the abzu. — Now, what did one say to another? What further did one add to the other in detail?

91-111. Shu-kale-tuda was his name. Igi-sigsig, the, was to water garden plots and build the installation for a well among the plants, but not a single plant remained there, not even one: he had pulled them out by their roots and destroyed them. Then what did the stormwind bring? It blew the dust of the mountains into his eyes. When he tried to wipe the corner of his eyes with his hand, he got some of it out, but was not able to get all of it out. He raised his eyes to the lower land and saw the exalted gods of the land where the sun rises. He raised his eyes to the highlands and saw the exalted gods of the land where the sun sets. He saw a solitary ghost. He recognised a solitary god by her appearance. He saw someone who fully possesses the divine powers. He was looking at someone whose destiny was decided by the gods. In that plot -- had he not approached it five or 10 times before? -- there stood a single shady tree at that place. The shady tree was a Euphrates poplar with broad shade. Its shade was not diminished in the morning, and it did not change either at midday or in the evening.

112-128. Once, after my lady had gone around the heavens, after she had gone around the earth, after Inana had gone around the heavens, after she had gone around the earth, after she had gone around Elam and Subir, after she had gone around the intertwined horizon of heaven, the mistress became so tired that when she arrived there she lay down by its roots. Shu-kale-tuda noticed her from beside his plot. Inana the loincloth of the seven divine powers over her genitals. the girdle of the seven divine powers over her genitals with the shepherd Ama-ushumgalana over her holy genitals Shu-kale-tuda undid the loincloth (?) of seven divine powers and got her to lie down in her resting place. He had intercourse with her and kissed her there. After he had had intercourse with her and kissed her, he went back to beside his plot. When day had broken and Utu had risen, the woman inspected herself closely. holy Inana inspected herself closely.

129-138. Then the woman was considering what should be destroyed because of her genitals; Inana was considering what should be done because of her genitals. She filled the wells of the Land with blood, so it was blood that the irrigated orchards of the Land yielded, it was blood that the slave who went to collect firewood drank, it was blood that the slave who went out to draw water drew, and it was blood that the black-headed people drank. No one knew when this would end. She said: "I will search everywhere for the man who had intercourse with me." But nowhere in all the lands could she find the man who had had intercourse with her. -- Now, what did one say to another? What further did one add to the other in detail?

139-159. The boy went home to his father and spoke to him; Shu-kale-tuda went home to his father and spoke to him: "My father, I was to water garden plots and build the installation for a well among the plants, but not a single plant remained there, not even one: I had pulled them out by their roots and destroyed them. Then what did the stormwind bring? It blew the dust of the mountains into my eyes. When I tried to wipe the corner of my eyes with my hand, I got some of it out, but was not able to get all of it out. I raised my eyes to the lower land, and saw the high gods of the land where the sun rises. I raised my eyes to the highlands, and saw the exalted gods of the land where the sun sets. I saw a solitary ghost. I recognised a solitary god by her appearance. I saw someone who possesses fully the divine powers. I was looking at someone whose destiny was decided by the gods. In that plot -- had I not approached it [five or ten] [(1 ms. has instead:) three or six hundred] times before? -- there stood a single shady tree at that place. The shady tree was a Euphrates poplar with broad shade. Its shade was not diminished in the morning, and it did not change either at midday or in the evening."

160-167. "Once, after my lady had gone around the heavens, after she had gone around the earth, after Inana had gone around the heavens, after she had gone around the heavens, after she had gone around the intertwined horizon of heaven, the mistress became so tired that when she arrived there she lay down by its roots. I noticed her from beside my plot. I had intercourse with her and kissed her there. Then I went back to beside my plot."

168-176. "Then the woman was considering what should be destroyed because of her genitals; Inana was considering what should be done because of her genitals. She filled the wells of the Land with blood, so it was blood that the irrigated orchards of the Land yielded, it was blood that the slave who went to collect firewood drank, it was blood that the slavegirl who went out to draw water drew, and it was blood that the black-headed people drank. No one knew when this would end. She said: "I will search everywhere for the man who had

intercourse with me." But nowhere could she find the man who had had intercourse with her."

177-184. His father replied to the boy; his father replied to Shu-kale-tuda: "My son, you should join the city-dwellers, [your brothers] [(1 ms. has instead:) who are your brothers]. Go at once to the black-headed people, your brothers! Then this woman will not find you among the mountains." He joined the city-dwellers, his brothers all together. He went at once to the black-headed people, his brothers, and the woman did not find him among the mountains.

185-193. Then the woman was considering a second time what should be destroyed because of her genitals; Inana was considering what should be done because of her genitals. She mounted on a cloud, took (?) her seat there and The south wind and a fearsome storm flood went before her. The pilipili (one of the cultic personnel in Inana's entourage) and a dust storm followed her. Abba-shushu, Inim-kurdugdug, adviser Seven times seven helpers (?) stood beside her in the high desert. She said: "I will search everywhere for the man who had intercourse with me." But nowhere could she find the man who had intercourse with her.

194-205. The boy went home to his father and spoke to him; Shu-kale-tuda went home to his father and spoke to him: "My father, the woman of whom I spoke to you, this woman was considering a second time what should be destroyed because of her genitals; Inana was considering what should be done because of her genitals. She mounted on a cloud, took (?) her seat there and The south wind and a fearsome storm flood went before her. The pilipili (one of the cultic personnel in Inana's entourage) and a dust storm followed her. Abbashushu, Inim-kur-dugdug, adviser Seven times seven helpers stood beside her in the high desert. She said: "I will search everywhere for the man who had intercourse with me." But nowhere could she find the man who had intercourse with her."

206-213. His father replied to the boy; his father replied to Shu-kale-tuda: "My son, you should join the city-dwellers, your brothers. Go at once to the black-headed people, your brothers! Then this woman will not find you among the mountains." He joined the city-dwellers, his brothers all together. He went at once to the black-headed people, his brothers, and the woman did not find him among the mountains.

214-220. Then the woman was considering a third time what should be destroyed because of her genitals; Inana was considering what should be done because of her genitals. She took a single in her hand. She blocked the highways of the Land with it. Because of her, the black-headed people She said: "I will search everywhere for the man who had intercourse with me." But nowhere could she find the man who had intercourse with her.

221-230. The boy went home to his father and spoke to him; SHu-kale-tuda went home to his father and spoke to him: "My father, the woman of whom I spoke to you, this woman was considering a third time what should be destroyed because of her genitals; Inana was considering what should be done because of her genitals. She took a single in her hand. She blocked the highways of the Land with it. Because of her, the black-headed people She said: "I will search everywhere for the man who had intercourse with me." But nowhere could she find the man who had intercourse with her."

231-238. His father replied to the boy; his father replied to Shu-kale-tuda: "My son, you should join the city-dwellers, your brothers. Go at once to the black-headed people, your brothers! Then this woman will not find you among the mountains." He joined the city-dwellers, his brothers all together. He went at once to the black-headed people, his brothers, and the woman did not find him among the mountains.

239-255. When day had broken and Utu had risen, the women inspected herself closely, holy Inana inspected herself closely. "Ah, who will compensate me? Ah, who will pay (?) for what happened to me? Should it not be the concern of my own father, Enki?" Holy Inana directed her steps to the abzu of Eridug and, because of this, prostrated herself on the ground before him and stretched out her hands to him: 'Father Enki, I should be compensated! What's more, someone should [pay] [(1 ms. has instead:) make up] for what happened to me! I shall only re-enter my shrine E-ana satisfied after you have handed over that man to me from the abzu. Enki said "All right!" to her. He said "So be it!" to her. With that holy Inana went out from the abzu of Eridug. She stretched herself like a rainbow across the sky and reached thereby as far as the earth. She let the south wind pass across, she let the north wind pass across. From fear, [(1 ms. adds:) solitary] SHu-kale-tuda tried to make himself as tiny as possible, but the woman had found him among the mountains.

"How? dog! ass!

[1 line missing]

262-281. Shu-kale-tuda replied to holy Inana: "My lady (?), I was to water garden plots and build the installation for a

well among the plants, but not a single plant remained there, not even one: I had pulled them out by their roots and destroyed them. Then what did the stormwind bring? It blew the dust of the mountains into my eyes. When I tried to wipe the corner of my eyes with my hand, I got some of it out, but was not able to get all of it out. I raised my eyes to the lower land, and saw the exalted gods of the land where the sun rises. I raised my eyes to the highlands, and saw the exalted gods of the land where the sun sets. I saw a solitary ghost. I recognised a solitary god by her appearance. I saw someone who possesses fully the divine powers. I was looking at someone whose destiny was decided by the gods. In that plot -- had I not approached it three or six hundred times before? -- there stood a single shady tree at that place. The shady tree was a Euphrates poplar with broad shade. Its shade was not diminished in the morning, and it did not change either at midday or in the evening."

282-289. "Once, after my lady had gone around the heavens, after she had gone around the earth, after Inana had gone around the heavens, after she had gone around the earth, after she had gone around Elam and Subir, after she had gone around the intertwined horizon of heaven, the mistress became so tired that when she arrived there she lay down by its roots. I noticed her from beside my plot. I had intercourse with her and kissed her there. Then I went back to beside my

290-310. When he had spoken thus to her, however, shall not be forgotten. Your name shall exist in songs and make the songs sweet. A young singer shall perform them most pleasingly in the king's palace. A shepherd shall sing them sweetly as he tumbles his butter churn. A young shepherd shall carry your name to where he grazes the sheep. The palace of the desert shall be your home.

[5 lines unclear] Shu-kale-tuda [1 line missing]

Because destiny was determined, praise be to Inana!

INANA AND GUDAM

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.3.4 Estimated Range of Dating:

Segment A 1. Gudam the city. unknown number of lines missing

1-7. Gudam Gudam Inana Gudam He the storehouse Gudam the beer, the wine, the bronze vessels, the bronze vessels [unknown number of lines missing]

1-9. They filled the bronze vessels to the brim. He made the tilimda vessels shine like the holy barge, fine chickpea flour, bearded carp, he fish like dates. Many followed Gudam on the streets of Unug. They sat armed before him. Her (= Inana's) (?) singer Lugal-gabagal came out to, and looked at the troops. The singer met him with a song, string with his hand:
10-15. "What you have eaten, what you have eaten -- it was

not bread that you have eaten, it was your flesh that you have eaten! What you have drunk, what you have drunk -- it was not beer that you drank, it was your blood that you drank! Gudam, many followed you on the streets of Unug; they sat

armed before you."

16-19. "..... what the woman ordered me, when I have" Gudam slapped his thigh with his fist in annoyance; fear overcame him: "He did not grasp the SHar-ur, my heroic weapon. For me the temple of Zabalam ...

20-25. He lopped off the crossbeams of E-ana as if they were branches. Gudam went out into the street. Gudam crushed many on the streets of Unug, and killed many with his mace. [He hacked down the door of the city gate] [(the other ms. has instead:) the gate, the gate of Ishkur]. He went out

from 26-29. A junior fisherman, a fisherman of Inana, [turned] [(the other ms. has instead:)] the double-axe against him and struck Gudam down. Gudam began to grieve, and was tear-stricken:

30-32. "Inana, spare my life! I will give you bulls of the mountains, I will make your cow-pen full! I will give you

sheep of the mountains, I will make your sheepfold full!"

33-35. Holy Inana replied to him: " [(the other ms. adds:) bulls of the mountains for me. sheep of the mountains for me. weapon] The fields of Zabalam, where you dwelt: its villages Over a wide area, may calm for you, may desire (?).

36-37. Inana, I will speak of your heroism. It is pleasant to praise you!

INANA AND AN

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.3.5 Estimated Range of Dating:

SEGMENT A

1-7. [unknown number of lines missing]

1 line fragmentary Holy Inana The hero, youthful Utu, At dead of night E-ana Inana The great heavens

[unknown number of lines missing]
1-6. [1 line fragmentary] E-ana comes forth from heaven, the lady of heaven set her mind to capturing the great heavens, Inana set her mind to capturing the great heavens, set her mind to capturing the great heavens from the of heaven, youthful Utu, she set her mind to capturing the great heavens.

7-9. Holy Inana spoke to her brother the hero, youthful Utu: "....., I want to tell you something -- pay attention to my speech., my twin, I want to tell you something -pay attention to my speech."

10-15. Her brother the hero, youthful Utu, answered holy Inana: "My sister, I swear an oath by the life of heaven, I swear by the life of the rainbow (?) of heaven, my ... I swear by the life of my throne, by my majesty: I will follow what my sister says to me, I will follow what holy Inana says to me.

16-23. The maiden Inana answered her brother the hero, youthful Utu: "....., my spouse (?), has made love to me, has kissed me. I wanted for him but he did not give it to him. I hastened with him but majestic An would not give him E-ana. The heavens are ours, the earth is ours: E-ana should be captured from An. After you have taken, listen to what I say to you. Examine for me, you must observe these instructions: the evil wind, the south wind, against me.'

[approx. 23 lines missing]

SEGMENT C

1-4. [1 line fragmentary] (Adagbir speaks:) "..... great .. the flood. the fisherman.'

5-13. Holy Inana embarked (?) on the The barge The rope The south wind, that south wind, rose up. The evil wind, that evil wind, rose up. In the distant heavens Hienhi-sag The fisherman
The reed thickets and the tall reeds

14-18. Inana spoke to Adagbir: "Youthful Utu The barge

[2 lines fragmentary / approx. 15 lines missing]

SEGMENT D

1-4. (Inana speaks:) "I the way [2 lines fragmentary]

5-12. Adagbir answered holy Inana: "My lady, you cannot Your divinity The fisherman the south wind. My lady, if you travel on the barge, and he raises the south wind, that south wind, and he raises the evil wind, that evil wind, barges and small boats will sink in the marshes.

13-15. Whenever (?) he approached the with his great net, as (?) it came out of the flood, the swelling sea, it lashed the water and made an evil

16-19. Holy Inana answered the fisherman: "If you are to find E-ana and I am to gaze in admiration

at that place, you said the narrow passage."
20-22. Adagbir answered holy Inana: "..... through the reed thickets and the tall reeds. For you find E-ana, which comes forth from heaven."

23-25. Adagbir, of Enlil, through the reed thickets and the tall reeds. She gazed in admiration at E-ana which comes forth from heaven.

26-28. Shul-a-zida, An's herdsman, grasped the cosmic tethering rope in his hands. After he had brought the forth from the sky, he overcame the protective deities. He and kept it below the horizon.

29-32. Having drunk cleansing water from the Ulaya river, Inana stamped on the scorpion and cut off its tail. Like a lion it bellowed in an angry roar but its cries died down. she threw it and made it secure.

33-38. Having heard its cries, poured forth the, the clay of creation, and laid it

[2 lines missing]

.... the great lady of heaven delivered those words to An. 39-45. Having heard those words, An slapped his thighs in, his voice filled with sighs of grief: "What has my child done? She has become greater than me! What has Inana done? She has become greater than me! From now on, the normal length of daylight becomes shorter, and daylight converts to night-time. From today, when the day's watch is three units long, daylight is equal to night-time." And now, when day began, it was indeed so.

46-55. An, who created gods and humankind, gazed at holy Inana [(1 ms. adds:) and addressed the favourite wife who travels by his sidel, unable to describe this arrogance, this arrogance -- An was unable to describe [(1 ms. adds:) to Inana] this arrogance, this arrogance: "My child, you did not say -- you were able to capture E-ana! Inana, you did not say -- you were able to capture E-ana! E-ana should be as firm as heaven, [it should not be toppled] [(1 ms. has instead:) its attractions should never be exhausted]. Its name should be 'The Settlement of the Land'. [(1 ms. adds:) It should have no rival.] Mankind, all of the people, should prostrate themselves at her (?) feet." And now, under that sun and on that day, it was indeed so.

56-60. She had captured E-ana from An! She secured it Now Inana speaks of the E-ana as the house that is the place of the lady. The goddess who has attained her triumphant position, Inana who has attained her triumphant position, declares in the good place: "I have captured E-ana from An."

61-62. Because you are unmatched among the Great Princes, maiden Inana, praising you is magnificent!

INANA AND ENKI

Translation: ETCSL (University of Oxford) Estimated Range of Dating:

SEGMENT A

[about 6 lines missing]

1-10. She of the desert. She put the cu-gura, the desert crown, on her head. when she went out to the shepherd, to the sheepfold, her genitals were remarkable. her genitals were remarkable. She praised herself, full of delight at her genitals, she praised herself, full of delight at her genitals. She looked at, she looked at, she looked

11-27. "When I have gratified the lord, when I have made brilliant, when I have made beautiful, when I have made glorious, when I have, when I have made perfect, when I have made luxuriant, when I have made exuberant, when I have made shining, when I have made return, when I have made brilliant, when I have made shimmering, I shall direct my steps to the abzu, to Eridug, I shall direct my steps to Enki, to the abzu, to Eridug, and I myself shall speak coaxingly to him, in the abzu, in Eridug, I myself shall speak coaxingly to Enki, in the abzu, in Eridug. had her go out

[about 21 lines missing]

1-5. "Inana, it is I who I, Inana, personally intend to go to the abzu (1 ms. has instead: intend to go to Eridug). I shall utter a plea to the lord Enki. Like the sweet oil of the cedar, who will for my holy perfume? It shall never escape me that I have been neglected by him who has had sex.

6-15. On that day the maiden Inana, holy Inana, directed her steps all by herself towards Enki's abzu in Eridug. On that day, he of exceptional knowledge, who knows the divine powers in heaven and earth, who from his own dwelling already knows the intentions of the gods, Enki, the king of the abzu, who, even before holy Inana had approached within six miles of the abzu (1 ms. has instead: the temple) in Eridug, knew all about her enterprise -- Enki spoke to his man, gave him instructions: "Come here, my man, listen to my words.

[1 line fragmentary / about 2 lines missing]

SEGMENT C

1-14. "..... she will drink, she will eat. Come here! I will, do. The maiden the abzu and Eridug, Inana the abzu and Eridug When the maiden Inana has entered the abzu and Eridug, when Inana has entered the abzu and Eridug, offer her butter cake to eat. Let her be served cool refreshing water. Pour beer for her, in front of the Lions Gate, make her feel as if she is in her girlfriend's house, make her as a colleague. You are to welcome holy Inana at the holy table, at the table of An.

15-26. After Enki had spoken thus to him, Isimud the minister followed his master's instructions closely. He let the maiden into the abzu and Eridug. He let Inana into the abzu and Eridug. When the maiden had entered the abzu and Eridug, when Inana had entered the abzu and Eridug, she got butter cake to eat. They poured cool refreshing water for her, and they gave her beer to drink, in front of the Lions Gate. He made her feel as if she was in her girlfriend's house, and made her as a colleague. He welcomed holy Inana at the holy table, at the table of An.

27-30. So it came about that Enki and Inana were drinking beer together in the abzu, and enjoying the taste of sweet wine. The bronze aga vessels were filled to the brim, and the two of them started a competition, drinking from the bronze vessels

[about 35 lines missing]

SEGMENT D

- 1-5. "I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may not" Holy Inana received heroism, power, wickedness, righteousness, the plundering of cities, making lamentations, rejoicing. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may not
- 6-9. Holy Inana received deceit, the rebel lands, kindness, being on the move, being sedentary. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may not"
- 10-13. Holy Inana received the craft of the carpenter, the craft of the coppersmith, the craft of the scribe, the craft of the smith, the craft of the leather-worker, the craft of the fuller, the craft of the builder, the craft of the reed-worker. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may not"
- 14-17. Holy Inana received wisdom, attentiveness, holy purification rites, the shepherd's hut, piling up glowing charcoals, the sheepfold, respect, awe, reverent silence. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana. my daughter: may..... not......"
- 18-21. Holy Inana received the bitter-toothed, the kindling of fire, the extinguishing of fire, hard work,, the assembled family, descendants. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may not"
- 22-27. Holy Inana received strife, triumph, counselling, comforting, judging, decision-making. "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will give them to holy Inana, my daughter; may not" Holy Inana received "

[about 78 lines missing]

SEGMENT E

- 1-4. "He has given me righteousness. He has given me the plundering of cities. He has given me making lamentations. He has given me rejoicing.5-9. "He has given me deceit. He has given me the rebel
- 5-9. "He has given me deceit. He has given me the rebel lands. He has given me kindness. He has given me being on the move. He has given me being sedentary.
- 10-17. "He has given me the craft of the carpenter. He has given me the craft of the coppersmith. He has given me the craft of the scribe. He has given me the craft of the smith. He has given me the craft of the leather-worker. He has given me the craft of the fuller. He has given me the craft of the read-worker.
- He has given me the craft of the reed-worker.

 18-26. "He has given me wisdom. He has given me attentiveness. He has given me holy purification rites. He has given me the shepherd's hut. He has given me piling up glowing charcoals. He has given me the sheepfold. He has given me respect. He has given me awe. He has given me reverent silence.
- 27-36. "He has given me the bitter-toothed He has given me the kindling of fire. He has given me the extinguishing of fire. He has given me hard work. He has given me He has given me the assembled family. He has given me descendants. He has given me strife. He has given me triumph. He has given me counselling."

 [about 34-35 lines missing]

SEGMENT F
1-13. Enki spoke to the minister Isimud: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Since she said that she would not yet depart from here for Unug Kulaba, that she would not yet depart from here to the place where Utu, can I still reach her?" But holy Inana had gathered up the divine powers and embarked onto the Boat of Heaven. The Boat of Heaven had already left the quay. As the effects of the beer cleared from him who had drunk beer, from him who had drunk beer, as the effects of the beer cleared from father Enki who had drunk beer, the great lord Enki turned his attention to the building. The lord looked up at the abzu. King Enki turned his attention to Eridug.

14-18. Enki spoke to Isimud the minister: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where are the office of en priest, the office of lagal priest, divinity, the great and good crown, the royal throne?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

- 19-20. "Where are the noble sceptre, the staff and crook, the noble dress, shepherdship, kingship?" "My master has given them to his daughter."
- 21-22. "Where are the office of egi-zi priestess, the office of nin-dijir priestess, the office of icib priest, the office of lu-mah priest, the office of gudu priest?" "My master has given them to his daughter."
- 23-24. "Where are constancy,, going down to the underworld, coming up from the underworld, the kur-jara priest?" "My master has given them to his daughter."
- 25-26. "Where are the sword and club, the cultic functionary saj-ursaj, the black garment, the colourful

garment, the hair-style, the hair-style?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

- 27-28. "Where are?" "My master has given them to his daughter."
- 29-30. "Where are the standard, the quiver, sexual intercourse, kissing, prostitution, running?" "My master has given them to his daughter."
- 31-32. "Where are forthright speech, deceitful speech, grandiloquent speech,, the cultic prostitute, the holy tavern?" "My master has given them to his daughter."
- 33-34. "Where are the holy nijin-jar shrine,, the hierodule of heaven, loud musical instruments, the art of song, venerable old age?" "My master has given them to his daughter."

[about 33-36 lines missing]

SEGMENT (

1-21. king in the house of Enki should not forget a word. full of advice, loud voiced, knowing much They said: "By the bolt of the temple door, a frog spoke." He showed him to a place. Enki grasped the frog by his right paw. He showed him into his holy He received the halub tree and his box-tree. He gave to the bird of heaven. He gave to the fish of the subterranean waters.

[11 lines fragmentary / about 10-15 lines missing]

SEGMENT H

- 1-7. The prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the Quay." "Go now! The enkum are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"
- 8-19. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."
- 20-33. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the enkum to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Nincubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"
- 34-41. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the second time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the holy" "Go now! The fifty giants of Eridug are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"
- 42-53. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."
- 54-67. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the fifty giants of Eridug to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Nincubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

68-75. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the third time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master. I am

at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the UL.MA hill." "Go now! The fifty lahama of the subterranean waters are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"

76-87. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."

88-101. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the fifty lahama of the subterranean waters to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Nincubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your faet!"

102-109. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the fourth time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the Field Hill." "Go now! All the great fish together are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"

110-121. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me" "

122-135. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got all the great fish together to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Nincubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

136-143. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the fifth time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud, Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached" "Go now!, the guardians of Unug, are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her!"

144-155. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."

156-169. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the, the guardians of Unug, to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana adressed her minister Nincubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

170-178. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then for the sixth time the prince spoke to his minister Isimud,

Enki addressed the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the Idsurungal" "Go now! The Id-surungal are to take the Boat of Heaven away from her! from holy Inana."

179-190. The minister Isimud spoke to holy Inana: "My lady! Your father has sent me to you. Inana, your father has sent me to you. What your father said was very serious. What Enki spoke was very serious. His important words cannot be countermanded." Holy Inana replied to him: "What has my father said to you, what has he spoken? Why should his important words not be countermanded?" "My master has spoken to me, Enki has said to me: "Inana may travel to Unug, but you are to get the Boat of Heaven back to Eridug for me"."

191-205. Holy Inana spoke to the minister Isimud: "How could my father have changed what he said to me? How could he have altered his promise as far as I am concerned? How could he have discredited his important words to me? Was it falsehood that my father said to me, did he speak falsely to me? Has he sworn falsely by the name of his power and by the name of his abzu? Has he duplicitously sent you to me as a messenger?" Now as these words were still in her mouth, he got the Id-surungal to seize hold of the Boat of Heaven. from holy Inana. Holy Inana adressed her minister Nincubur: "Come, my good minister of E-ana! My fair-spoken minister! My envoy of reliable words! Water has never touched your hand, water has never touched your feet!"

206-217. So Inana got hold again of the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven; and then

[1 line fragmentary] Unug

[1 line fragmentary] the Boat of Heaven. Nincubur the Boat of Heaven. A seventh time

[1 line fragmentary] The great princely scion, holy Holy Inana the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana at that

218-223. Her minister Nincubur spoke to holy Inana: "My lady, today you have brought the Boat of Heaven to the Gate of Joy, to Unug Kulaba. Now there will be rejoicing in our city, now there will be rejoicing in our city. barges on our river" 224-248. Holy Inana replied to her: "Today I have brought the Boat of Heaven to the Gate of Joy, to Unug Kulaba. It shall pass along the street magnificently. The people shall stand in the street full of awe."

[I line fragmentary] in joy. the old men of the city comfort, the old women counsel, the young men strength of arms, the children joy. Unug.

[1 line fragmentary / 1 line missing]

[3 lines fragmentary] "..... festival the Boat of Heaven. He shall recite great prayers. The king shall slaughter bulls, shall sacrifice sheep. He shall pour beer from a bowl. He shall have the cem and ala drums sound, and have the sweet-sounding tigi instruments play. The foreign lands shall declare my greatness. My people shall utter my praise."

249-256. When she had the Boat of Heaven to the Gate of Joy at Unug Kulaba, it passed magnificently along the street. It reached the maiden's house, and she its place. the purified well, her principal well. Inana the divine powers which had been presented to her, and the Boat of Heaven, at the Jipar Gate. At the Agrun Chamber Holy Inana the Boat of Heaven

257-266. The prince addressed his minister Isimud, Enki spoke to the Sweet Name of Heaven: "Isimud, my minister, my Sweet Name of Heaven!" "Enki, my master, I am at your service! What is your wish?" "Where has the Boat of Heaven reached now?" "It has just now reached the White Quay." "Go now, admiration the Boat of Heaven. Holy Inana admiration

[about 3 lines missing]

SEGMENT J

1-5 "Inana, you have brought with you the office of en priest, you have brought with you the office of lagal priest, you have brought with you divinity, you have brought with you the great and good crown, you have brought with you the royal throne.

6-10. "You have brought with you the noble sceptre, you have brought with you the staff and crook, you have brought with you the noble dress, you have brought with you shepherdship, you have brought with you kingship.

11-15. "You have brought with you the office of egi-zi priestess, you have brought with you the office of nin-dijir priestess, you have brought with you the office of icib priest, you have brought with you the office of lu-mah priest, you have brought with you the office of gudu priest.

16-21. "You have brought with you constancy, you have brought with you, you have brought with you, you have brought with you going down to the underworld, you have brought with you coming up from the underworld, you have brought with you the kur-jara priest.

22-27. "You have brought with you sword and club, you have brought with you the cultic functionary saj-ursaj, you have brought with you the black garment, you have brought with you the colourful garment, you have brought with you the hair-style, you have brought with you the hair-style.

28-34. "You have brought with you, you have brought with you

35-40. "You have brought with you the standard, you have brought with you the quiver, you have brought with you sexual intercourse, you have brought with you kissing, you have brought with you prostitution, you have brought with you running.

41-46. "You have brought with you forthright speech, you have brought with you deceitful speech, you have brought with you grandiloquent speech, you have brought with you, you have brought with you the cultic prostitute, you have brought with you the holy tavern.

47-52. "You have brought with you the holy nijin-jar shrine, you have brought with you, you have brought with you the hierodule of heaven, you have brought with you loud musical instruments, you have brought with you the art of song, you have brought with you venerable old age.

53-59. "You have brought with you heroism, you have brought with you power, you have brought with you wickedness, you have brought with you righteousness, you have brought with you the plundering of cities, you have brought with you making lamentations, you have brought with you rejoicing.

60-64. "You have brought with you deceit, you have brought with you the rebel lands, you have brought with you kindness, you have brought with you being on the move, you have brought with you being sedentary.

65-72. "You have brought with you the craft of the carpenter, you have brought with you the craft of the coppersmith, you have brought with you the craft of the scribe, you have brought with you the craft of the smith, you have brought with you the craft of the leather-worker, you have brought with you the craft of the fuller, you have brought with you the craft of the builder, you have brought with you the craft of the builder, you have brought with you the craft of the builder, you have brought with you the craft of the reed-worker.

73-81. "You have brought with you wisdom, you have brought with you attentiveness, you have brought with you holy purification rites, you have brought with you the shepherd's hut, you have brought with you piling up glowing charcoals, you have brought with you the sheepfold, you have brought with you respect, you have brought with you awe, you have brought with you reverent silence.

82-88. "You have brought with you the bitter-toothed, you have brought with you the kindling of fire, you have brought with you the extinguishing of fire, you have brought with you hard work, you have brought with you have brought with you the assembled family, you have brought with you descendants.

89-94"You have brought with you strife, you have brought with you triumph, you have brought with you counselling, you have brought with you comforting, you have brought with you judging, you have brought with you decision-making.

95-108. "You have brought with you the establishing of plans (?), the attractiveness of women, you have brought with you to handle the perfect divine powers, you have brought with you small, you have brought with you exalted, you have brought with you the holy tigi, holy lilis, ub, meze and ala drums, you have brought with you the of holy An, you have brought with you the of holy An, you have brought with you the of holy An, you have brought with you the of holy An, you have brought with you the of holy An, you have brought with you the of holy An, you have brought with you the of holy An, you have brought with you the of holy An, you have brought with you the of holy An, you have brought with you all of the, beer."

[2 lines fragmentary / 6 lines missing]

115-125. Where the woman joy, she named it with the name "The house Ganzer is rebuilt". Where the trader said "Fifty shekels" but when he brought it there was less, she named that place with the name "Potsherds and scrap metal". Where the boat, she named it with the name "......". Where the boat came to dock at the quay, she named that place with the name "White Quay". Where, she named that place with the name "Blue Quay".

126-128. Enki spoke to holy Inana: "In the name of my power, in the name of my abzu, I will establish in my abzu for the woman."

129-130. (Inana speaks:) "Why has this one now entered here? taking the divine powers from me?"

131-142. [3 lines fragmentary] (A third deity speaks:) "May the in your name!"

[4 lines fragmentary] "May there be a festival! May pass their time at the gate of your Jipar! May the citizens of your city, Inana, the citizens of Unug, live! And as for you, Enki -- may your city, Eridug, and has indeed restored"

INANA'S DESCENT TO THE NETHER WORLD

The Descent Of Inanna Into The Underworld Translation: ETCSL (University of Oxford) Estimated Range of Dating:

1-5. From the great heaven she set her mind on the great below. From the great heaven the goddess set her mind on the great below. From the great heaven Inana set her mind on the great below. My mistress abandoned heaven, abandoned earth, and descended to the underworld. Inana abandoned heaven, abandoned earth, and descended to the underworld.

6-13. She abandoned the office of en, abandoned the office of lagar, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the E-ana in Unug, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the E-muc-kalama in Bad-tibira, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the Giguna in Zabalam, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the E-cara in Adab, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the Barag-dur-jara in Nibru (Nippur), and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the Hursaj-kalama in Kic, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the E-Ulmac in Agade, and descended to the underworld, (1 ms. adds 8 lines: She abandoned the Ibgal in Umma, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the E-Dilmuna in Urim (Ur), and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the Amac-ekug in Kisiga, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the E-ecdam-kug in Jirsu, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the E-sig-mece-du in Isin, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the Anzagar in Akcak, and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the Nijin-jar-kug in Curuppag (Shuruppak), and descended to the underworld. She abandoned the E-cag-hula in Kazallu, and descended to the underworld.)

14-19. She took the seven divine powers. She collected the divine powers and grasped them in her hand. With the good divine powers, she went on her way. She put a turban, headgear for the open country, on her head. She took a wig for her forehead. She hung small lapis-lazuli beads around her neck.

20-25. She placed twin egg-shaped beads on her breast. She covered her body with a pala dress, the garment of ladyship. She placed mascara which is called "Let a man come, let him come" on her eyes. She pulled the pectoral which is called "Come, man, come" over her breast. She placed a golden ring on her hand. She held the lapis-lazuli measuring rod and measuring line in her hand.

26-27. Inana travelled towards the underworld. Her minister Nincubura travelled behind her

28-31. Holy Inana said to Nincubura: "Come my faithful minister of E-ana, my minister who speaks fair words, my escort who speaks trustworthy words (1 ms. has instead: 1 am going to give you instructions: my instructions must be followed; I am going to say something to you: it must be observed).

32-36. "On this day I will descend to the underworld. When I have arrived in the underworld, make a lament for me on the ruin mounds. Beat the drum for me in the sanctuary. Make the rounds of the houses of the gods for me.

37-40. "Lacerate your eyes for me, lacerate your nose for me. (1 ms. adds the line: Lacerate your ears for me, in public.) In private, lacerate your buttocks for me. Like a pauper, clothe yourself in a single garment and all alone set your foot in the E-kur, the house of Enlil.

41-47. "When you have entered the E-kur, the house of Enlil, lament before Enlil: "Father Enlil, don't let anyone kill your daughter in the underworld. Don't let your precious metal be alloyed there with the dirt of the underworld. Don't let your precious lapis lazuli be split there with the mason's stone. Don't let your boxwood be chopped up there with the carpenter's wood. Don't let young lady Inana be killed in the underworld."

48-56. "If Enlil does not help you in this matter, go to Urim. In the E-mud-kura at Urim, when you have entered the E-kic-nu-jal, the house of Nanna, lament before Nanna: "Father Nanna, don't let anyone kill your daughter in the underworld. Don't let your precious metal be alloyed there with the dirt of the underworld. Don't let your precious lapis lazuli be split there with the mason's stone. Don't let your boxwood be chopped up there with the carpenter's wood. Don't let young lady Inana be killed in the underworld."

57-64. "And if Nanna does not help you in this matter, go to Eridug. In Eridug, when you have entered the house of Enki, lament before Enki: "Father Enki, don't let anyone kill your daughter in the underworld. Don't let your precious metal be alloyed there with the dirt of the underworld. Don't let your precious lapis lazuli be split there with the mason's stone. Don't let your boxwood be chopped up there with the carpenter's wood. Don't let young lady Inana be killed in the underworld."

65-67. "Father Enki, the lord of great wisdom, knows about the life-giving plant and the life-giving water. He is the one who will restore me to life."

68-72. When Inana travelled on towards the underworld, her minister Nincubura travelled on behind her. She said to

her minister Nincubura: "Go now, my Nincubura, and pay attention. Don't neglect the instructions I gave you."

73-77. When Inana arrived at the palace Ganzer, she pushed aggressively on the door of the underworld. She shouted aggressively at the gate of the underworld: "Open up, doorman, open up. Open up, Neti, open up. I am all alone and I want to come in."

78-84. Neti, the chief doorman of the underworld, answered holy Inana: "Who are you?" "I am Inana going to the east." "If you are Inana going to the east, why have you travelled to the land of no return? How did you set your heart on the road whose traveller never returns?"

85-89. Holy Inana answered him: "Because lord Gud-galana, the husband of my elder sister holy Erec-ki-gala, has died; in order to have his funeral rites observed, she offers generous libations at his wake -- that is the reason."

90-93. Neti, the chief doorman of the underworld, answered holy Inana: "Stay here, Inana. I will speak to my mistress. I will speak to my mistress Erec-ki-gala and tell her what you have said."

94-10. INeti, the chief doorman of the underworld, entered the house of his mistress Erec-ki-gala and said: "My mistress, there is a lone girl outside. It is Inana, your sister, and she has arrived at the palace Ganzer. She pushed aggressively on the door of the underworld. She shouted aggressively at the gate of the underworld. She has abandoned E-ana and has descended to the underworld.

102-107. "She has taken the seven divine powers. She has collected the divine powers and grasped them in her hand. She has come on her way with all the good divine powers. She has put a turban, headgear for the open country, on her head. She has taken a wig for her forehead. She has hung small lapislazuli beads around her neck.

108-113. "She has placed twin egg-shaped beads on her breast. She has covered her body with the pala dress of ladyship. She has placed mascara which is called "Let a man come" on her eyes. She has pulled the pectoral which is called "Come, man, come" over her breast. She has placed a golden ring on her hand. She is holding the lapis-lazuli measuring rod and measuring line in her hand."

114-122. When she heard this, Erec-ki-gala slapped the side of her thigh. She bit her lip and took the words to heart. She said to Neti, her chief doorman: "Come Neti, my chief doorman of the underworld, don't neglect the instructions I will give you. Let the seven gates of the underworld be bolted. Then let each door of the palace Ganzer be opened separately. As for her, after she has entered, and crouched down and had her clothes removed they will be carried away."

123-128. Neti, the chief doorman of the underworld, paid attention to the instructions of his mistress. He bolted the seven gates of the underworld. Then he opened each of the doors of the palace Ganzer separately. He said to holy Inana: "Come on, Inana, and enter."

129-133. And when Inana entered, (1 ms. adds 2 lines: the lapis-lazuli measuring rod and measuring line were removed from her hand, when she entered the first gate,) the turban, headgear for the open country, was removed from her head. "What is this?" "Be satisfied, Inana, a divine power of the underworld has been fulfilled. Inana, you must not open your mouth against the rites of the underworld."

134-138. When she entered the second gate, the small lapis-lazuli beads were removed from her neck. "What is this?" "Be satisfied, Inana, a divine power of the underworld has been fulfilled. Inana, you must not open your mouth against the rites of the underworld."

139-143. When she entered the third gate, the twin egg-shaped beads were removed from her breast. "What is this?" "Be satisfied, Inana, a divine power of the underworld has been fulfilled. Inana, you must not open your mouth against the rites of the underworld."

144-148. When she entered the fourth gate, the "Come, man, come" pectoral was removed from her breast. "What is this?" "Be satisfied, Inana, a divine power of the underworld has been fulfilled. Inana, you must not open your mouth against the rites of the underworld."

149-153. When she entered the fifth gate, the golden ring was removed from her hand. "What is this?" "Be satisfied, Inana, a divine power of the underworld has been fulfilled. Inana, you must not open your mouth against the rites of the underworld."

154-158. When she entered the sixth gate, the lapis-lazuli measuring rod and measuring line were removed from her hand. "What is this?" "Be satisfied, Inana, a divine power of the underworld has been fulfilled. Inana, you must not open your mouth against the rites of the underworld."

159-163. When she entered the seventh gate, the pala dress, the garment of ladyship, was removed from her body. "What is this?" "Be satisfied, Inana, a divine power of the underworld has been fulfilled. Inana, you must not open your mouth against the rites of the underworld."

164-172. After she had crouched down and had her clothes removed, they were carried away. Then she made her sister Erec-ki-gala rise from her throne, and instead she sat on her throne. The Anuna, the seven judges, rendered their decision

against her. They looked at her -- it was the look of death. They spoke to her -- it was the speech of anger. They shouted at her -- it was the shout of heavy guilt. The afflicted woman was turned into a corpse. And the corpse was hung on a hook.

173-175. After three days and three nights had passed, her minister Nincubura (2 mss. add 2 lines: , her minister who speaks fair words, her escort who speaks trustworthy words,) carried out the instructions of her mistress (1 ms. has instead 2 lines: did not forget her orders, she did not neglect her instructions).

176-182. She made a lament for her in her ruined (houses). She beat the drum for her in the sanctuaries. She made the rounds of the houses of the gods for her. She lacerated her eyes for her, she lacerated her nose. In private she lacerated her buttocks for her. Like a pauper, she clothed herself in a single garment, and all alone she set her foot in the E-kur, the house of Enlil

183-189. When she had entered the E-kur, the house of Enlil, she lamented before Enlil: "Father Enlil, don't let anyone kill your daughter in the underworld. Don't let your precious metal be alloyed there with the dirt of the underworld. Don't let your precious lapis lazuli be split there with the mason's stone. Don't let your boxwood be chopped up there with the carpenter's wood. Don't let young lady Inana be killed in the underworld."

190-194. In his rage father Enlil answered Nincubura: "My daughter craved the great heaven and she craved the great below as well. Inana craved the great heaven and she craved the great below as well. The divine powers of the underworld are divine powers which should not be craved, for whoever gets them must remain in the underworld. Who, having got to that place, could then expect to come up again?"

195-203. Thus father Enlil did not help in this matter, so she went to Urim. In the E-mud-kura at Urim, when she had entered the E-kic-nu-jal, the house of Nanna, she lamented before Nanna: "Father Nanna, don't let your daughter be killed in the underworld. Don't let your precious metal be alloyed there with the dirt of the underworld. Don't let your precious lapis lazuli be split there with the mason's stone. Don't let your boxwood be chopped up there with the carpenter's wood. Don't let young lady Inana be killed in the underworld."

204-208. In his rage father Nanna answered Nincubura: "My daughter craved the great heaven and she craved the great below as well. Inana craved the great heaven and she craved the great below as well. The divine powers of the underworld are divine powers which should not be craved, for whoever gets them must remain in the underworld. Who, having got to that place, could then expect to come up again?"

209-216. Thus father Nanna did not help her in this matter, so she went to Eridug. In Eridug, when she had entered the house of Enki, she lamented before Enki: "Father Enki, don't let anyone kill your daughter in the underworld. Don't let your precious metal be alloyed there with the dirt of the underworld. Don't let your precious lapis lazuli be split there with the mason's stone. Don't let your boxwood be chopped up there with the carpenter's wood. Don't let young lady Inana be killed in the underworld."

217-225. Father Enki answered Nincubura: "What has my daughter done? She has me worried. What has Inana done? She has me worried. What has the mistress of all the lands done? She has me worried. What has the hierodule of An done? She has me worried." (I ms. adds I line: Thus father Enki helped her in this matter.) He removed some dirt from the tip of his fingernail and created the kur-jara. He removed some dirt from the tip of his other fingernail and created the galatura. To the kur-jara he gave the life-giving plant. To the gala-tura he gave the life-giving water.

226-235. Then father Enki spoke out to the gala-tura and the kur-jara: "(1 ms. has instead the line: One of you sprinkle the life-giving plant over her, and the other the life-giving water.) Go and direct your steps to the underworld. Fit past the door like flies. Slip through the door pivots like phantoms. The mother who gave birth, Erec-ki-gala, on account of her children, is lying there. Her holy shoulders are not covered by a linen cloth. Her breasts are not full like a cagan vessel. Her nails are like a pickaxe upon her. The hair on her head is burched up as if it were leeks.

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[1 line fragmentary]

246-253. "They will offer you a riverful of water -- don't accept it. They will offer you a field with its grain -- don't accept it. But say to her: "Give us the corpse hanging on the hook." (She will answer:) "That is the corpse of your queen." Say to her: "Whether it is that of our king, whether it is that of our queen, give it to us." She will give you the corpse

hanging on the hook. One of you sprinkle on it the life-giving plant and the other the life-giving water. Thus let Inana arise "

254-262. The gala-tura and the kur-jara paid attention to the instructions of Enki. They flitted through the door like flies. They slipped through the door pivots like phantoms. The mother who gave birth, Erec-ki-gala, because of her children, was lying there. Her holy shoulders were not covered by a linen cloth. Her breasts were not full like a cagan vessel. Her nails were like a pickaxe (?) upon her. The hair on her head was bunched up as if it were leeks.

263-272. When she said "Oh my heart", they said to her "You are troubled, our mistress, oh your heart". When she said "Oh my liver", they said to her "You are troubled, our mistress, oh your liver". (Then she asked:) "Who are you? I tell you from my heart to your heart, from my liver to your liver -- if you are gods, I will talk with you; if you are mortals, may a destiny be decreed for you." They made her swear this by heaven and earth. They

273-281. They were offered a river with its water -- they did not accept it. They were offered a field with its grain -- they did not accept it. They said to her: "Give us the corpse hanging on the hook." Holy Erec-ki-gala answered the galatura and the kur-jara: "The corpse is that of your queen." They said to her: "Whether it is that of our king or that of our queen, give it to us." They were given the corpse hanging on the hook. One of them sprinkled on it the life-giving plant and the other the life-giving water. And thus Inana arose.

282-289. Erec-ki-gala said to the gala-tura and the kurjara: "Bring your queen, your has been seized." Inana, because of Enki's instructions, was about to ascend from the underworld. But as Inana was about to ascend from the underworld, the Anuna seized her: "Who has ever ascended from the underworld, has ascended unscathed from the underworld? If Inana is to ascend from the underworld, let her provide a substitute for herself."

290-294. So when Inana left the underworld, the one in front of her, though not a minister, held a sceptre in his hand; the one behind her, though not an escort, carried a mace at his hip, while the small demons, like a reed enclosure, and the big demons, like the reeds of a fence, restrained her on all sides.

295-305. Those who accompanied her, those who accompanied Inana, know no food, know no drink, eat no flour offering and drink no libation. They accept no pleasant gifts. They never enjoy the pleasures of the marital embrace, never have any sweet children to kiss. They tear away the wife from a man's embrace. They snatch the son from a man's knee. They make the bride leave the house of her father-in-law (instead of lines 300-305, 1 ms. has 2 lines: They take the wife away from a man's embrace. They take away the child hanging on a wet-nurse's breasts). (1 ms. adds 3 lines: They crush no bitter garlic. They eat no fish, they eat no leeks. They, it was, who accompanied Inana.)

306-310. After Inana had ascended from the underworld, Nincubura threw herself at her feet at the door of the Ganzer. She had sat in the dust and clothed herself in a filthy garment. The demons said to holy Inana: "Inana, proceed to your city, we will take her back."

311-321. Holy Inana answered the demons: "This is my minister of fair words, my escort of trustworthy words. She did not forget my instructions. She did not neglect the orders I gave her. She made a lament for me on the ruin mounds. She beat the drum for me in the sanctuaries. She made the rounds of the gods' houses for me. She lacerated her eyes for me, lacerated her nose for me (1 ms. adds 1 line: She lacerated her ears for me in public.) In private, she lacerated her buttocks for me. Like a pauper, she clothed herself in a single garment.

322-328. "All alone she directed her steps to the E-kur, to the house of Enlil, and to Urim, to the house of Nanna, and to Eridug, to the house of Enki. (1 ms. adds 1 line: She wept before Enki.) She brought me back to life. How could I turn her over to you? Let us go on. Let us go on to the Sig-kurcaga in Umma."

329-333. At the Sig-kur-caga in Umma, Cara, in his own city, threw himself at her feet. He had sat in the dust and dressed himself in a filthy garment. The demons said to holy Inana: "Inana, proceed to your city, we will take him back."

334-338. Holy Inana answered the demons: "Cara is my singer, my manicurist and my hairdresser. How could I turn him over to you? Let us go on. Let us go on to the E-muckalama in Bad-tibira."

339-343. At the E-muc-kalama in Bad-tibira, Lulal, in his own city, threw himself at her feet. He had sat in the dust and clothed himself in a filthy garment. The demons said to holy Inana: "Inana, proceed to your city, we will take him back."

344-347. Holy Inana answered the demons: "Outstanding Lulal follows me at my right and my left. How could I turn him over to you? Let us go on. Let us go on to the great apple tree in the plain of Kulaba."

348-353. They followed her to the great apple tree in the plain of Kulaba. There was Dumuzid clothed in a magnificent garment and seated magnificently on a throne. The demons exized him there by his thighs. The seven of them poured the milk from his churns. The seven of them shook their heads

like They would not let the shepherd play the pipe and flute before her (?).

354-358. She looked at him, it was the look of death. She spoke to him (?), it was the speech of anger. She shouted at him (?), it was the shout of heavy guilt: "How much longer? Take him away." Holy Inana gave Dumuzid the shepherd into their hands.

359-367. Those who had accompanied her, who had come for Dumuzid, know no food, know no drink, eat no flour offering, drink no libation. They never enjoy the pleasures of the marital embrace, never have any sweet children to kiss. They snatch the son from a man's knee. They make the bride leave the house of her father-in-law.

368-375. Dumuzid let out a wail and turned very pale. The lad raised his hands to heaven, to Utu: "Utu, you are my brother-in-law. I am your relation by marriage. I brought butter to your mother's house. I brought milk to Ningal's house. Turn my hands into snake's hands and turn my feet into snake's feet, so I can escape my demons, let them not keep hold of me."

376-383. Utu accepted his tears. (1 ms. adds 1 line: Dumuzid's demons could not keep hold of him.) Utu turned Dumuzid's hands into snake's hands. He turned his feet into snake's feet. Dumuzid escaped his demons. (1 ms. adds 1 line: Like a saikal snake he) They seized

[2 lines fragmentary]

Holy Inana her heart.

384-393. Holy Inana wept bitterly for her husband.

[4 lines fragmentary]

She tore at her hair like esparto grass, she ripped it out like esparto grass. "You wives who lie in your men's embrace, where is my precious husband? You children who lie in your men's embrace, where is my precious child? Where is my man? Where? Where is my man? Where?"

394-398. A fly spoke to holy Inana: "If I show you where

394-398. A fly spoke to holy Inana: "If I show you where your man is, what will be my reward?" Holy Inana answered the fly: "If you show me where my man is, I will give you this gift: I will cover"

399-403The fly helped holy Inana. The young lady Inana decreed the destiny of the fly: "In the beer-house and the tavern, may there for you. You will live like the sons of the wise." Now Inana decreed this fate and thus it came to be.

404-410. was weeping. She came up to the sister (?) and by the hand: "Now, alas, my You for half the year and your sister for half the year: when you are demanded, on that day you will stay, when your sister is demanded, on that day you will be released." Thus holy Inana gave Dumuzid as a substitute

411-412 Holy Erec-ki-gala -- sweet is your praise.

DUMUZID'S DREAM

The Dream Of Dumuzid Translation: ETCSL (University of Oxford) Estimated Range of Dating:

1-4. His heart was full of tears as he went out into the countryside. The lad's heart was full of tears as he went out into the countryside. Dumuzid's heart was full of tears as he went out into the countryside. He carried with him his (1 ms. adds: shepherd's) stick on hi: translation s shoulder, sobbing all the time:

5-14. "Grieve, grieve, o countryside, grieve! O countryside, grieve! O marshes, cry out! O crabs of the river, grieve! O frogs of the river, cry out! My mother will call to me, my mother, my Durtur, will call to me, my mother will call to me for five things, my mother will call to me for ten things: if she does not know the day when I am dead, you, o countryside, can inform my mother who bore me. Like my little sister may you weep for me."

15-18. In ancient times he lay down, in ancient times he lay down, in ancient times the shepherd lay down. When in ancient times the shepherd lay down, he lay down to dream. He woke up -- it was a dream! He shivered -- it was sleep! He rubbed his eyes, he was terrified.

19-25. "Bring, bring, bring my sister! Bring my Jectin-ana, bring my sister! Bring my scribe proficient in tablets, bring my sister! Bring my singer expert in songs, bring my sister! Bring my erspicacious girl, bring my sister! Bring my wise woman, who knows the meanings of dreams, bring my sister! I will relate the dream to her."

26-39. "A dream, my sister! A dream! In my dream, rushes were rising up for me, rushes kept growing for me, a single reed was shaking its head at me; twin reeds -- one was being separated from me. Tall trees in the forest were rising up together over me. Water was poured over my holy coals (1 ms. has instead: brazier) for me, the cover of my holy churn was being removed, my holy drinking cup was torn down from the peg where it hung, my shepherd's stick disappeared from me. An owl took a lamb from the sheep house, a falcon caught a sparrow on the reed fence, my male goats were dragging their dark beards in the dust for me, my rams were scratching the earth with their thick legs for me. The churns were lying on

their side, no milk was poured, the drinking cups were lying on their side, Dumuzid was dead, the sheepfold was haunted."

41-55. Jectin-ana answered Dumuzid: "My brother, your dream is not favourable, don't tell me any more of it! Dumuzid, your dream is not favourable, don't tell me any more of it! The rushes rising up for you, which kept growing for you, are bandits rising against you from their ambush. The single reed shaking its head at you is your mother who bore you, shaking her head for you. The twin reeds of which one was being separated from you is you and I — one will be separated from you. The tall trees in the forest rising up together over you are the evil men catching you within the walls. That water was poured over your holy coals means the sheepfold will become a house of silence. That the cover of your holy churn was being removed for you means the evil man will bring it inside in his hands."

56-69. "Your holy drinking cup being torn down from the peg where it hung is you falling off the lap of the mother who bore you. That your shepherd's stick disappeared from you means the demons will set fire to it (1 ms. has instead: will smash it). The owl taking a lamb from the sheep house is the evil man who will hit you on the cheek (1 ms. has instead: is the evil man who will destroy the sheep house). The falcon catching a sparrow on the reed fence is the big demon coming down (1 ms. has instead: out) from the sheep house. That the churns were lying on their sides, no milk was poured, the drinking cups were lying on their sides, that Dumuzid was dead, and the sheepfold haunted, means your hands will be bound in handcuffs, your arms will be bound in fetters. That your male goats were dragging their dark beards in the dust for you means that my hair will whirl around in the air like a hurricane for you. That your rams were scratching the earth with their thick legs for you means that I shall lacerate my cheeks with my fingernails for you as if with a boxwood needle.

70-82. Hardly had she spoken these words when he said, "Sister, go up onto the mound, sister, go up onto the mound! Sister, when you go up onto the mound, do not go up onto the mound like an ordinary person, but lacerate your hard! (In ms. has instead: your hair) and your liver, lacerate your clothes and your crotch, sister, and then go up onto the mound! Sister, when you go up onto the mound, look out from onto the mound! The evil, hated by men, a river barge! They hold in their hands the wood to bind the hands, they are identified (?) from the wood to bind the neck - no man knows how to undo it!"

83-86. Ama-jectin-ana went up onto the mound and looked around, Jectin-ana craned her neck. Her girl friend Jectin-dudu advised her: "The big men who bind the neck are already coming for him, they are coming for him!"

87-90. "My adviser and girl friend! Are they coming?" "Yes, I will point out to you those who bind the neck!" "My brother, your demons are coming for you! Duck down your head in the grass! Dumuzid, your demons are coming for you! Duck down your head in the grass!"

91-94. "My sister, I will duck down my head in the grass! Don't reveal my whereabouts to them! I will duck down my head in the short grass! Don't reveal my whereabouts to them! I will duck down my head in the tall grass! Don't reveal my whereabouts to them! I will drop down into the ditches of Arali! Don't reveal my whereabouts to them!"

95-97. "If I reveal your whereabouts to them, may your dog devour me! The black dog, your shepherd dog, the noble dog, your lordly dog, may your dog devour me!"

98-102. She remembered: "..... give your friend instructions about it! O my brother, may you never have a friend or comrade like! After the demons have searched for you, if he tells you"

for you,, if he tells you"

103-106. "My friend, I will duck down my head in the grass!
Don't reveal my whereabouts to them! I will duck down my head in the short grass! Don't reveal my whereabouts to them!
I will duck down my head in the tall grass! Don't reveal my whereabouts to them! I will drop down into the ditches of Arali! Don't reveal my whereabouts to them!"

107-109. "If I reveal your whereabouts to them, may your dog devour me! The black dog, your shepherd dog, the noble dog, your lordly dog, may your dog devour me!"

110-138. Those who came for the king are a motley crew, who know not food, who know not drink, who eat no sprinkled flour, who drink no poured water, who accept no pleasant gifts, who do not enjoy a wife's embraces, who never kiss dear little children, who never chew sharp-tasting garlic. who eat no fish, who eat no leeks. There were two men of Adab who came for the king. They were thistles in dried-up waters, they were thorns in stinking waters -- 'his hand was on the table, his tongue was in the palace' (Alludes to a proverb). Then there were two men of Akcak who came for the king, with carried on their shoulders. Then there were two men of Unug who came for the king. With head-smashing clubs tied to their waists, there were two men of Urim who came for the king. With shining (1 ms. has instead: clean) clothes on the quayside, there were two men of Nibru who came for the king. Crying "Man run after man!", they came to the sheepfold and cow-pen. They caught Jectin-ana at the sheepfold and cow-pen. They offered a river of water, but she wouldn't accept it. They offered her a field of grain, but she wouldn't accept it. The little demon spoke to the big demon, the wise demon, the lively demon, and the big demon who was between them, wise like destroying a, like harring a they spoke:

barring a, they spoke:

139-150. "Who since the most ancient times has ever known a sister reveal a brother's whereabouts? Come! Let us go to his friend!" Then they offered his friend a river of water, and he accepted it. They offered him a field of grain, and he accepted it. "My friend ducked down his head in the grass, but I do not know his whereabouts (I ms. adds: Dumuzid ducked down his head in the grass, but I don't know his whereabouts)". They looked for Dumuzid's head in the grass, but they couldn't find him. "He ducked down his head in the short grass, but I do not know his whereabouts". They looked for Dumuzid's head in the short grass, but they couldn't find him. "He ducked down his head in the tall grass, but I do not know his whereabouts". They looked for Dumuzid's head in the tall grass, but they couldn't find him. "He has dropped down into the ditches of Arali, but I do not know his whereabouts".

151-155. They caught Dumuzid in the ditches of Arali. Dumuzid began to weep and turned very pale: "In the city my sister saved my life, my friend caused my death. If a sister leave a child in the street, someone should kiss it. But if a friend leaves a child in the street, no one should kiss it."

156-164. The men surrounded him and drained the standing waters. They twisted a cord for him, they knotted a net for him. They wove a reed hawser for him, they cut sticks for him. The one in front of him threw missiles at him, the one behind him one cubit. His hands were bound in handcuffs, his arms were bound in fetters. The lad raised his hands heavenward to Utu:

165-173. "Utu, you are my brother-in-law, I am your

165-173. "Utu, you are my brother-in-law, I am your sister's husband! I am he who carries food to E-ana, I am he who brought the wedding gifts to Unug, I am he who kisses the holy lips, I am he who dances on the holy knees, the knees of Inana. Please change my hands into gazelle hands, change my feet into gazelle feet, so I can evade my demons. Let me escape with my life to Ku-birec-dildarec."

174-180. Utu accepted his tears (1 ms. adds: as a gift). Like a merciful man he showed him mercy. He changed his hands into gazelle hands, he changed his feet into gazelle feet, and so he evaded the demons, and escaped with his life to Ku-birec-dildarec. The demons searched for him, but didn't find him.

181-191. "Come, let us go to Ku-birec." (1 ms. adds: like a net) They caught Dumuzid at Ku-birec. The men surrounded him and drained the standing waters. They twisted a cord for him, they knotted a net for him. They wove a reed hawser for him, they cut sticks for him, the one in front of him threw missiles at him, the one behind him His hands were bound in handcuffs, his arms were bound in fetters. The lad raised his hands heavenward to Utu:

192-199. "Utu, you are my brother-in-law, I am your sister's husband! I am he who carries food to E-ana, I am he who brought the wedding gifts to Unug, I am he who kisses the holy lips, I am he who dances on the holy knees, the knees of Inana. Please change my hands into gazelle (I ms. has instead: snake) hands, change my feet into gazelle (I ms. has instead: snake) feet, so I can escape to the house of Old Woman Belili "

200-205. Utu accepted his tears. He changed his hands into gazelle (1 ms. has instead: snake) hands, he changed his feet into gazelle1 ms. has instead: snake feet, so he evaded the demons and escaped with his life to the house of Old Woman Belili. He approached the house of Old Woman Belili. 206-208. "Old woman! I am not just a man, I am the

206-208. "Old woman! I am not just a man, I am the husband of a goddess! Would you pour water -- please -- so I can drink water. Would you sprinkle flour -- please -- so I can eat flour."

209-212. She poured water, and she sprinkled flour, and he sat down inside the house. The old woman left the house. When the old woman left the house, the demons saw her.

213-226. "Unless the old woman is aware of Dumuzid's whereabouts, she is indeed looking frightened! She is indeed screaming in a frightened way! Come, let us go to the house of Old Woman Belili!" They caught Dumuzid at the house of Old Woman Belili. The men surrounded him and drained the standing waters. They twisted a cord for him, they knotted a net for him. They wove a reed hawser for him, they cut sticks for him, the one in front of him threw missiles at him, the one behind him His hands were bound in handcuffs, his arms were bound in fetters. The lad raised his hands heavenward to Ilm:

227-234. "Utu, you are my brother-in-law, I am your sister's husband! I am he who carries food to E-ana, I am he who brought the wedding gifts to Unug, I am he who kisses the holy lips, I am he who dances on the holy knees, the knees of Inana. Please change my hands into gazelle hands, change my feet into gazelle feet, so I can escape to the holy sheepfold, my sister's sheepfold."

235-244. Utu accepted his tears. He changed his hands into gazelle (1 ms. has instead: snake) hands, he changed his feet into gazelle (1 ms. has instead: snake) feet, so he evaded the

demons, and escaped with his life to the holy sheepfold, his sister's sheepfold. He approached the holy sheepfold, his sister's sheepfold. Jectin-ana cried toward heaven, cried toward earth. Her cries covered the horizon completely like a cloth, they were spread out like linen. She lacerated her eyes, she lacerated her face, she lacerated her ears in public; in private she lacerated her buttocks

245-255. "My brother, I will go round in the streets (The demons said:) "Unless Jectin-ana is aware of Dumuzid's whereabouts, she is indeed looking frightened! She is indeed screaming in a frightened way! Come, let us go to the sheepfold and cow-pen!" When the first demon entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, he set fire to the bolt (1 ms. has instead: he shouted). When the second entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, he set fire to the shepherd's stick. When the third entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, he removed the cover of the holy churn.

256-260. When the fourth entered the sheepfold and cowpen, he tore down the drinking cup from the peg where it hung. When the fifth entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, the churns lay on their side, no milk was poured, the drinking cups lay on their side. Dumuzid was dead, the sheepfold was haunted. (Instead of lines 256-260, 1 ms. has: When the fourth entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, he poured water on my holy brazier. When the fifth demon entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, he tore down my holy drinking cup from the peg where it hung. When the sixth demon entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, the churns lay on their side, and no milk was poured. When the seventh demon entered the sheepfold and cow-pen, the drinking cups lay on their side, Dumuzid was dead, the sheepfold was haunted.)

 $261.\ A\ kalkal\ song\ for\ the\ dead\ Dumuzid.$

DUMUZID AND GESTIN-ANA Translation: ETCSL: t.1.4.1.1

1-11. A small demon opened his mouth and said to the big demon, "Come on, let's go to the lap of holy Inana." The demons entered Unug and seized holy Inana. "Come on, Inana, go on that journey which is yours alone -- descend to the underworld. Go to the place which you have coveted -descend to the nether world. Go to the dwelling of Ereskigala -- descend to the underworld. Don't put on your holy ba garment, the pala dress of ladyship -- descend to the underworld. Remove the holy headdress, that splendid ornament, from your head -- descend to the underworld. Don't enhance your appearance with a wig -- descend to the underworld. Don't adorn your feet with -- descend to the underworld. When you descend,"

12-21. They released holy Inana, they her. Inana handed over Dumuzid to them in exchange for herself. "As for the lad, we will put his feet in foot stocks. As for the lad, we will put his hands in hand stocks; we will put his neck in neck stocks." Copper pins, nails and pokers were raised to his face. They sharpened their large copper axes. As for the lad, they stood him up, they sat him down. "Let us remove his garment, let us make him stand" As for the lad, they bound his arms, they did evil They covered his face with his own garment.

22-32. The lad raises his hands heavenward to Utu: "O Utu I am your friend, I am a youth. Do you recognise me? Your sister, whom I married, descended to the underworld. Because she descended to the underworld, it was me that she was to hand over to the underworld as a substitute. O Utu, you are a just judge, don't disappoint me! Change my hands, alter my appearance, so that I may escape the clutches of my demons! Don't let them seize me! Like a sagkal snake that slithers across the meadows and mountains, let me escape alive to the dwelling of my sister Gestin-ana.'

33-46. Utu accepted his tears. He changed his hands, he altered his appearance. Then like a sagkal snake that slithers across the meadows and mountains, like a soaring falcon that can swoop down on a live bird, Dumuzid escaped alive to the dwelling of his sister Gestin-ana. Gestin-ana looked at her brother. She scratched at her cheek: she scratched at her nose. She looked at her sides: she her garment. She recited a lament of misfortune for the unfortunate lad: "O my brother! O my brother, lad who has not fulfilled those days! O my brother, shepherd Ama-usumgal-ana, lad who has not fulfilled those days and years! O my brother, lad who has no wife, who has no children! O my brother, lad who has no friend, who has no companion! O my brother, the lad who is not a comfort to his mother!"

47-56. The demons go hither and thither searching for Dumuzid. The small demons say to the big demons: "Demons have no mother; they have no father or mother, sister or brother, wife or children. When were established on heaven and earth you demons were there at a man's side like a reed enclosure. Demons are never kind, they do not know good from evil. Who has ever seen a man, without a family, all alone, escape with his life? We shall go neither to the dwelling of his friend nor to the dwelling of his in-laws. Rather, for the

shepherd let us go to the dwelling of Gestin-ana." The demons clap their hands and begin to seek him out.

57-64. Gestin-ana had barely finished that lament when the demons arrived at her dwelling. "Show us where your brother is," they said to her. But she spoke not a word to them. They afflicted her loins with a skin disease, but she spoke not a word to them. They scratched her face with, but she spoke not a word to them. They the skin of her buttocks, but she spoke not a word to them. They poured tar in her lap, but she spoke not a word to them. So they could not find Dumuzid at the house of Gestin-ana.

65-73. The small demons said to the big demons: "Come on, let's go to the holy sheepfold!" There at the holy sheepfold they caught Dumuzid. They went hither and thither until they caught him. They searched for him until he was seen. The axe was wielded against the lad who had no family. They sharpened their daggers, they smashed his hut. His sister wandered about the city like a bird because of her brother: "My brother, let me take the great misfortune, come, let

DUMUZID AND HIS SISTERS Translation: ETCSL: t.1.4.1.3

[approx. 62 lines missing] 1-28. "... my my lacerated eyes my lacerated nose my my lacerated beaten my hasty my

[1 line fragmentary] my my loaded waggon my my who is cheerful who laments the door of the gate (of the nether world) My brother, the door of the gate

[1 line fragmentary] ladyship On the mighty river, its fields, a waterskin lamenting my hated My brother, your feet hurt, your feet the road. My brother, wherever you go I will hasten with you. Dumuzid, wherever you go I will hasten with you. I will hasten with you. I will hasten with you. going as your slavegirl, of the lord, I of the lord going as your slavegirl, of the lord, I "

29-34. "My brother -- because of him I cannot rejoice. My brother Dumuzid, my brother -- because of him I cannot rejoice, in front of him he who bound his arms went in front of him. he who fettered his hands went behind him. they who beat him went alongside him."

35-53. then the elder sister spoke to him. she replied to him in his distress "..... those men will seize him. let them bring they will rip

[3 lines fragmentary / approx. 11 lines missing]

54-68. [1 line fragmentary] "..... you also you also they paid attention went along the broad road. went along the broad road. the demon confronted her. the demon confronted her. the demon confronted her. met her, the demon confronted her., he tried to control her....., as she was tearing out her hair, he tried to control her. as she was lacerating her eyes, as she was lacerating her nose, he tried to control her. as she excessively, he tried to control her. as she spoke

beauty lips, he tried to control her:
69-72. "..... you, maiden, who are in a similar state to the lord, are you his sister? who are in a similar state to Dumuzid, are you his sister? are you the lad's younger sister? Are you his sister? are you Dumuzid's younger sister? Are you his sister?

73-80. "Cut with my; I am his sister. Cut with Dumuzid; I am his sister. I am the lad's younger sister, I am his sister. I am Dumuzid's younger sister, I am his sister. Now, let me too be in a similar state to him; I am his sister. Let me too be in a similar state to him; I am his sister. If I had a cord on my hands, my hands would not hurt. If I had a wine jar on my shoulder, my shoulder would not hurt.

81-85. She returned to the side of his and muddied the water. She, Gestin-ana, poured water into a crevice in the ground for him. The maiden, equipped with, agitated the water. She agitated the water, the water for the brother, She agitated the water, and returned it to the

86-88. "Return to your river! Return to your river! Return to your river! O water which my brother cannot drink, return to your river! O water which Dumuzid cannot drink, O water, return to your river!"

89-108. She heaped up the of the river, and muddied the Euphrates: "..... my brother is no longer alive. He will cut from Dumuzid is no longer alive. He will cut from is no longer alive, he is no longer alive. He will definitely not return. My is no longer alive. My is no longer alive. My longer alive. is no longer alive. is no longer alive. is no longer alive. Dumuzid is no longer alive. He will definitely not return. I cannot rejoice over when you were born. I cannot rejoice over when you were born. I cannot rejoice over when you were born. was born. I, Gestin, to Dumuzid. I, Gestin,"

[1 line fragmentary / approx. 60 lines missing / a few traces

are visiblel

INANA AND BILULU

An ulila to Inana Translation: ETCSL: t.1.4.4

1-5. She can make the lament for you, my Dumuzid, the lament for you, the lament, the lamentation, reach the desert -- she can make it reach the house Arali; she can make it reach Bad-tibira; she can make it reach Du-suba; she can make it reach the shepherding country, the sheepfold of Dumuzid

[20 lines fragmentary or missing]

26. she broods on it:

27-30. "O Dumuzid of the fair-spoken mouth, of the ever kind eyes," she sobs tearfully, "O you of the fair-spoken mouth, of the ever kind eyes," she sobs tearfully. "Lad, husband, lord, sweet as the date, O Dumuzid!" she sobs, she sobs tearfully.

31-36. Holy Inana ...

[1 line fragmentary] The goddess The maiden Inana She was pacing to and fro in the chamber of her mother who bore her, in prayer and supplication, while they stood in attendance on her respectfully:

37-40. "O my mother with your permission let me go to the sheepfold! O my mother Ningal with your permission let me go to the sheepfold! My father has shone forth for me in lordly fashion Suen has shone forth for me in lordly fashion"

41-45. Like a child sent on an errand by its own mother, she went out from the chamber; like one sent on an errand by Mother Ningal, she went out from the chamber. Full knowledgeable my lady was, and also she was full apt, full knowledgeable holy Inana was, and also she was full apt. Beer stored in remote days, in long past days

[approx. 19 lines missing]

65-70. from the sheepfold.

[1 line missing] to the house of old woman Bilulu (source, erroneously: Belili) . There the shepherd, head beaten in. Dumuzid, head beaten in. : Ama-usumgal-ana. head beaten in.

71-73. "The sheep of my master, of Dumuzid, in the desert O Inana, a man who was not the shepherd was returning beside my master's sheep!"

74-75. The lady created a song for her young husband, fashioned a song for him, holy Inana created a song for Dumuzid, fashioned a song for him:

76-80. "O you who lie at rest, shepherd, who lie at rest, you stood guard over them! Dumuzid, you who lie at rest, you stood guard over them! Ama-usumgal-ana, you who lie at rest, you stood guard over them! Rising with the sun you stood guard over my sheep, lying down by night only, you stood guard over my sheep!"

81-89. Then the son of old woman Bilulu, matriarch and her own mistress, -- Girgire, a man on his own, fit for prospering and a knowledgeable man -- was filling pen and fold with his captured cattle, and was stacking his stacks and piles of grain. He quickly left scattered his victims struck down with the mace. Sirru of the haunted desert, no one's child and no one's friend, sat before him and held converse with him.

90-97. That day what was in the lady's heart? What was in holy Inana's heart? To kill old woman Bilulu was in her heart! To make good the resting place for her beloved young husband, for Dumuzid-ama-usumgal-ana -- that was in her heart! My lady went to Bilulu in the haunted desert. Her son Girgire like the wind there did Sirru of the haunted desert, no one's child and no one's friend,

98-110. Holy Inana entered the alehouse, stepped into a seat, began to determine fate: "Begone! I have killed you; so it is indeed, and with you I destroy also your name: May you become the waterskin for cold water that is used in the desert! May her son Girgire together with her become the protective god of the desert and the protective goddess of the desert! May Sirru of the haunted desert, no one's child and no one's friend, walk in the desert and keep count of the flour, and when water is libated and flour sprinkled for the lad wandering in the desert, let the protective god of the desert and the protective goddess of the desert call out: "Libate!", call out: "Sprinkle!", and thereby cause him to be present in the place from which he vanished, in the desert! Let old woman Bilulu gladden his

111-124. And immediately, under the sun of that day, it truly became so. She became the waterskin for cold water that is used in the desert. Her son Girgire together with her became the protective god of the desert and the protective

goddess of the desert. Sirru of the haunted desert, no one's child and no one's friend, walks in the desert and keeps count of the flour, and when water is libated and flour sprinkled for the lad wandering in the desert, the protective god of the desert and the protective goddess of the desert call out: "Libate!", call out: "Sprinkle!", and thereby cause him to be present in the place from which he vanished, in the desert. Old woman Bilulu gladdens his heart. Inana put out her hand to the lad on the ground, put out her hand to Dumuzid on the ground, his death-bound hands

[approx. 11 lines missing / 1 line fragmentary]

137-148. The francolin to the of its The francolin to the birthplace of Dumuzid. Like a pigeon on its window ledge it took counsel with itself; the francolin in its shelter took counsel. Only his mother Durtur can gladden my master! Only his mother Durtur can gladden Dumuzid! My goddess, born in Kuara, the maiden who is the crown of all, the admiration and acclaim of the blackheaded people, the playful one who also voices laments and the cries, who intercedes before the king -- Gestin-ana, the lady, did

[1 line fragmentary]

150-154. The maiden the admiration. Gestinana The sacred one, Inana in her hand. together. replied:

155-161. "Let me utter the lament for you, the lament for you, the lament! Brother, let me utter the lament for you, the lament! let me utter the lament for you, the lament! Let me utter the lament for you, the lament in the house Arali! Let me utter the lament for you, the lament in Du-suba! Let me utter the lament for you, the lament in Bad-tibira! Let me utter the lament for you, the lament in the shepherding country!"

162-165. How truly the goddess proved the equal of her betrothed, how truly holy Inana proved the equal of the shepherd Dumuzid! It was granted to Inana to make good his resting place, it was granted to the goddess to avenge him!

166-173. "Let me utter the lament for you, the lament for you, the lament! Let me utter the lament for you, the lament for you, the lament! In the birthplace let me utter the lament for you, the lament! In the desert, O Dumuzid, let me utter the lament for you, the lament! In the house Arali let me utter the lament for you, the lament! In Du-suba let me utter the lament for you, the lament! In Bad-tibira let me utter the lament for you, the lament! In the shepherding country let me utter the lament for you, the lament!"

174-176. How truly she proved the equal of Dumuzid, avenging him; by killing Bilulu, Inana proved equal to him!

177. An ulila song of Inana.

THE NINURTA CYCLE

NINURTA'S RETURN TO NIBRU (Nippur) A sir-gida to Ninurta

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.6.1

1-6. Created like An, O son of Enlil, Ninurta, created like Enlil, born by Nintur, mightiest of the Anuna gods, who came forth from the mountain range, imbued with terrible awesomeness, son of Enlil, confident in his strength, my sovereign, you are magnificent -- let your magnificence therefore be praised. Ninurta, you are magnificent -- let your magnificence therefore be praised.

7-12. Sovereign of all the lands, in your massive might, warrior of Enlil, in your great might, fierce warrior, you have taken up the divine powers which are like heaven, son of Enlil, you have taken up the divine powers which are like the earth. you have taken up the divine powers of the mountains, which are heavy as heaven, you have taken up the divine powers of Eridug, which are huge as the earth.

13-15. You have made the gods prostrate themselves before you. You have made the Anuna salute you. Ninurta, you are made complete by heroic strength.

16-17. The utterance of the sovereign is a storm The word of Lord Ninurta is a storm

18-23. To the hostile mountains To the fortress of the rebellious land

1 line unclear

Lord, frighteningly fierce, Fierce in heaven and earth,

1 line unclear

24-25. His angry utterance made a corpse of the mountains. His fierce countenance

26-29. Horned wild bull Wild ram and stag ... The great wild bull of the mountains from its He put his, the strength in battle, in his belt.

30-40. The sovereign, with his heroic arms, Ninurta, the son of Enlil, in his great might, brought forth the Six-headed wild ram from the shining, lofty house. He brought forth the Warrior dragon from the great fortress of the mountains. He brought forth the Magilum boat from his abzu. He brought forth the Bison from his battle dust. He brought

forth the Mermaid from the limits of heaven and earth. He brought forth the Gypsum from the soil of the mountain range. He brought forth the Strong copper from the shattered mountain range. He brought forth the Anzud bird from the halub-haran tree. He brought forth the Seven-headed serpent from the of the mountains.

41-46. He mustered them all before him He spoke He was unhappy He spoke He seized the axe He took his

47-51. The warrior made a corpse of the mountains. Lord Ninurta, who destroys, made a corpse of the mountains. He piled up The sovereign, with his heroic strength, wreaked his vengeance. The warrior Ninurta, with his heroic strength, wreaked his vengeance.

52-54. On his shining chariot, which inspires terrible awe, he hung his captured wild bulls on the axle and hung his captured cows on the cross-piece of the yoke.

55-63. He hung the Six-headed wild ram on the dust-guard. He hung the Warrior dragon on the seat. He hung the Magilum boat on the He hung the Bison on the beam. He hung the Mermaid on the foot-board. He hung the Gypsum on the forward part of the voke. He hung the Strong copper on the inside pole pin. He hung the Anzud bird on the front guard. He hung the Seven-headed serpent on the shining

64-69. Lord Ninurta stepped into his battle-worthy chariot. Ud-ane, the all-seeing god, and Lugal-anbara, the bearded lord, went before him, and the awesome one of the mountains, Lugal-kur-dub, the of Lord Ninurta, followed behind

70-72. The lion who from the abzu, who An's awesomeness and radiance -- the Anuna, the great gods

73-75. As the sovereign swept on like the deluge, as Ninurta, storm of the rebellious land, swept on like the deluge, he rumbled like a storm on the horizon.

76-79. When, at Enlil's command, he was making his way towards E-kur, the warrior of the gods was levelling the Land; and before he had yet approached Nibru from afar, Nuska, the chancellor of Enlil, came forth from the E-kur to meet

80-82. He greeted Lord Ninurta: "My sovereign, perfect warrior, heed yourself. Ninurta, perfect warrior, heed yourself."

83-86. "Your radiance has covered Enlil's temple like a cloak. When you step into your chariot, whose creaking is a pleasant sound, heaven and earth tremble. When you raise

your arm"
87-91. "The Anuna, the great gods Do not frighten your father in his residence. Do not frighten Enlil in his residence. May your father give you gifts because of your heroic strength. May Enlil give you gifts because of your heroic strength."

92-97. "O sovereign, shackle of An, first among the gods, seal-bearer of Enlil, life-source of E-kur, O warrior, because you have toppled the mountains your father need send out no other god beside you. Ninurta, because you have toppled the mountains Enlil need send out no other god beside you.

98-101. While these words were yet in Nuska's mouth, Ninurta put the whip and goad away in the rope-box. He leaned his mace, the strength in battle, against the box and entered into the temple of Enlil.

102-107. He directed his captive wild bulls into the temple. He directed his captive cows, like the wild bulls, into the temple. He laid out the booty of his plundered cities. The Anuna were amazed Enlil, the Great Mountain, made obeisance to him, and Asimbabbar prayed to him.

108-112. The great mother Ninlil, from within her Ki-ur, spoke admiringly to Lord Ninurta: "O wild bull, with fierce horns raised, son of Enlil, you have struck blows in the mountains. Warrior, Lord Ninurta, you have You have the rebellious land."

113-118. Lord Ninurta answered her: "My mother, I alone cannot with you Ninlil, I alone cannot with you, for me alone Battle arrayed like heaven -- no one can rival me. Like the deluge Smashing the mountains like reed huts

119-124. "My battle, like an onrushing flood, overflowed in the mountains. With a lion's body and lion's muscles, it rose up in the rebellious land. The gods have become worried and flee (?) to the mountain ranges. They beat their wings like a flock of small birds. They stand hiding in the grass like wild bulls No one can confront my radiance, heavy as heaven."

125-127. "Because I am the lord of the terraced mountain ranges, in every direction Because I have subjugated these mountain ranges of alabaster and lapis lazuli, the Anuna hide like mice."

128-134. "Now I have reestablished my heroic strength in the mountains. On my right, I bear my Mows-down-a-myriad. On my left, I bear my Crushes-a-myriad. I bear my Fiftytoothed-storm, my heavenly mace. I bear the hero who comes down from the great mountains, my No-resisting-this-storm. I bear the weapon which devours corpses like a dragon, my agasilig axe. I bear my

135-139. "I bear my I bear the alkad net of the rebellious land, my alkad net. I bear that from which the mountains cannot escape, my susgal net. I bear the sevenmouthed musmah serpent, the slayer, my spike. I bear that which strips away the mountains, the sword, my heavenly

140-145. "I bear the deluge of battle, my fifty-headed mace. I bear the storm that attacks humans, my bow and quiver. I bear those which carry off the temples of the rebellious land. my throw-stick and shield. I bear the helper of men, my spear. bear that which brings forth light like the day, my Obliterator-of-the-mountains. I bear the maintainer of the people in heaven and earth, my The-enemy-cannot-escape."

146-151. "I bear that whose awesome radiance covers the Land, which is grandly suited for my right hand, finished in gold and lapis lazuli, whose presence is amazing, my Objectof-trust. I bear the perfect weapon, exceedingly magnificent, trustworthy in battle, having no equal, well-suited for my wrist on the battlefield, my fifty-headed mace, I bear the weapon which consumes the rebellious land like fire, my fiftyheaded club '

152-158. "Let my father therefore bring in my battle trophies and weapons for me. Let Enlil bathe my heroic arms. Let him pour holy water on the fierce arms which bore my weapons. Let him set up a holy dais in the throne room for me. Let him set my heavenly chariot upon a pedestal. Let him tether my captured warriors there like butting bulls. Let him have my captured kings make obeisance to me there, as to the light of heaven.'

159-163. "I am the strong one, unopposed in the mountains, I am Ninurta -- let them prostrate themselves at my name. I am the exceedingly mighty lion-headed one of Enlil, whom he engendered in his strength. The storm of heaven, shackle of the gods, I am the one whom An in his great might has chosen.

164-167. "I am the, the life-source of Inana. I am the warrior, destined with Enki to be suited for the fearsome divine powers. Let my kingship be manifest unto the ends of heaven and earth. I am most able among the gods -- let me be

imbued with great awesomeness."

168-174. "Let my beloved city, the sanctuary Nibru, raise its head as high as heaven. Let my city be pre-eminent among the cities of my brothers. Let my temple rise the highest among the temples of my brothers. Let the territory of my city be the freshwater well of Sumer. Let the Anuna, my brother gods, bow down there. Let their flying birds establish nests in my city. Let their refugees refresh themselves in my shade."

175-179. As Ninurta went out from Enlil's temple, the most bright-faced of warriors, Ninkarnuna, having heard the favourable pronouncement of Ninurta, stepped before Lord Ninurta and prayed to him:

180-186. "My sovereign, may you be well-disposed towards your beloved city. Lord Ninurta, may you be well-disposed towards your beloved city. May you be well-disposed towards the sanctuary Nibru, your beloved city. When you enter E-sume-sa, your beloved temple, alone, tell your wife, young lady Ninnibru, what is in your heart, tell her what is on your mind. Make an enduring favourable pronouncement to her for the

187-194. The content of that prayer of the offspring of a prince, Ninkarnuna, his sprinkling Ninurta's heart with an offering of cool water, and the matter of prosperity about which he spoke were pleasing to Ninurta's heart as he went in procession to E-su-me-sa to manifest the eternal divine powers. Lord Ninurta gazed approvingly at Ninkarnuna.

195-198. When Ninurta entered E-su-me-sa, his beloved temple, alone, he told his wife, young lady Ninnibru, what was in his heart, he told her what was on his mind and he made an enduring favourable pronouncement to her for the king.

199-201. The warrior, whose heroism is manifest, Ninurta, the son of Enlil, has firmly grounded his greatness in Enlil's

202-207. Lord who has destroyed the mountains, who has no rival, who butts angrily in that magnificent battle, great warrior who goes forth in his might, strong one, deluge of Enlil, Ninurta, magnificent child of E-kur, pride of the father who engendered him, it is sweet to praise you.

208. Sir-gida of Ninurta.

NINURTA'S EXPLOITS

A sir-sud to Ninurta Translation: ETCSL: t.1.6.2

1-16. [(1 ms. adds before line 1:) An, king of the gods, majestic one:] O king, storm of majestic splendour, peerless Ninurta, possessing superior strength; who pillages the mountains all alone; deluge, indefatigable serpent hurling yourself at the rebel land, hero striding formidably into battle; lord whose powerful arm is fit to bear the mace, reaping like barley the necks of the insubordinate; Ninurta, king, son in whose strength his father rejoices; hero whose awesomeness covers the mountains like a south storm: Ninurta, who makes

the good tiara, the rainbow, flash like lightning; grandly begotten by him who wears the princely beard; dragon who turns on himself, strength of a lion snarling at a snake, roaring hurricane; Ninurta, king, whom Enlil has exalted above himself; hero, great battle-net flung over the foe; Ninurta, with the awesomeness of your shadow extending over the Land; releasing fury on the rebel lands, overwhelming their assemblies! Ninurta, king, son who has forced homage to his father far and wide!

17-23. Inspiring great numinous power, he had taken his place on the throne, the august dais, and was sitting gladly at his ease at the festival celebrated in his honour, rivalling An and Enlil in drinking his fill, while Bau was pleading petitions in a prayer for the king, and he, Ninurta, Enlil's son, was handing down decisions. At that moment the lord's battle-mace looked towards the mountains, the Sar-ur cried out aloud to its master:

24-47. "Lord of lofty station, foremost one, who presides over all lords from the throne dais, Ninurta, whose orders are unalterable, whose allotted fates are faithfully executed; my master! Heaven copulated with the verdant Earth. Ninurta: she has born him a warrior who knows no fear -- the Asag, a child who sucked the power of milk without ever staying with a wet-nurse, a foster-child, O my master -- knowing no father, a murderer from the mountains, a youth who has come forth from, whose face knows no shame; impudent of eye, an arrogant male, [Ninurta] [(1 ms. has instead:) Ningirsu], rejoicing in his stature. My hero, you who are like a bull, I will take my stand beside you. My master, who turns sympathetically towards his own city, who is effective in carrying out his mother's wishes: it has sired offspring in the mountains, and spread its seeds far and wide. The plants have unanimously named it king over them; like a great wild bull, it tosses its horns amongst them. The su, the sagkal, the esi (diorite), the usium, the kagena (haematite), and the heroic nu stones, its warriors, constantly come raiding the cities. For them a shark's tooth has grown up in the mountains; it has stripped the trees. Before its might the gods of those cities bow towards it. My master, this same creature has erected a throne dais: it is not lying idle. Ninurta, lord, it actually decides the Land's lawsuits, just as you do. Who can compass the Asag's dread glory? Who can counteract the severity of its frown? People are terrified, fear makes the flesh creep; their eyes are fixed upon it. My master, the mountains have taken their offerings to it."

48-56. "Hero! They have appealed to you, because of your father; son of Enlil, lord, because of your superior strength they are looking to you here; since you are strong, my master, they are calling for your help, saying, Ninurta, that not a single warrior counts except for you! They wanted to advise you about Hero, there have been consultations with a view to taking away your kingship. Ninurta, it is confident that it can lay hands on the powers received by you in the abzu. Its face is deformed, its location is continually changing; day by day, the Asag adds territories to its domain."

57-69. "But you will force it into the shackles of the gods. You, Antelope of Heaven, must trample the mountains beneath your hooves, Ninurta, lord, son of Enlil. Who has so far been able to resist its assault? The besetting Asag is beyond all control, its weight is too heavy. Rumours of its armies constantly arrive, before ever its soldiers are seen. This thing's strength is massive, no weapon has been able to overturn it. Ninurta, neither the axe nor the all-powerful spear can penetrate its flesh, no warrior like it has ever been created against you. Lord, you who reach out towards the august divine powers, splendour, jewel of the gods, you bull with the features of a wild bull, with a prominent backbone, this fellow is clever! My Ninurta, whose form Enki contemplates with favour, my Uta-ulu, lord, son of Enlil, what is to be done?"

70-95. The lord cried "Alas!" so that Heaven trembled, and Earth huddled at his feet and was terrified at his strength. Enlil became confused and went out of the E-kur. The mountains were devastated. That day the earth became dark. the Anuna trembled. The hero beat his thighs with his fists. The gods dispersed: the Anuna disappeared over the horizon like sheep. The lord arose, touching the sky; Ninurta went to battle, with one step he covered a league, he was an alarming storm, and rode on the eight winds towards the rebel lands His arms grasped the lance. The mace snarled at the mountains, the club began to devour all the enemy. He fitted the evil wind and the sirocco on a pole (?), he placed the quiver on its hook. An enormous hurricane, irresistible, went before the hero, stirred up the dust, caused the dust to settle, levelled high and low, filled the holes. It caused a rain of coals and flaming fires; the fire consumed men. It overturned tall trees by their trunks, reducing the forests to heaps, Earth put her hands on her heart and cried harrowingly; the Tigris was muddied, disturbed, cloudy, stirred up. He hurried to battle on the boat Ma-kar-nunta-ea; the people there did not know where to turn, they bumped into the walls. The birds there tried to lift their heads to fly away, but their wings trailed on the ground. The storm flooded out the fish there in the subterranean waters, their mouths snapped at the air. It

reduced the animals of the open country to firewood, roasting them like locusts. It was a deluge rising and disastrously ruining the mountains.

96-118. The hero Ninurta led the march through the rebel lands. He killed their messengers in the mountains, he crushed their cities, he smote their cowherds over the head like fluttering butterflies, he tied together their hands with hirin grass, so that they dashed their heads against walls. The lights of the mountains did not gleam in the distance any longer. People gasped for breath; those people were ill, they hugged themselves, they cursed the Earth, they considered the day of the Asag's birth a day of disaster. The lord caused bilious poison to run over the rebel lands. As he went the gall followed, anger filled his heart, and he rose like a river in spate and engulfed all the enemies. In his heart he beamed at his lion-headed weapon, as it flew up like a bird, trampling the mountains for him. It raised itself on its wings to take away prisoner the disobedient, it spun around the horizon of heaven to find out what was happening. Someone from afar came to meet it, brought news for the tireless one, the one who never rests, whose wings bear the deluge, the Sar-ur. What did it gather there for Lord Ninurta? It reported the deliberations of the mountains, it explained their intentions to Lord Ninurta, it outlined what people were saying about the Asag.

119-121. "Hero, beware!" it said concernedly. The weapon embraced him whom it loved, the Sar-ur addressed Lord Ninurta:

122-134. "Hero, pitfall, net of battle, Ninurta, king, celestial mace irresistible against the enemy, vigorous one, tempest which rages against the rebel lands, wave which submerges the harvest, king, you have looked on battles, you have in the thick of them. Ninurta, after gathering the enemy in a battle-net, after erecting a great reed-altar, lord, heavenly serpent, purify your pickaxe and your mace! Ninurta, I will enumerate the names of the warriors you have already slain: the Kuli-ana, the Dragon, the Gypsum, the Strong Copper, the hero Six-headed Wild Ram, the Magilum Boat, Lord Saman-ana, the Bison Bull, the Palm-tree King, the Anzud bird, the Seven-headed Snake -- Ninurta, you slew them in the mountains."

135-150. "But lord, do not venture again to a battle as terrible as that. Do not lift your arm to the smiting of weapons, to the festival of the young men, to Inana's dance! Lord, do not go to such a great battle as this! Do not hurry; fix your feet on the ground. Ninurta, the Asag is waiting for you in the mountains. Hero who is so handsome in his crown, firstborn son whom Ninlil has decorated with numberless charms, good lord, whom a princess bore to an en priest, hero who wears horns like the moon, who is long life for the king of the Land, who opens the sky by great sublime strength, inundation who engulfs the banks, Ninurta, lord, full of fearsomeness, who will hurry towards the mountains, proud hero without fellow, this time you will not equal the Asag! Ninurta, do not make your young men enter the mountains."

151-167. The hero, the son, pride of his father, the very wise, rising from profound deliberation, Ninurta, the lord, the son of Enlil, gifted with broad wisdom, the god, the lord stretched his leg to mount the onager, and joined the battalions He spread over the mountains his great he caused to go out among its people like long the He reached He went into the rebel lands in the vanguard of the battle. He gave orders to his lance, and attached it by its cord; the lord commanded his mace, and it went to its belt. The hero hastened to the battle, he heaven and earth. He prepared the throw-stick and the shield, the mountains were smitten and cringed beside the battle legions of Ninurta. When the hero was girding on his mace, the sun did not wait, the moon went in; they were forgotten, as he marched towards the mountains; the day became like pitch.

168-186. The Asag leapt up at the head of the battle. For a club it uprooted the sky, took it in its hand; like a snake it slid its head along the ground. It was a mad dog attacking to kill the helpless, dripping with sweat on its flanks. Like a wall collapsing, the Asag fell on Ninurta, the son of Enlil. Like an accursed storm, it howled in a raucous voice; like a gigantic snake, it roared at the Land. It dried up the waters of the mountains, dragged away the tamarisks, tore the flesh of the Earth and covered her with painful wounds. It set fire to the reedbeds, bathed the sky in blood, turned it inside out; it dispersed the people there. At that moment, on that day, the fields became black scum, across the whole extent of the horizon, reddish like purple dye -- truly it was so! An was overwhelmed, crouched, wrung his hands against his stomach; Enlil groaned and hid himself in a corner, the Anuna flattened themselves against walls, the house was full of fearful sighing as of pigeons. The Great Mountain Enlil cried to Ninlil: 187-190. "My wife, my son is no longer here; what is there

187-190. "My wife, my son is no longer here; what is there to support me? The lord, the authority of the E-kur, the king who imposes the strong shackle for his father, a cedar rooted in the abzu, a crown with broad shade, my son, my security -- he is not here any more: who will take me by the hand?"

191-214. The weapon which loved the lord, obedient to its master, the Sar-ur for Lord Ninurta to his father in Nibru The awesome splendour enveloped Ninurta like a garment, bound him: therefore the lord The weapon spoke to Enlil.

215-224. "..... Ninurta, having confidence in himself; he will be standing; the waters will be dried up as if by the sun's heat; he will breathe again, he will be standing full of joy. I shall cause horrid storms to rise against of the hero Ninurta as for him who resisted the mountains, he has been amazed by his strength. Now I shall give my orders, you are to follow these instructions:"

1 line unclear

"..... in the fields, let him not diminish the population. let him not cause a lack of posterity. Let him not cause to perish the name of all the kinds of species whose destinies I, Enlil, have decreed."

225-227. The weapon, its heart, was reassured: it slapped its thighs, the Sar-ur began to run, it entered the rebel lands, joyfully it reported the message to Lord Ninurta:

rebel lands, joyfully it reported the message to Lord Ninurta: 228-243. "My master, for you, Enlil has said: "As the Deluge (i.e. Ninurta), before whom the venom has piled up, attacks the enemy, let him take the Asag by the shoulder, let him pierce its liver, let my son enter with it into the E-kur. Then, Ninurta, to the limits of the earth my people will deservedly praise your power." You, lord who trusts in the word of his father, do not tarry, great strength of Enlil. Storm of the rebel lands, who grinds the mountains like flour, Ninurta, Enlil's seal-bearer, go to it! Do not tarry. My master: the Asag has constructed a wall of stakes on an earthen rampart; the fortress is too high and cannot be reached, its fierceness does not diminish."

[3 lines unclear]

'My master,"

244-251. Ninurta opened his mouth to speak to the mace He aimed the lance at the mountains The lord stretched out an arm towards the clouds. Day became a dark night. He yelled like a storm,

2 lines unclear

251-264. The lord the wind. In his battle he smote the mountains with a cudgel. The Sar-ur made the stormwind rise to heaven, scattering the people; like it tore. Its spittle alone destroyed the townspeople. The destructive mace set fire to the mountains, the murderous weapon smashed skulls with its painful teeth, the club which tears out entrails piled up noses. The lance was stuck into the ground and the crevasses filled with blood. In the rebel lands dogs licked it up like milk. The enemy rose up, crying to wife and child, "You did not lift your arms in prayer to Lord Ninurta." The weapon covered the mountains with dust, but did not shake the heart of the Asag. The Sar-ur threw its arms around the neck of the lord:

265-280. "Hero, ah, whatever further awaits you, do not on any account meddle with the hurricane of the mountains Ninurta, lord, son of Enlil, I tell you again, it is made like a storm. It is a blister whose smell is foul, like mucus which comes from the nose it is unpleasant, lord, its words are devious, it will not obey you. My master, it has been created against you as a god; who can help you? Hero, it falls on the land as a whirlwind it scrubs it as if with saltwort. Ninurta it chases the onagers before it in the mountains. Its terrifying splendour sends the dust into clouds, it causes a downpour of potsherds. In the rebel lands it is a lion striking with savage teeth; no man can catch it. After reducing everything to nothing in the north wind, that one will batter you. The sheepfolds have been closed by ghostly demons. It has dried up the waters in the ground. In the whirlwind storm, the people are finished, they have no solution. From an implacable enemy, great hero, lord, turn away," he said quietly.

281-299. But the lord howled at the mountains, could not withhold a roar. The hero did not address the rebel lands, he He reversed the evil that it had done He smashed the heads of all the enemies, he made the mountains weep. The lord ranged about in all directions, like a soldier saying "I will go on the rampage." Like a bird of prey the Asag looked up angrily from the mountains. He commanded the rebel lands to be silent and Ninurta approached the enemy and flattened him like a wave (?). The Asag's terrifying splendour was contained, it began to fade, it began to fade. It looked wonderingly upwards. Like water he agitated it, he scattered it into the mountains, like esparto grass he pulled it up, like esparto grass he ripped it up. Ninurta's splendour covered the Land, he pounded the Asag like roasted barley, he its genitals, he piled it up like a heap of broken bricks, he heaped it up like flour, as a potter does with coals; he piled it up like stamped earth whose mud has been dredged. The hero had achieved his heart's desire. Ninurta, the lord, the son of Enlil, \dots began to calm down.

300-309. In the mountains, the day came to an end. The sun bade it farewell. The lord his belt and mace in water, he washed the blood from his clothes, the hero wiped his brow, he made a victory-chant over the dead body. When he had brought the Asag which he had slain to the condition of a ship

wrecked by a tidal wave, the gods of the Land came to him. Like exhausted wild asses they prostrated themselves before him, and for this lord, because of his proud conduct, for Ninurta, the son of Enlil, they clapped their hands in greeting. The Sar-ur addressed these flattering words [aloud to its master] [(1 ms. has instead:) to Lord Ninurta]:

310-330. "Lord, great mes tree in a watered field, hero, who is like you? My master, beside you there is no one else, nor can anyone stand like you, nor is anyone born like you. Ninurta, from today no one in the mountains will rise against you. My master, if you give but one roar, how they will praise you!"

[1 line unclear]

"Lord Ninurta"

7 lines fragmentary After he had pulled up the Asag like esparto grass in the rebel lands, torn it up like esparto grass, Lord Ninurta his club:

1 line unclear

" From today forward, do not say Asag: its name shall be Stone. Its name shall be zalag stone, its name shall be Stone. This, its entrails, shall be the underworld. Its valour shall belong to the lord."

331-333. The blessing of the club, laid to rest in a corner: 'The mighty battle which reduces the Land'.

[1 line missing]

334-346. At that time, the good water coming forth from the earth did not pour down over the fields. The cold water (?) was piled up everywhere, and the day when it began to it brought destruction in the mountains, since the gods of the Land were subject to servitude, and had to carry the hoe and the basket -- this was their corvée work -- people called on a household for the recruitment of workers. The Tigris did not bring up its flood in its fullness. Its mouth did not finish in the sea, it did not carry fresh water. No one brought offerings to the market. The famine was hard, as nothing had yet been born. No one yet cleaned the little canals, the mud was not dredged up. No one yet drew water for the fertile fields, ditchmaking did not exist. People did not work in furrows, barley was sown broadcast.

347-359. The lord applied his great wisdom to it. [Ninurta] [(1 ms. has instead:) Ningirsu], the son of Enlil, set about it in a grand way. He made a pile of stones in the mountains. Like a floating cloud he stretched out his arms over it. With a great wall he barred the front of the Land. He installed a sluice (?) on the horizon. The hero acted cleverly, he dammed in the cities together. He blocked the powerful waters by means of stones. Now the waters will never again go down from the mountains into the earth. That which was dispersed he gathered together. Where in the mountains scattered lakes had formed, he joined them all together and led them down to the Tigris. He poured carp-floods of water over the fields.

360-367. Now, today, throughout the whole world, kings of the Land far and wide rejoice at Lord Ninurta. He provided water for the speckled barley in the cultivated fields, he [raised up] [(2 mss. have instead:) piled up] the harvest of fruits in garden and orchard. He heaped up the grain piles like mounds. The lord caused trading colonies to go up from the Land of Sumer. He contented the desires of the gods. They duly praised Ninurta's father.

368-371. At that time he also reached a woman with compassion. Ninmah was sleepless from remembering the place where she had conceived him. She covered her outside with a fleece, like an unshorn ewe, she made a great lament about the now inaccessible mountains:

372-386. "The mountains could not bear the lord's great strength. The great hero — the force of whose rage no one can approach, like heaven itself; the savage storm which walks on earth, spilling poison in the earth's breast; the lord, the life-breath of Enlil, whose head is worthy of the tiara, who knows nothing of: in triumph he hurried by me, he with whom my husband made me pregnant. I bore him for my husband. He was close; but the son of Enlil passed by and did not lift his glance to me. For the good youth" — thus the good lady said as she went to him in E-su-me-sa, his chosen place — "I will cut the knot. Now I, yes I, shall go to the presumptuous lord, to gaze upon the precious lord. I will go directly to him, to my son, Enlil's judge, the great hero, favoured by his father."

387-389. The lady performed the song in a holy manner. Ninmah recited it to Lord Ninurta. He looked at her with his life-giving looks and spoke to her:

390-410. "Lady, since you came to the mountains, Ninmah ('Great Lady'), since you entered the rebel lands for my sake, since you did not keep far from me when I was surrounded by the horrors of battle — let the name of the pile which I, the hero, have piled up be 'Mountain' (hursag) and may you be its lady (nin): now that is the destiny decreed by Ninurta. Henceforth people shall speak of Ninhursaga. So be it. Let its meadows produce herbs for you. Let its slopes produce honey and wine for you. Let its hillsides grow cedars, cypress, juniper and box for you. Let it make abundant for you ripe fruits, as a garden. Let the mountain supply you richly with divine perfumes. Let it mine gold and silver for you, make for you. Let it smelt copper and tin for you, make

its tribute for you. Let the mountains make wild animals teem for you. Let the mountain increase the fecundity of quadrupeds for you. You, O Queen, become equal to An, wearing a terrifying splendour. Great goddess who detests boasting, good lady, maiden Ninhursaga, Nintur, approach me. Lady, I have given you great powers: may you be exalted."

411-413. While the lord was fixing the destiny of the mountains, as he walked about in the sanctuary of Nibru, the good lady whose powers excel all powers, Lady-creatrix-of-the-womb, Aruru, Enlil's elder sister, stood before him:

414-415. "Great hero whose word like that of his father is unalterable, lord: you have not fixed the destinies of the warriors that you have slain."

416-418. The lord then addressed the u stone. He defined (?) its typical behaviour. The lord spoke to it in anger in the Land. Ninurta son of Enlil cursed it:

419-434. "U stone (emery), since you rose against me in the mountains, since you [barred the way] [(2 mss. have instead:) seized me] so as to detain me, since you swore to put me to death, since you frightened me, Lord Ninurta, on my great throne: you are powerful, a youth of outstanding strength: may your size be diminished. A mighty lion, confident in its strength, will tear you into pieces, the strong man will fling you in his hand [in combat] [(1 ms. has instead:) for strength]. Young u stone, your brothers will heap you up like flour. You will lift your hand against your offspring, sink your teeth into their corpses. You, young man, though you may cry out, will end as Like a great wild bull killed by many people, be divided into portions. U stone, you will be hounded from the battlefield with clubs, like a dog chased by shepherd boys. Because I am the lord: since cornelian is polished by you, you shall be called by its name. And now, according to the destiny fixed by Ninurta, henceforth when u stone touches it, there will be pierced cornelian. Let it be so.

435-437. The hero addressed the su and gasura stones. The lord enumerated their characteristics. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed their destiny:

438-447. "Su stones, since you attacked against my weapons; gasura stones, since you stood fiercely against me like bulls, since you tossed your horns in the dust at me like wild bulls, you shall be like butterflies. My terrifying splendour will cover you. Since you cannot escape from [my] [(1 ms. has instead:) his] great strength, the goldsmith shall puff and blow on you with his breath. You shall be shaped by him to form a matrix for his creations. People shall place the first fruits of the gods on you at the time of the new moon."

448-450. My king stood before the sagkal stone, he addressed the gulgul and saggar stones. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed their destiny:

451-462. "Sagkal stone, since you flew up against me; gulgul stone, since you sparked lightning against me; saggar stone, since you shook your head at me, since you ground your teeth at me, the lord! The sagkal stone will mash you, saggar stone, young brave, and the gulgul stone will destroy (gul) you. You will be discarded as contemptible and valueless (sag nukala). Be a prey to the famine (saggar) of the Land; you shall be fed by the charity of your city. You shall be accounted a common person, a warrior among slavegirls. They shall say to you "Be off with you, hurry!", it shall be your name. And now, by the destiny fixed by Ninurta, henceforth you shall be called a bad lot in the Land. So be it."

463-465. My king stood before the esi stone. he spoke in hymnic language. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed its destiny:

466-478. "Esi (diorite), your army in battle changed sides separately. You spread before me like thick smoke. You did not raise your hand. You did not attack me. Since you said, "It is false. The lord is alone the hero. Who can vie with Ninurta, the son of Enlil?" -- they shall extract you from the highland countries. They shall bring you from the land of Magan. You shall shape Strong Copper like leather and then you shall be perfectly adapted for my heroic arm, for me, the lord. When a king who is establishing his renown for perpetuity has had its statues sculpted for all time, you shall be placed in the place of libations -- and it shall suit you well -- in my temple E-ninnu, the house full of grace."

479-481. My king turned to the na stone. He the body from the na stone. Ninurta son of Enlil cursed it:

482-486. "Stone, since you said, "If only it had been me"; na stones, since you bewitched my powers -- lie down there, you, to be worked on like a pig. Be discarded, be used for nothing, end up by being reduced to tiny fragments. He who knows you shall reduce you to liquid."

487-488. My king turned to the elel stone. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed its destiny:

489-496. "Elel, intelligently you caused terror of me to descend on the mountains where discord had broken out. In the rebel lands you proclaimed my name among my people who had banded together. Nothing of your wholeness shall be diminished (?). It shall be difficult to reduce your mass to small pieces. My divine ordinances shall be set out in straight lines on your body. You shall be greatly suited to the clash of weapons, when I have heroes to slay. You shall be set up on a pedestal in my great courtyard. The Land shall praise you in

wonder, the foreign lands shall [speak your praise] [(2 mss. have instead:) elevate you]."

497-499. The hero turned to the kagena (haematite) stone, he addressed it for its hardness. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed its destiny.

500-511. "Young man worthy of respect, whose surface reflects the light, kagena, when the demands of the rebel lands reached you, I did not conquer you I did not notice you among the hostile ones. I shall make room for you in the Land. The divine rites of Utu shall become your powers. Be constituted as a judge in the foreign lands. The craftsman, expert in everything, shall value you as if gold. Young man of whom I have taken possession, because of you I shall not sleep until you come to life. And now, according to the destiny fixed by Ninurta, henceforth kagena shall live! So shall it be."

512-513. The hero stood before the gisnugal (alabaster) stone. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed its destiny:

514-521. "Gisnn, whose body shines like the daylight! Purified silver, youth destined for the palace, since you alone held out your hands to me, and you prostrated yourself before me in your mountains, I did not smite you with the club, and I did not turn my strength against you. Hero, you stood firm by me when I yelled out. Your name shall be called benevolence. The treasury of the Land shall be subject to your hand, you shall be its seal-keeper. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) The Anuna]"

522-524. My king turned to the algames stone and frowned. The lord spoke to it angrily in the Land. Ninurta son of Enlil cursed it:

525-527. "What provision did you make to assist my progress? Be the first to go into my forge. Algames, you shall be the regular sacrifice offered daily by the smiths."

528-533. My king turned to the dusia stone. He addressed the nir, the gug (cornelian) and the zagin (lapis lazuli); the amas-pa-e, the saba, the hurizum, the gug-gazi and the marhali; the egi-zaga, the girin-hiliba [, the anzugulme and the nir-musgir stones] [(1 ms.:), the and the gazimusud stones]. Lord Ninurta, son of Enlil, fixed their destinies for the waterskin:

534-542. "How you came to my side, male and female in

534-542. "How you came to my side, male and female in form, and in your own way! You committed no fault, and you supported me with strength. You exalted me in public. Now in my deliberation, I shall exalt you. Since you made yourself general of the assembly, you, nir, shall be chosen for syrup and for wine. You shall all be decorated with precious metal. The principal among the gods shall cause the foreign lands to prostrate themselves before you, putting their noses to the ground."

543-545. My king turned to the gir-zu-gal (flint), and frowned. The lord spoke to it angrily in the Land. Ninurta son of Enlil cursed it:

546-553. "Ah, duplicitous gir-zu-gal, what then? They shall split your horns, wild bull, in your mountains. Lie down before the You were not equal to me who supported you. I shall rip you like a sack, and people will smash you into tiny pieces. The metalworker shall deal with you, he shall use his chisel on you. Young man, massive, bearer of hatred: the carpenter, saying "I wish to buy it for my work", shall wet you with water and shall crush you like malt."

554-556. My king turned to the iman stones, he addressed the alliga stones. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed their destiny:

557-565. "Iman stones, in the mountains you cried out against me. You fiercely uttered battle-yells. I shall enflame you like fire. Like a storm I shall overturn you. I shall strip you like esparto grass. I shall rip you up like esparto grass. Who will assist you then? Iman stone: your cries shall not be valued, no attention shall be paid to them. Iman stone, alliga stone: your path shall not lead to the palace."

566-568. My king turned to the masda stone. He addressed the dubban and urutum stones. Ninurta son of Enlil defined their characteristic behaviour:

569-578. "Masda stone, dubban stone, blazing fires; urutum stone, which nothing resists; when the gasura stone and you were set ablaze, you burnt against me in the rebel lands like a brazier. Since you all stood against me in the land of Saba: masda stone, they shall slaughter you like a sheep. Dubban stone, they shall crunch you for pulverising. Urutum stone, they shall sharpen you for the battle-mace; with bronze, the arrowheads of the gods, they shall smash you with the axe, stinging with fierce swords."

579-580. My king turned to the sagara stone. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed its destiny:

581-591. "Sagara stone, who smash your head against anyone travelling alone in the desert, in the mountains when my arms were occupied you tried to trample on me. Since you glutted yourself in the battle, the reed-worker shall make the reeds jump with you. You shall be thrown onto your couch; the appearance of your mother and father who bore you shall be forgotten. No one shall say to you, "Get up", no one shall have the feeling that he misses you, the people shall not complain about your loss. In praise of the eternally-created powers in Ninhursaga's resting place, you shall be discarded on the dais there. They shall feed you on malt, as they do for

sheep; you shall content yourself with a portion of scattered flour. This shall be the explanation for you.'

592-593. My king turned to the marhusa stone. Ninurta son of Enlil pronounced its destiny.

594-599. "Marhusa, the string in my place, you were taken, since you did not participate in the crimes of your city,; you shall be the bowl under the filter-jug, the water shall filter into you. Marhusa, you shall be used for inlay-work, You shall be the perfect ornament for sacred brooches. Marhusa, you shall be duly praised in the temples of the gods."

600-602. The hero turned to the hastum stone and frowned. In the Land the lord addressed it angrily. Ninurta son of Enlil pronounced its destiny:

603-608. "Hastum stone, you cried out against me in the mountains. You yelled fiercely with wild battle-yells. With your yelling, you fixed a lila demon in the mountains. Young man, because of your digging, Ditch (hastum) shall be your name. And now, according to the destiny of Ninurta, henceforth they shall say hastum. So be it."

609-610. My king turned to the durul stone. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed its destiny:

611-617. "Durul stone, holy garment of mourning, blinded youth whom people carve, in the mountains you prostrated yourself before me. Since you said to me, "If only it had been me who broke the bars of the gates, if only I had stood before him, before my king, Lord Ninurta", your name shall be magnified of its own accord wherever it is mentioned. As the connoisseur says of precious metal, "I will buy it", so the foreign nations, like musicians playing the reed-pipe, shall pursue you."

618-633. My king turned to the segseg stone, he addressed the engen and ezinum stones. For the ug-gun, the hem, the madanum, the saggirmud, the and the mursuh stones. Ninurta son of Enlil fixed their destiny:

[2 lines unclear]

with ribs drawn in, balancing on the haunches, heart elated, legs bent like a bear,: I shall come to you; now, being an ally, you come forward from all of them; who shall extend the hand to them? You were the club, you stood as the doorway.'

[3 lines unclear]
"In the Land, the champion shall always look with favour on you."

634-637. The hero turned to the kurgaranum stone. He addressed the bal stone. Lord Ninurta, son of Enlil, fixed the

destiny for the yellow-coloured sembi (kohl): 638-644. "Since you said, "I will bring forth the people", [1 line unclear]

'you as if the young man who has obtained glory for you; the young artisan shall sing your praise. You shall be favoured for the festival of spirits of the dead; on the ninth day of the month, at the new moon, the young men shall for you." He assigned them to the cult of

Ninhursaga. 645-651. The hero had conquered the mountains. As he moved across the desert, he Through the crowd, he came forth among their acclamations, majestically he .. Ninurta joyfully went to his beloved barge, the lord set foot in the boat Ma-kar-nunta-ea. The boatmen sang a pleasant song, for the lord they sang his praise. They addressed an eternal greeting to Ninurta son of Enlil:

652-661. "God who outstrips the heroes, Lord Ninurta, king of the Anuna gods, holding a cudgel in his right hand, bearded, you fall as a torrent on all enemies; who can rival your great works? Hero, deluge, without equal, the Enki and Ninki deities dare not resist you. Hero who pillages the cities, who subjugates the mountains, son of Enlil, who will rise up against you? Ninurta, lord, son of Enlil, hero, who is like you?

662-668. "My king: there is a hero who is devoted to you and to your offerings, he is as just as his reputation, he walks in your ways; since he has brilliantly accomplished all that is proper for you in your temple, since he has made your shrine rise from the dust for you, let him do everything magnificently for your festival. Let him accomplish perfectly for you your holy rites. He has formulated a vow for his life. May he praise you in the Land."

669-671. "May An's heart be appeased for the lord, may the maiden, Mother Bau, shine like the daylight for Ninurta, Enlil's strength.'

672-680. They sang to the lord in the ceremonial boat. The boat, floating of its own accord, was piled up with riches. The boat Ma-kar-nunta-ea proceeded shiningly. To greet the hero from the smiting of weapons, the Anuna came to meet him. They pressed their noses to the ground, they placed their hands on their chests. They addressed a prayer and a supplication to the lord: "May your anger be appeased Ninurta, king, Uta-ulu, lift your head to heaven.'

681. His father Enlil blessed him:

682-697. "....., pre-eminent with your great name, you have established your habitation Chest, fittingly king of battle, I presented the storm of heaven to you for use against the rebel lands. O hero of heaven and earth I presented

to you the club, the deluge which sets the mountains on fire. King, ahead of your storm the way was narrow. But, Ninurta, I had confidence in your march to the mountains. Like a wolf set free to seize his prey, in your storm you adventured into the rebel lands from above. The mountain that you have handed over shall not be restored. You have caused its cities to be counted as ruin-mounds. Its mighty rulers have lost their breath before you. A celestial mace, a prosperous and unchanging rule, eternal life, the good favour of Enlil, O king, and the strength of An: these shall be your reward."

698-711. Since the hero had killed the Asag, since the lord had made that pile of stones, since he had given the order "Let it be called Stone", since he had the roaring dragon, since the hero had traced the way of the waters down from above, since he had brought them to the fertile fields, since he had made famous the plough of abundance, since the lord had established it in regular furrows, since Ninurta son of Enlil had heaped up grain-piles and granaries -- Ninurta son of Enlil entrusted their keeping to the care of the lady who possesses the divine powers which exist of themselves, who is eminently worthy of praise, to Nisaba, good lady, greatly wise, pre-eminent in the lands, her who possesses the principal tablet with the obligations of en and lugal, endowed by Enki on the Holy Mound with a great intelligence.

712-723. To the lady, the celestial star, made magnificently beautiful by the prince in the abzu, to the lady of knowledge who gladdens hearts, who alone has the gift of governing, endowed with prudence,, who rules the black-headed, who possesses the tablet with all the names, from whose suspended nets the birds which are caught do not escape, whose every work accomplished meets with complete success, to her which is not unravelled, to her for whom the days are counted according to the phases of the moon, to her who is unassailable as if a fortress of copper, who is, who cares for the black-headed, who rules the people justly,, the replica of Enlil, to the bright good lady who takes counsel with An -- to Nisaba be praise.

724-725. Enlil's mighty lord, Ninurta, great son of the Ekur, heroic one of the father who bore him: it is good to praise you.

726. A sir-sud song of Ninurta.

NINURTA AND THE TURTLE

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.6.3

Segment A [unknown no. of lines missing] 1-8. [8 lines fragmentary / unknown no. of lines missing]

1-4. "At his command your weapon struck me evilly. As I let the divine powers go out of my hand, these divine powers returned to the abzu. As I let the divine plan go out of my hand, this divine plan returned to the abzu. This tablet of destinies returned to the abzu. I was stripped of the divine powers.'

5-8. Ninurta was stunned at these words of the Anzud chick. Ninmena gave out a wail: "And what about me? These divine powers have not fallen into my hand. I shall not exercise their authority. I shall not live like him in the shrine, in the abzu."

Father Enki in the abzu knew what had been said.

10-14. The Anzud chick took the hero Ninurta by his hand and drew near with him to Enki's place, the abzu. The Anzud chick returned Uta-ulu to the abzu. The lord was delighted with the hero, Father Enki was delighted with the hero Ninurta

15-24. Lord Nudimmud honoured him duly: "Hero, no god among your brother gods could have acted so. As for the bird which your mighty weapon captured, from now to eternity you will keep your foot placed on its neck. May the great gods give your heroic strength its due. May your father Enlil do whatever you command. May Ninmena not fashion your equal. May no one be as revered as you and no god extend an upraised hand before you. Monthly may your house regularly receive tributes in the shrine, in the abzu. May An proclaim your name in the seat of honour.'

25-30. The hero secretly was not happy with these promises. Where he stood, he darkened and yellowed like a flood-storm. He contemplated great deeds and inwardly he was rebellious. He uttered a word which has no The hero Ninurta set his sights on the whole world. He told no one and inwardly did not

31-32. The great lord Enki intuitively grasped the substance of the plan. In the shrine, in the abzu he stirred up a dark flood-storm.

33-35. By the house the minister Isimud opposed Ninurta. The hero Ninurta refused to come out and raised his hand against the minister Isimud.

36-46. Against Ninurta, Enki fashioned a turtle from the clay of the abzu. Against him he stationed the turtle at an opening, at the gate of the abzu. Enki talked to him near the place of the ambush and brought him to the place where the turtle was. The turtle was able to grab Ninurta's tendon from behind. The hero Ninurta managed to turn back its feet. Enki, as if perplexed, said, "What is this!" He had the turtle scrape the ground with its claws, had it dig an evil pit. The hero Ninurta fell into it with the turtle. The hero did not know how to get out from The turtle kept on gnawing his feet with its claws.

47-54. The great lord Enki said to him: "From vou who set your mind to kill me, who makes big claims -- I cut down, I raise up. You who set your sights on me like this what has your position seized for you, how? Where has your strength fled? Where is your heroism? In the great mountains you caused destruction, but how will you get out

55-60. Ninmena learned of this situation. She ripped the clothes on her body and she "You my plant-eater Enki, who shall I send to you? Men will shake their heads in fear Who shall I send to you? That name is not Enki. That name is Ugugu-that-does-not-pour. You who are death which has no mercy, who shall I send to you?"

[unknown number of lines missing]

THE OTHER GODS

NANNA-SUEN'S JOURNEY TO NIBRU

Translation: ETCSL: t 1 5 1

1-8. The heroic Nanna-Suen fixed his mind on the city of his mother. Suen Asimbabbar fixed his mind on the city of his mother. Nanna-Suen fixed his mind on the city of his mother and his father. Asimbabbar fixed his mind on the city of Enlil and Ninlil.

9-16. "I, the hero, will set off for my city. I will set off for my city, I will set off to my father. I, Suen, will set off for my city. I will set off for my city, I will set off to my father. I will set off to my father Enlil. I will set off for my city, I will set off to my mother. I will set off to my mother Ninlil. I will set off to my father '

17-27. "The shining city, the pure place

[6 lines missing]

..... very great, very great, very great, very great.

28-36. "My Nibru, where black birch trees grow in a good place, my sanctuary Nibru, where white birch trees grow in a pure place -- my Nibru's shrine is built in a good place. The sanctuary Nibru's name is a good name. My Nibru's shrine is built in a good place. The sanctuary Nibru's name is a good name. Before Dilmun existed, palm trees grew in my city. Before Dilmun existed, palm trees grew in Nibru and the great mother Ninlil was clothed in fine linen."

37-38. Suen set about constructing a barge. He set about constructing (?) a barge and sent for reed matting.

39-48. Nanna-Suen despatched people to Tummal for the barge's reeds. Asimbabbar despatched people to the abzu for the barge's pitch. Nanna-Suen despatched people to Du-asaga for its rushes. Asimbabbar despatched people to the cypress forest for its strakes (?). Nanna-Suen despatched people to the forests of Kug-nuna for its ribbing (?). [(3 mss. add 2 lines in a parallel passage:) Asimbabbar despatched people to the mountain of fragrant cedar for its beams.]

49-58. Asimbabbar despatched people to the forests of Ebla for its planking. Nanna-Suen despatched people to the fragrant cedar forest for its fir wood. Asimbabbar despatched people to the junipers of Langi for its Asimbabbar despatched people to for its Nanna-Suen despatched people to the mound of for its ...

59-82. When the barge's reeds were brought to Nanna-Suen from Tummal, when the barge's pitch was brought to Asimbabbar from the abzu, when its rushes were brought to Nanna-Suen from Du-asaga, when its strakes were brought to Asimbabbar from the cypress forest, when its ribbing was brought to Nanna-Suen from the forests of Kug-nuna, [(3 mss. add 2 lines:) when its beams were brought to Asimbabbar from the mountain of fragrant cedar,] when its planking was brought to Asimbabbar from the forests of Ebla, when its fir wood was brought to Nanna-Suen from the fragrant cedar forest, when its was brought to Asimbabbar from the junipers of Langi, when its was brought to Asimbabbar from, when its was brought to Nanna-Suen from the mound of,
[1] line fragmentary Utu rejoiced at him and put

Gibil rejoiced at him.

[lines 83-146 missing or fragmentary]

147-150. (He declared:) "I am Nanna-Suen, I, will to the house of Enlil. I am Asimbabbar, and I will to the house of Enlil."

[6 lines missing]

157-166 Nanna-Suen will gather bulls for the cow-pen for the house of Enlil. Asimbabbar will collect fattened sheep for the house of Enlil. Nanna-Suen will purify the cow-pen for the house of Enlil. Asimbabbar will feed meal to the goats for the house of Enlil. Nanna-Suen will porcupines for the house of Enlil

167-175. Asimbabbar will long-tailed bush-rats for the house of Enlil. Nanna-Suen will gather turtles and small birds for the house of Enlil. Asimbabbar will bring small ubirds from the pond for the house of Enlil. Nanna-Suen will bring small azagun birds from the for the house of Enlil.

176-185. Asimbabbar will suhur carp for the house of Enlil. Nanna-Suen will estub carp for the house of Enlil. Asimbabbar will pour the oil of rushes onto the water for the house of Enlil. Nanna-Suen will fill baskets with eggs for the house of Enlil. Asimbabbar will cause old reed and fresh reed to thrive for the house of Enlil.

186-197. Nanna-Suen will cause six hundred ewes to give birth to lambs for the house of Enlil, for he will cause their rams to be let loose among them, and he will distribute them along the banks of the Surungal canal. Asimbabbar will cause six hundred she-goats to give birth to kids for the house of Enlil, for he will cause their bucks to be let loose among them, and he will distribute them along the banks of the Surungal canal. Nanna-Suen will cause six hundred cows to give birth to calves for the house of Enlil, for he will cause their bulls to be let loose among them, and he will distribute them along the banks of the Surungal canal.

198-202. Enegir lay ahead of the offerings, Urim lay behind them. She brought out of the house what should not come out of the house, what should not come out of the house -- Ningirida brought out of the house what should not come out of the house: "Welcome, welcome, welcome, O boat! O boat of Suen. welcome. welcome. O boat!"

203-208. She laid out flour before the barge and spread bran. At her feet stood a covered bronze gakkul vat. [(I ms. adds I line:) With her fingers she pulled out the boxwood bung for him (declaring):] "I shall rub precious oil on this peg. May ghee, syrup and wine be abundant in your midst, may the suhur carp and the estub carp rejoice at the prow of your boat!" But the boat did not give her its cargo: "I am going to Nibru!"

209-213. Larsam lay ahead of the offerings, Enegir lay behind them. She brought out of the house what should not come out of the house, what should not come out of the house -- the lovely Serida brought out of the house what should not come out of the house: "Welcome, welcome, welcome, O boat!"

O boat of my father, welcome, welcome, O boat!"

214-219. She laid out flour before the barge and spread bran. At her feet stood a covered bronze gakkul vat. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) With her fingers she pulled out the boxwood bung for him (declaring):] "I shall rub precious oil on this peg. May ghee, syrup and wine be abundant in your midst, may the suhur carp and the estub carp rejoice at the prow of your boat!" But the boat did not give her its cargo: "I am going to Nibru!"

220-224. Unug lay ahead of the offerings, Larsam lay behind them. She brought out of the house what should not come out of the house, what should not come out of the house:

- holy Inana brought out of the house what should not come out of the house: "Welcome, welcome, Welcome, O boat! O boat of my father welcome, welcome, O boat! [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) O boat of Suen welcome, welcome, O boat!]"

225-230. She laid out flour before the barge and spread bran. At her feet stood a covered bronze gakkul vat. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) With her fingers she pulled out the boxwood bung for him (declaring):] "I shall rub precious oil on your peg. May ghee, syrup and wine be abundant in your midst, may the suhur carp and the estub carp rejoice at the prow of your boat!" But the boat did not give her its cargo: "I am going to Nibru!"

231-235. Suruppag lay ahead of the offerings, Unug lay behind them. She brought out of the house what should not come out of the house, what should not come out of the house. Ninunuga brought out of the house what should not come out of the house: "Welcome, welcome, welcome, O boat! O boat of Suen welcome, welcome, O boat!"

236-241. She laid out flour before the barge and spread bran. At her feet stood a covered bronze gakkul vat. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) With her fingers she pulled out the boxwood bung for him (declaring):] "I shall rub precious oil on this peg. May ghee, syrup and wine be abundant in your midst, may the suhur carp and the estub carp rejoice at the prow of your boat!" But the boat did not give her its cargo: "I am going to Nibru!"

242-246. Tummal lay ahead of the offerings, Suruppag lay behind them. She brought out of the house what should not come out of the house, what should not come out of the house what should not come out of the house is the house what should not come out of the house: "Welcome, welcome, welcome, O boat!"

O boat of the princely son welcome, welcome, O boat!"

247-252. She laid out flour before the barge and spread bran. At her feet stood a covered bronze gakkul vat. [(I ms. adds 1 line:) With her fingers she pulled out the boxwood bung for him (declaring):] "I shall rub precious oil on this peg. May ghee, syrup and wine be abundant in your midst, may the suhur carp and the estub carp rejoice at the prow of your boat!" But the boat did not give her its cargo: "I am going to Nibru!"

253-257. Nibru lay ahead of the offerings, Tummal lay behind them. At the Shining Quay, the quay of Enlil, Nanna-Suen finally docked the boat. At the White Quay, the quay of Enlil, Asimbabbar finally docked the boat.

258-264. He stood at the grand stairway of his father who begot him and called out to the porter of his father who begot him: "Open the house, porter, open the house! Open the house! Kalkal, open the house! Kalkal, doorkeeper, open the house! Doorman, doorkeeper, open the house! Porter, open the house! Kalkal, open the house!"

265-274. "I, Nanna-Suen, have gathered bulls for the cowpen for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Asimbabbar, have collected fattened sheep for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Nanna-Suen, shall purify the cow-pen for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Asimbabbar, shall feed meal to the goats for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house of Enlil; porter, open the house of Enlil; porter, open the house."

275-283. "I, Asimbabbar -- I, Asimbabbar -- have long-tailed bush-rats for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Nanna-Suen, have gathered turtles and little birds for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Asimbabbar, have brought small ubi birds from the pond for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Nanna-Suen, have brought small azagun birds from the pond for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house."

284-293. "I, Asimbabbar, suhur carp for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Nanna-Suen, estub carp for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Asimbabbar, shall pour the oil of rushes onto the water for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Nanna-Suen, have filled baskets with eggs for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house. I, Asimbabbar, have caused old reed and fresh reed to thrive for the house of Enlil; porter, open the house."

294-305. "I, Nanna-Suen, have caused six hundred ewes to give birth to lambs for the house of Enlil, for I have caused their rams to be let loose among them, and I have distributed them along the banks of the Surungal canal; porter, open the house. I, Asimbabbar, have caused six hundred she-goats to give birth to kids for the house of Enlil, for I have caused their bucks to be let loose among them, and I have distributed them along the banks of the Surungal canal; porter, open the house. I, Nanna-Suen, have caused six hundred cows to give birth to calves for the house of Enlil, for I have caused their bulls to be let loose among them, and I have distributed them along the banks of the Surungal canal; porter, open the house."

306-308. "Porter, open the house! Kalkal, open the house! I will give you that which is in the prow of the boat as a first offering, and I will give you that which is in the stern of the boat as a last offering."

309-318. Rejoicing, the porter rejoicing, the porter rejoicing opened the house. Kalkal, the doorkeeper, rejoicing, the porter rejoicing opened the house. Kalkal, in charge of the bolt-handle, rejoicing, the porter rejoicing opened the house. At the house of Enlil,, Nanna-Suen made the offerings. Enlil, rejoicing over the offerings, offered bread to Suen. his son.

319-325. Enlil rejoiced over Suen and spoke kindly: "Give sweet cakes to my little fellow who eats sweet cakes. Give sweet cakes to my Nanna who loves eating sweet cakes. Bring out from the E-kur the bread allotment and first quality bread for him. Pour out for him the finest beer, my pure May the of the towering tilimda vessels, standing on the ground, Order pure sweet cake, syrup, crescent cake and clear water for him."

326-330. Suen replied to his father who begot him: "Father who begot me, I am indeed satisfied with what you have given me to eat. O Great Mountain, father who begot me, I am indeed satisfied with what you have given me to drink. Wherever you lift your eyes, there is kingship. O Enlil, your abundance is"

331-339. "Give to me, Enlil, give to me -- I want to set off for Urim! In the river give me the carp-flood -- I want to set off for Urim! In the fields give me speckled barley -- I want to set off for Urim! In the marshes give me kuda carp and suhur carp -- I want to set off for Urim! In the reedbeds give me old reed and fresh reed -- I want to set off for Urim! In the forests give me the ibex and wild ram -- I want to set off for Urim! In the high plain give me the masgurum tree -- I want to set off for Urim! In the orchards give me syrup and wine -- I want to set off for Urim! In the palace give me long life -- I want to set off for Urim!"

340-348. He gave to him, Enlil gave to him -- and he set off for Urim. In the river he gave him the carp-flood -- and he set off for Urim. In the field he gave him speckled barley -- and he set off for Urim. In the pond he gave him kuda carp and suhur carp -- and he set off for Urim. In the reedbeds he gave him old reed and fresh reed -- and he set off for Urim. In the forests he gave him the ibex and wild ram -- and he set off for Urim. In the high plain he gave him the masgurum tree -- and he set off for Urim. In the orchards he gave him syrup and wine -- and he set off for Urim. In the palace he gave him long life -- and he set off for Urim.

349-352. My king, on your throne, for Enlil, may Nanna-Suen make you be born for seven days. On your holy throne, for the great mother Ninlil, may Lord Asimbabbar make you be born for seven days.

THE MARRIAGE OF MARTU

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.7.1

1-8. When the city of Inab already existed, but the city of Kiritab did not yet exist, when the holy crown already existed, but the holy tiara did not yet exist, when the holy herb already existed, but the holy cedar did not yet exist, when holy salt already existed, but holy alkali did not yet exist, when intercourse and kissing already existed, when giving birth in the fields already existed -- I was the grandfather of the holy cedar, I was the ancestor of the mes tree, I was the mother and father of the white cedar, I was the relative of the hasur cedar.

9-15. At that time there was a princely land among the cities; Inab was this princely land among the cities. The ruler of Inab was Tigi-sem-ala. Now, he had a wife whose name was Sage-gur (Desired-by-the-heart), and a child, who, and her name was

16-25. The people living around the city hung up nets, the people living around Inab hung up nets, hung up nets, chased gazelles and killed the gazelles as one kills humans. One day, as the evening came, and they had reached the place of rations, they established the rations before the god The correct form of this name is not known. The ration of a married man was established as double, the ration of a man with a child was established as triple; the ration of a single man was established as single; but the ration of Martu, though being single, was also established as double.

26-33. Martu went home to his own mother, and spoke to her: "In my city I am among my friends and they all have already married wives; I am there among my mates, and they all have already married wives. Unlike my friends in my city I am single, I am single and I have no children. Yet the imposed share exceeds that of my friends; over and above that of my mates, I received half of theirs."

34-40. One day, as the evening came, and they had reached again the place of rations, they established the rations before the godThe correct form of this name is not known. The ration of a married man was established as double, the ration of a man with a child was established as triple; the ration of a single man was established as single; but the ration of Martu, though he was single, was also established as double.

41-52. Martu went home to his own mother, and spoke to her: "My mother, find me a wife to marry and I will bring you my ration." His own mother replied to Martu: "Su-henuna, my son, I will give you advice; may my advice be heeded. I shall say a word to you; you should pay attention to it. Marry a wife of your choice, marry a wife of your heart's desire, give me thus a companion, me a slave-girl. Having built the houses of (?) your people living around the city, and gardens, you will dig the wells of your mates. Martu,

53-66. At that time a festival was announced in the city; a festival was announced in the city of Inab. (Martu said:) "Come, friends, let us go, let us go there, let us visit the alehouses of Inab, let us go there." The god Numusda participated in the festival; his beloved daughter Adgar-kidug participated in the festival. In the city, bronze sem drums were rumbling, and the seven ala drums resounded as strong men, girdled champions, entered the wrestling house to compete with each other for Numusda in the temple of Inab. There were many coming to Inab, the city where the festival was taking place, to marvel at this. There were many coming to Inab, the city where the festival was taking place, to marvel at this.

67-75. For Numusda, because he was holy (?), Martu too strode around the great courtyard to compete in wrestling at the gate of Inab. They kept looking for strong fighters for him, they kept offering him strong fighters. Martu strode around in the great courtyard. He hit them with a destructive one by one. In the great courtyard, in the battle he caused them to be bandaged; in the great courtyard of Inab he lifted the bodies of the dead.

76-83. Rejoicing over Martu, Numusda offered him silver, but he would not accept it. He offered jewels, but he would not accept them. Having done so a second time, having done so a third time (Martu says): "Where does your silver lead? Where do your jewels lead? I, Martu, would rather marry your daughter, I would rather marry your daughter Adgarkidug."

[8 lines missing]

91-97. (Numusda says:) "You the wife with calves as a marriage gift. Milk cows shall feed the calves. In the byre the breeding bull shall lie down. cows shall live in the and the calves shall stay at their right side. You must give your word thus and only thus, and then I will give you my daughter Adgar-kidug."

98-104. "You the wife with lambs as a marriage gift. Milk ewes shall feed the lambs. In the sheepfold shall lie down. ewes shall live in the and the lambs shall stay at their left side. You must give your word thus and only thus, and then I will give you my daughter Adgar-kidug."

105-111. "You the wife with kids as a marriage gift. Milk goats shall feed the kids. In the stall the breeding goat shall lie down. The goats and kids shall live in the and the kids shall stay You must give your word thus and only thus, and then I will give you my daughter Adgarkidug."

112-114. He great He shouted like At the quay of Inab he

115-125. He gratified the elders of Inab with golden torcs. He gratified the old women of Inab with golden shawl He gratified the men and women of Inab with golden He gratified the slaves of Inab with and gratified them also with coloured cloths. He gratified the slave-girls of Inab with silver jugs.

126-141. The days have multiplied, no decision has yet been made. (Adgar-kidug's girlfriend speaks to her:) "Now listen, their hands are destructive and their features are those of monkeys; he is one who eats what Nanna forbids and does not show reverence. They never stop roaming about, they are an abomination to the gods' dwellings. Their ideas are confused; they cause only disturbance. He is clothed in sackleather, lives in a tent, exposed to wind and rain, and cannot properly recite prayers. He lives in the mountains and ignores the places of gods, digs up truffles in the foothills, does not know how to bend the knee, and eats raw flesh. He has no house during his life, and when he dies he will not be carried to a burial-place. My girlfriend, why would you marry Martu?" Adgar-kidug replies to her girlfriend: "I will marry Martu!"

142. Inab -- ulum, alam!

NINGISZIDA'S JOURNEY TO THE NETHER WORLD Translation: ETCSL: t.1.7.3

1-3. "Arise and get on board, arise, we are about to sail, arise and get on board!" -- Woe, weep for the bright daylight, as the barge is steered away! -- "I am a young man! Let me not

be covered against my wishes by a cabin, as if with a blanket, as if with a blanket!"

4-10. Stretching out a hand to the barge, to the young man being steered away on the barge, stretching out a hand to [my young man Damu] [(1 ms. has instead:) Lord Ningiszida] being taken away on the barge, stretching out a hand to Istaran of the bright visage being taken away on the barge, stretching out a hand to Alla, master of the battle-net, being taken away on the barge, stretching out a hand to Lugal-sude being taken away on the barge, stretching out a hand to Ningiszida being taken away on the barge -- his younger sister was crying in lament to him in [the boat's cabin] [(1 ms. has instead:) the cabin at the boat's bow].

11-12. His older sister removed the cover (?) from [the boat's cabin] [(1 ms. has instead:) the cabin at the boat's stern]: "Let me sail away with you, let me sail away with you, [brother] [(1 ms. has instead:) my brother], let me sail away with you. [(2 mss. add 1 line:) My brother, let me sail on your barge with you, my brother, let me sail away with you. [(1 ms. adds 1 further line:) Let me sail on your splendid barge with you, my brother, let me sail away with you.]"

13-14. She was crying a lament to him at the boat's bow: "
[Brother] [(1 ms. has instead:) My brother], let me sail away
with you. Let me for you in your boat's stern, [brother]
[(1 ms. has instead:) my brother], let me sail away with you."
[(1 ms. adds 2 lines:) "The gudug priest sits in the cabin at
your boat's stern." She was crying a lament to him: "Let me
sail away with you, my brother, let me sail away with you."]

15-19. "My young man Damu, let me sail away with you, [brother] [(1 ms. has instead:) my brother], let me sail away with you. Istaran of the bright visage, let me sail away with you, [brother] [(1 ms. has instead:) my brother], let me sail away with you. Alla, master of the battle-net, let me sail away with you, [brother] [(1 ms. has instead:) my brother], let me sail away with you. Lugal-sud-e, let me sail away with you, [lorother] [(1 ms. has instead:) my brother], let me sail away with you. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) Lugal-ki-bura, let me sail away with you, my brother, let me sail away with you. [I ms. adds 2 lines:) My brother, let me sail on your barge with you, my brother, let me sail on your barge with you, my brother, let me sail on your barge with you, my brother, let me sail on your splendid barge with you, my brother, let me sail away with you. [']"

20-28. The evil demon who was in their midst called out to [Lugal-ki-suna] [(2 mss. have instead:) Ningiszida]: " [Lugal-ki-suna] [(1 ms. has instead:) Lugal-ki-bura], look at your sister!" Having looked at his sister, [Lugal-ki-suna] [(1 ms. has instead:) Lugal-ki-bura] said to her: "He sails with me, he sails with me. Why should you sail [(1 ms. adds:) to the underworld]? Lady, the demon sails with me. Why should you sail [(1 ms. adds:) to the underworld]? The thresher sails with

me. Why should you sail [(1 ms. adds:) to the underworld]? The man who has bound my hands sails with me. Why should you sail? The man who has tied my arms sails with me. Why should you sail?"

29-37. "The river of the nether world produces no water, no water is drunk from it. [(1 ms. adds:) Why should you sail?] The fields of the nether world produce no grain, no flour is eaten from it. [(1 ms. adds:) Why should you sail?] The sheep of the nether world produce no wool, no cloth is woven from it. [(1 ms. adds:) Why should you sail?] As for me, even if my mother digs as if for a canal, I shall not be able to drink the water meant for me. The waters of springtime will not be poured for me as they are for the tamarisks; I shall not sit in the shade intended for me. The dates I should bear like a date palm will not reveal their beauty for me. I am a field threshed by my demon — you would scream at it. He has put manacles on my hands — you would scream at it. He has put a neck-stock on my neck — you would scream at it.

38-44. Ama-silama (Ningiszida's sister) said to Ningiszida: "The ill-intentioned demon may accept something — there should be a limit to it for you. My brother, your demon may accept something, there should be a limit to it for you. For him let me from my hand the, there should be a limit to it for you. For him let me from my hips the dainty lapis lazuli beads, there should be a limit to it for you. For him let me from my hips the value be alimit to it for you. For him let me from my hips the from my hips the my lapis lazuli beads, there should be a limit to it for you."

45-49. "You are a beloved, there should be a limit to it for you. How they treat you, how they treat you! -- there should be a limit to it for you. My brother, how they treat you, how haughtily they treat you! -- there should be a limit to it for you. "I am hungry, but the bread has slipped away from me!" -- there should be a limit to it for you. "I am thirsty, but the water has slipped away from me!" -- there should be a limit to it for you."

50-54. The evil demon who was in their midst, the clever demon, that great demon who was in their midst, called out to the man at the boat's bow and to the man at the boat's stern: "Don't let the mooring stake be pulled out, so that she may come on board to her brother, that this lady may come on board the barge."

55-62. When Ama-silama had gone on board the barge, a cry approached the heavens, a cry approached the earth, that great demon set up an enveloping cry before him on the river: "Urim, at my cry to the heavens lock your houses, lock your houses, city, lock your houses! Shrine Urim, lock your houses, city, lock your houses! Against your lord who has left the gipar, city, lock your houses!"

[1 line fragmentary / approx. 1 line missing]

64-69. [2 lines fragmentary] a holy sceptre. a holy robe of office. a holy crown. a lapis-lazuli sceptre.

70-75. He to the empty river, the rejoicing river: "You (addressing Ama-silima) shall not draw near to this house, to the place of Ereskigala. My mother out of her love. As for you (addressing the demon), you may be a great demon, your hand against the nether world's office of throne-bearer."

76-81. "My king will no longer shed tears in his eyes. The drum will his joy in tears. Come! May the fowler utter a lament for you in his well-stocked house, lord, may he utter a lament for you. How he has been humiliated! May the young fisherman utter a lament for you in his well-stocked house, lord, may he utter a lament for you. How he has been humiliated! May the mother of the dead gudug priest [utter a lament for you in her empty gipar] [(1 ms. has instead:), on whom the house of the palace looked with envyl, utter a lament for you, lord, may she utter a lament for you. How he has been humiliated! May the mother high priestess utter a lament [for you who have left the gipar] [(1 ms. has instead:) for you, now dead, who used to be in your gipar], lord, may she utter a lament for you. How he has been humiliated!"

90. Great holy one, Ereskigala, praising you is sweet.

HOW GRAIN CAME TO SUMER

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.7.6

1-12. Men used to eat grass with their mouths like sheep. In those times, they did not know grain, barley or flax. An brought these down from the interior of heaven. Enlil lifted his gaze around as a stag lifts its horns when climbing the terraced hills. He looked southwards and saw the wide sea; he looked northwards and saw the mountain of aromatic

cedars. Enlil piled up the barley, gave it to the mountain. He piled up the bounty of the Land, gave the innuha barley to the mountain. He closed off access to the wide-open hill. He its lock, which heaven and earth shut fast, its bolt, which

13-20. Then Ninazu, and said to his brother Ninmada: "Let us go to the mountain, to the mountain where barley and flax grow; the rolling river, where the water wells up from the earth. Let us fetch the barley down from its mountain, let us introduce the innuha barley into Sumer. Let us make barley known in Sumer, which knows no barley."

21-27. Ninmada, the worshipper of An, replied to him: "Since our father has not given the command, since Enlil has not given the command, how can we go there to the mountain? How can we bring down the barley from its mountain? How can we introduce the innuha grain into Sumer? How can we make barley known in Sumer, which knows no barley?"

28-31. "Come, let us go to Utu of heaven, who as he lies there, as he lies there, sleeps a sound sleep, to the hero, the son of Ningal, who as he lies there sleeps a sound sleep." He raised his hands towards Utu of the seventy doors.

32. Utu table (?)

THE SUMUNDA GRASS

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.7.7

1. The abba instructed, the abba instructed:

2-13. When the rain rained, when walls were demolished, when it rained potsherds and fireballs, when one person confronted another defiantly, when there was copulation -- he also copulated, when there was kissing -- he also kissed. When the rain said: "I will rain," when the wall said: "I will rain (scribal error for 'demolish'?)", when the flood said: "I will sweep everything away" -- Heaven impregnated, Earth gave birth, she gave birth also to the sumunda grass. Earth gave birth, Heaven impregnated, she gave birth also to the sumunda grass.

14-21. His luxuriant reeds carry fire. They who defied it, who defied it, the umma who had survived that day, the abba who had survived that day, the chief gala priest who had survived that year, whoever had survived the Flood -- the sumunda grass crushed them with labour, crushed them with labour, made them crouch in the dust.

22-28. The sumunda grass is a fire carrier, he cannot be tied into bundles, the grass cannot be shifted, the grass cannot be loosened, the grass cannot be loosened. When built into a booth, one moment he stands up, one moment he lies down. Having kindled a fire, he spreads it wide. The sumunda grass's habitat is among his bitter waters. He butts about (saying): "I will start. I will start a fire."

29-34. He set fire to the base of the E-ana; there he was bound, there he was fettered. When he protested, Inana seized a raven there and set it on top of him. The shepherd abandoned his sheep in their enclosure. Inana seized the raven there.

35-49. When the rain had rained, when walls had been demolished, when it rained potsherds and fireballs, when Dumuzid was defied—the rain rained, walls were demolished, the cowpen was demolished, the sheepfold was ripped out, wild flood-waters were hurled against the rivers, wild rains were hurled against the marshes. By the of the Tigris and the Euphrates, of the Tigris and the Euphrates, long grass grew, long grass

[5 lines missing]

50-59. He tied him into bundles, he shifted him, he sumunda grass, the fire-carrier. He bundled up the sumunda grass, the fire carrier, bundled up the fire carrier. The launderer who made her garments clean asks her, Inana -- the carpenter who gave her the spindle to hold in her hand (asks her), Inana -- the potter who fashioned pots and jugs (asks her), Inana. The potter gave her holy drinking vessels, the shepherd brought her his sheep -- he asks her. He brought her all kinds of luxuriant plants, as if it were the harvest.

PABILSAG'S JOURNEY TO NIBRU

Translation: ETCSL: t.1.7.8

SEGMENT A

1-15. The wild bull with brindled thighs, whose house is noble! My king, the wild bull with brindled thighs, whose house is noble! Pabilsag, the wild bull with brindled thighs, whose house is noble! His house, the house of Larag, is noble, his house is noble! His city, a mighty city, is abundant, and his house is noble! The warrior's house is the house of Larag;

Lord Pabilsag's city is a mighty city His birthplace was the shrine Nibru The place where he drank good milk was the house From the place, the pure place, Isin, the unique house The place which the bull embraces Like a scorpion rising up from among the thorns, he is a fearsome scorpion; like a wolf rising up from his lair, he is likely to growl; like a lion rising up in the pathway, he is likely to beat

16-21. At that time, he wished to dig in the meadows; the lord wished to dig in the meadows. Lord Pabilsag wished to dig in the meadows; in all the meadows of Isin, my king wished to dig. So then my king set off for Nibru.

22-36. And as the warrior Pabilsag set off in Enlil's direction, as he he set off, now he turned in front of that house in Isin. And then my lady in Isin came out At the spacious house, the house of Isin, she her hair, then he. the hair in curls Her headdress was loosened. She addressed Pabilsag joyfully: "Good-looking the house of Isin! Warrior Pabilsag borne to Nintur! You who are travelling from Larag to that house in Isin, say to your father, "May she be my spouse!" Say further to Enlil, "..... with me!" Fix your sights on it, and may you be its lord! The house of Isin May you, Pabilsag, be its lord, and may I be its lady!"

[small number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

(It is possible, but less likely, that Segment B belongs after Segment D)

I-3. (Enlil speaks;) "..... and may its flax be flax! and may its grain be grain! may its be good for eating."

4-13. And now, under that very sun and on that day, so it really happened. waved their tails in the Kir-sig watercourse, waved established the house the good bull-calf, the ruler established the house its flax was flax. ... its grain was grain. ... its ... was good for eating.

[small number of lines missing]

SEGMENT C

1-7. Ninisina In the Kir-sig watercourse their tails Isin Joyfully his son married a wife; joyfully Lord Pabilsag married Ninisina She him the digging implement for the Kir-sig watercourse their tails Isin for him.

8-13. Enlil stood beside the river and spoke to it. He stood beside the Kir-sig watercourse and: "River, may your outlet be for him. May you establish the house here. the most righteous, great wild bull"

[approx. 1 line missing]

SEGMENT D

1-20. [3 lines unclear] But Pabilsag would not eat the bull in his mouth; nor would Pabilsag eat the sheep in his mouth. He did not rub the pot "Do not go ... to" They raised the lament, and put They raised Lord Pabilsag, and put They set him down in the city of his sister. His sister came out to him from the house. [5 lines unclear] But Pabilsag would not eat the bull in his mouth; nor would Pabilsag eat the sheep in his mouth. He did not rub the pot "Do not go!" [unknown number of lines missing]

THE TEMPLE CYCLE

THE KESH TEMPLE HYMN

Translation: ETCSL t.4.80.2; University of Oxford Estimated Range of Dating: 2600 B.C.

(The Kesh Temple Hymn or Liturgy to Nintud or Liturgy to Nintud on the creation of man and woman is a Sumerian tablet, written on clay tablets as early as 2600 BC. Along with the Instructions of Shuruppak, it is the oldest surviving literature in the world. Kesh was an ancient Sumerian city and religious site, whose patron goddess was Ninhursag. Its location is uncertain. Some of the possible sites put forth include Al-Ubaid, near Ur, or Tell al-Wilayah near Adab or Abu Salabikh. There is the possibility that Kesh refers to the City of Kish near Babylon. The Tempel refers to a Ziggurat, a massive step pyramid such as those ones in Ur, Choga Zanbil or Babylon.

Fragments of the text were discovered in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology catalogue of the Babylonian section (CBS) from their excavations at the temple library at Nippur in modern day Iraq. One fragment of the text found on CBS tablet number 11876 was first published by Hugo Radau in "Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts," number 8 in 1909. Radau's fragment was translated by Stephen Herbert Langdon in 1915. Langdon published a translation from a 4 by 4 by 4 by 4 inches (10 by 10 by 10 cm) perforated, four sided, Sumerian prism from Nippur and held in the Ashmolean in Oxford in 1913 (number 1911-405) in "Babylonian Liturgies." The prism contains around 145 lines in eight sections, similar to the Hymn to Enlil. Langdon called it "A Liturgy to Nintud, Goddess of Creation" and noted that each section ended with the same refrain, which he interpreted as referring "to the creation of man and woman, the Biblical Adam and Eve." Langdon translated two further fragments in 1914 and 1917.

The myth was developed with the addition of CBS 8384, translated by George Aaron Barton in 1918 and first published as "Sumerian religious texts" in "Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions," number eleven, entitled "A Fragment of the so-called 'Liturgy to Nintud. "[6] The tablet is 5.25 by 2.4 by 1.2 inches (13.3 by 6.1 by 3.0 cm) at its thickest point. Barton's tablet contained nine sections from which he was able to translate sections four, five and six. Barton argued for the abandonment of the myth's subtitle, the "creation of man." He claimed, "So far as the writer can see, there is no allusion in the text to the creation of man." He notes only the allusion to the goddess he called Nintu as "the mother of mankind." He suggested, "Apparently the text celebrated the primitive (or very early) conditions of some town; possibly the founding and growth of the town, but beyond this we can confidently affirm nothing."

CBS tablet 6520 was published in 1929 by Edward Chiera in "Sumerian Lexical Texts". Chiera also published three more tablets—CBS 7802, CBS 13625 and CBS 14153—in "Sumerian Epics and Myths". Other translations were made from tablets in the Nippur collection of the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul (Ni). Chiera translated number Ni 2402 in "Sumerian Religious Texts" in 1924. Hermann Volrath Hilprecht and Samuel Noah Kramer amongst others worked to translate several others from the Istanbul collection including Ni 4371, 4465, 4555 & 9773, 4597, 9649, 9810, 9861 & 9903. A further tablet source of the myth is held by the Louvre in Paris, number AO 6717. Others are held in the Ashmolean number 1929-478, British Museum number 115798 and the Walters Art Museum number 48.1802, formerly called the "David prism". Further tablets containing the text were excavated at Isin, modern Ishan al-Bahriyat. More were found at Henri de Genouillac's excavations at Kish (B 150) and Jean Perrot's excavations at Susa. Sir Charles Leonard Woolley unearthed more tablets at Ur contained in the "Ur excavations texts" from 1928. Other tablets and versions were used to bring the myth to its present form with the latest composite text by Miguel Civil produced in 1992 with latest translation by Gene Gragg in 1969 and Joachim Krecher in 1966. Gragg described the text as "one of the best preserved literary texts that we possess from the Old Babylonian period".

Robert D. Biggs translated an exceptionally archaic version of the hymn from Tell Abu Salabikh. He dated this version to around 2600 BC based upon similarities to tablets found in Shuruppak and dated to a similar age by Anton Deimer in the 1920s. Subsequent radiocarbon dating of samples taken from Tell Abu Salabikh date the site to 2550-2520 BC however, a timeframe slightly more recent than the one Biggs proposed. Biggs recognised various differences in the archaic cuneiform and that "the literary texts of this period were unrecognised for so long is due to the fact that they present formidable obstacles to comprehension". He suggests that Abu Salabikh could have been the location of Kesh, however points out that it is not near Adab as described and that Kesh could have just been a variation in the spelling of Kish. He discusses how the hymn is preserved for so long in later Nippur texts, saying "Although the Abu Saläbikh copies are approximately eight centuries earlier than copies known before, there is a surprisingly small amount of deviation (except in orthography) between them. The Old Babylonian version is thus not a creation of Old Babylonian scribes using older material, but is a faithful reflection of a text that had already been fixed in the Sumerian literary tradition for centuries. Biggs suggested "that other traditional works of literature may also go back in essentially their present form to the last third of the 3rd millennium BC at least.

The hymn begins with a description and Enlil praising the city Kesh and its selection and establishment of the Ekur by Enlil. Right in the beginning of the hymn appears Nisaba "the decisin-maker," which sounds as if Nisaba had decided to build the Ziggurat. The relationship between Enlil and Nisuba (similar to Yahweh and Moses) how the text is the work of gods, who created and transmitted it to humans, giving the literature a reason for legitimacy. Nisaba (Sumerian: DNAGA; later DSHENAGA), is the Sumerian goddess of writing, learning, and the harvest. She was worshiped in shrines and sanctuaries at Umma and Eresh Ithe place of the goddess, queen, prietess], and was often praised by Sumerian scribes. She is considered the patroness of mortal scribes as well as the scribe of the gods. In the story, she shows, by the text of the tablets in her hand, how the "8 houses' should be made. The "8 houses" may refer to the eight parts of the city and the Temple, the Ziggurat. [As for Nisuba, see the following Hymn od Nisuba.]

The hymn finishes with an admonition repeated four times suggested to be both a warning and invocation of the divine presence in the temple. Such ambivalence about approaching temples has crucially influenced the development of Jewish and Christian mysticism.)

1-9. The princely lord, the princely lord came forth from the house. Enlil, the princely lord, came forth from the house. The princely lord came forth royally from the house. Enlil lifted his glance over all the lands, and the lands raised themselves to Enlil. The four corners of heaven became green for Enlil like a garden. Kesh was positioned there for him with head uplifted, and as Kesh lifted its head among all the lands, Enlil spoke in praise of Kesh.

10-20. Nisaba was its decision-maker; with its words she wove it intricately like a net. Written on tablets it was held in her hands: House, platform of the Land, important fierce bull! House Kesh, platform of the Land, important fierce bull! Growing as high as the hills, embracing the heavens, growing as high as E-kur, lifting its head among the mountains! Rooted in the abzul [(2 mss. have instead:) Colourful as the abzul, verdant like the mountains! Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?

21. The first house.

22-30. Good house, built in a good location, house Kesh, [(some mss. add here:) good house,] built in a good location, floating in the heavens like a princely barge, like a holy barge furnished with a gate, like the boat of heaven, the platform of all the lands! from the riverbank like a boat cabin! House roaring like an ox, bellowing loudly like a breed-bull! House in whose interior is the power of the Land, and behind which is the life of Sumer!

31-43. House, great enclosure, reaching to the heavens, great, true house, reaching to the heavens! House, great crown reaching to the heavens, house, rainbow reaching to the heavens! House whose diadem extends into the midst of the heavens, whose foundations are fixed in the abzu, whose shade covers all lands! House founded by An, praised by Enlil, given an oracle by Mother Nintur! House Kesh, green in its fruit! Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?

44. The second house.

45-57. House, 10 shar at its upper end, five shar at its lower end; house, 10 bur at its upper end, five bur at its lower end! House, at its upper end a bison, at its lower end a stag; house, at its upper end a wild sheep, at its lower end a deer; house, at its upper end a dappled wild sheep, at its lower end a beautiful deer! House, at its upper end green as a snake-eater bird, at its lower end floating on the water like a pelican! House, at its upper end rising like the sun, at its lower end spreading like the moonlight; house, at its upper end a warrior mace, at its lower end a battle-axe; house, at its upper end a mountain, at its lower end a spring! House, at its upper end threefold indeed! Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?

58. The third house.

58A-58Q. [(1 ms. adds here the following lines:) House inspiring great awe, called with a mighty name by An; house whose fate is grandly determined by the Great Mountain Enlil! House of the Anuna gods possessing great power, which gives wisdom to the people; house, reposeful dwelling of the great gods! House, which was planned together with the plans of heaven and earth, with the pure divine powers; house which underpins the Land and supports the shrines! House, mountain of abundance which passes the days in glory; house of Ninhursaga which establishes the life of the Land! House, great hillside worthy of the purification rites, altering all things; house without whom no decisions are made! House, good carrying in its hands the broad Land; house which gives birth to countless peoples, seed which has sprouts! House which gives birth to kings, which determines the destinies of the Land; house whose royal personages are to be revered! Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?]

(58R. The house.)

59-73. It is indeed a city, it is indeed a city! Who knows its interior? The house Kesh is indeed a city! Who knows its interior? The heroes make their way straight into its interior and perform its oracle rites perfectly. Frisking cattle are gathered at the house in herds. The house consumes many cattle; the house consumes many sheep. [1 line unclear]

Those who sit on daises bow their necks before it. It wears a crown to vie with the boxwood tree, it spreads out to vie with the poplar; it is [(1 ms. adds here:) growing] as green as

the hills! Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?

74. The fourth house

75-86. House given birth by a lion, whose interior the hero has embellished! House Kesh, given birth by a lion, whose interior the hero has embellished! The heroes make their way straight into its interior. Ninhursaga sits within like a great ragon. Nintur the great mother assists at births there. Shulpa-e the ruler acts as lord. Ashgi the hero consumes the contents of the vessels. Urumash, the great herald of the plains, dwells there too. Stags are gathered at the house in herds. Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?

87. The fifth house.

88-102. House positioned over its foundations like a storm, like white bulls standing about on the plain; house founded by the prince, in praise on the tigi instrument! House in whose interior is the power of the Land, and behind which [is the life of Sumer] [(some mss. have instead:) it is filled with life]; at whose gate is a lion reclining on its paws, at whose gate is the ruler who decides cases! House at whose door is the Great Mountain without adversary; [at whose bolt] [(some mss. have here instead:) at whose bar] is a great frisking wild bull [(some mss. add here the line:), at whose bolt is a beast a man] I(1 ms. adds here instead the line:), at whose is an aweinspiring lion]! [Whose well-founded storehouse is a corner of heaven, a corner of earth] [(1 ms. has here instead:) Whose storehouse established as a household is a lance]; whose terrace is supported by lahama deities; whose princely [(1 ms. adds:) great] wall the shrine of Urim! Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?

103. The sixth house.

103A-103K. [(1 ms. (which uses a different numbering of the sections) adds here the following lines:) House imbued with radiance, excellence! House! Lord Nudimmud in heaven and earth brickwork of the Land, brickwork grandly in the abzu. Terrace, relaxing abode, holy splendour rising over the people! House which is seemly for the foreign lands! Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?]

(103L. The eighth house.)

104-115. The holy house whose is the shrine, the holy house Kesh, whose is the shrine; the house whose lords are the Anuna gods, whose nuesh priests are the sacrificers of E-ana! In the house the king places stone bowls in position; the good en priest holds the lead-rope dangling. The atu priest holds the staff; the brings the gathered waters. The takes his seat in the holy place; the enkum priests bow down The pashesh priests beat the drumskins; they recite powerfully, powerfully.

116-126. The bull's horn is made to growl; the drumsticks

116-126. The bull's horn is made to growl; the drumsticks are made to thud. The singer [cries out] [(1 ms. has instead:) declaims] to the ala drum; [the grand sweet tigi is played for him] [(some mss. have instead:) the sweet tigi is well tuned]. The house is built; its nobility is good! The house Kesh is built; its nobility is good! The house Kesh is built; its nobility is good! Its lady has taken a seat in its Will anyone else bring forth something as great as Kesh? Will any other mother ever give birth to someone as great as its hero Ashgi? Who has ever seen anyone as great as its lady Nintur?

127. The seventh house.

128-133. Draw near, man, to the city, to the city -- but do not draw near! Draw near, man, to the house Kesh, to the city -- but do not draw near! Draw near, man, to its hero Ashgi -- but do not draw near! Draw near, man, to its lady Nintur -- but do not draw near! Praise be to well-built Kesh, O Ashgi! Praise be to cherished Kesh and Nintur!

134. The eighth house.

A HYMN TO NISABA (Nisaba A) Translation: ETCSL (University of Oxford) Estimated Range of Dating:

OLD BABYLONIAN VERSION

1-6. Lady coloured like the stars of heaven, holding (3 mss. have instead: perfectly endowed with) a lapis-lazuli tablet! Nisaba, great wild cow born by Urac, wild sheep nourished on good milk among holy alkaline plants, opening the mouth for seven reeds! Perfectly endowed with fifty great divine powers, my lady, most powerful in E-kur!

7-13. Dragon emerging in glory at the festival, Aruru (mother goddess) of the Land, from the clay, calming (1 ms. has instead: the region with cool water), lavishing fine oil (3 mss. have instead: plenty) on the foreign lands, engendered in wisdom by the Great Mountain (Enlil)! Good

woman, chief scribe of An, record-keeper of Enlil, wise sage of the gods!

the gods!

14-20. In order to make barley and flax grow in the furrows, so that excellent corn can be admired; to provide for the seven great throne-daises by making flax shoot forth and making barley shoot forth at the harvest, the great (1 ms. has instead: august) festival of Enlil — in her great princely role she has cleansed her body and has put (1 ms. has instead: draped) the holy priestly earment on her torso.

21-26. In order to establish bread offerings where none existed, and to pour forth great libations of alcohol, so as to appease the god of grandeur, Enlil, and to appease merciful Kusu and Ezina, she will appoint a great en priest, and will appoint a festival; she will appoint a great en priest of the Land.

27-35. He (Enki) approaches the maiden Nisaba in prayer. He has organised pure food-offerings; he has opened up Nisaba's house of learning, and has placed the lapis-lazuli tablet on her knees, for her to consult the holy tablet of the heavenly stars. In Aratta he has placed E-zagina at her disposal. You have built up Erec in abundance, founded from little bricks, you who are granted the most complex wisdom!

36-50. In the abzu, the great crown of Eridug, where sanctuaries are apportioned, where elevated are apportioned -- when Enki, the great princely farmer of the awe-inspiring temple, the carpenter of Eridug, the master of purification rites, the lord of the great en priest's precinct, occupies E-engur, and when he builds up the abzu of Eridug; when he takes counsel in Hal-an-kug, when he splits with an axe the house of boxwood; when the sage's hair is allowed to hang loose, when he opens the house of learning, when he stands in the street of the door of learning; when he finishes the great dining-hall of cedar, when he grasps the date-palm mace, when he strikes the priestly garment with that mace, then he utters seven to Nisaba, the supreme nursemaid:

51-55. "O Nisaba, good woman, fair woman, woman born in the mountains (1 ms. has instead: by the mountains)! Nisaba, may you be the butter in the cattle-pen, may you be the cream in the sheepfold, may you be keeper of the seal in the treasury, may you be a good steward in the palace, may you be a heaper up of grain among the grain piles and in the grain stores!"

56-57. Because the Prince Enki cherished Nisaba, O father Enki, it is sweet to praise you!

[A version of the beginning, preserved on a stone tablet from Lagash perhaps dating from the Ur III Period]

1-9. Lady coloured as the stars, holding a lapis-lazuli tablet! Nisaba, born by Urac in the great sheepfold, nourished on good milk among holy alkaline plants, opening the mouth on seven reeds! Perfectly endowed with fifty great divine powers, my lady, the most powerful in E-kur! Aruru (mother goddess) of the Land, from the clay!

A SHIR-NAMSHUB TO NISABA (Nisaba B) Translation: ETCSL (University of Oxford) Estimated Range of Dating:

1-13..... is destroyed. is destroyed. It is destroyed. of Nisaba is destroyed. The house of Nisaba, her of the tablets, is destroyed. The house of is destroyed. The house of Nunbarcegunu is destroyed., the E-hamun is destroyed. The plants of lamentation have sprouted; the cumunda grass has sprouted. By the walls the long grass has sprouted. Amongst them, the willow trees are everywhere. As for the word of An and the word of Enlil, the angry heart of great An is everywhere, and the malign heart of Enlil is everywhere.

14-21 (Nisaba speaks:) "In my house, may the moonlight in my house, the moonlight, the glorious sky in my house, the moonlight, the glorious night in my house -- may the glorious sky, the glorious night in my house not leave me! The moonlight is obscured by the walls from my man, from my man. The moonlight, the glorious sky, from my man, the moonlight, the glorious night, from my man, the glorious sky, the glorious night is obscured by the walls from my man.

22-30. "In the moonlight, in the pure place of moonlight I lie down alone. In the moonlight which fills the hills, the pure place, I lie down alone. By the cedar mountains where Enlil lies, I lie down alone. I weep a bitter lament. lying in the moonlight, I weep a bitter lament. which sets aglow shines forth. I am distraught. The moonlight which sets aglow the glorious sky shines forth. I am distraught. The moonlight which sets aglow the glorious night shines forth. I am distraught -- which sets aglow the glorious sky, the glorious night, shines forth. I am distraught."

31-33. Even now that the pure place knows daylight, amid her awe-inspiring splendour, still she weeps. Amid her awe-inspiring splendour, still Mother Ezina-Kusu weeps. Fate and fortune! Amid her awe-inspiring splendour, still she weeps.

34. A cir-namcub of Nisaba.

THE TEMPLE HYMNS OF ENHEDUANNA

Translation: Hallo and Van Dijk, 1968 Estimated Range of Dating: 23rd century BC

(Enheduanna (Sumerian: also transliterated as En-hedu-ana, or variants; fl. 23rd century BC) is the earliest known poet whose name has been recorded. She was the High Priestess of the goddess Inanna and the moon god Nanna (Sin). She lived in the Sumerian city-state of Ur.

Enheduanna's contributions to Sumerian literature, definitively ascribed to her, include several personal devotions to Inanna and a collection of hymns known as the "Sumerian Temple Hymns". Further additional texts are ascribed to her. This makes her the first named author in world history.

She was the first known woman to hold the title of EN (meaning: Lord or Priest), a role of great political importance that was often held by royal daughters. She was appointed to the role by her father, King Sargon of Akkad. Her mother was probably Queen Tashlultum. Enheduanna was appointed to the role of High Priestess in a shrewd political move by Sargon to help secure power in the south of his kingdom, where the City of Ur was located.

She continued to hold office during the reign of Rimush, her brother, when she was involved in some form of political turmoil, expelled, then eventually reinstated as high priestess. Her composition 'The Exaltation of Inanna' or 'nin me shara' details her expulsion from Ur and eventual reinstatement. This correlates with 'The Curse of Akkade' in which Naram-Sin, under whom Enheduanna may have also served, is cursed and cast out by Enlil. After her death, Enheduanna continued to be remembered as an important figure, perhaps even attaining semi-divine status.

Background and archaeological discovery

In 1927, British archaeologist Sir Leonard Woolley discovered the Enhuduanna calcite disc in excavations of the Sumerian city of Ur. The figure of Enheduanna is placed prominently on the disc, emphasising her importance. Woolley also uncovered the temple complex where the priestesses were buried. Woolley described Enhuduanna in a one-page summary in his "Excavations at Ur", but the significance of Enheduanna was not generally recognised until Adam Falkenstein published "Enhedu'anna, The Daughter of Sargon of Akkad", the first scholarly article on Enheduana in 1938, followed by Hallo and Van Dijk publishing the first translations and book-length discussion of Enheduana's work in 1968.)

THE TEMPLE HYMNS OF ENHEDUANNA

1-7. O E-unir (House which is a ziqqurat), grown together with heaven and earth, foundation of heaven and earth, great banqueting hall of Eridug! Abzu, shrine erected for its prince, E-du-kug (House which is the holy mound) where pure food is eaten, watered by the prince's pure canal, mountain, pure place cleansed with the potash plant, Abzu, your tigi drums belong to the divine powers.

8-15. Your great wall is in good repair. Light does not enter your meeting-place where the god dwells, the great, the beautiful place. Your tightly constructed house is sacred and has no equal. Your prince, the great prince, has fixed firmly a holy crown for you in your precinct - O Eridug with a crown placed on your head, bringing forth thriving thornbushes, pure thornbushes for the susbu priests (?), O shrine Abzu, your place, your great place!

16-23. At your place of calling upon Utu, at your oven bringing bread to eat, on your ziqqurat, a magnificent shrine stretching toward heaven, at your great oven rivalling the great banqueting hall, your prince, the prince of heaven and earth can never be changed, the, the creator, the, the wise one, the, Lord Nudimmud, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-engura (House of the subterranean waters), and taken his seat upon your dais.

24. 23 lines: the house of Enki in Eridug.

25-33. O, shrine where destiny is determined,, foundation, raised with a ziqqurat,, settlement of Enlil, your, your right and your left are Sumer and Akkad. House of Enlil, your interior is cool, your exterior determines destiny. Your door-jambs and architrave are a mountain summit, your projecting pilasters a dignified mountain. Your peak is a peak of your princely platform. Your base serves heaven and earth.

34-37. Your prince, the great prince Enlil, the good lord, the lord of the limits of heaven, the lord who determines destiny, the Great Mountain Enlil, has erected a house in your precinct, O shrine Nibru, and taken his seat upon your dais.

38. 13 lines: the house of Enlil in Nibru.

39-46. O Tummal, exceedingly worthy of the princely divine powers, inspiring awe and dread! Foundation, your pure lustration extends over the abzu. Primeval city, reedbed green with old reeds and new shoots, your interior is a mountain of abundance built in plenitude. At your feast held in the month of the New Year, you are wondrously adorned as the great lady of Ki-ur rivals Enlil. Your princess, Mother Ninlil, the beloved wife of Nunamnir, has erected a house in

your precinct, O E-Tummal (Tummal House), and taken a place upon your dais.

47. 8 lines: the house of Ninlil in Nibru.

48-56. O E-melem-hush (House of terrifying radiance) exuding great awesomeness, Esh-mah (Magnificent shrine), to which princely divine powers were sent from heaven, storehouse of Enlil founded for the primeval divine powers, worthy of nobility, lifting your head in princeship, counsellor of E-kur, parapeted buttress, your house the platform with heaven. The decisions at its place of reaching the great judgement -- the river of the ordeal -- let the just live and consign to darkness the hearts that are evil. In your great place fit for pure lustration and the rites of ishib priests, you dine with Lord Nunamnir.

57-59. Your prince, the prince who is the counsellor of Enlil and worthy of Esh-mah, the udug demon of E-kur, the leader Nuska, has erected a house in your precinct, O house of Enlil, and taken his seat upon your dais.

60. 12 lines: the house of Nuska in Nibru.

61-68. O E-me-ur-ana (House which gathers the divine powers of heaven) standing in a great place, the just divine powers which the warrior, strength of battle, heroic mace, carrier of the quiver, mighty bustling brick building, your foundation is eternal. Founded by the primeval lord, with decisions which belong to the princely divine powers, holy soil filling the mountain, lifting your head among the princes, magnificent house, the wonder coming from you is like the sun whose glow spreads. E-shu-me-sha (House which the divine powers), Enlil has instilled your name with terrifying awesomeness.

69-75. Your prince, the great, the warrior whose strength is boundless, the great ruler for Enlil, the noble who rivals heaven and earth, the provisioning seal-keeper of Father Enlil who makes the great divine powers perfect, the, the leader for Father Enlil, the foremost, the lion engendered by the Great Mountain, who destroys the hostile lands for Enlil, Lord Ninurta, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-shu-me-sha, and taken his seat upon your dais.

76. 15 lines: the house of Ninurta in Nibru.

77-85. O E-ga-duda (House, chamber of the mound), crown of the high plain, holy place, pure place, house, your foundation is a great princely mooring pole. Du-sag-dili (Singular mound), your lady, the singular woman who keeps the chamber and the dais full, gladdens your platform in princely style. Your princess who avoids anger and is exceedingly wise, the princely daughter who prospers together with the Great Mountain, Shu-zi-ana, the junior wife of Father Enlil, has erected a house in your precinct, O Du-sag-dili, and taken her seat upon your dais.

86. 9 lines: the house of SHu-zi-ana in Ga-gi-mah.

87-95. O mighty Kesh, form of heaven and earth, arousing terror like a great horned viper, house of Ninhursaga, built in a terrifying place! Respected Kesh, your interior is a deep interior while your exterior is tall. Great lion on the high plain and roving about on the plain, great hill established by incantations, twilit interior in which moonlight does not shine, Nintur has made you beautiful -- O house Kesh, your brickwork and your moulding of it! Your terrace! Your exterior, a lustrous suh crown, and your building of it!

96-99. Your princess, the silencing princess, the true and great lady of heaven -- when she talks heaven trembles, when she opens her mouth a storm thunders -- Aruru, the sister of Enlil, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Kesh, and taken her seat upon your dais.

100. 13 lines: the house of Ninhursaga in Kesh

101-108. O Urim, bull standing in the wet reeds, E-kishnu-gal (House sending light to the earth (?)), calf of a great cow, light of holy heaven,, trap laid in a nest, Urim, container feeding all lands, you are a shrine in a pure place, earth of An -- O house of Suen, at your front a prince, at your back a ruler, your dining hall with adab songs, your great, holy banqueting hall with shem and ala drums! The light coming from you and your true lordship is a precious destiny.

109-117. Gipar, princely shrine of the holy divine powers, shining like the sun, E-kish-nu-gal, beaming moonlight which comes forth in the Land, broad light of midday which fills all lands, house, your platform is a great snake, a marsh of snakes. Your foundation is the abzu, fifty in number, and the engur, seven in number, a shrine which looks into the heart of the gods. Your prince, the prince who makes decisions, the crown of the wide heaven, the sovereign of heaven, Ashimbabbar, has erected a house in your precinct, O shrine Urim. and taken his seat upon your dais.

118. 17 lines: the house of Nanna in Urim.

119-128. O E-mu-mah (House with a magnificent name), rising mountain of heaven, your holy sides and your great foundation are a precious destiny. Interior full with princely divine powers, a beaming light which shines, shrine with your back to the blue sky and your prominent front to all people, in the Land it represents a binding agreement and a single track. Magnificent river with open mouth gathering together your divine powers, your base is great in awesomeness,

a righteous hill grown in a broad place. Your lofty dwellingplace of magnificence with all the divine powers of princeship,, shouting; house of celebration, your platform gladdens the settlements.

129-133. House, your prince Shulgi has made it great and most princely. The perfect and magnificent, the mighty and great wind, adorned with the divine powers, determining destiny, SHulgi of An, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-hursag (House which is a hill), and taken his seat upon your dais

134. 15 lines: addition: E-hursag of Shulgi in Urim.

135-139. O city, from the abzu like barley, cloudy plain, taking the divine powers from its midst, Kuara, your foundation and just banqueting hall, the lord who does not hold back his goods stands ready for admiration. The Seven Sages have enlarged it for you from the south to the uplands.

140-145. Your prince, the most precious prince Asarluhi, the most precious one, is a warrior, born a noble prince, a leopard who seizes prey. He is like an onrushing storm battering the rebel land. As long as it remains disobedient, he pours spittle upon it. Asar-alim-nuna, the son of the abzu, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Kuara, and taken his seat upon your dais.

146. 11 lines: the house of Asarluhi in Kuara.

147-156. O E-gud-du-shar (House with numerous perfect oxen) of holy nir stone in which its sovereign sits, raising a magnificent door decoration for the princely son, whose best fine oil is holy and well-prepared, Ga-bura (Chamber of bowls), holy cattle-pen pasturing cows with munzer plants, your prince is a great wild bull, an elephant rejoicing in its own strength, a wild cow growing horns and and delighting in its shining horns. The incantation priest of opposed languages who put clouds in the sky, the storm which roars in the sky, as the sunlight giving to the earth, Ningublaga, the son of Nanna, has erected a house in your precinct, O Kiabrig, and taken his seat upon your dais.

157. 10 lines: the house of Ningublaga in Ki-abrig.

158-167. O shrine, great sanctuary founded at a cattle-pen, small shining city of Suen, Kar-zida (Pure quay), your interior is a mighty place, your foundation is holy and clean. Shrine, your gipar is founded in purity. Your door is of strong copper set up at a great place. Lowing cattle-pen, you raise your horns like a bull. Your prince, the lord of heaven standing in joy, at midday and, Ashimbabbar, has erected a house in your precinct, O Kar-zida, and taken his seat upon your dais.

168. 10 lines: the house of Nanna in Gaesh.

169-177. O house which comes forth from heaven, resplendent in Kulaba, shrine E-babbar (Shining house), shining bull, lift your neck to Utu who in the sky! Your shining horns are aggressive, holy and lustrous. Bearing a beard of shining lapis lazuli,, your prince, the mighty sunlight, the lord who the true word, who lightens the horizon, who lightens the sky's vault, Utu, the sovereign of E-babbar, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Larsam, and taken his seat upon your dais.

178. 9 lines: the house of Utu in Larsam.

179-185. O Enegir, great libation pipe, libation pipe to the underworld of Ereshkigala, Gudua (Entrance to the nether world) of Sumer where mankind is gathered, E-gida (Long house), in the land your shadow has stretched over the princes of the land. Your prince, the seed of the great lord, the sacred one of the great underworld, given birth by Ereshkigala, playing loudly on the zanaru instrument, sweet as the voice of a calf, Ninazu of the words of prayer, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Enegir, and taken his seat upon your dais

186. 7 lines: the house of Ninazu in Enegir.

187-196. O primeval place, deep mountain founded in an artful fashion, shrine, terrifying place lying in a pasture, a dread whose lofty ways none can fathom, Gishbanda, neckstock, meshed net, shackles of the great underworld from which none can escape, your exterior is raised up, prominent like a snare, your interior is where the sun rises, endowed with wide-spreading plenty. Your prince is the prince who stretches out his pure hand, the holy one of heaven, with luxuriant and abundant hair hanging at his back, Lord Ningishzida. Ningishzida has erected a house in your precinct, O Gishbanda, and taken his seat upon your dais.

197. 10 lines: the house of Ningishzida in Gishbanda.

198-203. O house with the great divine powers of Kulaba,, its platform has made the great shrine flourish. Green fresh fruit, marvellous, filled with ripeness, descending from the centre of heaven, shrine built for the bull, E-ana (House of heaven), house with seven corners, with seven fires lifted at night-time, surveying seven pleasures, your princess is on the pure horizon.

204-208. Your lady Inana who, who adorns the woman and covers the man's head with a cloth, the one with a lustrous suh crown, the dragon of Nigin-gar, the queen of heaven and earth, Inana, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-ana, and taken her seat upon your dais.

209. 11 lines: the house of Inana in Unug.

210-219. O house where lustrous herbs are strewn upon the flowery bed, the bed-chamber of holy Inana, where the lady of the plain refreshes herself! Brick-built E-mush (House which is the precinct) is flowery and holy, its clay established for him who tends the ewes on the high plain. Your house of Arali (House which is the nether world) gives shade to the shepherd. Your prince, a raging lion on the plain, the shuba jewel of the Mistress whose breast is holy and marvellous, the lord who is holy Inana's husband, Dumuzid, the sovereign of E-mush, has erected a house in your precinct, O Bad-tibira, and taken his seat upon your dais.

220. 10 lines: the house of Dumuzid in Bad-tibira.

221-228. O E-igizu-uru (House, your face is mighty), with plenty coming from within, your well-stocked chamber is a mountain of abundance. House, your fragrance is a mound of vines. Your true minister is a leader in heaven. House, your princess is prominent among the gods, the true minister of E-ana who holds a holy sceptre in her hand. Ninshubur, the true minister of E-ana, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-akkil (House of lamentation), and taken her seat upon your dais

229. 8 lines: the house of Ninshubur in Akkil.

230-235. O city, founded upon a dais in the abzu, established for the rites of ishib priests, house where incantations of heaven and earth are recited,

4 lines fragmentary

236-238. lustration water in the holy heaven and on the pure earth. Ningirim, the lady of the shining lustration water, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Murum, and taken her seat upon your dais.

239. 9 lines: the house of Ningirim in Murum.

240-248. O E-ninnu (House of 50), right hand of Lagash, foremost in Sumer, the Anzud bird which gazes upon the mountain, the shar-ur weapon of Ningirsu, in all lands, the strength of battle, a terrifying storm which envelops men, giving the strength of battle to the Anuna, the great gods, brick building on whose holy mound destiny is determined, beautiful as the hills, your canal, your blowing in opposition at your gate facing towards Iri-kug, wine is poured into holy An's beautiful bowls set out in the open air.

249-254. Whatever enters you is unequalled, whatever leaves endures. , terrifying facade, house of radiance, a place of reaching judgement which Lord Ningirsu has filled with great awesomeness and dread! All the Anuna gods attend your great drinking-bouts.

255-261. Your prince, a raging storm which destroys cities in hostile lands, your sovereign, a terrifying wild ox which will manifest its strength, a terrifying lion which smashes heads, the warrior who devises strategies in lordship and attains victory in kingship, the mighty one, the great warrior in battle, the lord without rival, the son of Enlil, Lord Ningirsu, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-ninnu, and taken his seat upon your dais.

262. 22 lines: the house of Ningirsu in Lagash.

263-270. O Iri-kug (Holy city), shrine of holy An, which caused the human seed to come forth, called by a good name, within you is the river of ordeal which vindicates the just man. E-galga-sud (House which spreads counsel far and wide), storehouse which eternally possesses silver and lapis lazuli, E-tar-sirsir, from which decisions and the divine powers come forth, where the hero performs obeisance, your princess, the merciful princess of the Land, is the mother of all lands. The lady, the great healer of the black-headed who determines the destiny of her city, the first-born daughter of holy An, the maiden, Mother Bau, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Iri-kug, and taken her seat upon your dais.

271. 8 lines: the house of Bau in Iri-kug.

272-281. O house, wild cow, city which appears in splendour adorned for the princess, Sirara, great and princely place, your by the shrine, your lady Nanshe, a great storm, a mighty flood, born on the shore of the sea, who laughs on the foam of the sea, who plays on the water of the flood, who, Nanshe, the lady, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Sirara, and taken her seat upon your dais.

 $282.\ 10$ lines: the house of Nanshe in Sirara.

283-292. O E-ab-shaga-la (House which stretches over the midst of the sea) built in a holy place, Gu-aba, your interior produces everything and is a well-established storehouse. Holy shrine, wild cow for which everything endures, your princess is Ningagia, the magnificent stewardess, the mighty of Father Enlil, who takes counsel with Lord Nunamnir. Born in in the flood of the sea, like her father a controller of the pure sea, holy Ninmarki has erected a house in your precinct, O house Gu-aba, and taken her seat upon your dais.

293. 10 lines: the house of Ninmarki in Gu-aba.

294-301. O house Kinirsha, suited for its lady,, beautiful as a hill, standing by the ziqqurat, house,, place resounding loudly with happiness, house, your princess is a storm, riding on a lion, Exalted in holy song and antiphony, singing with a loud voice, the child, the true wild cow, taken care of at the holy breast of the mother who begot

her, Dumuzid-abzu, has erected a house in your precinct, O shrine Kinirsha, and taken her seat upon your dais

302. 7 lines: the house of Dumuzid-abzu in Kinirsha

303-310. O E-bur-sigsig (House with beautiful bowls) set up under heaven, mighty banqueting hall, fulfilling the commands, abundance of the midst of the sea in . whose holy there is entreaty and joy. The faithful man has enlarged E-mah (Magnificent house), the house of SHara, for you in plenty. Your house E-mah -- whose prince is the princely son of the Mistress -- continues in good fortune, an area of abundance and well-being.

311-313. The one who arranges the hair at the nape of the neck, with the gaze of a wild cow, SHara, who good things, the son who allots the divine powers to his mother, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Umma, and taken his seat upon your dais.

314. 11 lines: the house of SHara in Umma.

315-320. O E-sherzi-guru (House clad in splendour) dressed with ornaments of shuba stone, great awesomeness, Nigin-gar of holy Inana, adorned throughout with the divine powers which are true, Zabalam, shrine of the shining mountain, shrine of dawn, which has resounded with pleasure, the Mistress has founded your good banqueting hall for you in pleasure.

321-326. Your lady Inana, the, the singular woman, the dragon who speaks hostile words to, who shines in brightness, who goes against the rebel land, through whom the firmament is made beautiful in the evening, the great daughter of Suen, holy Inana, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Zabalam, and taken her seat upon your dais.

327. 12 lines: the house of Inana in Zabalam. 328-345. O house inspiring terror like a great lion, making as clear as day the decisions for those on the high plain, house of Ishkur, at your front is abundance, at your rear is celebration. Your foundation is a horned bull, a lion. Holy staff, teat of heaven with rain for fine barley, the pilasters of your house are a wild bull with outspread horns, your, foundation and wall rising high,, thick cloud, snake, moonlight, Ishkur, a sweeping flood, a storm and seven raging winds,, blowing raging winds, running from the, splits the hillside, diorite, stones and [2 lines missing / 1 line fragmentary]

346-350. The, the seed of the Land, the ... the prince, the canal inspector of heaven and earth, living, the numerous people, the, Ishkur, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Karkara, and taken his seat upon your dais.

351. 23 lines: the house of Ishkur in Karkara.

352-361. O, bolt founded by An,

[4 lines fragmentary / 1 line missing / 1 line fragmentary / approx. 2 lines missing]

..... has erected a house in your precinct, O, and taken a seat upon your dais.

362. 10 (?) lines: the house of in

363-377.

[2 lines missing]

1 line fragmentary An has your platform. E-mah (Exalted house), house of the universe, suited for its lady, your front inspires great awesomeness, your interior is filled with radiance. Mother Nintur, Enlil and Enki have determined your destiny. E-suga (Joyous house) which life of the black-headed, An has given you the magnificent divine powers from the interior of heaven. As in Kesh, Ninhursaga has blessed your priests maintaining the shrine in the holy uzga precinct. House with great divine powers, a pure platform and cleansing lustration, Ashgi, the god of Adab, has erected a house in your precinct, O Adab, O house situated at a canal, O house Adab, and taken his seat upon your dais.

378. 15 lines: the house of Ninhursaga in Adab.

379-391. O Isin, city founded by An which he has built on an empty plain! Its front is mighty, its interior is artfully built, its divine powers are divine powers which An has determined. Shrine which Enlil loves, place where An and Enlil determine destinies, place where the great gods dine, filled with great awesomeness and terror: all the Anuna gods attend your great drinking-bouts. Your princess, the mother, the Mistress adorned with jewels of shuba stone, who maintains the holy place's Nigin-gar, who binds the suh crown on the nugig priestess, who causes the seven teats to flow for the nubar priestess, has resounded with seven pleasures.

392-394. Your lady, the great healer of the Land, Ninisina, the daughter of An, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Isin, and taken her seat upon your dais.

395. 16 lines: the house of Ninisina in Isin.

396-405. O Kazallu, your crown reaches to the centre of heaven, shining, an object of admiration. Your prince is the seed of a bull, engendered by a wild bull in, a magnificent with sparkling eyes, a lord with the teeth of a lion, who snatches the calf with his claws, who snatches who snatches, the who gives strength to the, the great lord Numushda, has

erected a house in your precinct, O Kun-satu (Threshold of the mountain). O Kazallu, and taken his seat upon your dais.

406. 10 lines: the house of Numushda in Kazallu.

407-414. O E-igi-kalama (House which is the eye of the Land), your foundation is firmly laid, growing hill which stands broadly on the earth, the enemies' land, [3 lines fragmentary / approx. 1 line missing]

..... has erected a house in your precinct, O, and taken a seat upon your dais.

415. 8 lines: the house of Lugal-Marda in Marda.

416-423. O Dēr (Akkadian name; a Sumerian name is unknown), taking extreme care of decisions,, on your awesome and radiant gate a decoration displays a horned viper and a mushhush embracing. Your prince, a leader of the gods, fit for giving counsel and grand speech, the son of Urash who knows thoroughly the true divine powers of princeship, Ishtaran, the sovereign of heaven, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-dim-gal-kalama (House which is the great pole of the Land), and taken his seat upon your dais.

424. 8 lines: the house of Ishtaran in Der.

425-435. O E-sikil (Pure house) whose pure divine powers are supreme in all lands, whose name is high and mighty. magnificent dwelling of the warrior, holy house of Ninazu, house of the holy divine powers! House, your divine powers are pure divine powers, your lustration is a cleansing lustration. The warrior refreshes himself in your dwelling. Ninazu dines on your platform. Your sovereign, the great lord, the son of Enlil, is a towering lion spitting venom over hostile lands, rising like the south wind against enemy lands. snarling like a dragon against the walls of rebel lands, a storm enveloping the disobedient and trampling on the enemy.

436-446. When he strides forth, no evil-doer can escape. When he establishes his triumph, the cities of the rebel lands are destroyed. When he frowns, their people are cast into the dust. House, your prince is a great lion from whose claws the enemy hangs. Your sovereign is a terrifying, mighty storm, the vigour of the battle, in combat like a with a shield on his lofty arm, a net over the widespread people from whose reach the foe cannot escape. When the great lord is resplendent, his magnificence has no equal. The true seed born of the Great Mountain and Ninlil, your sovereign, the warrior Ninazu, has erected a house in your precinct, O Esikil, O Eshnunna, and taken his seat upon your dais.

447. 22 lines: the house of Ninazu in Eshnunna.

448-455. O house built in plenitude, Kish, raising its head among the princely divine powers, established settlement, your great foundation cannot be scattered. Your plinth is a vast oppressive cloud floating in the midst of the sky. Your interior is a weapon, a mace decorated with Your right hand makes mountains tremble, your left thins out the enemy. Your prince, mighty and magnificent, a great storm overpowering the earth, inspiring great and terrifying awe, your sovereign, the warrior Zababa, has erected a house in your precinct, O E-dub (Storage house), O house Kish, and taken his seat upon your dais

456. 8 lines: the house of Zababa in Kish.

457-466. O E-gishkeshda-kalama (House which is the bond of the Land), bull great strength among the gods, terrifying wild cow, wild bull which causes lament, Gudua, your quay is a low quay which bestows water, your interior is artfully built, your mace is a mace released from heaven, your platform is a lustrous platform spreading over Meshlam. Your prince, the mighty god, the sovereign of Meshlam, the fierce god of the underworld, the sovereign of Ud-shush (Sunset), Nergal, Meshlamta-ea, has erected a house in your precinct, and taken his seat upon your dais.

467. 10 lines: the house of Nergal in Gudua.

468-477. O mighty Urum where Suen pronounces judgement, E-ab-lua (House with teeming cattle), wide cattleyard, Ashimbabbar acts as your shepherd. House, my sovereign, your sceptre reaches to heaven, to the earth, moonlight, celebration, your may the light. Your prince, the prince of holy celebration,, who appears in the lapis lazuli coloured sky, a celebration, to whom the hero pays homage, who brightens the Land, Suen, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Urum, and taken his seat upon your dais.

478. 10 lines: the house of Suen in Urum.

479-488. O Zimbir, dais upon which Utu sits daily, E-nunana (House of the prince of heaven), star of heaven, crown given birth by Ningal, house of Utu, your prince, the of the universe, fills heaven and earth. When the lord sleeps, the people sleep; when he rises, the people rise. The bull and the people prostrate themselves. Before Utu the herds pasture The black-headed have bathed before him, the Land has before him. He measures out the divine powers -- your shrine is a flood.

489-492. Pronouncing judgement where the sun rises, mighty sunlight, wearing a beard, tying on the suh crown at night, Utu, the sovereign of E-babbar (Shining house), has erected a house in your precinct, O house Zimbir, and taken his seat upon your dais.

493. 14 lines: the house of Utu in Zimbir.

494-499. O E-hursag (House which is a mountain) beautiful as greenery, (The Sumerian name of this city is unknown), your interior is plenitude. At the place where destiny is determined you determine destiny. May the crown bring joy to your platform. May your roots glisten like an immense sagkal snake in your holy foundations.

500-505. Mother Nintur, the lady of creation, performs her task within your dark place, binding the true suh crown on the new-born king, setting the crown on the new-born lord who is secure in her hand. The midwife of heaven and earth, Ninhursaga, has erected a house in your precinct, O house, and taken her seat upon your dais.

506. 12 lines: the house of Ninhursaga in

507-513. O Ulmash, upper land, of the Land, terrifying lion battering a wild bull, net spreading over an enemy, making silence fall upon a rebel land on which, as long as it remains insubmissive, spittle is poured! House of Inana of silver and lapis lazuli, a storehouse built of gold, your princess is an arabu bird, the Mistress of the Nigin-gar.

514-518. Arrayed in battle, jubilantly beautiful, ready with the seven maces, washing her tools for battle, opening the door of battle and, the extremely wise one of heaven, Inana, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Ulmash, and taken her seat upon your dais.

519. 12 lines: the house of Inana in Ulmash.

520-523. O house, right arm, battle-axe cutting down the rebel lands, digging up their green fields,

2 lines fragmentary

524-527. Your prince, the warrior who, who defeats all in battle, exulting, Aba, the god of Agade, has erected a house in your precinct, O house Agade, and taken his seat upon your dais.

528. 8 lines: the house of Aba in Agade.

529-534. O house of stars, bright E-zagin (Lapis lazuli house), reaching into all lands, establishing in the shrine, Eresh! The primeval lords raise their heads to you every month. the potash plant, great Nanibgal, Nisaba, has brought divine powers from heaven and added to your divine powers.

535-542. Sanctuary established for! To the true woman who possesses exceeding wisdom, soothing and opening the mouth, always consulting a tablet of lapis lazuli, giving advice to all lands, the true woman, the holy potash plant, born of the stylus reed, applies the measure to heaven and places the measuring-rope on the earth -- to Nisaba be

543-544. The compiler of the tablets was En-hedu-ana. My king, something has been created that no one has created before.

545. 14 lines: the house of Nisaba in Eresh.

THE THREE EPIC CYCLES OF THE HEROES ENMERKAR LUGALBANDA AND GILGAMESH

3 epic cycles that belong together: 2 ENMERKAR LEGENDS (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta and Enmerkar and En-suhgir-ana); 2 TALES OF LUGALBANDA (the father of Gilgamesh) during Enmerkar's campaign against Aratta (Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave and Lugalbanda and the Anzud Bird); and, besides the famous Gilgamesh Epic, there are another 5 stories in the GILGAMESH EPIC CYCLE (1. Gilgamesh and Huwawa [version A, version B], 2. Gilgamesh and the Bull of Heaven, 3. Gilgamesh and Aga, 4. Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld, and The Death of Gilgamesh)

Enmerkar was an ancient Sumerian ruler to whom the construction of Uruk and a 420-year reign was attributed. According to literary sources, he led various campaigns against the land of Aratta. The tradition of Enmerkar as the founder of Uruk seems to date from the Jemdet Nasr period (3100-2900 BC) as found in the AD-GI4 (JCS 65) list by Miguel Civil, (also known as 'Archaic Word List C' or 'Tribute'; Academia). The lexical list mentions Enmerkar and his wife Enmerkarzi as the builders of a town and the bringers of agriculture. A bilingual edition of the list has been found at Nineveh, indicating that the tradition was transmitted into the first millennium. Despite his proclaimed divine descent from the poems, Enmerkar was not deified as his successors Lugalbanda and Gilgamesh. These two last kings were already listed in the god lists of Shuruppak and received offerings during the Sumerian renaissance. It concluded that Enmerkar was only remembered as the founder and first king of Uruk.

There seem to be parallels between Enmerkar, builder of Uruk, and Nimrod, ruler of biblical Erech (Uruk), who. according to some extra-biblical legends, was supposedly the architect of the Tower of Babel. One parallel Rohl has noted is between the epithet "the Hunter", applied to Nimrod, and the suffix -kar at the end of Enmerkar's name, which means "hunter". In fact, each Mesopotamian city had its own ziggurat which always was built as step pyramid; like the

largest existing ziggurat which is located in Choga Zanbil in the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta is a legendary Sumerian account, of preserved, early post-Sumerian copies, composed in the Neo-Sumerian period (ca. 21st century BC). It is one of a series of accounts describing the conflicts between Enmerkar, king of Unug-Kulaba (Uruk), and the king of Aratta (probably somewhere in modern Iran or Armenia). Because it gives a Sumerian account of the "confusion of tongues", and also involves Enmerkar constructing temples at Eridu and Uruk, it has been compared with the Tower of Babel narrative in the Book of Genesis.

The narrative could reflect history as well as literature. A tablet from Uruk recording the title "Lord of Aratta" was given as a reason to believe the traditions surrounding Enmerkar's deeds were based in reality. There are scholarly suggestions that Enmerkar and his administration may be factually attributed as the first person / people to put cuneiform to clay tablets; and that writing did indeed exist before Enmerkar, citing the fact that the Lord of Aratta understood the message, but those writing were previously done in different materials.

Enmerkar, king of Uruk, wants to embellish his city with precious metals and stones, goods that are only found in the wealthy city of Aratta, which lies behind the mountains. Inanna, which is the goddess of Aratta, favours Enmerkar and advises him to send a messenger with a challenge to Aratta, requisitioning what he wants and enforcing his claim by stating that she favours him. Enmerkar casts the spell of Nudimmud, which makes Enlil reunite all the languages (of Shubur, Hamazi, Sumer, Akkad, and the Martu land) into one in order to be debates between kings. The lord of Aratta refuses but wants to enter into a contest with Enmerkar to see on which side is Inanna on. The unnamed lord of Aratta sends three riddles to reconsider his submission: "1st To cart grain to Aratta in open nets instead of bags. Enmerkar uses sprouting barley to close the interstices of the nets so that no grain is spilled. 2nd To bring a scepter made of no existing material, Enmerkar prepares a gluelike plastic substance that he pours into a hollow reed; after it has hardened, he breaks away the reed mold. 3rd To bring a dog of no known colour to fight his own dog, to which Enmerkar weaves a cloth of no known colour." The messenger complains that the messages have become too long and difficult to remember and reproduce. Enmerkar invents writing, which throws the lord of Aratta into despair. The land of Aratta suffers famine and drought. Inanna confirms her predilection for Enmerkar but also tells him to institute peaceful trade with Aratta from now on.

Enmerkar and Ensuhgirana

Ensuhgirana, lord of Aratta, claims to be the recipient of Inanna's favours and demands the submission of Uruk. Enmerkar refuses and points out that he is the only true and constant lover of Inanna, however, the lord of Aratta refuses to submit to Uruk. A sorcerer from Hamazi offers his services to break the stalemate, services which are accepted by Enshugirana. The wizard casts a spell on the cattle of the goddess Nisaba, and there is a famine in Sumer. Utu sends a wise woman who catches up with the wizard on the banks of the Euphrates, both start a competition of magic. The wizard throws fish spawn in the river and draws out an animal; five times the wise woman draws out another animal which hunts the wizard's animal. The wizard admits his defeat and pleads for his life, but he is killed and the spell is broken. Ensuhgirana admits defeat and submits to Enmerkar.

Lugalbanda poems

Enmerkar marches against Aratta, his warchief Lugalbanda falls ill and is abandoned in a cave. He feasts Anzud's chick and gains the legendary bird's favour. Lugalbanda is laying siege to Aratta. The king sends Lugalbanda to ask for Inanna's advice in Uruk, which does. At the end, Aratta submits. The text also mentions that fifty years into Enmerkar's reign, the Martu people had arisen in all of Sumer and Akkad, necessitating the building of a wall in the desert to protect Uruk.)

ENMERKAR CYCLE

ENMERKAR AND THE LORD OF ARATTA

Translation: ETCSL (t.1.8.2.3; University of Oxford, 2003) Estimated Range of Dating:

1-24. City, majestic bull bearing vigour and great awesome splendour, Kulaba,, breast of the storm, where destiny is determined; Unug, great mountain, in the midst of There the evening meal of the great abode of An was set. In those days of yore, when the destinies were determined, the great princes allowed Unug Kulaba's E-ana to lift its head high. Plenty, and carp floods, and the rain which brings forth

dappled barley were then increased in Unug Kulaba. Before the land of Dilmun yet existed, the E-ana of Unug Kulaba was well founded, and the holy gipar of Inana in brick-built Kulaba shone forth like the silver in the lode. Before carried, before before carried, before the commerce was practised; before gold, silver, copper, tin, blocks of lapis lazuli, and mountain stones were brought down together from their mountains, before bathed for the festival time passed.

[2 lines missing]

25-32...... was colourfully adorned, and, the holy place, was with flawless lapis lazuli, its interior beautifully formed like a white mesh tree bearing fruit. The lord of Aratta placed on his head the golden crown for Inana. But he did not please her like the lord of Kulaba. Aratta did not build for holy Inana -- unlike the Shrine E-ana, the gipar, the holy place, unlike brick-built Kulaba.

33-37. At that time, the lord chosen by Inana in her heart, chosen by Inana in her holy heart from the bright mountain, Enmerkar, the son of Utu, made a plea to his sister, the lady who grants desires, holy Inana:

38-64. "My sister, let Aratta fashion gold and silver skilfully on my behalf for Unug. Let them cut the flawless lapis lazuli from the blocks, let them the translucence of the flawless lapis lazuli build a holy mountain in Unug. Let Aratta build a temple brought down from heaven your place of worship, the Shrine E-ana; let Aratta skilfully fashion the interior of the holy gipar, your abode; may I, the radiant youth, may I be embraced there by you. Let Aratta submit beneath the yoke for Unug on my behalf. Let the people of Aratta bring down for me the mountain stones from their mountain, build the great shrine for me, erect the great abode for me, make the great abode, the abode of the gods, famous for me, make my me prosper in Kulaba, make the abzu grow for me like a holy mountain, make Eridug gleam for me like the mountain range, cause the abzu shrine to shine forth for me like the silver in the lode. When in the abzu I utter praise, when I bring the me from Eridug, when, in lordship, I am adorned with the crown like a purified shrine, when I place on my head the holy crown in Unug Kulaba, then may the of the great shrine bring me into the gipar, and may the of the gipar bring me into the great shrine. May the people marvel admiringly, and may Utu witness it in joy.

65-68. Thereupon the splendour of holy An, the lady of the mountains, the wise, the goddess whose kohl is for Amaushumgal-ana, Inana, the lady of all the lands, called to Enmerkar, the son of Utu:
69-104. "Come. Enmerkar! I shall offer you advice: let my

counsel be heeded. I shall speak words to you; let them be heard. Choose from the troops as a messenger one who is eloquent of speech and endowed with endurance. Where and to whom shall he carry the important message of wise Inana? Let him bring it up into the Zubi mountains, let him descend with it from the Zubi mountains. Let Susa and the land of Anshan humbly salute Inana like tiny mice. In the great mountain ranges, let the teeming multitudes grovel in the dust for her. Aratta shall submit beneath the yoke to Unug. The people of Aratta shall bring down the mountain stones from their mountains, and shall build the great shrine for you, and erect the great abode for you, will cause the great abode, the abode of the gods, to shine forth for you; will make your me flourish in Kulaba, will make the abzu grow for you like a holy mountain, will make Eridug shining for you like the mountain range, will cause the abzu shrine to shine forth for you like the glitter in the lode. When in the abzu you utter praise, when you bring the me from Eridug, when, in lordship, you are adorned with the crown like a purified shrine, when you place on your head the holy crown in Unug Kulaba, then may the of the great shrine bring you into the gipar, and may the of the gipar bring you into the great shrine. May the people marvel admiringly, and may Utu witness it in joy. Because shall carry daily, when in the evening cool, -- in the place of Dumuzid where the ewes, kids and lambs are numerous, the people of Aratta shall run around for you like the mountain sheep in the akalag fields, the fields of Dumuzid. Rise like the sun over my holy breast! You are the jewel of my throat! Praise be to you, Enmerkar,

105-107. The lord gave heed to the words of holy Inana, and chose from the troops as a messenger one who was eloquent of speech and endowed with endurance. [(1 ms. adds:)..... to his messenger......] Where and to whom will he carry the important message of wise Inana?

108-133. "You shall bring it up into the Zubi mountains, you shall descend with it from the Zubi mountains. Let Susa and the land of Anshan humbly salute Inana like tiny mice. In the great mountain ranges, let the teeming multitudes grovel in the dust for her. Messenger, speak to the lord of Aratta and say to him: "Lest I make the people fly off from that city like a wild dove from its tree, lest I make them fly around like a bird over its well-founded nest, lest I requite (?) them as if at a current market rate, lest I make it gather dust like an utterly destroyed city, lest like a settlement cursed by Enki and utterly destroyed, I too utterly destroy Aratta; lest like the

devastation which swept destructively, and in whose wake Inana arose, shrieked and yelled aloud, I too wreak a sweeping devastation there — let Aratta pack nuggets of gold in leather sacks, placing alongside it the kugmea ore; package up precious metals, and load the packs on the donkeys of the mountains; and then may the Junior Enlil of Sumer have them build for me, the lord whom Nudimmud has chosen in his acred heart, a mountain of a shining me; have them make it luxuriant for me like a boxwood tree, have them make its shining horns colourful for me as when Utu comes forth from his chamber, have them make its doorposts gleam brightly for me ""

134-155. "Chant to him the holy song, the incantation sung in its chambers -- the incantation of Nudimmud: "On that day when there is no snake, when there is no scorpion, when there is no hyena, when there is no lion, when there is neither dog nor wolf, when there is thus neither fear nor trembling, man has no rival! At such a time, may the lands of Shubur and Hamazi, the many-tongued, and Sumer, the great mountain of the me of magnificence, and Akkad, the land possessing all that is befitting, and the Martu land, resting in security -- the whole universe, the well-guarded people -- may they all address Enlil together in a single language! For at that time, for the ambitious lords, for the ambitious princes, for the ambitious kings, Enki, for the ambitious lords, for the ambitious princes, for the ambitious kings, for the ambitious lords, for the ambitious princes, for the ambitious kings --Enki, the lord of abundance and of steadfast decisions. the wise and knowing lord of the Land, the expert of the gods, chosen for wisdom, the lord of Eridug, shall change the speech in their mouths, as many as he had placed there, and so the speech of mankind is truly one.'

156-157. The lord added further instructions for the messenger going to the mountains, to Aratta:

158-159. "Messenger, by night, drive on like the south wind! By day, be up like the dew!"

160-175. The messenger gave heed to the words of his king. He journeyed by the starry night, and by day he travelled with Utu of heaven. Where and to whom will he carry the important message of Inana with its stinging tone? He brought it up into the Zubi mountains, he descended with it from the Zubi mountains. Susa and the land of Anshan humbly saluted Inana like tiny mice. In the great mountain ranges, the teeming multitudes grovelled in the dust for her. He traversed five mountains, six mountains, seven mountains. He lifted his eyes as he approached Aratta. He stepped joyfully into the courtyard of Aratta, he made known the authority of his king. Openly he spoke out the words in his heart. The messenger transmitted the message to the lord of Aratta.

176-178. "Your father, my master, has sent me to you; the lord of Unug, the lord of Kulaba, has sent me to you." "What is it to me what your master has spoken? What is it to me what he has said?"

179-207. "This is what my master has spoken, this is what he has said. My king who from his birth has been fitted [for lordship] [(1 ms. has instead:) for the crown], the lord of Unug, the sagkal snake living in Sumer, who pulverises [mountains] [(2 mss. have instead:) heads] like flour, the stag of the tall mountains, endowed with princely antlers, wild cow, kid pawing the holy soapwort with its hoof, whom the good cow had given birth to in the heart of the mountains. Enmerkar, the son of Utu, has sent me to you." (the lord of Aratta speaks): "What is it to me what your master has spoken? what is it to me what he has said?") "This is what my master said: "Lest I make the people fly off from that city like a wild dove from its tree, lest I make them fly around like a bird over its well-founded nest, lest I requite them as if at a current market rate, lest I make it gather dust like an utterly destroyed city, lest like a settlement cursed by Enki and utterly destroyed, I too utterly destroy Aratta; lest like the devastation which swept destructively, and in whose wake Inana arose, shrieked and yelled aloud, I too wreak a sweeping devastation there -- let Aratta pack nuggets of gold in leather sacks, placing alongside it the kugmea ore; package up precious metals, and load the packs on the donkeys of the mountains: and then may the Junior Enlil of Sumer have them build for me, the lord whom Nudimmud has chosen in his sacred heart, a mountain of a shining me; have them make it luxuriant for me like a boxwood tree, have them make its shining horns colourful for me as when Utu comes forth from his chamber, have them make its doorposts gleam brightly for me. Chant to him for me the holy song, the incantation sung in its chambers -- the Incantation of Nudimmud.""

208-217. "Say whatever you will say to me, and I shall announce that message in the shrine E-ana as glad tidings to the scion of him with the glistening beard, whom his stalwart cow gave birth to in the mountain of the shining me, who was reared on the soil of Aratta, who was given suck at the udder of the good cow, who is suited for office in Kulaba, the mountain of great me, to Enmerkar, the son of Utu; I shall repeat it in his gipar, fruitful as a flourishing mesh tree, to my king, the lord of Kulaba."

218-226. When he had spoken thus to him, (the lord of Aratta replied): "Messenger, speak to your king, the lord of

Kulaba, and say to him: "It is I, the lord suited to purification, I whom the huge heavenly neck-stock, the queen of heaven and earth, the goddess of the numerous me, holy Inana, has brought to Aratta, the mountain of the shining me, I whom she has let bar the entrance of the mountains as if with a great door. How then shall Aratta submit to Unug? Aratta's submission to Unug is out of the question!" Say this to him."

227-235. When he had spoken thus to him, the messenger replied to the lord of Aratta: "The great queen of heaven, who rides upon the awesome me, dwelling on the peaks of the bright mountains, adorning the dais of the bright mountains -- my lord and master, who is her servant, has had them instal her as the divine queen of E-ana. Aratta shall bow, O lord, in absolute submission! She has spoken to him thus, in brickbuilt Kulaba.

236-241. Thereupon, the lord became depressed and deeply troubled. He had no answer; he was searching for an answer. He stared at his own feet, trying to find an answer. He found an answer and gave a cry. He bellowed the answer to the message like a bull to the messenger:

242-273. "Messenger! Speak to your king, the lord of Kulaba, and say to him: "This great mountain range is a mesh tree grown high to the sky; its roots form a net, and its branches are a snare. It may be a sparrow but it has the talons of an Anzud bird or of an eagle. The barrier of Inana is perfectly made and is impenetrable (?). Those eagle talons make the blood of the enemy run from the bright mountain. Although in Aratta there is weeping, water libations are offered and flour is sprinkled; on the mountain, sacrifices and prayers are offered in obeisance. With fewer than five or 10 men, how can mobilised Unug proceed against the Zubi mountains? Your king is heading in all haste against my military might, but I am equally eager for a contest. (As the proverb goes,) he who ignores a rival, does not get to eat everything up, like the bull which ignores the bull at its side. But he who acknowledges a contest can be the outright winner, like the bull which acknowledges the bull at its side -or does he reject me in this contest? Like, can match no one -- or does he still reject me in this contest? Again, I have words to say to you, messenger: I have an artful proposal to make to you, may it get across to you Repeat this to your master, to the lord of Kulaba, a lion lying on its paws in E-ana, a bull bellowing within it, within his gipar, fruitful as a flourishing mesh tree. The mountain range is a warrior, high, like Utu going to his abode at twilight, like one from whose face blood drips; or like Nanna, who is majestic in the high heavens, like him whose countenance shines with radiance who is like the woods in the mountains.

274-280. " "Now if Enmerkar just makes straight for the of Aratta, for the benevolent protective spirit of the mountain of holy powers, for Aratta, which is like a bright crown of heaven, then I shall make my pre-eminence clear, and he need not pour barley into sacks, nor have it carted, nor have that barley carried into the settlements, nor place collectors over the labourers.'

281-293. " "But if he were actually to have barley poured into carrying-nets, and to have it loaded on the packasses at whose sides reserve donkeys have been placed, and were to have it heaped up in a pile in the courtyard of Aratta -- were he really to heap it up in such a manner; and were Inana, the luxuriance of the grain pile, who is the 'illuminator of the lands', the 'ornament of the settlements', who adorns the seven walls, who is the heroic lady, fit for battle, who, as the heroine of the battleground, makes the troops dance the dance of Inana -- were she actually to cast off Aratta as if to a carrion-pursuing dog, then in that case I should submit to him; he would indeed have made me know his preeminence; like the city, I in my smallness would submit to him." So say to him

294-307. After he had spoken thus to him, the lord of Aratta made the messenger repeat the message just as he himself had said it. The messenger turned on his thigh like a wild cow; like a sand fly he went on his way in the morning calm. He set foot joyfully in brick-built Kulaba. The messenger rushed to the great courtvard, the courtvard of the throne room. He repeated it word perfect to his master, the lord of Kulaba; he even bellowed at him like a bull, and Enmerkar listened to him like an ox driver. The king had him sit at his right side. As he turned his left side to him, he said: "Does Aratta really understand the implications of his own stratagem?"

308-338. After day had broken and Utu had risen, the sun god of the Land lifted his head high. The king combined the Tigris with the Euphrates. He combined the Euphrates with the Tigris. Large vessels were placed in the open air, and he stood small vessels beside them, like lambs lying on the grass. vessels were placed in the open air adjacent to them. Then the king, Enmerkar, the son of Utu, placed wide apart the eshda vessels, which were of gold. Thereupon, the clay tablet, the pointed stylus of the assembly, the golden statue fashioned on a propitious day, beautiful Nanibgal, grown with a fair luxuriance, Nisaba, the lady of broad wisdom, opened for him her holy house of wisdom. He entered the palace of heaven, and became attentive. Then the lord opened his mighty storehouse, and firmly set his great lidga measure on the ground. The king removed his old barley from the other barley; he soaked the greenmalt all through with water; its lip the hirin plant. He narrowed the meshes of the carrying nets. He measured out in full (?) the barley for the granary, adding for the teeth of locusts. He had it loaded on the packasses at whose sides reserve donkeys were placed. The king, the lord of broad wisdom, the lord of Unug. the lord of Kulaba, despatched them directly to Aratta. He made the people go on to Aratta on their own, like ants out of crevices. Again the lord added instructions for the messenger going to the mountains, to Aratta:

339-346. "Messenger, speak to the lord of Aratta and say to him: "The base of my sceptre is the divine power of magnificence. Its crown provides a protective shade over Kulaba; under its spreading branches holy Inana refreshes herself in the shrine E-ana. Let him snap off a splinter from it and hold that in his hand; let him hold it in his hand like a string of cornelian beads, a string of lapis lazuli beads. Let the lord of Aratta bring that before me." So say to him.

347-365. After he had thus spoken to him, the messenger went on his way to Aratta; his feet raised the dust of the road, and made the little pebbles of the hills thud; like a dragon prowling the desert, he was unopposed. After the messenger reached Aratta, the people of Aratta stepped forward to admire the packasses. In the courtyard of Aratta, the messenger measured out in full (?) the barley for the granary, adding for the teeth of locusts. As if from the rains of heaven and the sunshine, Aratta was filled with abundance. As when the gods return to their seats (?), Aratta's hunger was sated. The people of Aratta covered their fields with the watersoaked greenmalt. Afterwards, couriers and shatam officials

[2 lines unclear]

366-370. The citizens of Aratta were mindful; he revealed the matter to Aratta. Consequently, in Aratta, from the hand his hand to the lord of Unug.
371-372. "As for us, in the direst hunger, in our direst

famine, let us prostrate ourselves before the lord of Kulaba!'

373-377. The eloquent elders wrung their hands in despair, leaning against the wall; indeed, they were even placing their treasuries at the disposal of the lord. His sceptre in the palace Openly he spoke out the words in his heart:

378-379. "Your father, my master, sent me to you. Enmerkar, the son of Utu, sent me to you.

380-388. "What is it to me what your master has spoken? What is it to me what he has said?" "This is what my master has spoken, this is what he has said: "The base of my sceptre is the divine power of magnificence. Its crown provides a protective shade over Kulaba; under its spreading branches holy Inana refreshes herself in the shrine E-ana. Let him snap off a splinter from it and hold that in his hand; let him hold it in his hand like a string of cornelian beads, a string of lapis lazuli beads. Let the lord of Aratta bring that before me. So say to him.

389-393. After he had spoken thus to him, for that reason he went inside the sanctuary and lay himself down in a fast. Day broke. He discussed the matter at length, he spoke unspeakable words; he circulated with this matter as if it were

barley eaten by a donkey. 394-396. And what did one speak to another? What did one say to another? What one said to another, so indeed it was.

397-411. "Messenger, speak to your king, the lord of Kulaba, and say to him: "Let him put in his hand and contemplate a sceptre that is not of wood, nor designated as wood [-- not ildag wood, nor shim-gig wood, not cedar wood, nor cypress wood, not hashur cypress, nor palm wood, not hardwood, nor zabalum wood] [(1 ms. has instead:) -- not ildag wood, nor shim-gig wood, not hashur cypress, nor palm wood, not cedar wood, nor zabalum wood, not cypress wood, nor hardwood], not poplar as in a chariot, not reedwork as in whip handles; not gold, nor copper, not genuine kugmea metal nor silver, not cornelian, nor lapis lazuli -- let him snap off a splinter from that and hold it in his hand: let him hold it in his hand like a string of cornelian beads, a string of lapis lazuli beads. Let the lord of Kulaba bring that before me." So

412-443. After he had spoken to him thus, the messenger went off like a young donkey, braying as it is cut off from the chariot tongue; he trotted like an onager running on dry land, he filled his mouth with wind; he ran in one track (?) like a long-woolled sheep butting other sheep in its fury. He set foot joyfully in brick-built Kulaba. He transmitted the message word for word to his master, the lord of Kulaba. Now Enki gave Enmerkar wisdom, and the lord gave instructions to his chief steward. In his house, the king received He wrapped it up like, and inspected it. He pounded with a pestle like herbs, he poured it like oil on the reed. From the sunlight it emerged into the shade, and from the shade it emerged into the sunlight. After five years, 10 years had passsed, he split the reed with an axe. The lord looked at it, pleased, and poured on fine oil, fine oil of the bright mountains. The lord placed the sceptre in the hands

of the messenger going to the mountains. The messenger, whose journeying to Aratta was like a pelican over the hills, like a fly over the ground, who darted through the mountains as swiftly as carp swim, reached Aratta. He set foot joyfully in the courtyard of Aratta, and put the sceptre in He and it. The lord of Aratta, eying the sceptre, which was shining awesomely in the sanctuary, his holy dwelling -- he, the lord, called to his shatam official:

444-453. "Aratta is indeed like a slaughtered sheep! Its roads are inded like those of the rebel lands! Since holy Inana has given the primacy of Aratta to the lord of Kulaba, now it seems that holy Inana is looking with favour on her man who has sent a messenger to make the severe message as clear as the light of Utu. So in Aratta where can one go in this crisis? How long before the voke-rope becomes bearable? As for us. in the direst hunger, in our direst famine, are we to prostrate ourselves before the lord of Kulaba?"

454-455. The lord of Aratta entrusted a message to the messenger as if it were an important tablet:

456-461. "Messenger! Speak to your master, the lord of Kulaba, and say to him: "A champion who is not blackcoloured, a champion who is not white-coloured, a champion who is not brown-coloured, a champion who is not redcoloured, a champion who is not yellow-coloured, a champion who is not multicoloured -- let him give you such a champion. My champion will compete against his champion, and let the more able one prevail!" Say this to him.'

462-469. After he had spoken to him thus, the messenger set off, ulum, alam. In brick-built Kulaba, he was speechless, like a He gazed like a goat on the mountain slopes, he as if it were a huge mir snake coming out from the brambles. In he lifted his head. of Aratta From his seat, he addressed him like a raging torrent:

470-499. "Messenger! Speak to the lord of Aratta and say to him: "A garment that is not black-coloured, a garment that is not white-coloured, a garment that is not browncoloured, a garment that is not red-coloured, a garment that is not yellow-coloured, a garment that is not multicoloured --I shall give him such a garment. My champion is embraced by Enlil. I shall send him such a champion. My champion will compete against his champion, and let the more able one prevail!" Say this to him. Second, speak to him and say: "Let him immediately pass from subterfuge In his city, let them go before him like sheep. Let him, like their shepherd, follow behind them. As he goes, let the mountain of bright lapis lazuli humble itself before him like a crushed reed. And let them heap up its shining gold and silver in the courtyard of Aratta for Inana the lady of E-ana." Third, speak to him and say: "Lest I make the people fly off from that city like a wild dove from its tree, lest I smash them like, lest I requite (?) them as if at a current market rate, lest I make them walk in, when he goes, let them take the mountain stones, and rebuild for me the great shrine Eridug, the abzu, the E-nun; let them adorn its architrave for me Let them make its protection spread over the Land for me." His speaking Recite his omen to him. At that time, the lord on the throne daises and on the chairs, the noble seed,"

500-514. His speech was substantial, and its contents extensive. The messenger, whose mouth was heavy, was not able to repeat it. Because the messenger, whose mouth was tired, was not able to repeat it, the lord of Kulaba patted some clay and wrote the message as if on a tablet. Formerly, the writing of messages on clay was not established. Now, under that sun and on that day, it was indeed so. The lord of Kulaba inscribed the message like a tablet. It was just like that. The messenger was like a bird, flapping its wings; he raged forth like a wolf following a kid. He traversed five mountains, six mountains, seven mountains. He lifted his eyes as he approached Aratta. He stepped joyfully into the courtyard of Aratta, he made known the authority of his king. Openly he spoke out the words in his heart. The messenger transmitted the message to the lord of Aratta:

515-517. "Your father, my master, has sent me to you; the lord of Unug, the lord of Kulaba, has sent me to you." is it to me what your master has spoken? What is it to me what he has said?

518-535. "This is what my master has spoken, this is what he has said. My king is like a huge mesh tree, son of Enlil; this tree has grown high, uniting heaven and earth; its crown reaches heaven, its trunk is set upon the earth. He who is made to shine forth in lordship and kingship, Enmerkar, the son of Utu, has given me a clay tablet. O lord of Aratta, after you have examined the clay tablet, after you have learned the content of the message, say whatever you will say to me, and I shall announce that message in the shrine E-ana as glad tidings to the scion of him with the glistening beard, whom his stalwart cow gave birth to in the mountains of the shining me. who was reared on the soil of Aratta, who was given suck at the udder of the good cow, who is suited for office in Kulaba, the mountain of great me, to Enmerkar, the son of Utu; I shall repeat it in his gipar, fruitful as a flourishing mesh tree, to my king, the lord of Kulaba."

536-556. After he had spoken thus to him, the lord of Aratta received his kiln-fired tablet from the messenger. The lord of Aratta looked at the tablet. The transmitted message was just nails, and his brow expressed anger. The lord of Aratta looked at his kiln-fired tablet. At that moment, the lord worthy of the crown of lordship, the son of Enlil, the god Ishkur, thundering in heaven and earth, caused a raging storm, a great lion, in He was making the mountains quake, he was convulsing the mountain range ... the awesome radiance of his breast; he caused the mountain range to raise its voice in joy. On Aratta's parched flanks, in the midst of the mountains, wheat grew of its own accord, and chickpeas also grew of their own accord; they brought the wheat which grew of its own accord into the granary of for the lord of Aratta, and heaped it up before him in the courtyard of Aratta. The lord of Aratta looked at the wheat. The messenger's eyes looked askance The lord of Aratta called to the messenger:

557-576. "Inana, the lady of all the lands, has not run away from the primacy of her city, Aratta, nor has she stolen it for Unug; she has not run away from her E-zagin, nor has she stolen it for the shrine E-ana; she has not run away from the mountain of the shining me, nor has she stolen it for brickbuilt Kulaba; she has not run away from the adorned bed, nor has she stolen it for the shining bed; she has not run away from the purification for the lord, nor has she stolen it for the lord of Unug, the lord of Kulaba. Inana, the lady of all the lands, has surrounded Aratta, on its right and left, for her like a rising flood. They are people whom she has separated from other people, they are people whom Dumuzid has made step forth from other people, who firmly establish the holy words of Inana. Let the clever champion and the of Dumuzid whirl about! Quickly, come now, After the flood had swept over, Inana, the lady of all the lands, from her great love of Dumuzid, has sprinkled the water of life upon those who had stood in the face of the flood and made the Land subject to them."

577-587. The clever champion, when he came, had covered his head with a colourful turban, and wrapped himself in a garment of lion skins.

[4 lines unclear]

Inana Her song was pleasing to her spouse, Amaushumgal-ana. Since that time, she has made it perfect in the holy ear, the holy ear of Dumuzid, has sung it and has let the words be known.

588-610. When the old woman came to the mountain of the shining me, she went up to him like a maiden who in her day is perfect, painted her eyes with kohl, wrapped herself in a white garment, came forth with the good crown like the moonlight. She arranged the on her head. She made Enmerkar, her spouse, occupy the throne-dais with her. She raised up, and indeed, for Aratta, the ewes and their lambs now multiply; indeed, for Aratta, the cows and their calves multiply; indeed, for Aratta, the cows and their calves multiply; indeed, for Aratta, the donkey mares and their black, swift-footed foals multiply. In Aratta, they say together: "Let them heap up and pile up for the grain piles; the abundance is truly your abundance." After having made for the lord of Aratta, let him He will He came forth, he set right for her.

[3 lines missing]

611-625. (An unidentified person speaks:) ".....
befitting ..., the ilu song of the heart, ..., your
abundance in his Enlil has granted you, and
may be made known. his father was not
luxuriantly fertile, and poured forth no semen. Enlil, king of
all the lands In accordance with the tasks which he has
now established, the people of Aratta their task of
plying gold, silver and lapis lazuli; the men who golden
fruit, fruit trees, with their figs and grapes, shall heap the
fruit up in great mounds; and shall dig out the flawless
lapis lazuli from the roots of the trees, and shall remove the
succulent part of the reeds from the crowns of the trees, and
then shall heap them up in a pile in the courtyard of E-ana for
Inana. the lady of E-ana."

626-636. "Come, my king, I shall offer you advice: let my counsel be heeded. I shall speak words to you; let them be heard. Let the people choose a man of the foreign lands, and let the people of Aratta speak When I go from here, the ever-sparkling lady gives me my kingship. Geshtinana In that city, festivals were not Daily"

[approx. 6 lines missing]

ENMERKAR AND EN-SUHGIR-ANA

Translation: ETCSLt.1.8.2.4; University of Oxford Estimated Range of Dating:

SEGMENT A

1-5. Brickwork rising out [from the pristine mountain] [(on the edge of ms. C:) of the shining plain] -- Kulaba, city which reaches from heaven to earth; Unug, whose fame like the

rainbow reaches up to the sky, a multicoloured sheen, as the new moon standing in the heavens.

6-13. Built in magnificence with all the great powers, lustrous mount founded on a favourable day, like moonlight coming up over the land, like bright sunlight radiating over the land, the rear cow and cow coming forth in abundance: all this is Unug, the glory of which reaches the highland and its radiance, genuine refined silver, covers Aratta like a garment, is spread over it like linen.

14-24. At that time the day was lord, the night was sovereign, and Utu was king. Now the name of the lord of Aratta's minister was minister Ansiga-ria. The name of the minister of Enmerkar, the lord of Kulaba, was Namena-tuma. He with the lord, he with the prince; he with the lord, he with the prince; he with the man born to be a god; he with a man manifest as a god, with the lord of Unug, the lord of Kulaba -- En-suhgir-ana, the lord of Aratta, is to make a contest with him, saying first to the messenger concerning Unug:

25-39. "Let him submit to me, let him bear my yoke. If he submits to me, indeed submits to me, then as for him and mehe may dwell with Inana within a walled enclosure (a fortress), but I dwell with Inana in the E-zagin of Aratta; he may lie with her on the splendid bed, but I lie in sweet slumber with her on the adorned bed, he may see dreams with Inana at night, but I converse with Inana awake. He may feed the geese with barley, but I will definitely not feed the geese with barley. I will the geese's eggs in a basket and their goslings. The small ones into my pot, the large ones into my kettle, and the rulers of the land who submitted will consume, together with me, what remains from the geese." This is what he said to Enmerkar

40-51. The messenger runs like a wild ram and flies like a falcon. He leaves in the morning and returns already at dusk, like small birds at dawn, he over the open country, like small birds at midnight, he hides himself in the interior of the mountains. Like a throw-stick, he stands at the side. Like a solitary donkey of SHakkan, he [runs over] [(1 ms. has instead:) cuts through] the mountains, he dashes like a large, powerful donkey. A slim donkey, eager to run, he rushes forth. A lion in the field at dawn, he lets out roars; like a wolf which has seized a lamb, he runs quickly. The small places he has reached, he fills with for him; the large places he has reached, he boundary.

52-69. He entered the presence of the lord in [his holy gipar] [(1 ms. has instead:) in his most holy place]. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) He entered the presence of Enmerkar in his most holy place.] "My king has sent me to you. The lord of Aratta, Ensuhgir-ana, has sent me to you." [(some mss. add the lines:) What does your king have to tell me, what does he have to add to me? What does En-suhgir-ana have to tell me, what does he have to add to me?" "This is what my king said, what he added, this is what En-suhgir-ana said, what he added."] "This is what my king says: "Let him submit to me, let him bear my voke. If he submits to me, indeed submits to me, then as for him and me -- he may dwell with Inana within a walled enclosure (a fortress), but I dwell with Inana in the E-zagin of Aratta; he may lie with her on the splendid bed, but I lie in sweet slumber with her on the adorned bed, he may see dreams with Inana at night, but I converse with Inana awake. He may feed the geese with barley, but I will definitely not feed the geese with barley. I will the geese's eggs in a basket and their goslings. The small ones into my pot, the large ones into my kettle, and the rulers of the land who submitted will consume, together with me, what remains from the geese '

70-76. The lord of Unug he is their, he is their rudder. he is the neck-stock which clamps down upon them, to the place of its foundation. He is their falcon which flies in the sky, he is their bird-net. The brickwork of the great temple of Aratta in Aratta great bring

77-113. He patted it like a lump of clay, he examined it like a clay-tablet: "He may dwell with Inana in the E-zagin of Aratta, but I dwell with her as her earthly companion. He may lie with her in sweet slumber on the adorned bed, but I lie on Inana's splendid bed strewn with pure plants. Its back is an ug lion, its front is a pirig lion. The ug lion chases the pirig lion, the pirig lion chases the ug lion. As the ug lion chases the pirig lion and the pirig lion chases the ug lion, the day does not dawn, the night does not pass. I accompany Inana for a journey of 15 leagues and yet Utu the sun god cannot see my holy crown, when she enters my holy gipar. Enlil has given me the true crown and sceptre. Ninurta, the son of Enlil, held me on his lap as the frame holds the waterskin. Aruru, the sister of Enlil, extended her right breast to me, extended her left breast to me. When I go up to the great shrine, the Mistress screeches like an Anzud chick, and other times when I go there, even though she is not a duckling, she shrieks like one. She from the city of her birth. No city was made to be so well-built as the city of Unug [Uruk (Sumerian: Unugki, Akkadian: Uruk or Uru'ung; Aramaic: Uruk; Hebrew: Erech or Erek; Greek: Orkhoe, Orekh, or

Orugeia) was an ancient city of Sumer (capital of the Kingdom of Uruk) situated east of the present bed of the Euphrates River on the dried-up ancient channel of the Euphrates 30 km (19 mi) east of modern Samawah, Al-Muthanna, Iraq.]. It is Unug where Inana dwells and as regards Aratta, what does it have to do with this? It is brickbuilt Kulaba where she lives, and as regards the mount of the lustrous me, what can it do about this? For five or 10 years she will definitely not go to Aratta. Since the great holy lady of the E-ana took counsel with me (?) about whether to go also to Aratta, since she [let me know] [(1 ms. has instead:) told me] about this matter, I know that she will not go to Aratta. He who has nothing shall not feed the geese with barley, but I will feed the geese with barley. I will the geese's eggs in a basket and their goslings. The small ones into my pot, the old ones into my kettle, and the rulers [of the Land] [(some mss. has instead:) of Sumer] who submitted will consume, together with me, what remains from the geese.

114-127. The messenger of Enmerkar reached En-suhgirana, reached his holy gipar, his most holy place, the most holy place where he was sitting, its En-suhgir-ana asked for instructions, he searched for an answer. He summoned the ishib priests, the lumah priests, the gudug priests, and girsiga attendants who dwell in the gipar and took counsel with them. "What shall I say to him? What shall I say to him? What shall I say to the lord of Unug, the lord of Kulaba? His bull stood up to fight my bull and the bull of Unug has defeated it. His man has been struggling with my man and the man of Unug has defeated him. His warrior has been struggling with my warrior and the warrior of Unug him."

128-134. The convened assembly answered him straightforwardly: "It was you who first sent a boastful message to Unug for Enmerkar. You cannot hold back Enmerkar, you have to hold back yourself. Calm down; your heart will prompt you to achieve nothing, as far as can be known." "If my city becomes a ruin mound, then I will be a potsherd of it, but I will never submit to the lord of Unug, the lord of Kulaba."

135-150. A sorcerer whose skill was that of a man of Hamazu, Ur-giri-nuna, whose skill was that of a man of Hamazu, who came over to Aratta after Hamazu had been destroyed, practised sorcery in the inner chamber at the E-gipar. He said to minister Ansiga-ria: "My lord, why is it that the great fathers of the city, the founders in earlier times, do not, do not give advice. I will make Unug dig canals. I will make Unug submit to the shrine of Aratta. After the word of Unug, I will make the territories from below to above, from the sea to the cedar mountain, from above to the mountain of the aromatic cedars, submit to my great army. Let Unug bring its own goods by boat, let it tie up boats as a transport flotilla towards the E-zagin of Aratta." The minister Ansiga-ria rose up in his city, he

151-162..... Ansiga-ria, if only "My lord, why is it that the great fathers of the city, the founders in earlier times, do not, do not give advice. I will make Unug dig canals. I will make Unug submit to the shrine of Aratta. After the word of Unug, I will make the territories from below to above, from the sea to the cedar mountain, from above to the mountain of the aromatic cedars, submit to my great army. Let Unug bring its own goods by boat, let it tie up boats as a transport flotilla towards the Ezagin of Aratta."

163-169. This made the lord extremely happy, so he gave five minas of gold to him, he gave five minas of silver to him. He promised him that he would be allotted fine food to eat, he promised him that he would be allotted fine drink to drink. "When their men are taken captive, your life happiness in your hand prosperity," he promised to him.

170-184. The sorcerer, farmer of the best seeds, directed his steps towards Eresh, the city of Nisaba, and reached the animal pen, the house where the cows live. The cow trembled with fear at him in the animal pen. He made the cow speak so that it conversed with him as if it were a human being: "Cow, who will eat your butter? Who will drink your milk?" "My butter will be eaten by Nisaba, my milk will be drunk by Nisaba. My cheese, skilfully produced bright crown, was made litting for the great dining hall, the dining hall of Nisaba. Until my butter is delivered from the holy animal pen, until my milk is delivered from the holy byre, the steadfast wild cow Nisaba, the first-born of Enlil, will not impose any levy on the people." "Cow, your butter to your shining horn; your milk to your back." So the cow's butter was to its shining horn; its milk was to its back

185-197. He reached the holy byre, the byre of Nisaba. The goat trembled with fear at him in the byre. He made the goat speak so that it conversed with him as if it were a human being. "Goat, who will eat your butter? Who will drink your milk?" "My butter will be eaten by Nisaba, my milk will be drunk by Nisaba. My cheese, skilfully produced bright crown, was made fitting for the great dining hall, the dining hall of Nisaba. Until my butter is delivered from the holy animal pen, until my milk is delivered from the holy byre, the steadfast wild cow Nisaba, the first-born of Enlil, will not impose any levy on the

people." "Goat, your butter to your shining horn, your milk to your back." So the goat's butter was to its shining horn; its milk was made to depart to its back.

198-205. On that day the animal pen and the byre were turned into a house of silence; they were dealt a disaster. There was no milk in the udder of the cow, the day darkened for the calf, its young calf was hungry and wept bitterly. There was no milk in the udder of the goat; the day darkened for the kid. The buck-goat lay starving, its life The cow spoke bitterly to its calf. The goat to its kid. The holy churn was empty, was hungry, lay starving.

206-221. On that day the animal pen and the byre were turned into a house of silence; they were dealt a disaster. The cow-herd dropped his staff from his hand; he was shocked The shepherd hung the crook at his side and wept bitterly. The shepherd boy did not enter the byre and animal pen, but took another way; the milk carrier did not sing loudly, but took another road. The cow-herd and shepherd of Nisaba, sons born of the same mother, were brought up in the animal pen and byre. The name of the first one was Mash-gula, the name of the second one was Ur-edina. At the great gate, facing sunrise, the place marvelled at by the land, both of them crouched in the debris and appealed to Utu for help: "The sorcerer from Aratta entered the animal pen. He made the milk scarce, so the young calves could not get any. [In the animal pen and the byre he caused distress; he made the butter and milk scarce] [(1 ms. has instead:) diminished, he made the milk of the goat scarcel. He threw its, was dealt a disaster."

222-227. approached. caused damage turned toward Eresh. ... the Euphrates the river of the gods. She made her way to the city whose destiny was decreed by An and Enlil Wise Woman Sagburu hand for him.

228-231. Both of them threw fish spawn into the river. The sorcerer made a giant carp [come out] [(1 ms. has instead:) arise] from the water. Wise Woman Sagburu, however, made an eagle [come out] [(1 ms. has instead:) arise] from the water. [The eagle seized the giant carp and fled to the mountains] [(1 ms. has instead:) The eagle seized the giant carp out of the waves and went up to the sky].

232-235. A second time they threw fish spawn into the river.

232-235. A second time they threw fish spawn into the river The sorcerer made a ewe and its lamb [come out] [(1 ms. has instead:) arise] from the water. Wise Woman Sagburu, however, made a wolf [come out] [(1 ms. has instead:) arise] from the water. The wolf seized the ewe and its lamb and dragged them to the wide desert.

236-239. A third time they threw fish spawn (?) into the river. The sorcerer made a cow and its calf [come out] [(1 ms. has instead:) arise] from the water. Wise Woman Sagburu, however, made a lion [come out] [(1 ms. has instead:) arise] from the water. The lion seized the cow and its calf and [took] [(some mss. have instead:) dragged] them to the reedbeds.

240-243. A fourth time they threw fish spawn (?) into the river. The sorcerer made an ibex and a wild sheep [come out] [(1 ms. has instead:) arise] from the water. Wise Woman Sagburu, however, made a mountain leopard [come out] [(1 ms. has instead:) arise] from the water. The leopard seized the ibex and the wild sheep and took them to the mountains.

244-248. A fifth time they threw fish sp) into the river. The sorcerer made a gazelle kid come out from the water. Wise Woman Sagburu, however, made a tiger and a lion come out from the water. The tiger and the lion seized the gazelle kid and [took] [(1 ms. has instead:) dragged] them to the forest. What happened made the face of the sorcerer darken, made his mind confused.

249-254. Wise Woman Sagburu said to him: "Sorcerer, you do have magical powers, but where is your sense? How on earth could you think of going to do sorcery at Eresh, which is the city of Nisaba, a city whose destiny was decreed by An and Enlil, the primeval city, the beloved city of Ninli?"

255-263. The sorcerer answered her: "I went there without knowing all about this. I acknowledge your superiority --please do not be bitter." He pleaded, he prayed to her: "Set me free, my sister; set me free. Let me go in peace to my city. Let me return safely to Aratta, the mount of the lustrous me. I will [make known] [(1 ms. has instead:) declare] your greatness in all the lands. I will sing your praise in Aratta, the mount of the lustrous me."

264-273. Wise Woman Sagburu answered to him: "You have caused distress in the animal pen and the byre; you have made the butter and milk scarce there. You have removed the lunch-table, the morning- and evening-table. You have cut off butter and milk from the evening meal of the great dining hall, distress Your sin that butter and milk cannot be forgiven. Nanna the king the byre milk; established that it was a capital offence and I am not pardoning your life." Wise Woman Sagburu her decision about the sorcerer in the assembly (?). She threw her prisoner from the bank of the Euphrates. She seized from him his life-force and then returned to her city.

274-280. Having heard this matter, En-suhgir-ana sent a man to Enmerkar: "You are the beloved lord of Inana, you

alone are exalted. Inana has truly chosen you for her holy lap, you are her beloved. From the south to the highlands, you are the great lord, and I am only second to you; from the moment of conception I was not your equal, you are the older brother. I cannot match you ever."

281-283. In the contest between Enmerkar and En-suhgirana, Enmerkar proved superior to En-suhgir-ana. Nisaba, be praised!

SEGMENT B

1-7. [3 lines unclear] The sorcerer Ur-girinuna The sorcerer minister Ansiga-ria. [1 line unclear]

LUGULBANDA CYCLE

LUGALBANDA IN THE MOUNTAIN CAVE

Translation: ETCSL t.1.8.2.1 Estimated Range of Dating:

(Lugalbanda was a deified Sumerian king of Uruk who, according to various sources of Mesopotamian literature, was the father of Gilgamesh. Early sources mention his consort Ninsun and his heroic deeds in an expedition to Aratta by King Enmerkar.

Lugalbanda is listed in the Sumerian King List as the second king of Uruk, saying he ruled for 1200 years, and providing him with the epithet of the Shepherd. Lugalbanda's historicy is uncertain among scholars. Attempts to date him in the ED II period are based on an amalgamation of data from the epic traditions of the 2nd millennium with unclear archaeological observations.

Lugalbanda appears in Sumerian literary sources as early as the mid-3rd millennium, as attested by the incomplete mythological text Lugalbanda and Ninsuna, found in Abu Salabikh, that describes a romantic relationship between Lugalbanda and Ninsun. In the earliest god-lists from Fara, his name appears separate and in a much lower ranking that the goddess; however, in later traditions until the Seleucid period, his name is often listed along with his consort Ninsun.

There's evidence suggesting the worship of Lugalbanda as a deity originating from the Sumerian Renaissance, as attested in tablets from Nippur, Ur, Umma and Puzrish-Dagan. In the Old Babylonian period Sin-kashid of Uruk is known to have built a temple called É-KI.KAL dedicated to Lugalbanda and Ninsun, and to have assigned his daughter Nishi-ini-shu as the eresh-dingir priestess of Lugalbanda.

At the same time, Lugalbanda would prominently feature as the hero of two Sumerian stories dated to the Third Dynasty of Ur, called by scholars Lugalbanda I (Lugalbanda in the Mountain Cave) and Lugalbanda II (Lugalbanda and the Anzu Bird). Both are known only in later versions, although there is an Ur III fragment that is quite different from either 18th century version

These tales are part of a series of stories that describe the conflicts between Enmerkar, king of Uruk, and Ensuhkeshdanna, lord of Aratta, presumably in the Iranian highlands. In these two stories, Lugalbanda is a soldier in the army of Enmerkar, whose name also appears in the Sumerian King List as the first king of Uruk and predecessor of Lugalbanda. The extant fragments make no reference to Lugalbanda's succession as king following Enmerkar.

In royal hymns of the Ur III period, Ur-Nammu of Ur and his son Shulgi describe Lugalbanda and Ninsun as their holy parents, and in the same context call themselves the brother of Gilgamesh. Sin-Kashid of Uruk also refers to Lugalbanda and Ninsun as his divine parents, and names Lugalbanda as his god.

In the Epic of Gilgamesh and in earlier Sumerian stories about the hero, Gilgamesh calls himself the son of Lugalbanda and Ninsun. In the Gilgamesh and Huwawa poem, the king consistently uses the assertive phrase: "By the life of my own mother Ninsun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda!". In Akkadian versions of the epic, Gilgamesh also refers to Lugalbanda as his personal god, and in one episode presents the oil filled horns of the defeated Bull of Heaven "for the anointing of his god Lugalbanda".)

SEGMENT A

1-19. When in ancient days heaven was separated from earth, when in ancient days that which was fitting, when after the ancient harvests barley was eaten (?), when boundary-stones were laid out and borders were fixed, when boundary-stones were placed and inscribed with names, when dykes and canals were purified, when wells were dug straight down; when the bed of the Euphrates, the plenteous river of Unug, was opened up, when, when holy An removed, when the offices of en and king were famously exercised at Unug, when the sceptre and staff of Kulaba were held high in battle -- in battle, Inana's game; when the black-headed were blessed with long life, in their settled ways and in their, when they presented the

mountain goats with pounding hooves and the mountain stags beautiful with their antlers to Enmerkar son of Utu --

20-34. — now at that time the king set his mace towards the city, Enmerkar son of Utu prepared an expedition against Aratta, the mountain of the holy divine powers. He was going to set off to destroy the rebel land; the lord began a mobilisation of his city. The herald made the horn signal sound in all the lands. Now levied Unug took the field with the wise king, indeed levied Kulaba followed Enmerkar. Unug's levy was a flood, Kulaba's levy was a clouded sky. As they covered the ground like heavy fog, the dense dust whirled up by them reached up to heaven. As if to rooks on the best seed, rising up, he called to the people. Each one gave his fellow the sign.

35-46. Their king went at their head, to go at the of the army. Enmerkar went at their head, to go at the of the army.

[2 lines unclear]

"..... gu-nida emmer-grain to grow abundantly. When the righteous one who takes counsel with Enlil (i.e. Enmerkar) took away the whole of Kulaba, like sheep they bent over at the slope of the mountains, at the edge of the hills they ran forward like wild bulls. He sought at the side -- they recognised the way. He sought 47-58. Five days passed. On they sixth day they

47-58. Five days passed. On they sixth day they bathed. on the seventh day they entered the mountains. When they had crossed over on the paths -- an enormous flood billowing upstream into a lagoon Their ruler (i.e. Enmerkar), riding on a storm, Utu's son, the good bright metal, stepped down from heaven to the great earth. His head shines with brilliance, the barbed arrows flash past him like lightning; at his side the bronze pointed axe of his emblem shines for him, he strides forward keenly with the pointed axe, like a dog set on consuming a corpse.

59-70. At that time there were seven, there were seven -- the young ones, born in Kulaba, were seven. The goddess Urash had borne these seven, the Wild Cow had nourished them with milk. They were heroes, living in Sumer, they were princely in their prime. They had been brought up eating at the god An's table. These seven were the overseers for those that are subordinate to overseers, were the captains for those that are subordinate to captains were the generals for those that are subordinate to generals. They were overseers of 300 men, 300 men each; they were captains of 600 men, 600 men each; they were generals of seven shar (25,200) of soldiers, 25,200 soldiers each. They stood at the service of the lord as his élite troops

71-86. Lugalbanda, the eighth of them, was washed in water. In awed silence he went forward, he marched with the troops. When they had covered half the way, covered half the way, a sickness befell him there, 'head sickness' befell him. He jerked like a snake dragged by its head with a reed; his mouth bit the dust, like a gazelle caught in a snare. No longer could his hands return the hand grip, no longer could he lift his feet high. Neither king nor contingents could help him. In the great mountains, crowded together like a dustcloud over the ground, they said: "Let them bring him to Unug." But they did not know how they could bring him. "Let them bring him to Kulaba." But they did not know how they could bring him. As his teeth chattered (?) in the cold places of the mountains, they brought him to a warm place there.

87-122. a storehouse, they made him an arbour like a bird's nest. dates, figs and various sorts of cheese; they put sweetmeats suitable for the sick to eat, in baskets of dates, and they made him a home. They set out for him the various fats of the cowpen, the sheepfold's fresh cheese, butter ... as if laying a table for the holy place, the valued place (i.e. as if for a funerary offering). Directly in front of the table they arranged for him beer for drinking, mixed with date syrup and rolls with butter. Provisions poured into leather buckets, provisions all put into leather bags -- his brothers and friends, like a boat unloading from the harvest-place, placed stores by his head in the mountain cave. They water in their leather waterskins. Dark beer, alcoholic drink, light emmer beer, wine for drinking which is pleasant to the taste, they distributed by his head in the mountain cave as on a stand for waterskins. They prepared for him incense resin, resin, aromatic resin, ligidba resin and first-class resin on pot-stands in the deep hole; they suspended them by his head in the mountain cave. They pushed into place at his head his axe whose metal was tin, imported from the Zubi mountains. They wrapped up by his chest his dagger of iron imported from the Gig (Black) mountains. His eyes -irrigation ditches, because they are flooding with water -holy Lugalbanda kept open, directed towards this. The outer door of his lips -- overflowing like holy Utu -- he did not open to his brothers. When they lifted his neck, there was no breath there any longer. His brothers, his friends took counsel with one another:
123-127. "If our brother rises like Utu from bed, then the

123-127. "If our brother rises like Utu from bed, then the god who has smitten him will step aside and, when he eats this food, when he drinks (?) this, will make his feet stable. May he

bring him over the high places of the mountains to brick-built Kulaba."

128-132. "But if Utu calls our brother to the holy place, the valued place (i.e. the hereafter), the health of his limbs will leave (?) him. Then it will be up to us, when we come back from Aratta, to bring our brother's body to brick-built Kulaba"

133-140. Like the dispersed holy cows of Nanna, as with a breeding bull when, in his old age, they have left him behind in the cattle pen, his brothers and friends abandoned holy Lugalbanda in the mountain cave; and with repeated tears and moaning, with tears, with lamentation, with grief and weeping, Lugalbanda's older brothers set off into the mountains.

141-147. Then two days passed during which Lugalbanda was ill; to these two days, half a day was added. As Utu turned his glance towards his home, as the animals lifted their heads toward their lairs, at the day's end in the evening cool, his body was as if anointed with oil. But he was not yet free of his six heres.

148-150. When he lifted his eyes to heaven to Utu, he wept to him as if to his own father. In the mountain cave he raised to him his fair hands:

151-170. "Utu, I greet you! Let me be ill no longer! Hero, Ningal's son, I greet you! Let me be ill no longer! Utu, you have let me come up into the mountains in the company of my brothers. In the mountain cave, the most dreadful spot on earth, let me be ill no longer! Here where there is no mother. there is no father, there is no acquaintance, no one whom I value, my mother is not here to say "Alas, my child!" brother is not here to say "Alas, my brother!" My mother's neighbour who enters our house is not here to weep over me. If the male and female protective deities were standing by, the deity of neighbourliness would say, "A man should not perish." A lost dog is bad; a lost man is terrible. On the unknown way at the edge of the mountains. Utu, is a lost man a man in an even more terrible situation. Don't make me flow away like water in a violent death! Don't make me eat saltpetre as if it were barley! Don't make me fall like a throwstick somewhere in the desert unknown to me! Afflicted with a name which excites my brothers' scorn, let me be ill no longer! Afflicted with the derision of my comrades, let me be ill no longer! Let me not come to an end in the mountains like a weakling!'

171-172. Utu accepted his tears. He sent down his divine encouragement to him in the mountain cave.

173-182. She who makes for the poor, whose game (i.e. battle) is sweet, the prostitute who goes out to the inn, who makes the bedchamber delightful, who is food to the poor man -- Inana (i.e. the evening star), the daughter of Suen, arose before him like a bull in the Land. Her brilliance, like that of holy SHara, her stellar brightness illuminated for him the mountain cave. When he lifted his eyes upwards to Inana, he wept as if before his own father. In the mountain cave he raised to her his fair hands:

183-196. "Inana, if only this were my home, if only this were my city! If only this were Kulaba, the city in which my mother bore me! Even if it were to me as the waste land to a snake! If it were to me as a crack in the ground to a scorpion! My mighty people! My great ladies! to E-ana!"

[2 lines unclear]

"The little stones of it, the shining stones in their glory, sagkal stones above, below, from its crying out in the mountain land Zabu, from its voice open -- may my limbs not perish in the mountains of the cypresses!"

197-200. Inana accepted his tears. With power of life she let him go to sleep just like the sleeping Utu. Inana enveloped him with heart's joy as if with a woollen garment. Then, just as if, she went to brick-built Kulaba.

201-214. The bull that eats up the black soup, the astral holy bull-calf (i.e. the moon), came to watch over him. He shines (?) in the heavens like the morning star, he spreads bright light in the night -- Suen is greeted as the new moon; Father Nanna gives the direction for the rising Utu. The glorious lord whom the crown befits, Suen, the beloved son of Enlil, [the god] [(1 ms. has instead:) the lord] reached the zenith splendidly. His brilliance like [holy SHara] [(1 ms. has instead:) holy Utu] [(1 ms. has instead:) lapis lazuli], his starry radiance illuminated for him the mountain cave. When Lugalbanda raised his eyes to heaven to Suen, he wept to him as if to his own father. In the mountain cave he raised to him his fair hands:

215-225. "King whom one cannot reach in the distant sky! Suen whom one cannot reach in the distant sky! King who loves justice, who hates evil! Suen who loves justice, who hates evil! Justice brings joy justly to your heart. A poplar, a great staff, forms a sceptre for you, you who loosen the bonds of justice, who do not loosen the bonds of evil. If you encounter evil before you, it is dragged away behind When your heart becomes angry, you spit your venom at evil like a snake which drools poison."

226-227. Suen accepted his tears and gave him life. He conferred on his feet the power to stand.

228-239. A second time (i.e. at the following sunrise), as the bright bull rising up from the horizon, the bull resting among the cypresses, a shield standing on the ground, watched by the assembly, a shield coming out from the treasury, watched by the young men — the youth Utu extended his holy splendour down from heaven [(1 ms. from Urim adds:) holy, his brilliance illuminated for him the mountain cave], he bestowed them on holy Lugalbanda in the mountain cave. His good protective god hovered ahead of him, his good protective goddess walked behind him. The god which had smitten him [stepped aside] [(1 ms. has instead:) went out from him] [(1 ms. has instead:) went up and away from him]. When he raised his eyes heavenward to Utu, he wept to him as to his own father. In the mountain cave he raised to him his fair hands:

240-263. "Utu, shepherd of the land, father of the blackheaded, when you go to sleep, the people go to sleep with you; youth Utu, when you rise, the people rise with you. Utu, without you no net is stretched out for a bird, no slave is taken away captive. To him who walks alone, you are his brotherly companion; Utu, you are the third of them who travel in pairs. You are the blinkers for him who wears the neck-ring. Like a holy zulumhi garment, your sunshine clothes the poor man and the scoundrel as well as him who has no clothes; as a garment of white wool it covers the bodies even of debt slaves. Like rich old men, the old women praise your sunshine sweetly, until their oldest days. Your sunshine is as mighty as oil. Great wild bulls run forward." (alludes to a proverb)

[1 line unclear]

"Hero, son of Ningal, to you."

[2 lines unclear]

"Brother his brother. He causes his plough to stand in the Praise to you is so very sweet, it reaches up to heaven. Hero, son of Ningal, they laud you as you deserve."

264-275. Holy Lugalbanda came out from the mountain cave. Then the righteous one who takes counsel with Enlil (i.e. Utu ?) caused life-saving plants to be born. The rolling rivers, mothers of the hills, brought life-saving water. He bit on the life-saving plants, he sipped from the life-saving water. After biting on the life-saving plants, after sipping from the life-saving water, here he on his own set a trap (?) in the ground, and from that spot he sped away like a horse of the mountains. Like a lone wild ass of SHakkan he darted over the mountains. Like a large powerful donkey he raced; a slim donkey, eager to run, he bounded along.

276-299. That night, in the evening, he set off, hurrying through the mountains a waste land in the moonlight. He was alone and, even to his sharp eves, there was not a single person to be seen. With the provisions stocked in leather pails, provisions put in leather bags, his brothers and his friends had been able to bake bread on the ground, with some cold water. Holy Lugalbanda had carried the things from the mountain cave. He set them beside the embers. He filled a bucket ... with water. In front of him he split what he had placed. He took hold of the stones. Repeatedly he struck them together. He laid the glowing (?) coals on the open ground. The fine flintstone caused a spark. Its fire shone out for him over the waste land like the sun. Not knowing how to bake cakes, not knowing an oven, with just seven coals he baked gizieshta dough. While the bread was baking by itself, he pulled up shulhi reeds of the mountains, roots and all, and stripped their branches. He packed up all the cakes as a day's ration. Not knowing how to bake cakes, not knowing an oven, with just seven coals he had baked gizieshta dough. He garnished it with sweet date syrup.

300-313. A brown wild bull, a fine-looking wild bull, a wild bull tossing its horns, a wild bull in hunger (?), resting, seeking with its voice the brown wild bulls of the hills, the pure place -- in this way it was chewing aromatic shimgig as if it were barley, it was grinding up the wood of the cypress as if it were esparto grass, it was sniffing with its nose at the foliage of the shenu shrub as if it were grass. It was drinking the water of the rolling rivers, it was belching from ilinnush, the pure plant of the mountains. While the brown wild bulls, the wild bulls of the mountains, were browsing about among the plants, Lugalbanda captured this one in his ambush (?). He uprooted a juniper tree of the mountains and stripped its branches. With a knife holy Lugalbanda trimmed its roots, which were like the long rushes of the field. He tethered the brown wild bull, the wild bull of the mountains, to it with a halter.

314-325. A brown goat and a buck-goat -- flea-bitten goats, lousy goats, fatty (?) goats -- in this way they were chewing aromatic shimgig as if it were barley, they were grinding up the wood of the cypress as if it were esparto grass, they were sniffing with their noses at the foliage of the shenu shrub as if it were grass. They were drinking the water of the rolling rivers, they were belching from ilinnush, the pure plant of the mountains. While the brown goats and the buck-goats were browsing about among the plants, Lugalbanda captured these two in his ambush (?). He uprooted a juniper tree of the mountains and stripped its branches. With a knife holy Lugalbanda cut off its roots, which were like the long rushes

of the field. With chains he fettered the brown goat and the buck-goat, both the goats. [(1 ms. adds:), he piled

326-350. He was alone and, even to his sharp eyes, there was not a single person to be seen. Sleep overcame the king (i.e. Lugalbanda) -- sleep, the country of oppression; it is like a towering flood, like a hand demolishing a brick wall, a hand raised high, a foot raised high; covering like syrup that which is in front of it, overflowing like syrup onto that which is in front of it; it knows no overseer, knows no captain, yet it is overpowering for the hero. And by means of Ninkasi's wooden cask (i.e. with the help of beer) , sleep finally overcame Lugalbanda. He laid down ilinnush, pure herb of the mountains, as a couch, he spread out a zulumhi garment, he unfolded there a white linen sheet. There being no ... room for bathing, he made do with that place. The king lay down not to sleep, he lay down to dream -- not turning back at the door of the dream, not turning back at the door-pivot. To the liar it talks in lies, to the truthful it speaks truth. It can make one man happy, it can make another man sing, but it is the closed tablet-basket of the gods. It is the beautiful bedchamber of Ninlil, it is the counsellor of Inana. The multiplier of mankind, the voice of one not alive -- Zangara, the god of dreams, himself like a bull, bellowed at Lugalbanda. Like the calf of a cow he lowed:

351-360. "Who will slaughter (?) a brown wild bull for me? Who will make its fat melt for me? He shall take my axe whose metal is tin, he shall wield my dagger which is of iron. Like an athlete I shall let him bring away the brown wild bull, the wild bull of the mountains, I shall let him like a wrestler make it submit. Its strength will leave it. When he offers it before the rising sun, let him heap up like barleycorns the heads of the brown goat and the buck-goat, both the goats; when he has poured out their blood in the pit -- let their smell waft out in the desert so that the alert snakes of the mountains will sniff it."

361-370. Lugalbanda awoke -- it was a dream. He shivered -- it was sleep. He rubbed his eyes, he was overawed. He took his axe whose metal was tin, he wielded his dagger which was of iron. Like an athlete he brought away the brown wild bull, the wild bull of the mountains, like a wrestler he made it submit. Its strength left it. He offered it before the rising sun. He heaped up like barleycorns the heads of the brown goat and the buck-goat, both of the goats. He poured out their blood in the pit so that their smell wafted out in the desert. The alert snakes of the mountains sniffed it.

371-393. As the sun was rising, Lugalbanda, invoking the name of Enlil, made An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursaga sit down to a banquet at the pit, at the place in the mountains which he had prepared. The banquet was set, the libations were poured -- dark beer, alcoholic drink, light emmer beer, wine for drinking which is pleasant to the taste. Over the plain he poured cool water as a libation. He put the knife to the flesh of the brown goats, and he roasted the dark livers there. He let their smoke rise there, like incense put on the fire. As if Dumuzid had brought in the good savours of the cattle pen, so An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursaga consumed the best part of the food prepared by Lugalbanda. Like the shining place of pure strength, the holy altar of Suen, On top of the altar of Utu and the altar of Suen, he decorated the two altars with the lapis lazuli of Inana. Suen He bathed the a-an-kar. When he had bathed ., he set out all the cakes properly.

394-432. (Description of the demons) They make Enki, father of the gods; they are, they; like a string of figs dripping with lusciousness, they hang their arms. They are gazelles of Suen running in flight, they are the fine smooth cloths of Ninlil, they are the helpers of Ishkur; they pile up flax, they pile up barley; they are wild animals on the rampage, they descend like a storm on a rebel land hated by Suen, indeed they descend like a storm. They lie up during all the long day, and during the short night they enter . houses (?); during the long day, during the short night they lie in beds, they give At dead of night they, in the breeze swallows of Utu; they enter into house after house, they peer into street after street, they are talkers. they are repliers to talkers, seeking words with a mother, replying to a great lady; they nestle at the bedside, they smite, when the black are stolen, they leave the doors and tables of humans, they change, they tie the door-pivots together. The hero who, Utu who, the heroic youth Utu of the good word

[2 lines unclear] the incantation of the youth Utu, which the Anuna, the great gods, do not know, from that time

[3 lines unclear]

433-461. The wise elders of the city

[1 line unclear] the incantation of the youth Utu, which the Anuna, the great gods, do not know,

[5 lines unclear] they are able to enter the presence of Utu, of Enlil, god of the, the bearded son of Ningal; they give to Suen, they confirm with their power the fate of the foreign lands. At dead of night they

know the black wild boar, at midday to Utu he can his incantation,

[3 lines unclear]

They enter before An, Enlil,, Inana, the gods; they know, they watch, they in at the window; the door of the shining mountain, the doorbolt of the shining mountain:

[4 lines unclear]they stand, [1 line unclear]

462-484. They pursue Inana, who are favoured by Inana's heart, who stand in the battle, they are the fourteen torches of battle, at midnight they, at dead of night they pursue like wildfire, in a band they flash together like lightning, in the urgent storm of battle, which roars loudly like a great flood rising up; they who are favoured in Inana's heart, who stand in the battle, they are the seven torches of battle; they stand joyfully as she wears the crown under a clear sky, with their foreheads and eyes they are a clear evening. Their ears a boat, with their mouths they are wild boars resting in a reed thicket; they stand in the thick of battle, with their life-force they

[1 line unclear]

who are favoured in Inana's heart, who stand in the battle, by Nintur of heaven they are numerous, by the life of heaven they hold; the holy shining battle-mace reaches to the edge of heaven and earth, reaches.

[1 line unclear]

485-499. As Útu comes forth from his chamber, the holy battle-mace of An, the just god who lies alongside a man; they are wicked gods with evil hearts, they are gods. It is they, like Nanna, like Utu, like Inana of the fifty divine powers, in heaven and earth; they are the interpreters of spoken evil, the spies of righteousness,

[2 lines unclear] a clear sky and numerous stars,
[1 line unclear] fresh cedars in the mountains of the cypress, a battle-net from the horizon to the zenith, ... [unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

(it is possible that this fragment does not belong to the same composition) $\$

1-7.

[7 lines unclear / Unknown number of lines missing to end]

LUGALBANDA AND THE ANZUD BIRD

Translation: ETCSL t.1.8.2.2; University of Oxford Estimated Range of Dating:

1-27. Lugalbanda lies idle in the mountains, in the faraway places; he has ventured into the Zabu mountains. No mother is with him to offer advice, no father is with him to talk to him. No one is with him whom he knows, whom he values, no confidant is there to talk to him. In his heart he speaks to himself: "I shall treat the bird as befits him. I shall treat Anzud as befits him. I shall greet his wife affectionately. I shall seat Anzud's wife and Anzud's child at a banquet. An will fetch Ninguena for me from her mountain home -- the expert woman who redounds to her mother's credit, Ninkasi the expert who redounds to her mother's credit. Her fermentingvat is of green lapis lazuli, her beer cask is of refined silver and of gold. If she stands by the beer, there is joy, if she sits by the beer, there is gladness; as cupbearer she mixes the beer, never wearying as she walks back and forth, Ninkasi, the keg at her side, on her hips; may she make my beer-serving perfect. When the bird has drunk the beer and is happy, when Anzud has drunk the beer and is happy, he can help me find the place to which the troops of Unug are going, Anzud can put me on the track of my brothers."

28-49. Now the splendid 'eagle'-tree of Enki on the summit of Inana's mountain of multicoloured cornelian stood fast on the earth like a tower, all shaggy like an aru. With its shade it covered the highest eminences of the mountains like a cloak, was spread out over them like a tunic. Its roots rested like sagkal snakes in Utu's river of the seven mouths. Nearby, in the mountains where no cypresses grow, where no snake slithers, where no scorpion stings, in the midst of the mountains the buru-az bird had put its nest and laid therein its eggs; nearby the Anzud bird had set his nest and settled therein his young. It was made with wood from the juniper and the box trees. The bird had made the bright twigs into a bower. When at daybreak the bird stretches himself, when at sunrise Anzud cries out, at his cry the ground quakes in the Lulubi mountains. He has a shark's teeth and an eagle's claws. In terror of him wild bulls run away into the foothills, stags run away into their mountains.

50-89. Lugalbanda is wise and he achieves mighty exploits. In preparation of the sweet celestial cakes he added carefulness to carefulness. He kneaded the dough with honey, he added more honey to it. He set them before the young nestling, before the Anzud chick, gave the baby fatty meat to eat. He fed it sheep's fat. He popped the cakes into its beak. He settled the Anzud chick in its nest, painted its eyes with kohl, dabbed white cedar scent onto its head, put up a twisted roll of salt meat. He withdrew from the Anzud's nest, awaited him in the

mountains where no cypresses grow. At that time the bird was herding together wild bulls of the mountains. Anzud was herding together wild bulls of the mountains. He held a live bull in his talons, he carried a dead bull across his shoulders. He poured forth his bile like 10 gur of water. The bird halted once, Anzud halted (?) once. When the bird called back to the nest, when Anzud called back to the nest, his fledgling did not answer him from the nest. When the bird called a second time to the nest, his fledgling did not answer from the nest, Whenever the bird had called back to the nest before, his fledgling had answered from the nest; but now when the bird called back to the nest, his fledgling did not answer him from the nest. The bird uttered a cry of grief that reached up to heaven, his wife cried out "Woe!" Her cry reached the abzu. The bird with this cry of "Woe!" and his wife with this cry of grief made the Anuna, gods of the mountains, actually crawl into crevices like ants. The bird says to his wife, Anzud says to his wife, "Foreboding weighs upon my nest, as over the great cattle-pen of Nanna. Terror lies upon it, as when wild lions start butting each other. Who has taken my child from its nest? Who has taken the Anzud from its nest?

90-110. But it seemed to the bird, when he approached the nest, it seemed to Anzud, when he approached the nest, that it had been made like a god's dwelling-place. It was brilliantly festooned. His chick was settled in its nest, its eyes were painted with kohl, sprigs of white cedar were fixed on its head. A twisted piece of salt meat was hung up high. The bird is exultant, Anzud is exultant: "I am the prince who decides the destiny of rolling rivers. I keep on the straight and narrow path the righteous who follow Enlil's counsel. My father Enlil brought me here. He let me bar the entrance to the mountains as if with a great door. If I fix a fate, who shall alter it? If I but say the word, who shall change it? Whoever has done this to my nest, if you are a god, I will speak with you, indeed I will befriend you. If you are a man, I will fix your fate. I shall not let you have any opponents in the mountains. You shall be 'Hero-fortified-by-Anzud'."

111-131. Lugalbanda, partly from fright, partly from delight, partly from fright, partly from deep delight, flatters the bird, flatters Anzud: "Bird with sparkling eyes, born in this district, Anzud with sparkling eyes, born in this district, you frolic as you bathe in a pool. Your grandfather, the prince of all patrimonies, placed heaven in your hand, set earth at your feet. Your wingspan extended is like a birdnet stretched out across the sky! on the ground your talons are like a trap laid for the wild bulls and wild cows of the mountains! Your spine is as straight as a scribe's! Your breast as you fly is like Nirah parting the waters! As for your back, you are a verdant palm garden, breathtaking to look upon. Yesterday I escaped safely to you, since then I have entrusted myself to your protection. Your wife shall be my mother" (he said), "You shall be my father" (he said), "I shall treat your little ones as my brothers. Since yesterday I have been waiting for you in the mountains where no cypresses grow. Let your wife stand beside you to greet me. I offer my greeting and leave you to decide my destiny.

132-141. The bird presents himself before him, rejoices over him, Anzud presents himself before him, rejoices over him, Anzud says to holy Lugalbanda, "Come now, my Lugalbanda. Go like a boat full of precious metals, like a grain barge, like a boat going to deliver apples, like a boat piled up high with a cargo of cucumbers, casting a shade, like a boat loaded lavishly at the place of harvest, go back to brick-built Kulaba with head held high!" -- Lugalbanda who loves the seed will not accept this.

142-148. "Like SHara, Inana's beloved son, shoot forth with your barbed arrows like a sunbeam, shoot forth with reed-arrows like moonlight! May the barbed arrows be a horned viper to those they hit! Like a fish killed with the cleaver, may they be magic-cut! May you bundle them up like logs hewn with the axe!" -- Lugalbanda who loves the seed will not accept this.

149-154. "May Ninurta, Enlil's son, set the helmet Lion of Battle on your head, may the breastplate that in the great mountains does not permit retreat be laid on your breast! May you the battle-net against the enemy! When you go to the city,!" -- Lugalbanda who loves the seed will not accept this.

155-159. "The plenty of Dumuzi's holy butter churn, whose butter is the butter of all the world, shall be granted (?) to you. Its milk is the milk of all the world. It shall be granted (?) to you." -- Lugalbanda who loves the seed will not accept this. As a kib bird, a freshwater kib, as it flies along a lagoon, he answered him in words.

160-166. The bird listened to him. Anzud said to holy Lugalbanda, "Now look, my Lugalbanda, just think again. It's like this: a wilful plough-ox should be put back in the track, a balking ass should be made to take the straight path. Still, I shall grant you what you put to me. I shall assign you an allotted destiny according to your wishes."

167-183. Holy Lugalbanda answers him: "Let the power of running be in my thighs, let me never grow tired! Let there be strength in my arms, let me stretch my arms wide, let my arms never become weak! Moving like the sunlight, like Inana, like

the seven storms, those of Ishkur, let me leap like a flame, blaze like lightning! Let me go wherever I look to, set foot wherever I cast my glance, reach wherever my heart desires and let me loosen my shoes in whatever place my heart has named to me! When Utu lets me reach Kulaba my city, let him who curses me have no joy thereof; let him who wishes to strive with me never say "Just let him come!" I shall have the woodcarvers fashion statues of you, and you will be breathtaking to look upon. Your name will be made famous thereby in Sumer and will redound to the credit of the temples of the great gods."

184-202. So Anzud says to holy Lugalbanda: "The power of running be in your thighs! Never grow tired! Strength be in your arms! Stretch your arms wide, may your arms never become weak! Moving like the sun, like Inana, like the seven storms of Ishkur, leap like a flame, blaze like lightning! Go wherever you look to, set foot wherever you cast your glance, reach wherever your heart has named to you! When Utu lets you reach Kulaba your city, he who curses you shall have no joy thereof; he who wishes to strive with you shall never say "Just let him come!" When you have had the woodcarvers fashion statues of me, I shall be breathtaking to look upon. My name will be made famous thereby in Sumer and will redound to the credit of the temples of the great gods. May ... shake for you like a sandal. the Euphrates your feet"

203-219. He took in his hand such of his provisions as he had not eaten, and his weapons one by one. Anzud flew on high, Lugalbanda walked on the ground. The bird, looking from above, spies the troops. Lugalbanda, looking from below, spies the dust that the troops have stirred up. The bird says to Lugalbanda, "Come now, my Lugalbanda. I shall give you some advice: may my advice be heeded. I shall say words to you: bear them in mind. What I have told you, the fate I have fixed for you, do not tell it to your comrades, do not explain it to your brothers. Fair fortune may conceal foul: it is indeed so. Leave me to my nest: you keep to your troops." The bird hurried to his nest. Lugalbanda set out for the place where his brothers were.

220-237. Like a pelican emerging from the sacred reedbed, like lahama deities going up from the abzu, like one who is stepping from heaven to earth, Lugalbanda stepped into the midst of his brothers' picked troops. His brothers chattered away, the troops chattered away. His brothers, his friends weary him with questions: "Come now, my Lugalbanda, here you are again! The troops had abandoned you as one killed in battle. Certainly, you were not eating the good fat of the herd! Certainly, you were not eating the sheepfold's fresh cheese. How is it that you have come back from the great mountains, where no one goes alone, whence no one returns to mankind?" Again his brothers, his friends weary him with questions: "The banks of the mountain rivers, mothers of plenty, are widely separated. How did you cross their waters? -- as if you were drinking them?"

238-250. Holy Lugalbanda replies to them, "The banks of the mountain rivers, mothers of plenty, are widely separated. With my legs I stepped over them, I drank them like water from a waterskin; and then I snarled like a wolf, I grazed the water-meadows, I pecked at the ground like a wild pigeon, I ate the mountain acorns." Lugalbanda's brothers and friends consider the words that he has said to them. Exactly as if they were small birds flocking together all day long they embrace him and kiss him. As if he were a gamgam chick sitting in its nest, they feed him and give him drink. They drive away sickness from holy Lugalbanda.

251-283. Then the men of Unug followed them as one man; they wound their way through the hills like a snake over a grain-pile. When the city was only a double-hour distant, the armies of Unug and Kulaba encamped by the posts and ditches that surrounded Aratta. From the city it rained down javelins as if from the clouds, slingstones numerous as the raindrops falling in a whole year whizzed down loudly from Aratta's walls. The days passed, the months became long, the year turned full circle. A yellow harvest grew beneath the sky. They looked askance at the fields. Unease came over them. Slingstones numerous as the raindrops falling in a whole year landed on the road. They were hemmed in by the barrier of mountain thornbushes thronged with dragons. No one knew how to go back to the city, no was rushing to go back to Kulaba. In their midst Enmerkar son of Utu was afraid, was troubled, was disturbed by this upset. He sought someone whom he could send back to the city, he sought someone whom he could send back to Kulaba. No one said to him "I will go to the city." No one said to him "I will go to Kulaba." He went out to the foreign host. No one said to him "I will go to the city." No one said to him "I will go to Kulaba." He stood before the élite troops. No one said to him "I will go to the city." No one said to him "I will go to Kulaba." A second time he went out to the foreign host. No one said to him "I will go to the city." No one said to him "I will go to Kulaba." He stepped out before the élite troops.

284-289. Lugalbanda alone arose from the people and said to him, "My king, I will go to the city, but no one shall go

with me. I will go alone to Kulaba. No one shall go with me."
--"If you go to the city, no one shall go with you. You shall go alone to Kulaba, no one shall go with you." He swore by heaven and by earth: "Swear that you will not let go from your hands the great emblems of Kulaba."

290-321. After he had stood before the summoned assembly, within the palace that rests on earth like a great mountain Enmerkar son of Utu berated Inana: "Once upon a time my princely sister holy Inana summoned me in her holy heart from the bright mountains, had me enter brick-built Kulaba. Where there was a marsh then in Unug, it was full of water. Where there was any dry land, Euphrates poplars grew there. Where there were reed thickets, old reeds and young reeds grew there. Divine Enki who is king in Eridu tore up for me the old reeds, drained off the water completely. For fifty years I built, for fifty years I was successful. Then the Martu peoples, who know no agriculture, arose in all Sumer and Akkad. But the wall of Unug extended out across the desert like a bird net. Yet now, here in this place, my attractiveness to her has dwindled. My troops are bound to me as a cow is bound to its calf; but like a son who, hating his mother, leaves his city, my princely sister holy Inana has run away from me back to brick-built Kulaba. If she loves her city and hates me, why does she bind the city to me? If she hates the city and yet loves me, why does she bind me to the city? If the mistress removes herself from me to her holy chamber, and abandons me like an Anzud chick, then may she at least bring me home to brickbuilt Kulaba: on that day my spear shall be laid aside. On that day she may shatter my shield. Speak thus to my princely sister, holy Inana."

322-344. Thereupon holy Lugalbanda came forth from the palace. Although his brothers and his comrades barked at him as at a foreign dog trying to join a pack of dogs, he stepped proudly forward like a foreign wild ass trying to join a herd of wild asses. "Send someone else to Unug for the lord." --'For Enmerkar son of Utu I shall go alone to Kulaba. No one shall go with me" -- how he spoke to them! "Why will you go alone and keep company with no one on the journey? If our beneficent spirit does not stand by you there, if our good protective deity does not go with you there, you will never again stand with us where we stand, you will never again dwell with us where we dwell, you will never again set your feet on the ground where our feet are. You will not come back from the great mountains, where no one goes alone, whence no one returns to mankind!" -- "Time is passing, I know None of you is going with me over the great earth." While the hearts of his brothers beat loudly, while the hearts of his comrades sank Lugalhanda took in his hand such of his provisions as he had not eaten, and each of his weapons one by one. From the foot of the mountains, through the high mountains, into the flat land, from the edge of Anshan to the top of Anshan, he crossed five, six, seven mountains.

345-356. By midnight, but before they had brought the offering-table to holy Inana, he set foot joyfully in brick-built Kulaba. His lady, holy Inana, sat there on her cushion. He bowed and prostrated himself on the ground. With [(1 ms. adds:) joyful] eyes Inana looked at holy Lugalbanda as she would look at the shepherd Ama-ushumgal-ana. In a [(1 ms. adds:) joyful] voice, Inana spoke to holy Lugalbanda as she would speak to her son Lord SHara: "Come now, my Lugalbanda, why do you bring news from the city? How have you come here alone from Aratta?"

357-387. Holy Lugalbanda answered her: "What Enmerkar son of Utu quoth and what he says, what your brother quoth and what he says, is: "Once upon a time my princely sister holy Inana summoned me in her holy heart from the mountains, had me enter brick-built Kulaba. Where there was a marsh then in Unug, it was full of water. Where there was any dry land, Euphrates poplars grew there. Where there were reed thickets, old reeds and young reeds grew there. Divine Enki who is king in Eridu tore up for me the old reeds, drained off the water completely. For fifty years I built, for fifty years I was successful. Then the Martu peoples, who know no agriculture, arose in all Sumer and Akkad. But the wall of Unug extended out across the desert like a bird net. Yet now, here in this place, my attractiveness to her has dwindled. My troops are bound to me as a cow is bound to its calf; but like a son who, hating his mother, leaves his city, my princely sister holy Inana has run away from me back to brick-built Kulaba. If she loves her city and hates me, why does she bind the city to me? If she hates the city and yet loves me, why does she bind me to the city? If the mistress removes herself from me to her holy chamber and abandons me like an Anzud chick, then may she at least bring me home to brickbuilt Kulaba: on that day my spear shall be laid aside. On that day she may shatter my shield. Speak thus to my princely sister, holy Inana."'

388-398. Holy Inana uttered this response: "Now, at the end, on the banks, in the water-meadows, of a clear river, of a river of clear water, of the river which is Inana's gleaming waterskin, the suhurmash fish eats the honey-herb; the toad eats the mountain acorns; and the fish, which is a god of the suhurmash fish, plays happily there and darts about. With his scaly tail he touches the old reeds in that holy place. The

tamarisks of the place, as many as there are, drink water from that pool."

399-408. "It stands alone, it stands alone! One tamarisk stands alone at the side! When Enmerkar son of Utu has cut that tamarisk and has fashioned it into a bucket, he must tear up the old reeds in that holy place roots and all, and collect them in his hands. When he has chased out from it the fish, which is a god of the suhurmash fish, caught that fish, cooked it, garnished it and brought it as a sacrifice to the a-an-kar weapon, Inana's battle-strength, then his troops will have success for him; then he will have brought to an end that which in the subterranean waters provides the life-strength of Aratta."

409-412. "If he carries off from the city its worked metal and smiths, if he carries off its worked stones and its stonemasons, if he renews the city and settles it, all the moulds of Aratta will be his."

413-416. Now Aratta's battlements are of green lapis lazuli, its walls and its towering brickwork are bright red, their brick clay is made of tinstone dug out in the mountains where the cypress grows.

417. Praise be to holy Lugalbanda.

THE GILGAMESH CYCLE

THE EPIC OF GILGAMESH

The Gilgamesh Epic Estimated Time Range: 2150 BC - 1900 BC Translation: William Muss-Arnolt 1901

(One of the most cited sources for ancient astronaut theorists, The Epic Of Gilgamesh began as a series of unconnected Sumerian stories around 2150 BC before being combined into the oldest written epic by Akkadian scholars around 1900 BC. The version we have today was edited by Sin-liqe-unninni around 1300-1000 BC. The epic tells the story of a demigod, Gilgamesh, who ventures with his companions (originally 50, like the Argonauts, but later just one) to the ends of the earth to slay monsters. The epic contains the earliest known account of the Great Flood, the main reason why this epic gained enormous prominence.

The Epic of Gilgamesh does not exist in a single complete copy. As such, modern translations typically must draw on multiple sources to produce a mostly coherent narrative, filling in the gaps in broken tablets. The translation of the Epic of Gilgamesh below is a modernized revised and updated version of the text originally translated by William Muss-Arnolt in 1901 from the Neo-Assyrian tablets found in the Library of Ashurbanipal. (The original Muss-Arnolt translation is here.) Parts of the translation incorporate additional material found on two Babylonian tablets known as the Pennsylvania and Yale tablets, translated in 1920 by Morris Jastrow, Jr. and Albert T. Clav. as well as other fragments made by L. W. King in Babylonian Religion and Mythology (1903). Although the language I used in revising this draws on these public domain translations, my version reflects the latest scholarship, including the 2003 edition of Andrew George, available here. My copy is meant primarily as a reading copy and should not be mistaken for scholarly; the interested reader is directed to George's edition for scholarly notes and a discussion of the underlying texts used to compile the Standard Version of the epic.

For this online edition of the Epic of Gilgamesh, I have standardised the use of names by changing references to major characters to current usage. Thus, Eabani has been standardized to Enkidu, Uchuat to Shamhat, etc. In the supplementary material, I have adapted the Babylonian names to reflect the usage in the Assyrian version of the epic to avoid confusion. Thus the Babylonian Gish is standardized as Gilgamesh, Huwawa as Humbaba, etc. For the original versions of these texts, please consult the sources listed at bottom.)

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 1

I will tell of the history of Gilgamesh, he who knows all that has happened and has seen all the lands of the world, he who has seen all kinds of wisdom and knows the mysteries and has seen what is hidden. He bringeth news dating farther back than the deluge. He has travelled far-distant roads and became weary, and now he has engraved on standing stones the whole of the story.

When the gods fashioned Gilgamesh, to him they gave a perfect form. The glorious sun Shamash bestowed upon him glory; Adad the terrible god of storms bestowed upon him courage. The great gods perfected his magnificence beyond all others, terrible like the great wild bull. Two thirds god they made him; one third man they made him.

Of Uruk, its great rampart he built, and the wall of the sacred Eanna temple, the holy sanctuary. Behold the outer walls which gleam with the brilliance of copper; see the inner wall which none might rival. Touch the threshold stone—it is

from ancient days. Goest thou into the Eanna temple, yea, the dwelling place of Ishtar, the like of which no subsequent king or living man might equal. Ascend and walk about on the wall of Uruk, inspect the corner-stone, and examine its brickwork, whether its wall is not made of burned brick, and its foundation laid by the Seven Sages. One third for city, one third for garden, one third for field, and a precinct for the temple of Ishtar. These parts and the precinct comprise Uruk. Unveil the tablet box of copper. Unlatch the clasp of its brazen lock. Unbind the fastenings of the hidden opening. Bring forth and read out the lapis lazuli tablet that tells of the great hardships endured by Gilgamesh.

Greater than other kings, lofty in stature, a hero born in Uruk, a wild and rampaging bull was he. He leads forth at the front, the leader; he brings up the rear, a trusted companion. He is a great net who protects his men, a thrashing flood-wave capable of devastating even walls of stone. As son of Lugalbanda, Gilgamesh is perfection in his strength, son too of the august cow, Ninsun, the goddess. Gilgamesh is tall, glorious, and terrific. It was he who cut open the passes through the mountains, who dug the wells on the slopes of the mountainsides, and who crossed the ocean itself, the great sea, to meet the sunrise, exploring every part of the whole world for the secret of life. It was he who by his strength alone reached Utnapishtim, the distant, who restored the holy places that the Flood had destroyed, and who for the teeming masses instilled the rites of heaven.

Who can rival Gilgamesh? Who might like him say "It is I who am king?" From the moment of his birth his name has forever been Gilgamesh. Two thirds god they made him; one third man they made him. The Great Goddess herself planned the shape of his body; glory, beauty and perfection were bestowed on him by Nudimmud. His foot was a triple cubit in size, his leg half a rod. Six cubits did he cover in each stride. His cheeks were flush with ample beard, and his hair was thick like barley. His beauty was beyond compare, he was the most handsome man on earth.

Around the enclosed space that is Uruk he walks, mighty like the wild bull, head raised high. None with weapon might challenge him as rival. His men stand at attention, longing for his orders; but the old men of Uruk grouse that Gilgamesh has left no son to his father, for his arrogance has grown boundless. He has taken all their children, for is Gilgamesh not the shepherd of his people? Gilgamesh does not leave a daughter to her mother, nor the maiden to the warrior, nor the wife to her husband. Yet Gilgamesh is the magnificent and glorious shepherd of his people.

The gods heard the people's cry, and the gods of heaven

The gods heard the people's cry, and the gods of heaven beseeched the Lord of Uruk, Anu the god: "His men stand at attention, longing for his orders. Gilgamesh has left no son to his father, for his arrogance has grown boundless. He has taken all their children, for is Gilgamesh not the shepherd of his people? Gilgamesh does not leave a daughter to her mother, nor the maiden to the warrior, nor the wife to her husband."

Anu heard the lament of the gods, and they also cried aloud to Aruru, the goddess, saying, "Aruru, who hast created him, create now a rival to him, for the time when his heart shall be stormy. Maketh them a match for one another in strength that in contending with one another Uruk might have peace." Upon hearing these words, Aruru conceived a man of Anu in her mind. Aruru washed her hands, she broke off a piece of clay; she cast it on the ground. Thus she created Enkidu the hero. The whole of his body was covered with hair. He was clothed with long hair like a woman. The quality of his hair was luxuriant, like that of the Corn-goddess Nisaba. He knew not the land and the inhabitants thereof; he was clothed with garments as the god of the field. With gazelles he ate herbs, with the beasts he slaked his thirst, with the creatures of the water his heart rejoiced.

At the drinking-place Enkidu met a great trapper a first day and then a second and a third day, and on all three the two men came face to face. On seeing Enkidu the trapper grew pale with fear. He took all his animals and retreated to his home. Stiff with fright and numb with terror, his heart beat wildly. Fear filled him to the core, and his face had changed like a man who had journeyed far. The trapper speaketh unto his father. "A man unlike no other cometh down from the mountains. His strength is beyond compare; he is like unto an immortal. He rangeth over all the mountains. Regularly with the beasts he feedeth; regularly his feet are set toward the drinking-place. But I was afraid; I could not approach him. He hath filled up the pit which I digged. He hath destroyed the nets which I spread. He hath caused the cattle and the beasts of the field to escape from my hands, and he doth not let me make war upon them."

His father opened his mouth and spoke thus to the trapper: "My son, in Uruk there liveth a certain Gilgamesh. No man is stronger than he; he is like unto a star from highest heaven. Goest thou unto Uruk and telleth Gilgamesh of the might of this wild man. Asketh him to give unto thee a harlot, Shamhat, and taketh her with thee. And when the beasts come down to the drinking-place, then let her tear off her clothing and disclose her nakedness. Enkidu shall see her, and he shall

draw nigh unto her, and the cattle, which grew up on his field, shall forsake him."

Heeding the advice of his father, the trapper traveled unto Uruk. He entered into the city of Uruk. He found Gilgamesh and spake unto him: "A man unlike no other cometh down from the mountains. His strength is beyond compare; he is like unto an immortal. He rangeth over all the mountains. Regularly with the beasts he feedeth; regularly his feet are set toward the drinking-place. But I was afraid: I could not approach him. He hath filled up the pit which I digged. He hath destroyed the nets which I spread. He hath caused the cattle and the beasts of the field to escape from my hands, and he doth not let me make war upon them." Gilgamesh replied unto the trapper: "Goest thou, trapper, and retrieve the harlot, Shamhat, and taketh her with thee. And when the beasts come down to the drinking-place, then let her tear off her clothing and disclose her nakedness. Enkidu shall see her, and he shall draw nigh unto her, and the cattle, which grew up on his field, shall forsake him.

The trapper departed, and took with him the harlot Shamhat. They took the straight road, and on the third day they reached the appointed place. Then the trapper and the harlot placed themselves in hiding. For one day, for two days, they lurked by the drinking-place. With the beasts Enkidu slaked his thirst; with the creatures of the waters his heart rejoiced. Then Enkidu, offspring of the mountains who with the gazelles eats herbs, with the beasts he slaked his thirst. with the creatures of the water his heart rejoiced. As Enkidu came near, the trapper caught sight of him, and he exclaimed: -"That is he, Shamhat! Loosen thy girdle, uncover thy nakedness that he may receive thy favours. Be not faint-hearted, lay hold upon his soul. He shall see thee, and shall draw nigh unto thee. Open thy garment, and he shall lie in thine arms. Give him pleasure after the manner of women His cattle, which grew up in his field, shall forsake him while he holdeth thee in the embraces of love."

Shamhat loosened her garment. She uncovered her nakedness. She was not faint-hearted, and she laid hold upon his soul. She opened her garment, and he lay in her arms. She gave him pleasure after the manner of women, and he held her in the embraces of love.

For six days and six nights Enkidu succumbed to her charms and had intercourse with Shamhat. After he had satisfied himself with her abundance, he turned his countenance toward his cattle. His gazelles lay, and looked at Enkidu, and the beasts of the field turned away from him. This startled Enkidu and his body grew faint; his knees became stiff, as his cattle departed, and he became less agile than ever before. And as he hearkened, he made a resolve. He turned again, in love enthralled, to the feet of the harlot, and gazed up into the face of the ensnarer. And while the ensnarer spoke, his ears listened attentively; and the siren spoke to Enkidu and said: Lofty thou art, Enkidu, thou shalt be like a god; why, then, doest thou lie down with the beasts of the field? Come, I will take thee to strong-walled Uruk; to the glorious house, the dwelling of Anu and Ishtar, the palace of Gilgamesh, (the hero) who is perfect in strength, surpassing, like a mountain bull, men in power.'

While she spoke thus to him, he hearkened unto her wise speech, and his heart yearned for a friend. And Enkidu spoke unto her, the ensnarer: "Come then, Shamhat, take me, and lead me to the glorious dwelling, the sacred seat of Anu and Ishtar, to the palace of Gilgamesh, (the hero) who is perfect in strength, surpassing, like as a mountain bull, men in power. I will challenge him, and I shall exclaim in Uruk that I am the mighty one! Let me enter, and I shall upend the order of things, and I shall show that the mightiest is he who was born in the wilderness."

Saith Shamhat unto Enkidu: "Let us therefore go unto Gilgamesh, that he might gazeth upon thy visage. I shall lead thee unto Gilgamesh, for I knoweth where he shall be. Gaze at Uruk, Enkidu, and see the people display themselves in their finery and rejoice each day in some holiday revel, as the lyre and the drum cease not their endless sound. Here harlots stand eternal vigil in their beauty, ripe in their bodies, merry in their countenance, and forever ready to take to sheets forever spread on the couches of the night. Enkidu, thou knowest not how to live like unto a man. To thee I shall show Gilgamesh, effusive in his emotion. Behold his face: it glows with heroic courage. Strength he possesses, magnificent is his whole body. His power is stronger than thine. He rests not nor tires, neither by day nor by night. O Enkidu, change thy wrong thoughts.

Shamash loves Gilgamesh; Anu, Bel, and Ea are whispering (wisdom) into his ear. Ere thou earnest down from the mountain Gilgamesh beheld thee in a dream in Uruk."

Gilgamesh came, to understand the dream, and said to his mother: "My mother, I dreamed a dream in my nightly vision; the stars of heaven, like Anu's host, fell upon me. I bore it and it grew heavy upon me, I became weak and its weight I could not endure. The land of Uruk gathered about it. The heroes kissed its feet. It was raised up before me. They stood me up. I bore it and carried it to thee."

The mother of Gilgamesh, who knows all things, spoke to Gilgamesh: "Someone, O Gilgamesh, who like thee in the field was born and whom the mountain has reared, thou wilt see him and like a woman thou wilt rejoice. Heroes will kiss his feet. Thou wilt spare him and wilt endeavor to lead him to me."

He slept and saw another dream, which he reported to his mother: "My mother, I have seen another dream. My likeness I have seen in the streets of Uruk of the plazas. An axe was brandished, and they gathered about him; and the axe made him angry. I saw him and I rejoiced, I loved him as a woman, I embraced him. I took him and regarded him as my brother."

The mother of Gilgamesh, who knows all things, spoke to Gilgamesh: "O Gilgamesh, the man whom thou sawest, whom thou didst embrace like a woman (means) that he is to be associated with thee." Gilgamesh understood the dream.

As Enkidu was sitting before the woman, her loins he embraced, her vagina he opened. Enkidu forgot the place where he was born. Six days and seven nights Enkidu continued to cohabit with the harlot.

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 2

As Enkidu was sitting before the woman, her loins he embraced, her vagina he opened. Enkidu forgot the place where he was born. Six days and seven nights Enkidu continued to cohabit with the harlot.

The harlot opened her mouth and spoke to Enkidu: "I gaze upon thee, O Enkidu, like a god art thou! Why with the cattle dost thou roam across the field? Come, let me lead thee into Uruk of the plazas, to the holy house, the dwelling of Anu. O, Enkidu arise, let me conduct thee to Eanna, the dwelling of Anu, the place where Gilgamesh is, perfect in vitality. And thou like a wife wilt embrace him. Thou wilt love him like thyself. Come, arise from the ground and find a place for vourself."

He heard her word and accepted her speech. The counsel of the woman entered his heart. She stripped off a garment, clothed him with one. Another garment she kept on herself. She took hold of his hand. Like a god she brought him to the fertile meadow, the place of the sheepfolds. In that place they received food; and the shepherds spoke of Enkidu, whose birthplace was the mountain, with the gazelles he was accustomed to eat herbs, with the cattle to drink water, with the water beings he was happy. Milk of the cattle he was accustomed to suck. Bread they placed before him. He broke it off and looked and gazed. Enkidu had not known to eat food. To drink ale he had not been taught.

The harlot opened her mouth and spoke to Enkidu: "Eat food, O Enkidu, the provender of life! Drink ale, the custom of the land!"

Enkidu ate food till he was satiated. Ale he drank, seven goblets. His spirit was loosened, he became hilarious. His heart became glad and his face shone. The barber removed the hair on his body. He was anointed with oil. He became manlike. He put on a garment, and he was like a man. He took his weapon; lions he attacked, so that the night shepherds could rest. He plunged the dagger; lions he overcame. The great shepherds lay down; Enkidu was their protector. The strong man, the unique hero, remained awake.

A particular man had been invited to a wedding. To Uruk he ventured, to the wedding he would go. Enkidu was making love to Shamhat when he lifted up his eyes and saw the man. He spoke to the harlot: "O, Shamhat, lure on the man. Why has he come to me? Let me learn his reason."

The woman called to the man, who approached to him and he beheld him. "Where dost thou venture? Why is the course of thy activity so burdensome?"

Then he opened his mouth and spoke to Enkidu: "I have been asked to a wedding, for to contract marriage is the destiny of men, and I shall lard the wedding table with delicious foods for the nuptial feast. For the King of Uruk of the plazas, open the veil, perform the marriage act! For Gilgamesh, the King of Uruk of the plazas, open the veil, perform the marriage act! He shall first couple with the bride-to-be before the bridegroom. By the decree pronounced by a god, from the cutting of his umbilical cord such is his fate."

At the speech of the man, Enkidu's face grew pale.

(About nine lines missing.)

Enkidu went in front, and the harlot behind him. He entered into Uruk of the plazas. The people gathered about him. As he stood in the streets of Uruk of the plazas, the men gathered, saying in regard to him: "Like the form of Gilgamesh he is formed; though shorter in stature, and thicker in bone. In sooth it must be he who was born in the highlands, and milk of cattle he was accustomed to suck."

In Uruk were held the customary festivals of sacrifice. The young men rejoiced, and they set up a champion: To the hero of fine appearance, to Gilgamesh, like a god, he became a rival to him

For Ishtar a couch was stretched, and Gilgamesh lay down, and afterwards in the night he met the maiden bride. Enkidu approached and stood in the streets. He blocked the path of Gilgamesh during the exhibit of his power.

All the land of Uruk surrounded Gilgamesh; all the people were gathered around him. A crowd assembled to watch him, and all the men had gathered to see. They bowed down and kissed his feet. For Ishtar a couch was stretched, and Gilgamesh, like unto a god, was made substitute.

Against him Enkidu proceeded, his hair luxuriant. He started to go towards him. They met in the plaza of the district. Enkidu blocked the gate to the wedding-house with his foot, not permitting Gilgamesh to enter. They seized each other, like oxen. They fought. The threshold they demolished; the wall they impaired. Gilgamesh and Enkidu seized each other. Like oxen they fought. The threshold they demolished; the wall they impaired. Gilgamesh bent his foot to the ground, and his wrath was appeased. His breast was quieted. When his breast was quieted, Enkidu to him spoke, to Gilgamesh: "As a unique one, thy mother bore thee. The wild cow of the stall, Ninsun, has exalted thy head above men. Kingship over men Enlil has decreed for thee.

Enkidu said unto Gilgamesh, "Why do you desire to do this thing that is exceedingly difficult? Why dost thou desire to do this thing that is very difficult? Why dost thou desire to go down to the forest?" They kissed one another and so became bonded in friendship.

[In a missing section Gilgamesh introduces Enkidu to his mother.]

"He is the mightiest in the all the land, possessed of great strength. No man is stronger than he; he is like unto a star from highest heaven. He is tall in stature, like unto a hattlement."

The mother of Gilgamesh, who knows everything, opened her mouth to speak, and spake thus unto her son: "..... Enkidu hath neither kith nor kin. With luxuriant hair like unto a woman, he was born in the wild place and hath no brethren."

The eyes of Enkidu filled with tears. He clutched his heart; sadly he sighed. The eyes of Enkidu filled with tears. He clutched his heart; sadly he sighed. The face of Gilgamesh was grieved. He spoke to Enkidu: "My friend, why are thy eyes filled with tears? Thy heart clutched, why dost thou sigh sadly?"

Enkidu opened his mouth and spoke to Gilgamesh: "Attacks, my friend, have exhausted my strength. My arms are lame, my strength has become weak."

Gilgamesh opened his mouth and spoke to Enkidu: ".....Humbaba, the terrible, let us destroy him that his power shall be no more. Let us go down to the cedar forest, and make Humbaba affright within his lair."

Enkidu opened his mouth and spoke to Gilgamesh: "Know, my friend, in the mountain, when I moved about with the cattle to a distance of one double hour into the heart of the forest, but who would penetrate within it, to Humbaba, whose roar is a flood, whose mouth is fire, whose breath is death? Why dost thou desire to do this, to advance towards the dwelling of Humbaba?"

Gilgamesh opened his mouth and spoke to Enkidu: "I will climb the slopes of the forest, to the dwelling of Humbaba. I will go down to the forest."

Enkidu opened his mouth and spoke to Gilgamesh: "How can we venture to the home of Humbaba, to keep safe the cedar forest? Enlil has decreed him to be a seven-fold terror. We must not together go down to the cedar forest, whose guardian, O warrior Gilgamesh, is a power without rest, Humbaba, whose voice is the Deluge. His speech is the inferno, and his breath is death. He can hear the movements of the forest at a double hour. Who would venture into his forest? Adad is the first, but Humbaba is the second. None among even the Igigi would oppose him, to keep safe the cedar forest, for Enlil has decreed him to be a seven-fold terror. To enter his forest is to be seized by shaking."

Gilgamesh opened his mouth and spoke to Enkidu: "Whoever, my friend, overcomes terror, it is well (for him) with Shamash for the length of his days. Mankind will speak of it at the gates. Wherever terror is to be faced, thou, forsooth, art in fear of death. Thy prowess lacks strength. I will go before thee, though thy mouth calls to me; 'thou art afraid to approach.' I will establish my name, for before Gilgamesh has fallen the corpse of Humbaba, the terrible one! Thou were born in the wilderness. The lion feared thee, all of which thou knowest. When thou callest to me, thou afflictest my heart. I am determined to enter the cedar forest. I will, indeed, establish my name. The work, my friend, to the artisans I will entrust. Weapons let them mold before us."

The work to the artisans they entrusted. At the forge the workmen sat in council. Hatchets the masters molded: Axes of three talents each they molded. Lances the masters molded; blades of two talents each, a spear of 30 mina each attached to them. The hilt of the lances held 30 mina in gold. Gilgamesh and Enkidu were equipped with 10 talents each.

He sealed fast Uruk's seven gates. He brought together the assembly, and the people gathered in the street of Uruk of the plazas, where Gilgamesh took to his throne. In the street of Uruk of the plazas the people sat before him. Thus he spoke to the elders of Uruk of the plazas:

"Hear me, O elders of Uruk! I would tread the path to the terrible Humbaba, whose name fills the lands. I will conquer him in the cedar forest, like a strong offspring of Uruk. I will let the land hear that I am determined to conquer him in the cedar forest. A name I will establish."

To the young men of Uruk, Gilgamsh spoke thus: "Hear me. O young men of Uruk! You who understand combat, see that Ishall tread the path to the terrible Humbaba, and face him in battle. Unto me giveth me your blessings, that I may see you again and return to Uruk safely. When I return I shall celebrate the New-Year twice over, two times in one year. Let the rejoicing commence, and the drums beat out in honour of Ninsun!"

Enkidu offered his counsel to the elders of Uruk and the young men of the city: "Tell Gilgamesh that he must not go down to the cedar forest, whose guardian is a power without rest, Humbaba, whose voice is the Deluge. His speech is the inferno, and his breath is death. He can hear the movements of the forest at a double hour. Who would venture into his forest? Adad is the first, but Humbaba is the second. None among even the Igigi would oppose him, to keep safe the cedar forest, for Enlil has decreed him to be a seven-fold terror. To enter his forest is to be seized by shaking."

The elders of Uruk of the plazas brought word to Gilgamesh: "Thou art young, O Gilgamesh, and thy heart carries thee away. Thou dost not know what thou proposest to do. We hear that Humbaba is enraged. Who has ever opposed his weapon? To one double hour in the heart of the forest, who has ever penetrated into it? Humbaba, whose roar is a deluge, whose mouth is fire, whose breath is death. Why dost thou desire to do this? To advance towards the dwelling of Humbaba?"

Gilgamesh heard the report of his counselors. He saw and cried out to his friend: "Now, my friend, thus I speak. I fear him, but I will go to the cedar forest; I will go with thee to the cedar forest."

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 3

Gilgamesh spoke unto the elders of Uruk: "I, Gilgamesh, the strong one of the land take to a road which I have never trodden; when I shall have succeeded, I will praise thee in the joy of my heart, I will extol the superiority of thy power, I will seat thee on thrones."

The masters brought the weapons; bow and quiver they placed in hand. He took the hatchet and his quiver. With his lance in his girdle, he and Enkidu prepared to take to the road.

The elders of Uruk approached Gilgamesh. "How long till thou returnest to Uruk?" Again the elders approached him. For the road they counseled Gilgamesh: "Do not rely, O Gilgamesh, on thy strength! Provide food and save thyself! Let Enkidu go before thee. He is acquainted with the way, he has trodden the road to the entrance of the forest of Humbaba He who goes in advance will save the companion. Provide for his road and save thyself! May Shamash carry out thy endeavor! May he make thy eyes see the prophecy of thy mouth. May he track out for thee the closed path! May he level the road for thy treading! May he level the mountain for thy foot! During thy night the word that wilt rejoice. May Lugalbanda convey, and stand by thee in thy endeavor! Like a youth may he establish thy endeavor! In the river of Humbaba as thou plannest, wash thy feet! Round about thee dig a well! May there be pure water constantly for thy libation, and goblets of water pour out to Shamash! May Lugalbanda take

The elders of Uruk spoke unto Enkidu: "We place in thy care Gilgamesh, our king. Bring him back unto us and replace him into our care.

Gilgamesh opened his mouth and spoke thus unto Enkidu: "Come, my friend. Let us go unto the Great Palace, to the great Queen Ninsun. Ninsun, who knoweth all, shall place our feet into the steps of wise counsel."

Going hand in hand, Gilgamesh and Enkidu went unto the Great Palace, to the great Queen Ninsun. Gilgamesh rose and entered into the presence of the great Queen Ninsun.

Gilgamesh opened his mount and spoke thus unto Ninsun: "O, Ninsun, I shall tread the road to the entrance of the forest of Humbaba. I shall face an unknown war. I shall travel a road I knoweth not. Give unto me thy blessing. Alloweth me to see once more thy face in safety, and returneth through the gates of Uruk. When I return I shall celebrate the New-Year twice over, two times in one year. Let the rejoicing commence, and the drums beat out in honour of Ninsun."

Ninsun, the wild cow, listened intently and sadly to the words of Gilgamesh, her son, and to Enkidu as well. She donned a beautiful gown to adorn her body, a diadem she chose to cover her breast. She donned her cap and placed over the riara. Before Shamash she sacrificed a smoke-offering, poured out a drink-offering; lifted up before Shamash her hand, praying: "Why hast thou disquieted the heart of Gilgamesh? Now thou hast taught him, and a far road he travels unto Humbaba. An unknown fight he is about to enter, to an unknown war he is about to set forth. From the day that he goeth, until he returneth again, until he comes to the splendid cedar wood, until he shall have killed Humbaba the

despot, and removeth from the land that horror which thou dost detest, each day in thy daily circuit of the earth let thy bride Aya the fearless remindeth thee to entrust Gilgamesh to the stars, the watchers of the night.

"Thou who hast opened the gates for the herd to escape, for thee the heavens brighten and the animals awaiteth thy rosy light. Let thy bride Aya the fearless remindeth thee to entrust Gilgamesh to the stars, the watchers of the night. May thou maketh the days long and the nights short while Gilgamesh treads the road to the Forest of Cedar. Let him be resolute. Let him pitch camp at eventide. Let thy bride Aya the fearless remindeth thee that on the day Gilgamesh and Enkidu doeth battle with Humbaba that thou shalt unleasheth all the winds, the winds of the south, north, east, and west, the hurricane, the tempest, the typhoon, the gale, the frost-wind, and the devil-wind, the blast and counterblast, and the tornado. Let the thirteen winds darken the face of Humbaba that Gilgamesh might reach him with his weapons! Why thine own flames art kindles, O Shamash, then turn thy face unto thy supplicant! Thy fleet-footed mules shall carry thee; a restful bed shall be thine. The gods, thy brethren, shall bring food for thee. Aya the bride shall dry thy face with her robe."

Again Ninsun, the wild cow, pleaded unto Shamash: "O, Shamash, will not Gilgamesh share the heavens with thee? Will he not share royal honours with the moon? Will he not be as wise as Ea of the Apsu sea below, or rule the blackheaded people with Irnina? Will he not dwell in Hades with Ningishzida?"

After Ninsun, who knoweth all, had pleaded with Shamash, she extinguished her censer, descended from the roof, and spoke thus unto Enkidu: "O, Enkidu, although thou art not of my womb, henceforth thy brood are to be among the votaries of Gilgamesh, the priestesses and women of the temple." She placed upon Enkidu's neck the sacred symbols. "The priestesses accept the foundling, and the women of the temple raise him as foster child. Enkidu, who art beloved of me, thee I take for mine own son. Enkidu shall be brother unto Gilgamesh. When you tread together the path to the Forest of Cedar, let the days be long and the nights short. Let yourselves be resolute. Let yourselves pitch camp at eventide!"

[A damaged section tells of the rituals Gilgamesh and Enkidu perform to guarantee safe passage. When the text resumes, Gilgamesh is giving instructions for the governance of Uruk in his absence.]

"From the day that I go, until I return again, until I come to the splendid cedar wood, until I shall have killed Humbaba the despot, and removeth from the land that horror which Shamash doth detest, do not assemble the young men in the streets, nor render judgement on the lawsuits of the weak while we fight to land blows on Humbaba."

The elders and the young men offered their well-wishes to Gilgamesh. The young men gathered around him, and the elders kissed his feet, saying unto him:

"Do not rely, O Gilgamesh, on thy strength! Provide food and save thysel!" Let Enkidu go before thee. He is acquainted with the way, he has trodden the road to the entrance of the forest of Humbaba. He who goes in advance will save the companion. Provide for his road and save thyself! May Shamash carry out thy endeavor! May he make thy eyes see the prophecy of thy mouth. May he track out for thee the closed path! May he level the road for thy treading! May he level the mountain for thy foot! During thy night the word that wilt rejoice. May Lugalbanda convey, and stand by thee in thy endeavor! Like a youth may he establish thy endeavor! In the river of Humbaba as thou plannest, wash thy feet! Round about thee dig a well! May there be pure water constantly for thy libation, and goblets of water pour out to Shamash! May Lugalbanda take note of it!

The elders of Uruk spoke unto Enkidu: "We place in thy care Gilgamesh, our king. Bring him back unto us and replace him into our care."

Enkidu opened his mouth and spoke to Gilgamesh: "Since thou art resolved to take the road, thy heart be not afraid, trust to me! Keep thou thine eyes upon me! In the forest, I came to know Humbaba's habitation. Send therefore the crowd to their homes, for they must not go with us."

The assembled men heard the words of Enkidu, and with joyful hearts returned to their homes. The young men raised a prayer unto Shamash: "May the god go before you. May Shamash let you achieve success!"

Gilgamesh and Enkidu went forth

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 4

At twenty leagues they took a meal; at thirty leagues they took a rest. The walked for six weeks, nearer still to Mount Lebanon. Before Shamash they dug a hole. Then Gilgamesh went up upon the height of a mountain, and poured his sacrificial meal into the hole, saying: "Mountain, bring a dream unto me! Let me see dream-visions. O Shamash."

Enkidu prepared a House for the God of Dreams, and a great wind chilled them. Enkidu attached a covering, while Gilgamesh rested his chin on his knees and succumbed to sleep, in the middle of the night, his sleep was disturbed, and he rose to speak to his friend. "My friend, hast thou called me? Why

have I awakened? Hast thou touched me? Hath a god passed by? Why art my muscles trembling? Enkidu, my friend, I have had a dream. The dream that I dreamed was very terrible; in the valleys between the mountains we were walking. A great mountain fell down upon us."

Enkidu heard this dream and said to him: "My friend, this dream is favourable, for it tells us that we shall triumph over Humbaba. The mountain which thou sawest in thy dream is Humbaba. The dream foretells that we shall kill Humbaba and dispatch his corpse to the wasteland. Come morning Shamash shall send us a favourable omen."

At twenty leagues they took a meal; at thirty leagues they took a rest. They walked for six weeks, nearer still to Mount Lebanon. Before Shamash they dug a hole. Then Gilgamesh went up upon the height of a mountain, and poured his sacrificial meal into the hole, saying: "Mountain, bring a dream unto me! Let me see dream-visions, O Shamash."

Enkidu prepared a House for the God of Dreams, and a great wind chilled them. Enkidu attached a covering, while Gilgamesh rested his chin on his knees and succumbed to sleep. In the middle of the night, his sleep was disturbed, and he rose to speak to his friend. "My friend, hast thou called me? Why have I awakened? Hast thou touched me? Hath a god passed by? Why art my muscles trembling? Enkidu, my friend, I have had another dream. The dream that I dreamed was very terrible; heaven thundered, earth quaked; day grew dark, darkness came up; lightning set in, fire flared up, sated with destruction and filled with death. Then suddenly the light darkened, the fire was quenched, turned into smoke. You were born in the wilderness. May we take counsel?"

Enkidu heard this dream and said to him: "My friend, this dream is favourable. We draweth close to the forest and soon shall see battle. Thou shalt soon see the radiance of the god Humbaba, whom thou fearest. Like a bull thou shalt batter him, making him kneel to your strength. The old man thou seest is thy god Lugalbanda. Come morning Shamash shall send us a favourable omen."

At twenty leagues they took a meal; at thirty leagues they took a rest. They walked for six weeks, nearer still to Mount Lebanon. Before Shamash they dug a hole. Then Gilgamesh went up upon the height of a mountain, and poured his sacrificial meal into the hole, saying: "Mountain, bring a dream unto me! Let me see dream-visions, O Shamash."

Enkidu prepared a House for the God of Dreams, and a great wind chilled them. Enkidu attached a covering, while Gilgamesh rested his chin on his knees and succumbed to sleep. In the middle of the night, his sleep was disturbed, and he rose to speak to his friend. "My friend, hast thou called me? Why have I awakened? Hast thou touched me? Hath a god passed by? Why art my muscles trembling? Enkidu, my friend, I have had another dream. The dream that I dreamed was very terrible; I dreamed I saw a Thunderbird in the sky. It flew like a cloud, and its mouth was fire and its breath death. A strange man stood before me and the bird seized my arm in his talons......"

Enkidu heard this dream and said to him: "My friend, this dream is favourable. Thou dreamed that thou sawest a Thunderbird in the sky. It flew like a cloud, and its mouth was fire and its breath death. A strange man stood before thee and the bird seized thine arm in his talons. The man thou hast seen was Shamash. We shall bring about the destruction of Humbaba. We shall bind his wings. Come morning Shamash shall send us a favourable omen."

At twenty leagues they took a meal; at thirty leagues they took a rest. They walked for six weeks. Before Shamash they dug a hole. Then Gilgamesh went up upon the height of a mountain, and poured his sacrificial meal into the hole, saying: "Mountain, bring a dream unto me! Let me see dreamvisions. O Shamash."

Enkidu prepared a House for the God of Dreams, and a great wind chilled them. Enkidu attached a covering, while Gilgamesh rested his chin on his knees and succumbed to sleep. In the middle of the night, his sleep was disturbed, and he rose to speak to his friend. "My friend, hast thou called me? Why have I awakened? Hast thou touched me? Hath a god passed by? Why art my muscles trembling? Enkidu, my friend, I have had another dream. The dream that I dreamed was very terrible; I grappled with a wild bull who pounded the ground to dust. I fell to my knees before the bull, and the bull gave me water to drink from his water-skin."

Enkidu heard this dream and said to him: "My friend, the god to whom we venture is not the wild bull. Shamash in the wild bull, and he protects us both. The one who gave water unto thee is Lugalbanda, who bringeth honour to thee. We therefore must join together to accomplish a great deed, the likes of which hath never before occurred in the land. Come morning Shamash shall send us a favourable omen."

At the entrance to the forest Enkidu opened his mouth to speak and sayeth unto Gilgamesh: "Why dost thou cry? O Gilgamesh, son of Uruk, stand tall!"

Shamash heard what he had said, and from the sky he sent forth a booming voice: "Hurry to stand against Humbaba! Let him enter not the forest; let him enter not his grove! Let

him put not on the seven cloaks! One he wears, but six hath he shed!"

Humbaba gave forth a mighty roar, and his voice was like thunder. The forest shook with his bellows, and he sounded like Adad, the God of the Storm.

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak and said to Gilgamesh: "Mine arms grow stiff, and my knees quake" Gilgamesh opened his mouth to speak and said to Enkidu: "Why should we speak as cowards? Did we not cross the mighty mountains? Fear not! Let your voice resound like a drum! Let the stiffness fall from thy arms and the quaking from thy knees! Take my hand, and let us go forth together. Let thine thoughts to combat turn! Forget death and focus on life! He who goes in advance will save the companion. Provide for his road and save thyself!"

And the two men arrived at the Forest of Cedar, ceased to speak, and stood still.

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 5

There they stood, lofty arose the forest, and astonished they gazed at the height of the cedars and at the entrance of the cedar wood, where Humbaba was wont to walk with lofty steps. Ways were laid out and paths well kept. They saw the cedar mountain, the dwelling of gods, the sanctuary of Imini. In front of the mountain a cedar stood of great splendour, fine and good was its shade, full of gladness sweetness and delight. Thick and tangled were the thorns beneath the dark canopy of the vast forest.

[Fragments indicate that a battle with Humbaba commences.]

"We have arrived a place forbidden to men. Let us set our weapons upon the gate of Humbaba." Enkidu said unto his friend Gilgamesh, "Humbaba is as violent as the oncoming storm; like the god of the storms, he will destroy us."

Humbaba opened his mouth to speak, and he said to Gilgamesh: "Only fools would seek counsel from vulgar brutes. What bringeth thee before me? Enkidu, thou art the spawn of the fish, a man who knoweth no father, the hatchling of a turtle, who suckled not his mother's milk. In thy youth, I saw and watched thee, though I did not go over unto thee. in my belly. Traitor! Thou bringest before me Gilgamesh and standeth before me as warrior and stranger. I will cut the throat of Gilgamesh, the corpse to be devoured by the vultures!"

Gilgamesh opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Enkidu: "My friend, the countenance of this monster Humbaba has changed. Though we came here to defeat him, I fear my heart will not let me."

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "Why, my friend, speaketh thou as a coward? Your fearfulness causeth me to lose faith. We have but one task, and the copper runneth already into the mold. To send forth the Flood is to crack the whip! Retreat not! Do not withdraw! Make mighty thy blow!"

He smote the ground and faced the monster. At their feet, the earth gave way, and in their throes they broke the mountains of Sirion and Lebanon. The very clouds turned black and rained death upon them all. Against Humbaba Shamash unleashed all the winds, the winds of the south, north, east, and west, the hurricane, the tempest, the typhoon, the gale, the frost-wind, and the devil-wind, the blast and counterblast, and the tornado. The thirteen winds darkened the face of Humbaba so that Gilgamesh could reach him with his weapons. Humbaba pleaded for his life, saying unto Gilgamesh:

"Thou art but a youth, Gilgamesh, but truly a son of the wild cow Ninsun. By the command of Shamash, thou hast flattened the great mountains, O son of Uruk, Gilgamesh the king! Spare my life, Gilgamesh, and allow me to live out my days in the Forest of Cedar. Take as many trees as you desire; I will guard the wood that will be the pride of thy palace."

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "Listen not to his supplications!"

Humbaba opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Enkidu: "Thou art wise in the ways of the forest, yet too you know the art of speech. I should have hangest thou from a sapling, the corpse to be devoured by the vultures. Yet my deliverance lies with thee, if thou wouldst tell Gilgamesh to spare my life."

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh:
"My friend, slay Humbaba who guards the Forest of Cedar.
Eliminate all his power. Do this before Enlil the Preeminent
discovers what we do and the gods grow angry with us, Enlil
in Nippur and Shamash in Larsa. Make for us a name
everlasting because Gilgamesh slew the monstrous

Humbaba lifted his head and opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Enkidu: "Thou sitteth before Gilgamesh like a hired shepherd, slavishly doing as your lord commands. Yet my deliverance lies with thee, if thou wouldst tell Gilgamesh to spare my life."

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "My friend, slay Humbaba who guards the Forest of Cedar. Eliminate all his power. Do this before Enlil the Preeminent discovers what we do and the gods grow angry with us, Enlil

in Nippur and Shamash in Larsa. Make for us a name everlasting because Gilgamesh slew the monstrous

Humbaba heard all he said and cursed the both of them: "May neither of you live to see old age. Except by Gilgamesh his friend, none shall bury Enkidu."

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "I speaketh unto thee, my friend, but thou hearest me not. Let Humbaba's curses return unto his own mouth."

Gilgamesh heard what his friend has spoken, and he drew forth his dagger and smote the monster's neck. He fell, and blood ran forth like rivers, filling the ravines. As the monster fell, he shook the ground for two leagues' distant, shaking them as once he has made the mountains and the hills tremble with the thunder of his voice. Gilgamesh pulled out his tongue, his lungs, and his innards. From the monster's head, Gilgamesh carved off the tusks as trophies. And abundance rained down upon the mountains. Gilgamesh discovered within the cedars the secret home of the gods as he trampled through the forest primeval.

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "Thou has felled the guardian of the forest by thy strength alone. Nothing can bring dishonour unto thee. Therefore, flatten the Forest of Cedar! Find for me a tall cedar whose tip touches the sky. I shall fashion from it a door as broad as the length of a reed, which shall have no pivot but instead shall sit within the door jam. Its thickness shall be a cubit; its breadth the length of the reed. May no stranger approach a door meant only for the love of the gods. The Euphrates shall carry the door to the Temple of Enlil in Nippur, where the people and the god himself might rejoice in it."

They built a raft and placed a great cedar upon it. Enkidu piloted the raft, and Gilgamesh bore the head of Humbaba.

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 6

He cleansed his weapons, he polished his arms. He took off the armor that was upon him. He put away his soiled garments and put on clean raiment; clothed himself with his ornaments, put on his diadem. Gilgamesh placed upon his head the crown and put on his diadem.

To win the favour and love of Gilgamesh, Ishtar, the lofty goddess desired and said unto him: "Come, Gilgamesh, be thou my spouse, give, O give unto me thy manly strength. Be thou my husband, let me be thy wife, and I will set thee in a chariot embossed with precious stones and gold, with wheels made of gold, and horns of amber. Large kudanu-lions thou shalt harness to it. Under sweet-smelling cedars thou shalt enter into our house. And when thou enterest into our house Thou shalt sit upon a lofty throne, and people shall kiss thy feet; kings and lords and rulers shall bow down before thee. Whatever mountain and country produces, they shall bring to thee as tribute. Thy sheep shall bear twin-ewes. Thy laden donkey shall outpace the mule!

Thy horse shall gallop before the chariot in glory, and no ox shall equal thine."

But Gilgamesh opened his mouth and spoke unto her; said unto the lofty goddess Ishtar:

"If I were to take thee in marriage, whence would come my sustenance? Wouldst thou feedest me the food of the gods and pour me kingly ale? Who wouldst takest thee in marriage? Thou art the frost that freezes no ice, the door that stays not the wind, the bitumen that stains its holder's hand, a waterskin that cuts its holder's hand, limestone that weakens the wall it builds, a battering ram that destroys all walls, a shoe that cuts the feet of its wearer. Let me rehearse for thee the tale of thy lovers. Where is thy husband Dumuzi, who was to be forever? What, indeed, has become of the allallu-bird? Well, I will tell thee plainly the dire result of thy coquetries. To Dumuzi, the husband of thy youth, thou didst cause weeping and didst bring grief upon him every year. The allallu-bird, so bright of colors, thou didst love; but its wing thou didst break and crush, so that now it sits in the woods crying: 'O my wing!' Thou didst also love a lion, powerful in his strength, seven and seven times didst thou dig a snaring pit for him. Thou didst also love a horse, pre-eminent in battle, but with lash, spur, and whip thou didst force it on, didst force it to run seven double-leagues at a stretch. And when it was tired and wanted to drink, thou still didst force it on, thereby causing weeping and grief to its mother Silili. Thou didst also love a shepherd of the flock, the herdsman who continually poured out incense before thee, and, for thy pleasure, slaughtered lambs day by day. Thou didst smite him. and turn him into a woldf, so that his own sheep-boys drove him away, and his own dogs tore him to pieces. Thou didst also love Ishulllanu, a gardener of thy father, who continually brought unto thee dainties, and daily adorned thy table for thee. Thine eye thou didst cast on him and turn his mind, saying: 'Oh, Ishullanu, let us enjoy thy manly strength. Let thy hand come forth and stroke my vulva.' But Ishullanu spoke unto thee and said: 'Me!—what is this that thou askest of me? Hath not my mother baked, and have I not eaten, that now that the food I shall eat is slander and insult? Should I let only rushes cover me in the cold?' And when thou didst hear such words, thou didst smite him and change him into a dwarf.

And didst thus compel him to lie on a couch, so that he could no more rise up from his bed. And now thou wouldst also love me: but like unto them I would fare."

When Ishtar heard such words she became enraged, and went up into heaven, and came unto Anu her father, and to Antum her mother she went, and thus spoke unto them: "My father, Gilgamesh has insulted me; Gilgamesh has upbraided me with my evil deeds, my deeds of evil and of violence."

And Anu opened his mouth and spoke—said unto her, the mighty goddess Ishtar: "Didst thou not provoke Gilgamesh so that he has upbraided thee with thy evil deeds, thy deeds of evil and of violence?"

And Ishtar opened her mouth and said, she spoke unto Anu, her father: "My father, give to me the Heaven-Bull that I might slay Gilgamesh in his very place of dwelling. If thou givest me not the Heaven-Bull, I shall crush the gates of Hades and free the shades below. I shall bring up the dead that they might consume the living, and I shall make the dead to outnumber those that yet live."

And Anu opened his mouth and spoke—said unto her, the mighty goddess Ishtar: "If thou wanteth from me the Heaven-Bull, make the widow of Uruk gather seven years' wheat, and make the farmer of Uruk grow seven years' hay."

Ishtar opened her mouth, saying unto Anu: "This wheat is already stored; this hay already grown. The widow of Uruk gathered seven years' wheat, and the farmer of Uruk grew seven years' hay. With the Heaven-Bull I will have revenge!"

Anu heard the words of the mighty goddess Ishtar and gave unto her the nose-rope of the Heaven-Bull.

Ishtar descended with the Heaven-Bull, leading it to the land of Uruk, where its thirst sucked dry the mashes and the forest, and it lowered the level of the river by seven cubits. When the Heaven-Bull snorted, the earth opened before it and one hundred men of Uruk fell down into it. A second time the Heaven-Bull snorted, and the earth opened before it and two hundred men of Uruk fell down into it. A third time the Heaven-Bull snorted, and the earth opened before it, and Enkidu fell down into it up unto his waist. Enkidu leapt from the opening and seized the Heaven-Bull by its horns. The bull spat in his face.

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "My friend, we have set ourselves up above others in this city. How shall we make answer unto the people? I have tested the strength of the Heaven-Bull and have learned his ways. Let me test the strength of the Heaven-Bull once more. I shall stand behind the Heaven-Bull and grasp him by his heavy tail. I will set my foot upon his leg, and thou can thus slaughter him with thy knife like a skillful butcher.

Enkidu came up behind the Heaven-Bull, and grasped him by his heavy tail. He set his foot upon his leg. Then Gilgamesh slaughtered him with his knife like a skillful butcher. After they had killed the Heaven-Bull, they made his heart into an offering for Shamash. They prostrated themselves before the God of the Sun, and then Gilgamesh and Enkidu sat together.

Then Ishtar went up to the wall of Uruk, the strong-walled; she uttered a piercing cry and broke out into a curse, saying: "Woe to Gilgamesh, who thus has grieved me, and has killed the Heaven-Bull."

But Enkidu, hearing these words of Ishtar, tore out the right side of the Heaven-Bull, and threw it into her face, saying: "And thus I would, indeed, defeat thee had I caught thee; and I would do unto thee even as I have done to him; I would drape thy arm in entrails, forsooth."

Then Ishtar gathered her followers, that ruin men, the hierodules and the sacred prostitutes. Over the right side of the heaven-bull she wept and lamented. But Gilgamesh assembled the people, and all his workmen. The workmen admired the size of its horns. Thirty minas of precious stones was their value; two minas in size were their rims; six measures of oil they both could hold. For the anointing of his god Lugalbanda he dedicated it. He brought the horns and hung them up in the shrine of his lordship. Then they washed their hands in the river Euphrates, took the road, and set out for the city, and rode through the streets of the city of Uruk. The people of Uruk assembled and looked with astonishment at the heroes.

Gilgamesh then spoke to the servants of his palace and cried out unto them, saying: "Who is glorious among the heroes? Who shines among the men? Gilgamesh is glorious among the heroes! Gilgamesh shines among the men!"

And Gilgamesh held a joyful feast in his palace. Then the heroes slept, stretched out upon their couches. And Enkidu slept, and saw a vision in his sleep. He arose in the morning and considered the dream, and spoke unto Gilgamesh thus: "My friend, wherefore have the great gods thus taken counsel?"

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 7

"My friend, wherefore have the great gods thus taken counsel?" When dawn broke, Enkidu spoke to Gilgamesh, saying: "What a dream I dreamed last night, my friend and brother! The great gods Anu, Enlil, Ea, and Shamash held an assembly, and Anu spoke unto Ea thus: 'Because these two slew the Heaven-Bull, and slew Humbaba, the guardian of the

mountains and the Forest of Cedar, one of the two must die.' Enlil said unto Anu, 'Let Enkidu die, for Gilgamesh must die not!' Shamash, however, spoke unto Enlil thus: 'Was it not by thy order that these men slew the Heaven-Bull and the guardian Humbaba? Why should the innocent Enkidu die for this?' But Enlil, burning with anger at Shamash, said unto him: 'Each day thou traveled with them like unto a companion.'"

Enkidu fell down before Gilgamesh and began to cry tears which flowed like rivers. "O, brother of mine, I shall never again rise before thee. For me is only the land of the dead, where I shall sit forever. Once the gates to Hades I cross, never again shall I set mine eyes upon thee."

Enkidu lifted his eyes and began to talk with a door as though it were a man. "O, dumb door, I know what thou dost not. Across twenty leagues I sought thy timber until I findeth thee, the finest of the cedars. There is none other tree like unto thee; six gar [I gar = 12 or 14 cubits] is thy height and two gar thy thickness. The whole of you, from pivot to post, is of a piece, a piece I raised up and installed in Nippur. Had I but known how you would reward mine effort, I would have used my axe to cut you down and set you adrift as a raft to Ebabbara to place you as portal to the temple of Shamash, who heard my words and gave me my weapon. O, door, if I raised thee, might I also destroy thee? May some king who follows me burn with hatred for thee, or remove my name from thy wood, and install his own."

Enkidu began to cry again, and as Gilgamesh listened, he too cried.

Gilgamesh opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Enkidu: "Why dost thou blaspheme? Thy dream was profound, and it hath caused great dread. Thy lips buzz like flies. But in it the gods leave unto the survivor only grief. I will beseech the great gods for thee; I will seek out thy god Shamash and appeal unto him for thy sake. I will ask Anu the father of the gods, and pray that the great counselor Enlil heareth my words. May Ea remain open to my prayer! I will fashion a statue for thee from endless gold."

Enkidu opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "My friend, waste no silver or gold on me. The word of Enlil is unlike that of the other gods, for whatsoever he commands must come to pass; whatsoever he sets in place cannot be undone. This is my destiny, my friend, to die before my time."

As dawn broke, Enkidu lifted his head and offered sad prayers to Shamash as his tears glistened in the sunlight: "I beg thee, Shamash, for my life. I curse the trapper who caused me to be less great than my friend. May his share be diminished; may his god leaveth his house through the window." He then cursed Shamhat the harlot: "I curse thee, Shamhat, to a dark destiny; I afflict thee with this curse: May thou never knowest a true home, nor rejoiceth in the love of a family. Thou shalt not sit in the young women's chamber. Thine finest garments shall fall to the ground, and the drunkard shalt stain it in the dirt. Thou shalt have no beautiful things, nor abundance at thy table. Thy very bed shall be a rude bench. Thou shalt sit at the crossroads and lie in ruined fields. Thou shalt stand before the walls, and thorns shall cut thy feet. All shall strike at thy cheek. The workman shall not plaster thy roof, and owls shall make a home in thy bedroom. Thou hast made a weak a man who was once unsullied. In the very wilderness which was my home, you made me weak who was once unsullied.

Shamash heard what he had said, and from the sky he sent forth a booming voice: "O, Enkidu, curse not the harlot who fed thee the food of the gods and poured thee kingly ale and gave the magnificent Gilgamesh unto thee as companion. On a fine, grand couch, on a fine couch Gilgamesh will let thee recline. He will place thee upon a couch, a seat to the left. The kings of the earth shall kiss thy feet. The people of Uruk shall lament for thee, and the nations shall mourn for thee, and in mourning the hair of Gigamesh shall become matted and into the wild he will wander in the skin of a lion."

Enkidu listened to the word of Shamash, the warrior hero, and his angry heart became quieted. "O, Shamhat, thy destiny I shall improve. Governors and nobles will love thee. A league distant men shall slap their thighs for thee; at two leagues' distance they shall shake their hair for thee. Soldiers shall unfasten their belts at thy will and shower thee with obsidian, precious stones, and gold. Jewelry shall be thine! Ishtar, the lofty goddess, shall open the doors to the home of a rich man, who shall desert his wife for thee thou she bare unto him seven children."

But Enkidu's mind remained disquieted, and he turned over his thoughts in his head. He relieved his heart and spoke to his friend. "What a dream I dreamed in my night's sleep! The stars of heaven fell upon the earth. Frightened, I stood there. A man there stood as well, and his face became disturbed. His countenance was as frightening as the Thunderbird. Like a lion's paws were his hands; like an eagle's talons were his nails. By my hair he grabbed me, but though I struck at him, he overpowered me, capsizing me like a raft. He crushed me beneath his feet like a mighty bull, drowning me in his venomous spittle. Save me! He struck me and turned me into a dove and bound my arms as though they were wings.

"I have descended to the house of darkness, the dwelling of the goddess Irkalla; to the house, whence he that enters goes out no more; to the road, whose way turns not back; to the house, whose inhabitants are deprived of light; to the place where dust is their sustenance, their food clay. They are clothed, like a bird, with feathered raiment. Light they see not; they sit in darkness. In the house, my friend, which I have entered, in that house crowns are cast down on the ground. and there live those who had worn crowns, who in days of old had ruled countries; to whom Anu and Enlil had given roasted meat to eat. Now, cold meals are prepared, and water from leather bottles is poured out for them. In the house, my friend, which I have entered, there dwell also priests and ministers. There dwell soothsayers and enchanters; there dwell the temple-anointers of the great gods. There dwells Etana. and there dwells Shakkan; there dwells also the queen of the earth (i.e., of Hades), the goddess Ereshkigal. There dwells the scribe of the earth, bowed down before her. He holds a tablet and reads before her, and Ereshkigal lifted up her head and saw me.

[The rest of the dream is lost.]

"Remember me, my friend, I who endured all hardships with thee. Forget me not!"

Gilgamesh opened his mouth to speak, saying, "My friend hath seen a vision the like of which none shall ever equal."

On the day he had the dream, Enkidu's strength faltered, and there lay Enkidu for twelve days on which Enkidu on his couch lay sick. On the third and the fourth day, his sickness worsened. On the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and thenth days, the sickness of Enkidu worsened. The eleventh and the twelfth day Enkidu on his couch lay sick. Then he called to Gilgamesh and spoke unto his friend: "My god hath turned against me, and I die not as one who falls in battle. Though I feared a warrior's death, he who dies in battle establishes a name everlasting. But I fall not in battle and establish no name."

[The remaining lines describing Enkidu's death are lost.]

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 8

As dawn broke, Gilgamesh offered lamentations for his friend: "O, Enkidu, thou who wert raised by thy mother the gazelle and thy father the donkey, who wert fed by the asses of the wilderness with their milk, who wert taught the pastures by the wild beast. O, Enkidu, mayest all the ways of the Forest of Cedar forever mourn thee! Let the elder of Uruk lament thee, and all the people of Uruk who cheered us on. Let the mountains and valleys mourn thee like a mother her son. Let the trees of the forest through which we fought, cypress and cedar alike, lament thee. Let all the wild beasts, the hyena, the panther, the cheetah, the stag, the jackal, the lion, the wild bull, the deer, and ibex, lament thee!

"Let the holy river Ulay, where we walked in our strength, mourn thee. May the pure Euphrates, whose waters we used for libations, mourn thee. Let the young men who watched us slay the Heaven-Bull lament thee, and let the plowman pay homage unto thee, calling out thy name whilst making his furrow.

"May the shepherd who made milk and butter for thy mouth mourn thee, and the shepherd boy who made clarified butter for thee, and the brewer who brewed thine ale. May, too, the harlot who anointed thee with aromatic oils mourn thee. Let all the people mourn thee as a brother, and this very day I shall myself mourn thee most of all.

"Hearest me, O youths of Uruk! Hearest me, O elders of Uruk! I mourn for Enkidu, lamenting with more fervor than any hired mourning woman! It is as though an evil gale hath robbed me of my trusty axe, my dagger and shield, my festive robe, and girdle.

"My friend, thou wert a swift wild ass, a donkey of the mountains, a panther of the wilderness. Together we climbed mountains, slew the Heaven-Bull, and ended the life of Humbaba, who dwelt in the Forest of Cedar. Now that thou art lost in sleep, can thou hearest me?"

Enkidu lifted not his head, and when Gilgamesh felt for his heart, there was no heartbeat. He covered the face of his friend as thou he were a bride. He circled him like an eagle, pacing like a lioness worried for her lost cubs. He tore out his curly hair and stripped off his fine garments as though they had become an abomination.

At the breaking of the dawn, Gilgamesh called out unto all the land: "O blacksmith, lapidary, and coppersmith! O goldsmith and jeweler! Fashion a statue of my friend whose features shall be of lapis lazuli, whose skin shall be made of gold! On a fine, grand couch, on a fine couch I will let thee recline. I will place thee upon a couch, a seat to the left. The kings of the earth shall kiss thy feet. The people of Uruk shall lament for thee, and the nations shall mourn for thee, and in mourning my hair shall become matted and into the wild I will wander in the skin of a lion."

At the breaking of the dawn, Gilgamesh unsealed his treasury and examined all the wealth within. Gold and ivory and all manner of wealth he provided for Enkidu in abundance. [The lines describing the exact nature of the wealth are mutilated.] Fatted oxen and sheep he sacrificed for

his friend, and Shamash carried the meat to the lords of Hades. Sacrifices he made unto Ishtar and Namra-sit and displayed them to Shamash, praying that the gods would welcome Enkidu and walk beside him. Offerings he made to Ereshkigal and to Dumuzi and displayed them to Shamash, praying that the gods would welcome Enkidu and walk beside him. Offerings he made to Namtar and Hushbisha and displayed them to Shamash, praying that the gods would welcome Enkidu and walk beside him. Offerings he made to Quassutabat and Ninshuluhha and displayed them to Shamash, praying that the gods would welcome Enkidu and walk beside him. Offerings he made to Bibbu and Dumuzi-abzu and displayed them to Shamash, praying that the gods would welcome Enkidu and walk beside him. Enkidu and walk beside him.

[Another speaks in a broken section] "..... the judge of the Anunnaki."

When Gilgamesh hear what had been spoken he conceived a plan to dam the river.

At the breaking of the dawn, Gilgamesh opened the gate and carried out a great table of wood. He filled a carnelian dish with honey and a dish of lapis lazuli with butter and displayed them to Shamash.

[The rest is missing.]

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 9

Gilgamesh wept bitterly over the loss of his friend Enkidu, and he lay stretched out upon the ground, (saying): "I shall die and become like Enkidu, but weeping has entered into my heart; fear of death has befallen me, and I lie here stretched out upon the ground. To find Utnapishtim, the son of Ubar-Tutu, I will set out, and I will go at once. At the mountain ravine I arrived by night-time. Lions I saw, and I was afraid; but I lifted my head to the god Sin and I prayed. To the majesty of the god came my cry, and he hearkened and saved me, even me."

And in the night he saw a vision and a dream. Lions were enjoying themselves. And he lifted the axe in his hand, and he drew out the dagger from his belt. Like a javelin he threw himself between them; he wounded, killed, and scattered the lions. He clad himself in the skins of the lions and made a meal for himself of their flesh. Gilgamesh dug new wells to find water, and he chased after the winds.

But Shamash descended in concern and spoke unto Gilgamesh: "O, Gilgamesh, why wandersest thou? The life which thou seeketh, thou shalt find not."

Gilagmesh sayeth unto Shamash, the hero: "When my wanderings are complete and I descend into Hades, shall I not find rest there? My years there shall be spent in slumber. Let my eyes drink in the sun until they have had their fill; Hades is a land of perpetual gloom, for when might the dead again see the sun's glorious rays?"

He came now to the double mountain whose name is Mashu. He came to the mountain of Mashu, whose entrance is guarded daily by monsters, whose back extends to the dam of heaven, and whose breast reaches down to Hades. Scorpionmen guard its gate. Dreadful terror they spread, and it is death to behold them. Their splendour is fearful, overthrowing the mountains; from sunrise to sunset they guard the sun.

Gilgamesh beheld them, and with fear and terror his face grew dark. His mind became confused at the wildness of their aspect. But one scorpion-man said to his wife: "He that there cometh to us, flesh of the gods is his body."

And the wife answered the scorpion-man: "Two thirds he resembles a god, and one third only a man."

And the scorpion-man called and said unto Gilgamesh: "Has one of the gods given the order? How didst thee come to travel over far-distant roads, until thou should come unto me? The seas which thou hast crossed are dangerous; how didst thou maketh the journey?"

"I seeketh to go to Utnapishtim, my ancestor, who hath been removed into the assembly of the gods and hath thus power over life and death."

The scorpion-man opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "None who cometh before thee has been like unto thee. Never before thee, O Gilgamesh, didst anyone traverse the path [of the Sun God] through the mountain. Twelve double-hours of heavy darkness in all directions must be penetrated."

[The rest of the answer and Gilgamesh's reply are fragmentary. But the hero was not discouraged, and the scorpion-man acceded to his urgent request and opened to him the gate of the mountain.]

The scorpion-man opened his mouth to speak, saying unto Gilgamesh: "Goest thou, O Gilamesh! May the mountains of Mashu alloweth thee to pass! May the mountains watch over thee and protect thee, and may the gates of Mashu be open unto thee!"

Gilgamesh hear the words of the scorpion-man, and he ventured onto the path of the Sun God. One double-hour he marches; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. Two double-hours he marches; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. Three double-hours he marches; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. Four double-hours he

marches; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. Five double-hours he marches; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. Six double-hours he marches; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. Seven double-hours he marches; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. At eight double-hours he begins to quicken his pace; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. At nine double-hours the wind begins to blow in his face; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. Ten double-hours he marches; thick is the darkness, not does it grow light. At eleven double-hours, but one double-hour's travel remained. Two double-hours he marches; Gilgamesh emerges ahead of the Sun.

There was brilliance. And as he saw it, he ran toward the trees of the gods. One great tree, carnelian it bore as fruit, branches were hanging low with fruit, beautiful to behold. Lapis lazuli the branches of another bore; with fruit it was laden, dazzling the eye of the hero. Other precious trees are also there, and Gilgamesh reached out to touch their fruit.

As Gilgamesh wandered through the trees, a goddess lifted her head to watch him.

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 10

The tavern-keeper Siduri lived in a tavern by the sea. Her pot stands and pots were golden, and she was clothed in hoods and veils upon veils. Gilgamesh approached, clothed with a skin and fearful to gaze upon. His flesh was that of the gods, but his heart with heavy with grief. His countenance was like one who made a great journey. Sirudi saw him from afar off, and she spoke to herself and took counsel with herself: "Forsooth, this man must be a hunter of wild bulls, but whence cometh he to arrive at my gate?" And as Sirudi saw him approach she closed her gate. Its gate she closed and went up to her roof.

But Gilgamesh listened.... Lifts up his chin and turned toward her. Then Gilgamesh spoke unto Sirudi and said: "Sirudi, why doest thou bolt the gate against me? Thou bolted the gate against me, but I will break thy gate."

Sirudi said unto Gilgamesh: "I bolted the gate against thee I went up to my roof. About thy journey I wish to hear."

Gilgamesh said unto Sirudi: "My friend Enkidu and I, together we climbed mountains, slew the Heaven-Bull, and ended the life of Humbaba, who dwelt in the Forest of Cedar. We killed the lions that lived between the mountains."

And the tavern-keeper said unto Gilgamesh, "If truly thou art the one who climbed mountains, slew the Heaven-Bull, and ended the life of Humbaba, who dwelt in the Forest of Cedar, and slew the lions that lived between the mountains, then why art thou ashen and pale? Why art thy features sunken and hollow, thy countenance so sickly? Why is thine heart heavy with grief, and thy countenance like one who hath made a long journey? Why art thine features blasted by the weather, and why dost thou in lion's skin wander?"

Gilgamesh said unto the tavern-keeper: "Wherefore should I not appear ashen and pale? Wherefore should not my features be sunken and hollow, my countenance so sickly? Wherefore should not my heart be heavy with grief, and my countenance like one who hath made a long journey? Wherefore should not my features be blasted by the weather, and I in lion's skin wander? My friend, Enkidu wert a swift wild ass, a donkey of the mountains, a panther of the wilderness. My friend, whom I loved more than any man accompanied me through every peril until the fate of all mortals befell him. For six days and seven nights I mourned him, I left his body unburied until from his nostril a maggot came forth. I feared death for myself, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. My friend's fate was too grievous to bear, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. What happened to my beloved Enkidu was unbearable to me, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. Must I remain silent? The friend whom I loved has been turned to clay; Enkidu, my friend. And I will not, like unto him, lie down; not will I sink to where my friend is

And Gilgamesh said unto her, the Sirudi: Tell me, O Sirudi, which is the way to Utnapishtim? What is its direction, O Sirudi, tell me its direction. If it be possible, I will cross the sea; but if it is impossible, I will run there across the field."

And Sirudi answered unto Gilgamesh, and said: "Gilgamesh, there has never been a crossing here, and no one since eternal days has ever crossed the sea. Shamash, the hero, crosses it; but besides Shamash who can cross it? Difficult is the crossing, and extremely dangerous the way, and closed are the Waters of Death, which bolt its entrance. How, then, Gilgamesh, wilt thou cross the sea? And if thou shouldst reach the Waters of Death, what wouldst thou do? But Gilgamesh, there is Urshinabi, the sailor of Utnapishtim at the side of those with stones; in the forest he fells a cedar. Him may thy countenance behold. If possible, cross over with him; but if impossible, go back."

When Gilgamesh heard this, he lifted up the axe at his arm, drew the dagger from his belt, slipped in and rushed down and fell like a javelin between them. Urshinabi saw him coming and seized the axe, but Gilgamesh smote him on the head and held him down. The Stone Men. the boat crew

themselves immune to the Waters of Death, took fright, and Gilgamesh smote them all and smashed them to pieces and threw them into the water. He then stood over Urshinabi and gazed into his eyes.

Urshinabi said unto Gilgamesh: "Tell me thy name. Mine is Urshinabi, of Utnapishtim, the distant."

Gilgamesh said unto Urshinabi: "My name is Gilgamesh, late of Uruk-Eanna, he who found the hidden path through the mountains whence travels the Sun, and took that path hither."

Urshinabi said unto Gilgamesh: "Why art thou ashen and pale? Why art thy features sunken and hollow, thy countenance so sickly? Why is thine heart heavy with grief, and thy countenance like one who hath made a long journey? Why art thine features blasted by the weather, and why dost thou in lion's skin wander?"

Gilgamesh said unto Urshinabi: "Wherefore should I not appear ashen and pale? Wherefore should not my features be sunken and hollow, my countenance so sickly? Wherefore should not my heart be heavy with grief, and my countenance like one who hath made a long journey? Wherefore should not my features be blasted by the weather, and I in lion's skin wander? My friend, Enkidu wert a swift wild ass, a donkey of the mountains, a panther of the wilderness. My friend, whom I loved more than any man, accompanied me through every peril until the fate of all mortals befell him. For six days and seven nights I mourned him, I left his body unburied until from his nostril a maggot came forth. I feared death for myself. and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. My friend's fate was too grievous to bear, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. What happened to my beloved Enkidu was unbearable to me, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness Must I remain silent? The friend whom I loved has been turned to clay; Enkidu, my friend. And I will not, like unto him, lie down; not will I sink to where my friend is now.

Gilgamesh further said unto Urshinabi: "Telleth me, Urshinabi, the road to Utnapishtim. What landmarks guide the journey? Tell me! If possible, I shall cross over the see; but if impossible, I shall go back."

Urshinabi said unto Gilgamesh: "Thy hand, O Gilgamesh, has prevented the crossing. Thou hast smashed the Stone Men and threw them into the river. The Stone Men are now smashed and the pine is not stripped. Take, Gilgamesh, the axe at thy side, go into the wood and make three hundred punting-poles five gar long. Trim and finish each and bring them unto me."

And Gilgamesh on hearing this took the axe at his side, and drew the dagger from his belt. He went into the woods and felled trees three hundred punting-poles five gar in length, smeared them over with pitch and brought them to Urshinabi. Then Gilgamesh and Urshinabi embarked;

the ship tossed to and fro while they were on their way. A journey of forty and five days they accomplished within three days and thus Lirshinghi arrived at the Waters of Death

Urshinabi said unto Gilgamesh: "O, Gilgamesh, take thee the first of the punting-poles! Let not thy hand touch the Waters of Death, lest if wither. Take thee the second of the punting-poles, and a third and a fourth! Take thee the fifth of the punting-poles, and the sixth and the seventh! Take thee the eighth of the punting-poles, and a ninth and a tenth! Take thee the eleventh of the punting poles, and a twelfth!"

After six score double furlongs, all the punting-poles had Gilgamesh used. Urshinabi removed his robes, and Gilgamesh his garments, and from them Urshinabi fashioned a sail.

And Utnapishtim looking at him from the distance began thinking within himself, and with himself he thus meditated: "Why are the Stone Men of the ship smashed? And one, who is not its master rides in the ship. He that comes there is no man of mine. On the right side...... Hook....

I look.... I look.... He that comes there is no man of mine."

Gilgamesh drew nigh unto the shore, and he spoke unto Utnapishtim: "O, Utnapishtim, thou who surviveth the Deluge......" [The rest is lost.]

Utnapishtim said unto Gilgamesh: "Why art thou ashen and pale? Why art thy features sunken and hollow, thy countenance so sickly? Why is thine heart heavy with grief, and thy countenance like one who hath made a long journey? Why art thine features blasted by the weather, and why dost thou in lion's skin wander?"

Gilgamesh said unto Utnapishtim: "Wherefore should I not appear ashen and pale? Wherefore should not my features be sunken and hollow, my countenance so sickly? Wherefore should not my heart be heavy with grief, and my countenance like one who hath made a long journey? Wherefore should not my features be blasted by the weather, and I in lion's skin wander? My friend, Enkidu wert a swift wild ass, a donkey of the mountains, a panther of the wilderness. My friend, whom I loved more than any man, accompanied me through every peril until the fate of all mortals befell him. For six days and seven nights I mourned him, I left his body unburied until from his nostril a maggot came forth. I feared death for myself, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. My

friend's fate was too grievous to bear, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. What happened to my beloved Enkidu was unbearable to me, and so on the distant road I wander the wilderness. Must I remain silent? The friend whom I loved has been turned to clay; Enkidu, my friend. And I will not, like unto him, lie down; not will I sink to where my friend is now."

And Gilgamesh said unto Utnapishtim: "Here I have come, and Utnapishtim, whom people call the 'distant,' I will see. To him I will turn. I have travelled through all the lands, I have crossed over the steep mountains, and I have traversed all the seas. I had little sleep and castigated myself by denying me rest. I have filled my very sinews with grief, and all in vain. Before I reached the tavern-keeper, my clothes had worn away. I killed wild beasts, the hyena, the panther, the cheetah, the stag, the jackal, the lion, the wild bull, the deer, and ibex. Their flesh I ate and their pelts I wore. But now close fast the gates of sorrow, seal them fast with tar and pitch! Sorrow shall never again interrupt my revelry and joy!"

Utnapishim said unto Gilgamesh: "Wherefore dost thou follow after sorrows? Thou art made of godly stuff, fashioned from flesh human and divine in the image of thine father and mother. Hast thou contrasted thy lot to that of the fool? For thee a throne was set up in the assembly on which thou wert commanded to sit. The fool eateth the yeast that remaineth, not fresh butter; he eateth bran and grist, not milled flour. He weareth rags, not fine robes; no belt but old rope. [Portions that follow are fragmentary and describe the actions of the gods. Enkidu the gods have indeed brought down to his doom. But what hast thou gained from thy toil? As thou exhausteth thine energies and sap thy strength, thou only hasten the end of thy days. The life of a man may be snapped like a dry reed. The handsome youth and the comely maid, both may fall to Death all too soon. None might see Death or hear his voice, though Death reapeth us all.

"As long as houses are built, as long as tablets are sealed, as long as brothers are at enmity, as long as there exist strife and hatred in the land, as long as the river carries the waters to the sea, etc., so long is there no likeness of death drawn, never shall the dead great the living. The Anunnaki, the great gods, assemble and Mammitum, the goddess of fate, she who with them determines fate, will do so, for they determine death and life. But the days of death are unknown to mankind."

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 11

Gilgamesh said to him, to Utnapishtim, the distant: "I gaze upon thee (in amazement), O Utnapishtim! Thy appearance has not changed, like unto me thou art also. And thy nature itself has not changed, like unto me thou art also, though thou hast departed this life. But my heart has still to struggle against all that no longer lies upon thee. Tell me, How didst thou come to dwell (here) and obtain eternal life among the gods?"

Utnapishtim then said unto Gilgamesh: "I will reveal unto thee, O Gilgamesh, the mysterious story, and the mystery of the gods I will tell thee. The city of Shuruppak, a city which, as thou knowest, is situated on the bank of the river Euphrates. That city was very old, as were the gods within it. Even the great gods, as many as there were, decided to bring about a deluge: their father, Anu; their counsellor, the warrior Enlil; their leader, Ninurta; their champion, the god Ennugi. But Ea, the lord of unfathomable wisdom, argued with them. Their plan he told to a reed-hut, (saying):

"'Reed-hut, reed-hut, clay-structure, clay-structure! Reed-hut, hear; clay-structure, pay attention! Thou man of Shuruppak, son of Ubara-Tutu, build a house, construct a ship; forsake thy possessions, take heed of the living! Abandon thy goods, save living things, and bring living seed of every kind into the ship. As for the ship, which thou shalt build, let its proportions be well measured: Its breadth and its length shall bear proportion each to each, and into the sea then launch it.'

"I took heed, and said to Ea, my lord:

"I will do, my lord, as thou hast commanded; I will observe and will fulfil the command. But what shall I answer to (the inquiries of) the city, the people, and the elders?

"Ea opened his mouth and spoke, and he said unto me, his servant:

"'Man, as an answer say thus unto them: "I know that Enlil hates me. No longer can I live in your city; nor on Enlil's territory can I live securely any longer; I will go down to the Apsu; I will live with Ea, my lord. Upon you he will pour down rich blessing. He will grant you fowl in plenty and fish in abundance, herds of cattle and an abundant harvest. In the morning he will pour down upon you bread, in the evening a rain of wheat."

"As soon as early dawn appeared, the populace assembled 'round Atra-hasis's gate, the carpenter with his hatchet, the reed-worker with his flattening-stone, the [...] men [...]. The rich men brought pitch, and the poor men collected together all that was necessary.

"On the fifth day I set in place her exterior; it was an acre in area; its sides were ten gar high; ten gar also was the extent of its deck; I added a front-roof to it and closed it in. I built it in

six stories, thus making seven floors in all; the interior of each I divided again into nine partitions. Beaks for water within I cut out. I selected a punting-pole and added all that was necessary. Three shar of pitch I smeared on its outside; three shar of asphalt I used for the inside (so as to make it watertight). Three shar of oil the men carried, carrying it in vessels. One shar of oil I kept out and used it for sacrifices, while the other two shar the boatman stowed away. I slaughtered oxen; I killed lambs day by day. Jugs of beer, of oil, and of sweet wine, like river water (i.e., freely) I gave the workmen to make a feast like that of the New-Year's Day. To the god Shamash my hands brought oil. The ship was completed. Launching it was heavy work, and I added tackling above and below, and after all was finished, the ship sank in the water to two thirds of its height.

"With all that I possessed I filled it; with all the silver I had I filled it; with all the gold I had I filled it; with living creatures of every kind I filled it. Then I embarked also all my family and my relatives, cattle of the field, beasts of the field, and the uprighteous people—all them I embarked. A time had Shamash appointed, (namely): 'When the rulers of darkness send at eventide a destructive rain, then enter into the ship and shut its door.' This very sign came to pass, and the rulers of darkness sent a destructive rain at eventide. I saw the approach of the storm, and I was afraid to witness the storm; I entered the ship and shut the door.

"I entrusted the guidance of the ship to Puzur-Amurri, the boatman, and also the great house, and the contents thereof. As soon as early dawn appeared, there rose up from the horizon a black cloud, within which the weather god (Adad) thundered, and the heralds Shullat and Hanish went before across mountain and plain. The gods of the abyss arose. Nergal, the great, tore loose the dams of the deep. There went Ninurta and he caused the banks to overflow; the Anunnaki lifted on high (their) torches, and with the brightness thereof they illuminated the universe. The storm brought on by Adad swept even up to the heavens and all light was turned into darkness as Adad shattered the land like a pot.

"It blew with violence one whole day, submerging the mountains. Like an onslaught in battle it rushed in on the people. Nor could brother look after brother. Nor were recognised the people from heaven. The gods even were afraid of the storm; they retreated and took refuge in the heaven of Anu. There the gods crouched down like dogs; on the inclosure of heaven they sat cowering.

"Then Ishtar cried out like a woman in travail and the lady of the gods lamented with a loud voice, (saying): 'The world of old has been turned back into clay, because I assented to this evil in the assembly of the gods. Alas! that when I assented to this evil in the council of the gods, I was for the destruction of my own people. What I have created, where is it? Like the spawn of fish it fills the sea.' The gods wailed with her over the Anunnaki. The gods were bowed down, and sat there weeping. Their lips were pressed together (in fear and in terror).

"Six days and nights the wind blew, and storm and tempest overwhelmed the country. When the seventh day drew nigh the tempest, the storm, the battle which they had waged like a great host began to moderate. The sea quieted down; hurricane and storm ceased. I looked out upon the sea and raised loud my voice, but all mankind had turned back into clay. Likewise the surrounding sea became as flat as a roof-top.

'I opened the air-hole and light fell upon my cheek. Dumbfounded I sank backward and sat weeping, while over my cheek flowed the tears. I looked in every direction, and behold, all was sea. I looked in vain for land, but twelve leagues distant there rose (out of the water) a strip of land. To Mount Nisir the ship drifted. On Mount Nisir the boat stuck fast and it did not slip away. The first day, the second day, Mount Nişir held the ship fast, and did not let it slip away. The third day, the fourth day, Mount Nisir held the ship fast, and did not let it slip away. The fifth day, the sixth day, Mount Nisir held the ship, fast, and did not let it slip away. When the seventh day drew nigh I sent out a dove, and let her go. The dove flew hither and thither, but as there was no resting-place for her, she returned. Then I sent out a swallow. and let her go. The swallow flew hither and thither, but as there was no resting-place for her she also returned. Then I sent out a raven, and let her go. The raven flew away and saw the abatement of the waters. She settled down to feed, went away, and returned no more.

"Then I let everything go out unto the four winds, and I offered a sacrifice. I poured out a libation upon the peak of the mountain. I placed the censers seven and seven, and poured into them calamus, cedar-wood, and sweet incense. The gods smelt the savour; yea, the gods smelt the sweet savour; the gods gathered like flies around the sacrificer. But when now the lady of the gods (Ishtar) drew nigh, she lifted up the necklace with precious jewels which Anu had made according to her wish (and said):

"'Ye gods here! by my lapis lazuli necklace, not will I forget. These days will I remember, never will I forget (them). Let the gods come to the offering; but Enlil shall not come to the offering, since rashly he caused the flood-storm, and handed over my people unto destruction.'

"Now, when Enlil drew nigh, and saw the ship, the god was wroth, and anger against the gods, the Igigi, filled his heart, (and he said): 'Who then has escaped here (with his life)? No man was to survive the universal destruction.'

"Then Ninurta opened his mouth and spoke, saying unto Enlil, the warrior: 'Who but Ea could have planned this! For does not Ea know all arts?'

Then Ea opened his mouth and spoke, saying unto Enlil, the warrior:

"'Ay, thou wise one among the gods, thou warrior, how rash of thee to bring about a flood-storm! On the sinner visit his sin, and on the wicked his wickedness; but be merciful, forbear, let not all be destroyed! Be considerate, let not mankind perish! Instead of sending a flood-storm, let lions come and diminish mankind; instead of sending a flood-storm, let tigers come and diminish mankind; instead of sending a flood-storm, let famine come and smite the land; instead of sending a flood-storm, let pestilence come and kill off the people. I did not reveal the mystery of the great gods. I only caused Atra-hasis to see it in a dream, and so he heard the mystery of the gods.'

"Thereupon Enlil arrived at a decision. Enlil went up into the ship, took me by the hand and led me out. He led out also my wife and made her kneel beside me; He turned us face to face, and standing between us, blessed us, (saying) 'Ere this Utnapishtim was only human; But now Utnapishtim and his wife shall be lofty like unto the gods; let Utnapishtim live far away (from men) at the mouth of the rivers.'

"Then they took me and let us dwell far away at the mouth of the rivers."

After Utnapishtim had finished this account, he turned to Gilgamesh and said: "Now as for thee, which one of the gods shall give thee strength, that the life thou desirest thou shalt obtain? Now sleep!" And for six days and seven nights Gilgamesh resembled one lying lame. Sleep came over him like a storm wind. Then Utnapishtim said to his wife: "Behold, here is the hero whose desire is everlasting life! Sleep came upon him like a storm wind." And the wife replied to Utnapishtim, the distant: "Touch him that he may waken and return to his land. Let him, restored in health, return on the road on which he came. Let him pass out through the great door unto his own country." And Utnapishtim said to his wife: "All men deceive, and this one will deceive you. Therefore, cook now for him loaves and place one at his head each day, and mark on the wall the days he has slept."

And while Gilgamesh slept, she cooked the loaves to place it at his head and marked the wall. And while he slept, the first loaf became hard; the second became leathery; the third became soggy; the fourth became white; the fifth became gray with mold; the sixth, it was fresh; the seventh—of a sudden the man awoke upon being touched.

Then spoke Gilgamesh, and said unto Utnapishtim, the distant: "I had sunk down, and sleep had befallen me. Of a sudden thou didst touch me, and I awoke! And Utnapishtim said unto Gilgamesh: "Gilgamesh, look over yonder and count the loaves, heed the marks on the wall. The first loaf is hard; the second is leathery; the thirdly is soggy; the fourth is white; the fifth is gray with mold; the sixth, it is fresh; the seventh, while still warm I touched you and you awoke."

And Gilgamesh said unto Utnapishtim, the distant: "What shall I do, Utnapishtim? Whither shall I go? The demon has seized my flesh. Upon my couch death now sits. And where my foot treads, there is death."

And Utnapishtim said to Urshanabi, the ferryman: "Urshanabi, thou have become loathsome to this harbour; let the boat carry thee away; you are forever excluded from this place. The man, before whom thou goest, has his body covered with foulness, and the wild skins he wears have hidden the beauty of his body. Take him, Urshanabi, and bring him to the place of purification, where he can wash his hair in water that it may become clean as snow; let him cast off his skins and the sea will carry them away; his body shall then appear beautiful. Let the fillet also be replaced on his head, and the garment that covers his nakedness. Until he returns to his city, until he arrives at his road, the garment shall not wear with age; it shall remain entirely new."

And Urshanabi took him and brought him to the place of purification, where he washed his hair in water so that it became clean as snow; he cast off his skins and the sea carried them away; his body appeared beautiful. He replaced also the fillet on his head and the garment that covered his nakedness until he should return to his city, until he should arrive at his road; the garment would not wear with age; it remained entirely new.

Then Gilgamesh and Urshanabi embarked again, and during their journey the ship tossed to and fro. The wife of Utnapishtim spoke unto her husband, the distant, (saying): "Gilgamesh did come here weary and exhausted. What now wilt thou give him, that he may return to his country?"

And Gilgamesh lifted up the pole, and drew the boat nearer to the shore.

Then Utnapishtim spoke unto Gilgamesh (and said): "Gilgamesh, thou didst come here weary; thou didst labour and row. What now shall I give thee, that thou mayest return to thy country? I will reveal unto thee, Gilgamesh, a mystery of the gods I will announce unto thee. There is a plant resembling buckthorn; its thorn stings like that of a bramble. When thy hands can reach that plant, then thy hands will hold that which gives life everlasting."

that which gives life everlasting."

When Gilgamesh had heard this he opened the sluices that the sweet water might carry him into the deep; he bound heavy stones to his feet, which dragged him down to the sea floor, and thus he found the plant. Then he grasped the prickly plant. He removed from his feet the heavy stones, and the sea carried him and threw him down to on the shore.

And Gilgamesh said unto Urshanabi, the ferryman: "Urshanabi, this plant is a plant of great marvel; and by it a man may attain renewed vigour. I will take it to Uruk the strong-walled, I will give it to the old men to eat. Its name shall be 'Even an old man will be rejuvenated!' I will eat of this and return (again) to the vigour of my youth."

At twenty double-leagues they then took a meal: and at thirty double-leagues they took a rest. And Gilgamesh saw a well wherein was cool water; he stepped into it and bathed in the water. A serpent smelled the sweetness of the plant and darted out; he took the plant away, and as he turned back to the well, he sloughed his skin. And after this Gilgamesh sat down and wept. Tears flowed down his cheeks, and he said unto Urshanabi, the ferryman:

"Why, Urshanabi, did my hands tremble? Why did the blood of my heart stand still? Not on myself did I bestow any benefit. On the 'ground-lion' this benefit has been bestowed. Already twenty double-leagues the waters have taken the plant away. I opened the sluices and lowered my equipment into it. I saw the sign; it has become an omen to me. I am to return, leaving the ship on the shore."

Then they continued on and took a meal after twenty double-leagues, and after thirty double-leagues they took a rest. When they arrived at Uruk the strong-walled, Gilgamesh then spoke to Urshanabi, the ferryman, (and said):

"Urshanabi, ascend and walk about on the wall of Uruk, inspect the corner-stone, and examine its brick-work, whether its wall is not made of burned brick, and its foundation laid by the Seven Sages. One third for city, one third for garden, one third for field, and a precinct for the temple of Ishtar. These parts and the precinct comprise Uruk."

GILGAMESH EPIC TABLET 12

"Today, had I but left my ball in the shop of the carpenter! O wife of the carpenter, like a mother unto me, had I but left it! O daughter of the carpenter, like a sister unto me, had I but left it! Today my ball and my mallet fell down to Hades."

Enkidu answered Gilgamesh and said unto him: "Weep not, my master, for this day I shall go down to Hades and retrieve for thee thy mallet and thy ball."

Gilgamesh answered Enkidu and said unto him: "If thou art to goest down unto Hades, thou must heed my advice. Dress not in a clean garment, or thou shalt be revealed as a stranger. With sweet-smelling bull's fat must thou no more anoint thyself, or the dead shalt gather around thee on account of this sweet odor. The bow thou must not stretch upon the ground, or those that were slain with the bow shalt gather round about thee. The staff thou must not carry in thy hand. or the spirits of death will tremble before thee. Sandals thou must not tie to thy feet; a (war) cry thou must not shout here on earth; thy wife whom thou lovedst, thou must not kiss; thy wife whom thou hatedst, thou must not smite. Thy son whom thou lovedst, thou must not kiss; thy son whom thou hatedst, thou must not smite. The woes of the netherworld have overtaken thee; as well as she that is dark, she that is dark, mother Ninazu, who is dark, whose white, shining body is not clothed with a garment, whose breasts were bare like stone.

But when Enkidu wend down unto Hades, he paid no heed to the advice of Gilgamesh. He dressed in a clean garment, and he was revealed as a stranger. With sweet-smelling bull's fat he anointed himself, and the dead gathered around him on account of this sweet odor. The bow he did stretch upon the ground, and those that were slain with the bow gathered round about him. The staff he carried in his hand, and the spirits of death trembled before him. Sandals he tied to his feet; a (war) cry he shouted here on earth; his wife whom he loved, he kissed; the wife whom he hated, he smote. Thy son whom he loved, he kissed; the son whom he hated, he smote. The woes of the netherworld overtook him; as well as she that is dark, she that is dark, mother Ninazu, who is dark, whose white, shining body is not clothed with a garment, whose breasts were bare like stone."

From the Netherworld, Enkidu cried out to the world above. Namtar has not snatched him away. Asakku has not snatched him away not. The netherworld has snatched him away. The lurking demon of Nergal, the merciless, has not snatched him away. The netherworld has snatched him away. The battlefield has not slain him, but the netherworld has snatched him away.

Then Gilgamesh went alone to Ekur the House of Enlil and prayed: "Father Enlil, my ball has fallen into the netherworld, and my mallet has fallen in as well. Enkidu has sunk down to the shades to retrieve them, but the netherworld has seized him! Namtar has not snatched him away. Asakku has not snatched him away not. The netherworld has snatched him away. The lurking demon of Nergal, the merciless, has not snatched him away. The netherworld has snatched him away. The battlefield has not slain him, but the netherworld has snatched him away. "Father Enlil answered him not.

Then Gilgamesh went alone to Ur the House of Sin and prayed: "Father Sin, my ball has fallen into the netherworld, and my mallet has fallen in as well. Enkidu has sunk down to the shades to retrieve them, but the netherworld has seized him! Namtar has not snatched him away. Asakku has not snatched him away not. The netherworld has snatched him away. The lurking demon of Nergal, the merciless, has not snatched him away. The netherworld has snatched him away. The battlefield has not slain him, but the netherworld has snatched him away." Father Sin answered him not.

Then Gilgamesh went alone to Eridu the Temple of Enki and prayed: "Father Enki, my ball has fallen into the netherworld, and my mallet has fallen in as well. Enkidu has sunk down to the shades to retrieve them, but the netherworld has seized him! Namtar has not snatched him away. Asakku has not snatched him away not. The netherworld has snatched him away. The lurking demon of Nergal, the merciless, has not snatched him away. The netherworld has snatched him away. The battlefield has not slain him, but the netherworld has snatched him away."

Father Enki helped him and spoke to the hero and lord Shamash: "Break open the chamber of the grave and open the ground, that the spirit of Enkidu, like a wind, may rise out of the ground."

When Shamash, the hero and lord, heard this prayer, he broke open the chamber of the grave and opened the ground, and caused the spirit of Enkidu to rise out of the ground, like a wind. Gilgamesh and Enkidu hugged and kissed one another, and shared their thoughts and queries.

"Tell me, my friend, O tell me, my friend; the appearance of the land, which thou hast seen. O tell me!"

But Enkidu replied: "I cannot tell thee, my friend, I cannot tell thee. If I would describe to thee the appearance of the land that I have seen, surely, Gilgamesh, thou wouldst sit down and weep."

And Gilgamesh said unto him: "Then let me sit down and

weep!"
"Bitter and sad is all that formerly gladdened thy heart, my body like an old garment that the worm does eat. Enkidu, what formerly gladdened thy heart, all is cloaked in dust."

"Woe!" cried Gilgamesh, who threw himself to the ground.
"Woe!" cried Enkidu, who threw himself to the ground.

"Didst thou seest the man with one son?" "I saw him. He weepeth over a peg fixed in his wall." "Didst thou seest the man with two sons?" "I saw him. He eateth bread atop two bricks." "Didst thou seest the man with three sons?" "I saw him. He drinketh water atop a saddle." "Didst thou seest the man with four sons?" "I saw him. His heart rejoiceth like the man with a team of donkeys." "Didst though seest the man with five sons?" "I saw him. He entereth the palace with the ease of a scribe." "Didst thou seest the man with six sons?" "I saw him. He sitteth enthroned among the lesser gods in the assembly." "Didst thou seest the man with no son?" "I saw him. He eateth bread as hard as a kiln-fired brick." "Didst

thou seest the eunuch of the palace?" "I saw him. He standeth

in the corner like a standard."

"Didst thou seest him who was struck by the mooring-pole?" "I saw him. Woe unto his mother and father, for when the pegs are removed, he roams about." "Didst thou seest him who died before his time?" "I saw him. He rests on a soft couch, and drinks pure water." "Didst thou seest the hero slain in battle?" "I saw him. His father and mother remember him, and his wife weepeth for him. Yea! the spirit of such a man is at rest." "Didst thou sees the man whose corpse remains unburied upon the field?" I saw him. His spirit does not find rest in Hades." "Didst thou seest the man whose spirit has no one who cares for it?" "I saw him. He consumes the dregs of the bowl, the broken remnants of food, that are cast into the

GILGAMESH AND HUWAWA (VERSION A) Translation: ETCSL t.1.8.1.5; University of Oxford Estimated Range of Dating:

1-3. Now the lord once decided to set off for the mountain where the man lives; Lord Gilgamesh decided to set off for the mountain where the man lives. He spoke to his slave Enkidu:

4-7. "Enkidu, since a man cannot pass beyond the final end of life, I want to set off into the mountains, to establish my renown there. Where renown can be established there, I will establish my renown; and where no renown can be established there, I shall establish the renown of the gods."

8-12. His slave Enkidu answered him: "My lord, if today you are going to set off into the mountains, Utu should know about it from us. [(1 ms. adds:) If you are going to to set off into the Mountains of Cedar-felling, Utu should know about it from us.] Utu, youthful Utu, should know about it from us. A decision that concerns the mountains is Utu's business. A decision that concerns the Mountains of Cedar-felling is the business of youthful Utu. Utu should know about it from us."

13-16. Gilgamesh [prepared] [(2 mss. have instead:) took hold of] a white kid. [He clasped a brown kid, a sacrificial animal, close to his breast.] [(1 ms. has instead:) He a brown kid.] In his hand he held a holy staff before his nose, as he addressed Utu of heaven:

17-18. "Utu, I am going to set off into the mountains! May you be my helper! I am going to set off into the Mountains of Cedar-felling! May you be my helper!"

19-20. From heaven Utu replied to him: "Young man, you are noble already in your own right -- but what would you want with the mountains?"

21-33. "Utu, I have something to say to you -- a word in your ear! I greet you -- please pay attention! In my city people are dying, and hearts are full of distress. People are lost -- that fills me with [(I ms. adds:) wretched] dismay. I craned my neck over the city wall: corpses in the water make the river almost overflow. That is what I see. That will happen to me too -- that is the way things go. No one is tall enough to reach heaven; no one can reach wide enough to stretch over the mountains. Since a man cannot pass beyond the final end of life, I want to set off into the mountains, to establish my renown there. Where renown can be established there, I will establish my renown; and where no renown can be established there, I shall establish the renown of the gods."

34-47. Utu accepted his tears as a fitting gift. As befits a compassionate person, he turned to him full of compassion: "Now there are seven warriors, sons of a single mother. The first, their eldest brother, has lion's paws and eagle's talons. The second is a snake, The third is a dragon snake, The fourth blazes with fire The fifth is a snake, The sixth [(1 ms. adds:), a shackle that the rebel lands in the hills,] beats at the flanks of the mountains [like a battering flood] [(1 ms. has instead:), floodwater that destroys all]. The seventh flashes like lightning, and no one can deflect [it] [(1 ms. has instead:) its power]. [(1 ms. adds 4 lines:)

4 lines fragmentary] [(another ms. adds instead 6 lines:)

2 lines fragmentary kingship Nisaba has bestowed on you in addition. They, and know the routes on earth. They will help you find the of the way.] They should guide you to the place in the mountains where the boats have to be pulled from the water! [The warrior, youthful Utu, gave these seven to Gilgamesh.] [(3 mss. have instead the line, placed after line 43:) These seven the warrior, youthful Utu, gave to Lord Gilgamesh.] The feller of cedars was filled with joy. Urod Gilgamesh was filled with joy.

48-51. In his city he had the horn sounded for single men; similarly for two together he made them call out. "Let him who has a household go to his household! Let him who has a mother go to his mother! Let bachelor males, types like me, [(4 mss. add:) -- fifty of them --] join me at my side!"

52-60. Whoever had a household went to his household. Whoever had a mother went to his mother. Bachelor males, types like him — there were fifty — joined him at his side. He made his way to the blacksmith's, and had them cast weapons and axes, the strength of warriors. Then he made his way to the deeply shaded plantations, where he had ebony trees felled, and halub trees, apricot trees, and box trees. He to his fellow-citizens who were going with him. [(1 ms. adds:) Warriors, sons of a single mother] The first, their eldest brother, has lion's paws and eagle's claws. They will guide him to the place in the mountains where the boats have to be pulled from the water.

61. He crossed the first mountain range, [but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there] [(1 ms. has instead:) the cedars did not catch his attention]. [(the same ms. adds:) He crossed the second mountain range, but the cedars did not catch his attention. He crossed the third mountain range, but the cedars did not catch his attention. He crossed the fourth mountain range, but the cedars did not catch his attention. He crossed the fifth mountain range, but the cedars did not catch his attention. He crossed the fifth mountain range, but the cedars did not catch his attention. [[(another ms. adds instead:)]

unknown number of lines missing

He crossed the third mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. He crossed the fourth mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. He crossed the fifth mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. He crossed the sixth mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there.]

62-67. When he had crossed the seventh mountain range, there his intuition led him to find the cedars. He did not need to ask, nor did he have to search any further. Lord Gilgamesh began to chop at the cedars, [[while Enkidu lopped off their

branches, to Gilgamesh.] [(1 ms. has instead:) while Enkidu their branches, and his fellow-citizens] [(1 ms. adds:) to, Enkidu] stacked them in piles. [(1 ms. adds:) Huwawa] He loosed his terrrors against] [(instead of lines 65-67, 1 ms. has:) while Enkidu cut up the timbers, and the widows' sons who had come with him heaped them up in piles. Since, because of the, Huwawa had been scared in his lair by Gilgamesh, he began to radiate his terrors]

68-75. Gilgamesh was overcome by sleep, and it affected Enkidu as a powerful longing. His fellow-citizens who had come with him flailed around at his feet like puppies. Enkidu awoke from his dream, shuddering from his sleep. He rubbed his eyes; there was eery silence everywhere. He touched Gilgamesh, but could not rouse him. He spoke to him, but he did not reply.

76-84. "You who have gone to sleep, you who have gone to sleep! Gilgamesh, young lord of Kulaba, how long will you sleep for? The mountains are becoming indistinct as the shadows fall across them; the evening twilight lies over them. Proud Utu has already gone to the bosom of his mother Ningal. Gilgamesh, how long will you sleep for? The sons of your city who came with you should not have to wait at the foot of the hills. Their own mothers should not have to twine string in the square of your city."

85-89. He thrust that into his right ear; he covered him with his aggressive words as if with a cloth [(1 ms. adds:), laid them out like linen]. He [gathered] [(3 mss. have instead:) picked up] in his hand a cloth with thirty shekels of oil on it and [smothered] [(1 ms. has instead:) rubbed] it over Gilgamesh's chest. Then Gilgamesh stood up like a bull on the great earth. Bending his neck downwards, he yelled at him:

90-91. "By the life of my own mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! Am I to become again as if I were slumbering still on the lap of my own mother Ninsumun?"

92-95. A second time he spoke to him: "By the life of my own mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! Until I discover whether that person was a human or a god, I shall not direct back to the city my steps which I have directed to the mountains."

96-97. The slave, trying to ameliorate the situation, trying to make life appear more attractive, answered his master:

98-106. "My master, you have not yet really seen that person, he should not vex you. -- But he vexes me -- me, who have seen him before. His pugnacious mouth is a dragon's maw; his face is a lion's grimace. His chest is like a raging flood; no one [dare approach] [(1 ms. has instead:) can escape from] his brow, which devours the reedbeds. [(2 mss. adds 1 line:) A man-eating lion, he never wipes away the blood from his slaver.] [(1 ms. adds instead 5 lines:)

1 line fragmentary a lion eating a corpse, he never wipes away the blood

3 lines fragmentary] Travel on, my master, up into the mountains! — but I shall travel back to the city. If I say to your mother about you "He is alive!", she will laugh. But afterwards I shall say to her about you "He is dead!", and she will certainly weep [over you] [(1 ms. has instead:) bitterly]." [(1 ms. adds:) replied to]

107-116. "Look, Enkidu, two people together will not perish! A grappling-pole does not sink! No one can cut through a three-ply cloth! Water cannot wash someone away from a wall! Fire in a reed house cannot be extinguished! You help me, and I will help you -- what can anyone do against us then? When it sank, when it sank, when the Magan boat sank, when the magilum barge sank, then at least the life-saving grappling-pole of the boat [was rescued] [(1 ms. has instead:) was not allowed to sink]! Come on, let's get after him and get a sight of him!"

117-119. "If we go after him, there will be terror! There will be terror. Turn back! There will be blood! There wil be blood! Turn back!"

120. "Whatever you may think -- come on, let's get after him!"

121-125. Before a man can approach within even sixty times six yards, Huwawa has already reached his house among the cedars. When he looks at someone, it is the look of death. When he shakes his head at someone, it is a gesture full of reproach. [(1 ms. adds:) When he speaks to someone, he should not prolong his words:] "You may still be a young man, but you will never again return to the city of your mother who bore you!"

126-129. Fear and terror spread through [his] [(1 ms. has instead:) Gilgamesh's] sinews and his feet. He could not move (?) his feet on the ground; the big toenails of his feet stuck to the path. At his side

130-135. (Huwawa addressed Gilgamesh:) "So come on now, you heroic bearer of a sceptre of wide-ranging power! Noble glory of the gods, angry bull standing ready for a fight! Your mother knew well how to bear sons, and your nurse knew well how to nourish children on the breast! Don't be afraid, rest your hand on the ground!"

136-139. Gilgamesh rested his hand on the ground, and addressed Huwawa: "By the life of my own mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! No one really knows

where in the mountains you live; they would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, I have brought you En-me-barage-si, my big sister, to be your wife in the

140-144. And again he addressed him: "By the life of my mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! No one really knows where in the mountains you live; they would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, I have brought you Ma-tur, my little sister, to be your concubine in the mountains. Just hand over your terrors to me! I want to become your kinsman!"

145-148. Then Huwawa handed over to him his first terror. Gilgamesh's fellow-citizens who had come with him began to lop off the branches and bundle them together, so as to lay them down at the foot of the hills.

148A-148K. [(Several mss. preserve a more elaborate, but repetitive, narrative built on the pattern of lines 145-148. Some preserve the repetitions in an extremely abbreviated form. No ms. known to be from Nibru preserves the additional lines. One ms. of unknown origin adds at least 53 lines (and another fragmentary ms. of unknown origin gives an abbreviated version of these, always replacing 'terror' by 'aura'):) And again he addressed him: "By the life of my mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! No one really knows where in the mountains you live; they would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, I have brought to the mountains for you Couldn't I get close to you and your family? Just hand over your terrors to me! I want to become your kinsman!" Then Huwawa handed over to him his second terror. Gilgamesh's fellow-citizens who had come with him began to lop off the branches and bundle them together, so as to lay them down at the foot of the hills.]

148L-148V. [And a third time he addressed him: "By the life of my mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! No one really knows where in the mountains you live; they would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, I have brought to the mountains for you some esha flour -- the food of the gods! -- and a waterskin of cool water. Couldn't I get close to you and your family? Just hand over your terrors to me! I want to become your kinsman!" Then Huwawa handed over to him his third terror. Gilgamesh's fellow-citizens who had come with him began to lop off the branches and bundle them together, so as to lay them down at the foot of the hills.]

148W-148FF. [And a fourth time he addressed him: "By the life of my mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! No one really knows where in the mountains you live: they would like to know where in the mountains you live Here. I have brought to for you some big shoes for big feet. Couldn't I get close to you and your family? Just hand over your terrors to me! I want to become your kinsman!" Then Huwawa handed over to him his fourth terror. Gilgamesh's fellow-citizens who had come with him began to lop off the branches and bundle them together, so as to lay them down at the foot of the hills.

148GG-148PP. [And a fifth time he addressed him: "By the life of my mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! No one really knows where in the mountains you live; they would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, I have brought to the mountains for you some tiny shoes for your tiny feet. Couldn't I get close to you and your family? Just hand over your terrors to me! I want to become your kinsman!" Then Huwawa handed over to him his fifth terror. Gilgamesh's fellow-citizens who had come with him began to lop off the branches and bundle them together, so as to lay them down at the foot of the hills.]

148QQ-148AAA. [And a sixth time he addressed him: "By the life of my mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! No one really knows where in the mountains you live; they would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, I have brought you rock-crystal, nir stone and lapis lazuli -- from the mountains. Couldn't I get close to you and your family? Just hand over your terrors to me! I want to become your kinsman!" Then Huwawa handed over to him his sixth terror. Gilgamesh's fellow-citizens who had come with him began to lop off the branches and bundle them together. so as to lay them down at the foot of the hills.]

149-151. When Huwawa had finally handed over to him his seventh terror, Gilgamesh found himself beside Huwawa. He [went up to him gradually] [(1 ms. has instead:)] from behind, as one does with a snake. He made as if to kiss him, but then punched him on the cheek with his fist.

152. Huwawa bared his teeth at him [(1 ms. adds:) furrowing his brows at him]. [(2 mss. from Urim add 8 lines:) Huwawa addressed Gilgamesh: "Hero, to act falsely!" The two of them ... on him ... the warrior from his dwelling ... said to him, "Sit down!" ... Huwawa from his dwelling ... said to him, "Sit down!" The warrior sat down and began to weep, shedding tears. Huwawa sat down and began to weep, shedding tears. Huwawa plea to Gilgamesh.] [(instead of lines 152A-152H, 2 other mss. add 2 lines:) He threw a halter over him as over a captured wild bull. He tied up his arms like a captured man. [(1 of the mss. adds 1 further line:) Huwawa wept,]]

153-157. [He tugged at Gilgamesh's hand.] [(4 mss. have instead:) "Gilgamesh, let me go!"] "I want to talk to Utu!"
"Utu, I never knew a mother who bore me, nor a father who brought me up! I was born in the mountains -- you brought me up! Yet Gilgamesh swore to me by heaven, by earth, and by the mountains."

158-160. Huwawa clutched at Gilgamesh's hand, and prostrated himself before him. Then Gilgamesh's noble heart took pity on him. [Gilgamesh addressed Enkidu] [(3 mss. have instead:) He addressed his slave Enkidu]:

161-162. "Enkidu, let the captured bird run away home! Let the captured man return to his mother's embrace!

163-174. [Enkidu replied to Gilgamesh] [(2 mss. have instead:) His slave Enkidu replied]: "Come on now, you heroic bearer of a sceptre of wide-ranging power! Noble glory of the gods, angry bull standing ready for a fight! Young Lord Gilgamesh, cherished in Unug, your mother knew well how to bear sons, and your nurse knew well how to nourish children! -- One so exalted and yet so lacking in [understanding] [(1 ms. has instead:) judgement] will be devoured by fate without him ever understanding that fate. The very idea that a captured bird should run away home, or a captured man should return to his mother's embrace! --Then you yourself would never get back to the mother-city that bore you! [(1 ms. adds:) A captured warrior set free! A captured high priestess to the gipar! A captured gudug priest restored to his wig of hair! ever, ever?

[2 lines fragmentary] his attention to his

175-177. Huwawa addressed Enkidu: "Enkidu, you speak such hateful [(1 ms. adds:) hostile] words against me to him! You hireling, who are hired for your keep! You who follow along after him -- [you speak such hateful words to him.] [(2 mss. have instead:) why do you speak such hateful words to him?]" [(1 ms. adds:)

[2 lines fragmentary]

178-180. As Huwawa spoke thus to him, [Enkidu, full of rage and anger, cut his throat] [(2 mss. from Nibru have instead:) they cut his throat]. [He put] [(1 ms. has instead:) He chucked [(the same 2 mss. from Nibru have instead:) They put] his head in a leather bag.

181-186. [They entered before Enlil. After they had kissed the ground before Enlil, they threw the leather bag down, tipped out his head, and placed it before Enlil. When Enlil saw the head of Huwawa, he spoke angrily to Gilgamesh:] [(instead of lines 181-186, 1 ms. has:) They brought it before Enlil and Ninlil. When Enlil approached (?), went out the window (?), and Ninlil went out When Enlil with Ninlil had returned (?),]

187-192. "Why did you act in this way? [..... did you act?] [(1 ms. has instead:) Was it commanded that his name should be wiped from the earth?] [He should have sat before you!] [(1 ms. has instead:) He should have sat, He should have eaten the bread that you eat, and should have drunk the water that you drink! [He should have been honoured you!] [(1 ms. has instead:) Huwawa -- he honoured!]" [(1 other ms. has instead:) From his seat, Enlil assigned Huwawa's heavenly auras to]

193-199. (The ms. tradition for lines 193-199 is extremely confused about the order in which the various auras are assigned; the following sequence is a compromise:) He gave Huwawa's first aura to the fields. He gave his second aura to the rivers. He gave his third aura to the reedbeds. He gave his fourth aura to the lions. He gave his fifth aura to the [palace] [(1 ms. has instead:) debt slaves]. He gave his sixth aura to the [forests] [(1 ms. has instead:) the hills]. He gave his seventh aura to Nungal(the goddess of prisoners).

200. [..... his terror] [(1 ms. or possibly 2 mss. have instead:) the rest of the auras Gilgamesh] 201-202. [Mighty one, Gilgamesh, [who is cherished!] [(1 ms. has instead:) be praised! Enkidu, be praised]! Nisaba, be praised!] [(instead of lines 201-202, 1 Huwawa,! cherished,! Enkidu, be praised!]

GILGAMESH AND HUWAWA (VERSION B)

Translation: ETCSL t.1.8.1.5.1; University of Oxford Estimated Range of Dating:

1-4. "So come on now, you heroic bearer of a sceptre of wide-ranging power! Noble glory of the gods, angry bull standing ready for a fight! Young Lord Gilgamesh, cherished in Unug!

5-21. "In Unug people are dying, and souls are full of distress. People are lost -- that fills me with dismay. I lean out over the city wall: bodies in the water make the river almost overflow. That is what I see: that people die thus, which fills me with despair: that the end of life is unavoidable: that the grave, the all-powerful underworld, will spare no one; that no one is tall enough to block off the underworld; that no one is broad enough to cover over the underworld -- the boundary that a man cannot cross at the final end of life. By the life of my own mother Ninsumun, and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! My personal god Enki, Lord Nudimmud,

[3 lines fragmentary] I will complete there. I will bring there."

22-28. His slave Enkidu answered him: "..... if you want to set off into the mountains, Utu should know about it from you. If you want to set off into the Mountains of Cedar-felling. Utu should know about it from you. A decision that concerns the mountains is Utu's business. A decision that concerns the Mountains of Cedar-felling is the business of youthful Utu."

29-33. Utu of heaven put on his lapis-lazuli diadem and came forward with head high. In his hand Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba, held a holy staff before his nose: "Utu, I want to set off into the mountains! May you be my helper! I want to set off into the mountains of Cedar-felling! May you be my helper!'

34-50. [4 lines missing]

"The first The second The third ... fourth The fifth The sixth beats at the flanks of the mountains like a battering flood. The seventh flashes like lightning, and no one can deflect its power. These shine in the heavens, but they know the routes on earth. In heaven they shine, raising; on earth they know the way even to Aratta. They know the destructive weather like the merchants. They know the mountain crannies like the pigeons. They will guide you to the place in the mountains where the boats have to be pulled from the water.'

51-56. Gilgamesh organised a levy in his city. In Kulaba he had the horn sounded. "Citizens! You who have a wife, go to your wife! You who have children, go to your children! Warriors, whether experienced or inexperienced, who have no wife, who have no children -- let such people join me at my side as the companions of Gilgamesh."

57-66. The king left the city. Gilgamesh left Kulaba, to follow the route to the Mountains of Cedar-felling. He crossed the first mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. He crossed the second mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. He crossed the third mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. He crossed the fourth mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. He crossed the fifth mountain range. but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. He crossed the sixth mountain range, but his intuition did not lead him to find the cedars there. When he had crossed the seventh mountain range, there his intuition led him to find the cedars.

67-70 Gilgamesh began to chop at the cedars. His slave Enkidu worked on the branches for him. His fellow-citizens who had come with him stacked them in piles.

71-77. Then, as one warrior got closer to the other, the aura of Huwawa sped towards them like a spear (?). he rested there peacefully. He was asleep (?)

[3 lines missing]

78-82. addressed (?): "You who have gone to sleep, you who have gone to sleep! Young Lord Gilgamesh, how long will you sleep for? The mountains are becoming indistinct as the shadows fall across them; the

83-89. Gilgamesh awoke from his dream, shuddering from his sleep. He rubbed his eyes; there was eery silence everywhere. By the life of my own mother Ninsumun and of my father, Lugalbanda! My personal god Enki, Nudimmud!"

[2 lines missing]

90-95. "I, he vexes (?) me -- the warrior whose face is a lion's grimace, and whose breast is like a raging flood. No one dare approach his brow, which devours the reedbeds. On his tongue, like that of a man-eating lion, the blood never dries. You do not have enough strength for the warrior, such is his might."

96-98. His slave Enkidu addressed him:

[2 lines fragmentary]

99-108. "By the life of my own mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! My personal god Enki, Lord Nudimmud! Warrior, one would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, they have made some tiny shoes for your tiny feet. Here, they have made some big shoes for your big feet.

[4 lines missing] If you bring"

109-115. "By the life of my mother Ninsumun and of my father, holy Lugalbanda! My personal god Enki, Lord Nudimmud! Warrior, one would like to know where in the mountains you live. Here, they have made some tiny shoes for your tiny feet. Here, they have made some big shoes for your big feet. "

[2 lines fragmentary]

116-129. [13 lines missing] They many piles on the hillside

130-134. When Huwawa had finally handed over to him his seventh aura, Gilgamesh found himself beside Huwawa. He punched him on the ear with his fist. Huwawa furrowed his brows at him, baring his teeth at him. Gilgamesh threw a

halter over him, as over a captured wild bull. He tied him up by the elbows like a captured warrior.

135-136. The warrior began to weep, shedding tears. Huwawa began to weep, shedding tears.

137-141. "Warrior, you lied! You have manhandled me; yet you had sworn an oath, by the life of your own mother Ninsumun and of your father, holy Lugalbanda. Your personal god Enki, Lord Nudimmud! And now you have thrown a halter over me as if over a captured wild bull. and have tied me up by the elbows like a captured warrior!"

142-147. Gilgamesh's noble heart took pity on him. He addressed his slave Enkidu: "Come on, let us set the warrior free! He could be our guide! He could be our guide who would spy out the pitfalls of the route for us! He could be my! He could carry all my things!

[1 line fragmentary]

148-162. [His slave Enkidu replied to him] [(1 ms. has instead:) replied to Gilgamesh]: "..... so lacking in understanding! with no! A captured warrior set free! A captured high priestess returned to the gipar! A captured gudug priest restored to his wig of hair! Who has ever, ever seen such a thing? He would be able to the mountain routes. He would be able to mix up the mountain paths. Then we would never get back to the mother-city that bore us!"

[4 lines missing]

163-166. Huwawa replied to him: "The mother who bore me was a cave in the mountains. The father who engendered me was a cave in the hills. Utu left me to live all alone in the

Gilgamesh addressed Huwawa: "Come

[unknown number of lines missing]

GILGAMESH AND THE BULL OF HEAVEN

Translation: ETCSLt.1.8.1.2 Estimated Range of Dating:

A VERSION OF UNKNOWN PROVENANCE,

SUPPLEMENTED (NIPPUR) FROM NIBRU MANUSCRIPTS.

Segment A

1-4. I will sing the song of the man of battle, the man of battle. I will sing the song of Lord Gilgamesh, the man of battle, I will sing the song of him with the well-proportioned limbs, the man of battle. I will sing the song of the mighty lord, the man of battle.

5-11. [I will sing the song of the lord with the very black beard, the man of battle. I will sing the song of athletic strength, the man of battle. the king, the man; my king, my lord garden courtyard, gipar;] [(1 ms. has instead:) his mother who bore him spoke to the lord: "My king in the river, my lord your garden."
[2 lines unclear / Unknown number of lines missing]

Segment B

[2 lines unclear]

3-6. In the great courtyard, without there being any combat, a man She perceived the canopy, the canopy, holy Inana perceived the canopy, from the palace of the abzu, she perceived the canopy:

7-12. "My wild bull, my man, I shall not let you go! Lord Gilgamesh, my wild bull, my man, I shall not let you go! I shall not let you go to dispense justice in the E-ana! I shall not let you go to pronounce verdicts in my holy gipar! I shall not let you go to dispense justice in the E-ana beloved by

An! Gilgamesh, may you be, may you be!"

13-18. (Gilgamesh speaks:) "I shall certainly not try to take over the portion of Inana in your gipar. Ninegala will not because of my valorous strength. But Inana, lady, don't you block my way, either! My wish is to catch (?) mountain bulls, to fill the cow-pens. I wish to catch (?) mountain sheep, to fill the sheepfolds. I wish to silver and cornelian.

19-30. The queen spoke with a snort; Inana spoke with a snort: "..... say to you. say to you., Gilgamesh."

[7 lines fragmentary] 31-36. (An speaks:) "Its entrails...... Its hide Its blood

[1 line fragmentary] "Inana, it will muddy the waters; it

will cowpats. My one beloved by An,"

37-41. He let her hold the leash; An ["My child, who does it belong to?"] [(1 ms. has instead:) "My child, what use would it be?"] "It will stir up the waters, it will leave cowpats! If the great bull is let loose, Unug! If the great bull is let loose against Gilgamesh, Unug! I will not give her that which bears my own name."

42-45. (Inana speaks:) "Maybe it will muddy the waters, and will leave gigantic cowpats -- but let my father give me the Bull of Heaven, so I can kill the lord, so I can kill the lord, so I can kill the lord, Lord Gilgamesh!"

46-49. Great An replied to holy Inana: "My child, the Bull of Heaven would not have any pasture, as its pasture is on the horizon. Maiden Inana, the Bull of Heaven can only graze where the sun rises. So I cannot give the Bull of Heaven to

50-51. Holy Inana replied to him: "I shall shout, and make my voice reach heaven and earth!"

52-54. [He was frightened, he was frightened. [(1 ms. adds here:) was frightened of Inana.] Great An replied to holy Inana: "I shall give her the Bull of Heaven."] [(instead of approx. lines 52-54, 1 ms. has:) She made her voice reach heaven, she made her voice reach earth; she made her voice reach heaven, she made her voice reach earth. It covered them like a woollen garment, it was spread over them like a linen garment. who could speak to her? who could speak to her? gave]

55-63. In masculine fashion, the maiden Inana grasped it by the lapis-lazuli tether. Holy Inana brought the Bull of Heaven [out] [(1 ms. has instead:) down]. At Unug, the Bull devoured the pasture, and drank the water of the river in great slurps. With each slurp it used up one mile of the river, but its thirst was not satisfied. It devoured the pasture and stripped the land bare. It broke up the palm trees of Unug, as it bent them to fit them into its mouth. When it was standing, the Bull submerged Unug. [The aura] [(1 ms. has instead:) the name] of the Bull of Heaven submerged Kulaba.

64-67. [His musician As he looked up, leaning

[1 line unclear]

[(1 ms. has instead:) Then Lord Gilgamesh his musician.] [(a second ms. has instead:) Gilgamesh his musician Lugal-gabagal. "My musician, tune your strings, ... give me a drink, ... bronze ... in your hand His musician"] [(a third ms. has instead:) replied to Lugal-gabagal, "Lugal-gabagal, tune your strings; I wish to have a drink!" (Lugal-gabagal answers:) "..... drink, that is why nothing of yours is important." replied to Lugal-gabagal.] [(instead of approx. lines 64-67, a fourth ms. has:)

[3 lines unclear] drink, lord drink, lord

[7 lines missing or unclear] Unug]

68-83. Lord Gilgamesh Inana the Bull of Heaven. At Unug, the Bull, and drank the water of the river in great slurps. With each slurp it used up one mile of the river, but its thirst was not satisfied. It devoured the pasture and stripped the land bare. [(1 ms. adds here:) His lady Gilgamesh said, "My mother, my sister, will the cattle to their tethering stakes, will the sheep to their tethering stakes, will to their tethering stakes." Gilgamesh, "Bull of Heaven, you, yes you,; you, yes you -- you do not Gilgamesh]

[5 lines unclear]

"They will throw your corpse in the deserted streets, and throw your intestines in the broad square. They will send your carcass to the knacker's, and I shall share out your meat in baskets to the widows' sons who are citizens of my city I shall make flasks of your two horns for pouring fine oil to Inana in E-ana '

84-90. Inana watched from the top of the ramparts. The Bull bellowed in the dust, and Gilgamesh walked (?) at its head as Enkidu climbed up the rope of its Their fellowcitizens came along It covered them with dust, like a young calf unused to the yoke. [Enkidu stood behind the Bull and went round] [(1 ms. has instead:) He put and seized its tail.] He spoke to his master Gilgamesh:

91-103. "Ho, magnificent one, extending your staff of office, born of noble lineage, splendour of the gods, furious bull standing ready for battle, who is respected as the great lord Gilgamesh of Unug! Your mother was truly skilled in bearing children, and your nurse was truly skilled in suckling her charges! [(1 ms. adds:) Lord born of noble lineage,] Do not fear -- the warrior without strength himself (?).

A VERSION FROM ME-TURAN (ESHNUNNA) SEGMENT A

1-7. I will sing the song of the man of battle, the man of battle. I will sing the song of Lord Gilgamesh, the man of battle, I will sing the song of the lord with the very black beard, the man of battle. I will sing the song of him with the well-proportioned limbs, the man of battle. I will sing the song of him in his prime (?), the man of battle. I will sing the song of him who batters the wicked, the man of battle. The king, the lord, having as his mother who bore him, wishing to wash (?) in the river.

8-18. My lord, having sought entry into the garden planted with junipers, the lord, coming from the gipar, sheared the wool of the fleecy sheep; he sat down The king bending with the oar; the prince . with the oar, as if it was of flourishing reed. You covered their wicked ones, as if, with water. He gave to his mother who bore him. In the wide courtyard Gilgamesh

[1 line unclear]

In the great courtyard

19-21. Then the canopy Holy Inana perceived the canopy, from the palace of the abzu, she perceived the

canopy:
22-27. "My wild bull, my man, I shall not let you! Gilgamesh, I shall not let you! I shall not let you dispense justice in my E-ana! I shall not let you pronounce verdicts in my holy gipar! I shall not let you dispense justice in the E-ana beloved by An! Gilgamesh, may you, may

28-39. The king, his mouth, the king to his mother who bore him. Gilgamesh to Ninsumun:
"O mother who bore me, how! By the door of the great gate From the crenellations of the wall wild bull, my man, I shall not let you go! Gilgamesh, I shall not let you go! You dispensed justice in my E-ana -- I shall not let you go! You pronounced verdicts in my holy gipar -- I shall not let you go, in his beloved E-ana!

40-41. When he had spoken thus to the mother who bore him, the mother who bore him replied to Gilgamesh:

[approx. 8 lines missing]

SEGMENT R

1-6. Holy Inana An the bond of heaven.
An to holy Inana: "My child," Inana

[19 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

[It is uncertain if this segment belongs here.]

1-5. -- 5 lines fragmentary / Unknown number of lines

Segment D

1-4. -- [4 lines fragmentary]
5-9. "My musician, Lugal-gabagar, perform your song, tune your strings! Give me beer to drink! Fill my bronze jug again!" Lugal-gabagar replied to his master, Gilgamesh: "My master, you may eat, and you may drink -but as for me, how does this matter concern me?"

10-15. To defeat the Bull,, Gilgamesh, to defeat the Bull, his harness of fifty (text: five-sixths) minas. his sword weighing seven talents and thirty

Peshtur, his little sister Gilgamesh "My mother who bore me, in the house (?) of Enki (?) Peshtur, the little sister,, will bring back the cattle to their tethering stakes, will bring back the sheep to their tethering

24-32. "Bull of Heaven, you -- you,, yes, you! You crush them and I crush them If you crush them, They shall consign your hide to the streets They shall consign your intestines to the broad square The widows' sons of my city shall each take their share of your meat in baskets. They shall consign your carcass to the knacker's, and I shall turn your two horns into flasks for pouring fine oil to Inana in E-ana."

33-38. The Bull in the dust. Gilgamesh Enkidu Their fellow-citizens with dust, like a young calf unused to the yoke. Enkidu stood by the Bull's head and spoke to Gilgamesh:

39-44. "Ho, magnificent one, extending your staff of office, born of noble lineage, splendour of the gods, furious-hearted bull, standing ready for battle, warrior, your

hand! The people, the people"

45-48. When Enkidu had spoken thus to Gilgamesh, Gilgamesh himself smote its skull with his axe weighing seven talents. The Bull reared up so high, so high that it overbalanced. It spattered like rain, it spread itself out like the harvested crop.

49-52. The king took his knife in his hand, just as if he were a master chef. He hit Inana with a haunch, he made her flee away like a pigeon, and demolished those ramparts. Standing by the Bull's head, the king wept bitter tears: "Just as I can destroy you, so shall I do the same to her."

53-59. As he spoke, he consigned its hide to the streets, he consigned its intestines to the broad square, and the widows sons of his city each took their share of its meat in baskets. He consigned its carcass to the knacker's, and turned its two horns into flasks for pouring fine oil to Inana in E-ana. For the death of the Bull of Heaven: holy Inana, it is sweet to praise you!

FRAGMENT OF AN EARLIER VERSION FROM NIBRU (NIPPUR).

DATING TO THE UR III PERIOD

SEGMENT A

[unknown number of lines missing]

1-8. Seed of the gipar (= Gilgamesh?); he sat on the; that which was in the marsh, my king, to bend that

which was in the marsh with the oar, the lord covered it with water with the oar, as if they were flourishing reeds. That which exceeded, as if it was a reed, he covered with water. In the wide courtyard of the temple of Inana Gilgamesh

9-13. My king, having sought entry into the garden of junipers, the seed of the gipar the sheep of the queen sheared the wool; he sat on the He leant over the marsh; my king leant over the marsh; he bent it with the oar.

14-15. The lord covered it with water as if they were flourishing reeds; that which exceeded, as if it was a reed, he covered it with water.

[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-4. I shall not try to take over the portion of Inana in the gipar; shall not cover my valiant arm with a garment!

GILGAMESH AND AGA

Translation: ETCSL t.1.8.1.1; University of Oxford Estimated Range of Dating:

1-8. Envoys of Aga, the son of En-me-barage-si, came from Kish to Gilgamesh in Unug. Gilgamesh presented the issue before the elders of his city, carefully choosing his words: "There are wells to be finished, many wells of the Land yet to be finished, there are shallow wells of the Land yet to be finished, there are wells to deepen and hoisting gear to be completed. We should not submit to the house of Kish! [Should we not smite it with weapons?] [(2 mss. have instead:) Let us smite it with weapons!]"

9-14. In the convened assembly, his city's elders answered Gilgamesh: "There are indeed wells to be finished, many wells of the Land yet to be finished, there are shallow wells of the Land yet to be finished, there are wells to deepen and hoisting gear to be completed. [So we should submit to the house of Kish. We should not smite it with weapons!] [(1 ms. has instead:) So should we not submit to the house of Kish? Should we smite it with weapons?]"

15-23. Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba, placing his trust in Inana, did not take seriously the advice of his city's elders. Gilgamesh [(1 ms. adds:), the lord of Kulaba,] presented the issue again, this time before the able-bodied men of his city, carefully choosing his words: "There are wells to be finished, many wells of the Land yet to be finished; there are shallow wells of the Land yet to be finished, there are wells to deepen and hoisting gear to be completed. [Never before have you submitted to the house of Kish. Should you not smite it with weapons?] [(1 ms. has instead:) We should not submit to the house of Kish. We should smite it with weapons!]"

24-29. In the convened assembly, his city's able-bodied men answered Gilgamesh: ""Standing on duty and sitting in attendance, escorting the king's son, and forever grasping the donkey's reins -- who has that much breath?", as the saying goes. You old men should not submit to the house of Kish! Should we young men not smite it with weapons?"

30-39. "The great gods created the structure of Unug, the handiwork of the gods, and of E-ana, the house lowered down from heaven. You watch over [the great rampart, the rampart which An founded] [(1 ms. has instead:) its great rampart, a cloudbank resting on the earth], the majestic residence which An established. You are its king and warrior, an exuberant person, a prince beloved of An. When Aga comes, what terror he will experience! That army is small, and scattered at the rear. Its men will be incapable of confronting us."

40-47. Then Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba, rejoiced at the advice of his city's able-bodied men and his spirit brightened. He addressed his servant Enkidu: "On this account let the weaponry and arms of battle be made ready. Let the battle mace return to your side. May they create a great terror and radiance. When he comes, my great fearsomeness will overwhelm him. His reasoning will become confused and his judgement disarraved."

48-54. Not five, not 10 days had passed when Aga, the son of En-me-barage-si, laid siege to Unug with his men. Unug's reasoning became confused. Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba, addressed its warriors: "[My warriors shall have the choice.] [(2 mss. have instead:) My warriors, choose!] Let someone with courage volunteer ["I shall go to Aga"] [(1 ms. has instead:), and I will send him to Aga]."

55-58. Birhar-tura, his royal guard, spoke in admiration to his king: " [(2 mss. add:) My king,] I shall [go] [(1 ms. has instead:) go prancing (?)] to Aga so that his reasoning will become confused and his judgement disarrayed."

59-69. Birhar-tura went out through the city gate. As soon as Birhar-tura went out through the city gate, they captured him at the gate's entrance, and then beat Birhar-tura's entire length. He came into the presence of Aga and then spoke to Aga. Before he had finished speaking, an officer of Unug climbed up on the rampart and leaned out over the rampart. Aga saw him and then spoke to Birhar-tura: "Slave, is that man your king?"

70-81. "That man is not my king! Were that man my king, were that his angry brow, were those his bison eyes, were that his lapis lazuli beard, were those his elegant fingers, would he not cast down multitudes, would he not raise up multitudes, would multitudes not be smeared with dust, would not all the nations be overwhelmed, would not the land's canal-mouths be filled with silt, would not the barges' prows be broken, and would he not take Aga, the king of Kish, captive in the midst of his army?"

82-89. They hit him, they struck him. They beat Birhartura's entire length. Gilgamesh climbed up on the rampart after the officer of Unug. His radiance overwhelmed Kulaba's young and old. He armed Unug's able-bodied men with battle maces and stationed them on the causeway at the city gate's door. Only Enkidu went out through the city gate. Gilgamesh leaned out over the rampart. Looking up, Aga saw him: "Slave, is that man your king?"

92-99. "That man is indeed my king." It was just as he had said: Gilgamesh cast down multitudes, he raised up multitudes, multitudes were smeared with dust, all the nations were overwhelmed, the land's canal-mouths were filled with silt, the barges' prows were broken, and he took Aga, the king of Kish, captive in the midst of his army. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) Unug's able-bodied men that army.]

100-106. Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba, [spoke to] [(1 ms. has instead:) approached close to] Aga: "Aga my overseer, Aga my lieutenant, [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) Aga my governor, Aga my commander,] Aga my military commander! Aga gave me breath, Aga gave me breath, Aga gave me life: Aga took a fugitive into his embrace, Aga provided the fleeing bird with grain."

107-113. [(The able-bodied men acclaim Gilgamesh:) "You watch over Unug, the handiwork of the gods, the great rampart, the rampart which An founded, the majestic residence which An established. You are its king and warrior, an exuberant person, a prince beloved of An." (Gilgamesh addresses Aga:) "Before Utu, your former kindness is hereby repaid to you."] [(the other ms. has instead:) "I watch over Unug, the handiwork of the gods, its great rampart, a cloudbank resting on the earth, its majestic residence which An established. The city will repay the kindness shown to me. Before Utu, your former kindness is hereby repaid to you."] He set Aga free to go to Kish.

114-115. O Gilgamesh, lord of Kulaba, praising you is sweet.

GILGAMESH, ENKIDU AND THE NETHER WORLD Translation: ETCSLt 1.8.1.4: University of Oxford

VERSION A

1-26. In those days, in those distant days, in those nights, in those remote nights, in those years, in those distant years; in days of yore, when the necessary things had been brought into manifest existence, in days of yore, when the necessary things had been for the first time properly cared for, when bread had been tasted for the first time in the shrines of the Land, when the ovens of the Land had been made to work, when the heavens had been separated from the earth, when the earth had been delimited from the heavens, when the fame of mankind had been established, when An had taken the heavens for himself, when Enlil had taken the earth for himself when the nether world had been given to Ereshkigala as a gift: when he set sail, when he set sail, when the father set sail for the nether world, when Enki set sail for the nether world -against the king a storm of small hailstones arose, against Enki a storm of large hailstones arose. The small ones were light hammers, the large ones were like stones from catapults. The keel of Enki's little boat was trembling as if it were being butted by turtles, the waves at the bow of the boat rose to devour the king like wolves and the waves at the stern of the boat were attacking Enki like a lion.

27-35. At that time, there was a single tree, a single halub tree, a single tree, growing on the bank of the pure Euphrates, being watered by the Euphrates. The force of the south wind uprooted it and stripped its branches, and the Euphrates picked it up and carried it away. A woman, respectful of An's words, was walking along; a woman, respectful of Enlil's words, was walking along, and took the tree and brought it into Unug, into Inana's luxuriant garden.

36-46. The woman planted the tree with her feet, but not with her hands. The woman watered it using her feet but not her hands. She said: "When will this be a luxuriant chair on which I can take a seat?" She said: "When this will be a luxuriant bed on which I can lie down?" Five years, 10 years went by, the tree grew massive; its bark, however, did not split. At its roots, a snake immune to incantations made itself a nest. In its branches, the Anzud bird settled its young. In its trunk, the phantom maid built herself a dwelling, the maid who laughs with a joyful heart. But holy lnana cried!

47-69. When dawn was breaking, when the horizon became bright, when the little birds, at the break of dawn, began to clamour, when Utu had left his bedchamber, his sister holy lnana said to the young warrior Utu: "My brother, in those days when destiny was determined, when abundance

overflowed in the Land, when An had taken the heavens for himself, when Enlil had taken the earth for himself, when the nether world had been given to Ereshkigala as a gift; when he set sail, when he set sail, when the father set sail for the nether world, when Enki set sail for the nether world -- against the lord a storm of small hailstones arose, against Enki a storm of large hailstones arose. The small ones were light hammers, the large ones were like stones from catapults. The keel of Enki's little boat was trembling as if it were being butted by turtles, the waves at the bow of the boat rose to devour the lord like wolves and the waves at the stern of the boat were attacking Enki like a lion."

70-78. "At that time, there was a single tree, a single halub tree, a single tree, growing on the bank of the pure Euphrates, being watered by the Euphrates. The force of the south wind uprooted it and stripped its branches, and the Euphrates picked it up and carried it away. I, a woman, respectful of An's words, was walking along; I, a woman, respectful of Enlil's words, was walking along, and took the tree and brought it into Unug, into holy lnana's luxuriant garden."

79-90. "I, the woman, planted the tree with my feet, but not with my hands. I, Inana, watered it using my feet but not my hands. She said: "When will this be a luxuriant chair on which I can take a seat?" She said: "When will this be a luxuriant bed on which I can lie down?" Five years, 10 years had gone by, the tree had grown massive; its bark, however, did not split. At its roots, a snake immune to incantations made itself a nest. In its branches, the Anzud bird settled its young. In its trunk, the phantom maid built herself a dwelling, the maid who laughs with a joyful heart. But holy Inana cried!" Her brother, the young warrior Utu, however, did not stand by her in the matter.

91-113. When dawn was breaking, when the horizon became bright, when the little birds, at the break of dawn, began to clamour, when Utu had left his bedchamber, his sister holy Inana said to the warrior Gilgamesh: "My brother, in those days when destiny was determined, when abundance overflowed in the Land, when An had taken the heavens for himself, when Enlil had taken the earth for himself, when the nether world had been given to Ereshkigala as a gift; when he set sail, when he set sail, when the father set sail for the nether world, when Enki set sail for the nether world -- against the lord a storm of small hailstones arose, against Enki a storm of large hailstones arose. The small ones were light hammers, the large ones were like stones from catapults. The keel of Enki's little boat was trembling as if it were being butted by turtles, the waves at the bow of the boat rose to devour the lord like wolves and the waves at the stern of the hoat were attacking Enki like a lion.

114-122. "At that time, there was a single tree, a single halub tree, a single tree (?), growing on the bank of the pure Euphrates, being watered by the Euphrates. The force of the south wind uprooted it and stripped its branches, and the Euphrates picked it up and carried it away. I, a woman, respectful of An's words, was walking along; I, a woman, respectful of Enlil's words, was walking along, and took the tree and brought it into Unug, into Inana's luxuriant garden."

123-135. "The woman planted the tree with her feet, but not with her hands. Inana watered it using her feet but not her hands. She said: "When will this be a luxuriant chair on which I can take a seat?" She said: "When will this be a luxuriant bed on which I can lie down?" Five years, 10 years had gone by, the tree had grown massive; its bark, however, did not split. At its roots, a snake immune to incantations made itself a nest. In its branches, the Anzud bird settled its young. In its trunk, the phantom maid built herself a dwelling, the maid who laughs with a joyful heart. But [holy Inana] [(1 ms. has instead:) I, holy Inana,] cried!" In the matter which his sister had told him about, her brother, the warrior Gilgamesh, stood by her.

136-150. He strapped his belt of 50 minas weight to his waist -- 50 minas were to him as 30 shekels. He took his bronze axe used for expeditions, which weighs seven talents and seven minas, in his hand. He killed the snake immune to incantations living at its roots. The Anzud bird living in its branches took up its young and went into the mountains. The phantom maid living in its trunk left (?) her dwelling and sought refuge in the wilderness. As for the tree, he uprooted it and stripped its branches, and the sons of his city, who went with him, cut up its branches and bundled them (piled them up). He gave it to his sister holy Inana for her chair. He gave it to her for her bed. As for himself, from its roots, he manufactured his ball and, from its branches, he manufactured his mallet.

151-165. He played with the ball in the broad square, never wanting to stop playing it, and he praised himself in the broad square, never wanting to stop praising himself. [(mss. from Urim add:) The young men of his city were playing with the ball.] For him who made the team of the widows' children, they lamented: "O my neck! O my hips!" For those that had a mother, the mother brought bread for her son; for those that had a sister, the sister poured water for her brother. As the evening came, he marked the spot where the

ball had been placed, and he picked up his ball from in front of him and took it home. But early in the morning as he ... the place marked, the widows' accusation and the young girls complaint caused his ball and his mallet to fall down to the bottom of the nether world. [(1 ms. adds:) He could not reach them by] He tried with his hand but could not [reach] [(1 ms. has instead:) touch] them, tried with his foot but could not [reach] [(1 ms. has instead:) touch] them.

166-175. At the gate of Ganzer, in front of the nether world, he sat down. Gilgamesh wept, crying bitterly: "O my ball! O my mallet! O my ball, I am still not satiated with its charms, the game with it has not yet palled for me! If only my ball waited still in the carpenter's house for me! I would treat the carpenter's wife like my own mother -- if only it waited still there for me! I would treat the carpenter's child like my little sister -- if only it waited still there for me! [My ball has fallen down to the nether world -- who will retrieve it for me?] [(1 ms. has instead:) Who will retrieve my ball (?) from the nether world?] [My mallet has fallen down to Ganzer -- who will retrieve it for me?] [(1 ms. has instead:) Who will retrieve my mallet from Ganzer?

176-183. His servant Enkidu [answered] [(1 ms. has instead:) said to] [him] [(1 ms. has instead:) Gilgamesh]: "My king, you weep; why does your heart worry? Today I shall retrieve your ball from the nether world, I shall retrieve your mallet (?) from Ganzer." Gilgamesh answered Enkidu: " [If today] [(1 ms. has instead:) If] you are going to go down to the nether world, let me advise you! My instructions should be followed. Let me talk to you! [Pay attention to my words] [(1 ms. has instead:) My words should be followed]!"

184-198. "You should not put on your clean garments

they would recognise immediately that you are alien. You should not anoint yourself with fine oil from a bowl: they would surround you at [its] [(1 ms. has instead:) your] scent. You should not hurl throw-sticks in the nether world: those struck down by the throw-sticks would surround you. You should not not hold a cornel-wood stick in your hand: the spirits would feel insulted by you. You should not put sandals on your feet. You should not shout in the nether world. You should not kiss your beloved wife. You should not hit your wife even if you are annoyed with her. You should not kiss your beloved child. You should not hit your son even if you are annoyed with him. The outcry aroused would detain you in the nether world."

199-204. "She who lies there, she who lies there, Ninazu's mother who lies there -- her pure shoulders are not covered with a garment, and no linen is spread over her pure breast. She has fingers like a pickaxe, she plucks her hair out like leeks."

205-220. Enkidu, however, did not heed not his master's words. He put on his clean garments and they recognised that he was alien. He anointed himself with fine oil from a bowl and they surrounded him at its scent. He hurled throw-sticks in the nether world and those struck down by the throw-sticks surrounded him. He held a cornel-wood stick in his hand and the spirits felt insulted by him. He put sandals on his feet. He caused irritation in the nether world. He kissed his beloved wife and hit his wife when he was annoyed with her. He kissed his beloved child and hit his son when he was annoyed with him. He aroused an outcry and was detained in the nether world

221-229. The warrior Gilgamesh, son of Ninsumun, directed his steps on his own to E-kur, the temple of Enlil. He cried before Enlil: "Father Enlil, my ball (?) fell down into the nether world, my mallet fell down into Ganzer. Enkidu went down to retrieve them but the nether world has seized him. Namtar did not seize him, the Asag did not seize him; but the nether world has seized him. The udug demon of Nergal, who spares nobody, did not seize him, but the nether world has seized him. He did not fall in battle on the field of manhood, but the nether world has seized him." Father Enlil did not stand by him in the matter, so he went to Eridug.

230-237. In Eridug he directed his steps on his own to the temple of Enki. He cried before Enki: "Father Enki, my ball fell down into the nether world, my mallet fell down into Ganzer. Enkidu went down to retrieve them but the nether world has seized him. Namtar did not seize him, the Asag did not seize him; but the nether world has seized him. The udug demon of Nergal, who spares nobody, did not seize him, but the nether world has seized him. He did not fall in battle on the field of manhood, but the nether world has seized him. Father Enki stood by him in this matter.

238-242. He said to the young warrior Utu, the son born by Ningal: "Open a hole in the nether world immediately, and then bring up his servant from the nether world!" He opened a hole in the nether world and brought up his servant with his breeze from the nether world.

243-253. They hugged and kissed. They wearied each other with questions: "Did you see the order of the nether world? --If only you would tell me, my friend, if only you would tell "If I tell you the order of the nether world, sit down and weep! I shall sit down and weep!, which your heart rejoiced to touch, is, worms infest it like an old garment; like of a crevice, it is full of dust." "Alas!" he said and sat down in the dust.

254-267. "Did you see him who had one son?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He weeps bitterly at the wooden peg which was driven into his wall." "Did you see him who had two sons?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He sits on a couple of bricks, eating bread." "Did you see him who had three sons?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He drinks water from a saddle waterskin." "Did you see him who had four sons?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "His heart rejoices like a man who has four asses to yoke." "Did you see him who had five sons?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "Like a good scribe he is indefatigable, he enters the palace easily." "Did you see him who had six sons?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He is a cheerful as a ploughman." "Did you see him who had seven sons?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "As a companion of the gods, he sits on a throne and listens to judgements."

268-285. "Did you see the palace eunuch?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "Like a useless alala stick he is propped in a corner." "Did you see the woman who never gave birth?" "I saw her." "How does she fare?" "Like a pot, she is thrown away violently, she gives no man joy." "Did you see the young man who never undressed his wife?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "You finish a rope, and he weeps over the rope." "Did you see the young woman who never undressed her husband?" "I saw her." "How does she fare?" "You finish her husband? a reed mat, and she weeps over the reed mat." "Did you see him who had no heir?" "I saw him." "How does he fare? 'Like him who bricks (?), he eats bread." saw him." "How does he fare?"

[7 lines fragmentary or missing] 286-303. "Did you see?" "His food is set apart, his water is set apart, he eats the food offered (?) to him, he drinks the water offered (?) to him." [(1 ms. adds:) "Did you see him who was eaten by a lion?" "He cries bitterly "O my hands! O my legs!"" "Did you see him who fell down from the lianus: O inj tegs: Did you see him who left down hom the leprous man?" "He twitches like an ox as the worms eat at him." "Did you see him who fell in battle?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "His father and mother are not there to hold his head, and his wife weeps." "Did you see the spirit of him who has no funerary offerings?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He eats the scraps and the crumbs tossed out in the street." "Did you see him hit by a ship's board [(1 ms. adds:) when diving]? How does he fare?" " "Alas, my mother!" the man cries to her, as he pulls out the ship's board, he cross beam crumbs." "Did you see my little stillborn children who never knew existence?" saw them." "How do they fare?" "They play at a table of gold and silver, laden with honey and ghee." "Did you see him who died?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He lies on a bed of the gods." "Did you see him who was set on fire?" "I did not see him. His spirit is not about. His smoke went up to

A VERSION FROM URIM (UR) (UET 6 58)

1-7. "Did you see him who fell down from the roof?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "They cannot his bones." "Did you see him who was struck in a flood-storm of Ishkur?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He twitches like an ox as the worms eat at him." "Did you see the leprous man?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "His food is set apart, his water is set apart, he eats the food offered to him, he drinks the water offered to him. He lives outside the city."

8-19. "Did you see him who had no respect for the word of his mother and father?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" " "O my body! O my limbs!" he never ceases to cry." "Did you see him who was reached by the curse of his mother and "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He is deprived of father? an heir. His spirit roams about." "Did you see him who the name of his god?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "His spirit" "Did you see the spirit of him who has no funerary offerings?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He eats the scraps and the crumbs tossed out in the street." 'Did you see my little stillborn children who never knew existence?" "I saw them." "How do they fare?" "They play at a table of gold and silver, laden with honey and ghee." "Did you see him who was set on fire?" "I did not see him. His smoke went up to the sky. His spirit does not live in the underworld "

20-28. "Did you see him who lied to the gods while swearing an oath?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "He drinks which has been drunk the libation place at the entrance to the nether world." "Did you see the citizen of Girsu who refused water to his father and his mother?" "I saw him." "How does he fare?" "In front of each of them are a thousand Martu, and his spirit can neither nor The Martu at the libation place at the entrance to the nether world" "Did you see the citizens of Sumer and Akkad?" "I saw them." "How do they fare?" "They drink the water of the place, muddy water." "Did you see where my father and my mother live?" "I saw them." "How do they

fare?" "Both of them drink the water of the place, muddy water.'

ANOTHER VERSION FROM URIM (UR) (UET 6 59) Segment A

1-9. "Did you see him hit by a ship's board? How does he fare?" "Alas, my mother!" the man cries to her, as he pulls out, he crossbeam crumbs." "Did you see him who fell down from the roof? How does he fare?" twitches like an ox as the worms eat at him." "Did you see him who was reached by the curse of his mother? How does he fare?" "He is deprived of an heir. His spirit roams (?) about." "Did you see him who had no respect for the word of his father and his mother? How does he fare?"

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

1-11. "His food is set apart, his water is set apart, he eats the food offered to him, he drinks the water offered to him.' "Did you see him who fell in battle? How does he fare?" "His father and mother are not there to hold his head, and his wife weeps." "Did you see him who? How does he fare? ... from his hand" "Did you see the spirit of him who has no funerary offerings? How does he fare?" "He eats the scraps and the crumbs tossed out in the street." "Did you see my little stillborn children who never knew existence? How do they fare?" "They play with a bucket of gold and silver, full of honey and ghee." "Did you see him who was set on fire?" "I did not see him. His spirit is not there. His smoke went up to the sky.'

A THIRD VERSION FROM URIM (UR) (UET 6.60)

1-10. They returned to Unug, they returned to their city. He entered outfitted with tools and armaments, with an axe and a spear, and deposited them in his palace happily. Looking at the statue, the young men and women of Unug and the old men and women of Kulaba rejoiced. As Utu came forth from his bedchamber, Gilgamesh raised his head and told them: "My father and my mother, drink clean water!" Midday had hardly passed when they touched the statue's crown.

11-16. Gilgamesh threw himself down at the place of mourning, he threw himself down for nine days at the place of mourning. The young men and women of Unug and the old men (?) and women of Kulaba wept. As soon as he had said that, he repulsed the citizen of Girsu. "My father and my mother, drink clean water!"

17. Warrior Gilgamesh, son of Ninsumun, sweet is your

A VERSION FROM ME-TURAN (ESHNUNNA) SEGMENT A

1-9 surrounded him He carried and the spirits felt insulted by him. He caused ...

[1 line fragmentary] He kissed his beloved wife, and hit his wife when he was angry with her. He kissed his beloved child, and hit his son when he was angry with him. He aroused an outcry and was detained in the nether world.

10-16. From that fateful day and for seven days his servant, Enkidu, did not come out from the nether world. The king was lamenting, crying bitterly: "My beloved servant, my faithful companion, my counsellor, has been seized in the nether world! Namtar did not seize him, the Asag did not seize him; but he was seized in the nether world. The udug of Nergal who did not seize him, but he was seized in the nether world. He did not fall in battle on the field of, but he was seized in the nether world."

17-24. He directed his steps on his own to E-kur, the temple of Enlil. Before Enlil, he: "My ball fell down into the nether world, my mallet fell down into Ganzer. But Enkidu, going down to retrieve them, my beloved servant, my faithful companion, my counsellor, was seized in the nether world. Namtar did not seize him, the Asag did not seize him, but he was seized in the nether world. did not seize him, but he was seized in the nether world.

[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT R

1-28. "Did you see him who had one son? How does he fare?" "He weeps bitterly" "Did you see him who had two sons? How does he fare?" "He sits on" "Did you see him who had three sons? How does he fare?" "He drinks water" "Did you see him who had four sons? How does he fare?" "His heart is happy [(1 ms. adds:) like a man who has four asses to yoke]." "Did you see him who had five sons? How does he fare?" "Like a good scribe he is indefatigable, he enters the palace easily." "Did you see him who had six sons? "Did you see him who had six sons? How does he fare?" "He is cheerful as a ploughman." "Did you see him who had seven sons? How does he fare?" "As a companion of the gods he sits on a throne and listens to judgements." "Did you see him who had no heir? How does he fare?" "Like he eats bread."

[approx. 3 lines missing]

29-51. "Did you see him? How does he fare?" "He drinks water" "Did you see him? How does he fare?" "He as the worms eat at him." "Did you see him fare?" "He as the worms eat at him." "Did you see him who was eaten by a dog? How does he fare?" "He "O my hands! O my legs! O!"" "Did you see him hit (?) by the mast of a boat? How does he fare?" "Alas, my mother" the man cries to her, ... wooden peg ..., he food, cross beam (?), crumbs" "Did you see the woman who never gave birth? How does she fare?" "Like a pot, she is thrown away violently, she nobody." "Did you see the young man who never undressed his wife? How does he fare?" "Vou finish a read mat and he weaps over the read "You finish a reed mat and he weeps over the reed mat." "Did you see the young woman who never undressed her husband? How does she fare?" "You finish a garment and she weeps over the garment.'

52-68. "Did you see him who extolled himself? How does he fare?" "He bows down (?) like an ox as the worms eat at him." "Did you see him who fell down from the roof? How does he fare?" "His bones and his spirit" "Did you see? How does he fare?" "He" "Did you see the leprous man? How does he fare?" "His water is set apart, his food is set apart. He the spirits. He lives outside the city." "Did you see my stillborn children who never received a name? How do they fare?" "They play at a table of gold and silver" "Didn't you see him who was set on fire?" "Why, my friend, did not you spare this question?" "I asked it, my friend!" "His spirit is from the nether world, it went up to the sky with the smoke (?)."

69-71. His heart was smitten, his insides were ravaged. The king began to search for life. Now the lord once decided to set off for the mountain where the man lives. (These three lines create a transition to 1.8.1.5 Gilgamesh and Huwawa (Version A).)

THE DEATH OF GILGAMESH

Translation: ETCSLt.1.8.1.3; University of Oxford Estimated Range of Dating:

A VERSION FROM NIBRU (NIPPUR) SEGMENT A

[unknown number of lines missing]

1-14. hero has lain down and is never to rise again. has lain down and is never to rise again. He of well-proportioned limbs has lain down and is never to rise again. has lain down and is never to rise again. He who wickedness has lain down and is never to rise again The young man has lain down and is never to rise again. He who was perfect in and feats of strength has lain down and is never to rise again. has lain down and is never to rise again. The lord of Kulaba has lain down and is never to rise again. He who spoke most wisely has lain down and is never to rise again. The plunderer (?) of many countries has lain down and is never to rise again. He who climbed the mountains has lain down and is never to rise again. He has lain down on his death-bed and is never to rise again. He has lain down on a couch of sighs and is never to rise again.

15-38. Unable to stand up, unable to sit down, he laments. Unable to eat, unable to drink, he laments. Held fast by the door-bolt of Namtar, he is unable to rise. Like a fish he ill. Like a gazelle caught in a trap, he couch. Namtar, with no hands or feet, Namtar

[1 line fragmentary/ 6 lines missing / 1 line fragmentary] great mountains ...

[5 lines fragmentary / 1 line missing / [2 lines fragmentary / Unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-8. [3 lines fragmentary] For six days, he ill. on his skin like resin. Lord Gilgamesh ill. Unug and Kulaba. the words spoken

9-14. Then Lord Gilgamesh lay down (?) on the death-bed. The king sleep. his dream assembly

[1 line fragmentary / Unknown number of lines missing]

1-9. [6 lines fragmentary] "..... you will be accounted a god. render verdicts. will be as weighty as of Dumuzid."

10-20...... Gilgamesh [3 lines fragmentary] lord of Kulaba, hero of the pristine mountain, handiwork of the gods,

line fragmentary] of Ninsumun, Lugalbanda, Lord Nudimmud,

[approx. 7 lines missing]

Segment D

1-11. "..... having travelled all the roads that there are, having fetched from its, having killed, you set up for future days Having founded, you reached Having brought down the old forgotten forever and, he (?) carried out correctly the flood the settlements of the

[1 line fragmentary / Unknown number of lines missing]

1-11. [3 lines fragmentary] "Sisig (a god of dreams), the son of Utu, will provide light for him in the nether world, the place of darkness. When a funerary statue is made in honour of someone, whoever they may be, for future days, mighty youths and will form (?) a semicircle at the door-jambs and perform wrestling and feats of strength before them (?). In the month Nenegar, at the festival of the ghosts, no light will be provided before them without him (i.e. Gilgamesh) .

12-27. "Oh Gilgamesh! Enlil, the Great Mountain, the father of gods, has made kingship your destiny, but not eternal life -- Lord Gilgamesh, this is how to interpret (?) the dream. The and of life should not make you feel sad, should not make you despair, should not make you feel depressed. You must have been told that this is what the bane of being human involves. You must have been told that this is what the cutting of your umbilical cord involved. The darkest day of humans awaits you now. The solitary place of humans awaits you now. The unstoppable flood-wave awaits you now. The unavoidable battle awaits you now. The unequal struggle awaits you now. The skirmish from which there is no escape awaits you now. But you should not go to the underworld with heart knotted in anger. May before Utu..... palm-fibre
28. "Go ahead"

[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT F

1-14

[1 line fragmentary] "..... Enkidu, your young comrade. [1 line fragmentary] is lying alone. is lying alone. the king

[1 line fragmentary] will come to you.

[unknown number of lines missing]

1-22. 1 line fragmentary Gilgamesh ..

[2 lines fragmentary] they answered him. he weeps. Why is made? Nintur has not given birth vet.

[2 lines fragmentary / 1 line unclear] "The birds of the sky cannot escape. The fish of the deep water cannot see Having spread his net, the young fisherman will catch you (?). Who has ever seen anyone who could ascend from (?) the of the nether world? No king has ever been destined a fate like yours. Who anyone among mankind, whoever they may be, like you? the governorship of the nether world. You your ghost pass judgements

[unknown number of lines missing]

1-21. Kulaba As Unug rose, as Kulaba rose Within the first month, it was not five or 10 days before they the Euphrates. its shells. Then, as in the bed of the Euphrates, the earth cracked dry. was built from stone. was built from stone. were hard diorite. its latches were hard stone. cast in gold. heavy blocks of stone. heavy blocks

Gilgamesh has established in 22. His beloved

[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT I

1-9. [2 lines fragmentary] opened

[2 lines fragmentary] of Lord Gilgamesh scratched the nose for him, pulled out their hair for him.
[1 line fragmentary / Unknown number of lines missing]

ANOTHER VERSION FROM NIBRU (NIPPUR) (probably the final section of another version)

1-7. His beloved wife, his beloved children, his beloved favourite and junior wife, his beloved musician, cup-bearer and, his beloved barber, his beloved, his beloved palace retainers and servants and his beloved objects were laid down in their places as if in the purified (?) palace in the middle of Unug.

8-28. Gilgamesh, the son of Ninsumun, set out their audience-gifts for Ereshkigala. He set out their gifts for Namtar. He set out their surprises for Dimpikug. He set out their presents for Neti. He set out their presents for Ningishzida and Dumuzid. He the audience-gifts for Enki, Ninki, Enmul, Ninmul, Endukuga, Nindukuga, Enindashuruma, Nindashuruma, Enmu-utula, En-me-shara,

the maternal and paternal ancestors of Enlil; for SHul-pa-e, the lord of the table, for Sumugan and Ninhursaga, for the Anuna gods of the Holy Mound, for the Great Princes of the Holy Mound, for the dead en priests, the dead lagar priests, the dead lumah priests, the dead nindigir priestesses, and the

dead gudug, the linen-clad and priests.
[1 line fragmentary] He set out their presents for 29-36. lie down Ninsumun Gilgamesh, the son of Ninsumun, poured water

1 line fragmentary scratched the nose for him. The people of his city will not anymore. They spread out (?) their in the dust.

37-42. Then the young lord, Lord Gilgamesh, who never ceases to for the of Enlil -- Gilgamesh, the son of Ninsumun, offshoot; no king who could match him has ever been born,

[1 line unclear]

Gilgamesh, lord of Kulaba, it is sweet to praise you!

A VERSION FROM ME-TURAN (ESHNUNNA) SEGMENT A

1-12. The great wild bull has lain down and is never to rise again. Lord Gilgamesh has lain down and is never to rise again. He who was unique in has lain down and is never to rise again. The hero fitted out with a shoulder-belt has lain down and is never to rise again. He who was unique in strength has lain down and is never to rise again. He who diminished wickedness has lain down and is never to rise again. He who spoke most wisely has lain down and is never to rise again. The plunderer of many countries has lain down and is never to rise again. He who knew how to climb the mountains has lain down and is never to rise again. The lord of Kulaba has lain down and is never to rise again. He has lain down on his death-bed and is never to rise again. He has lain down on a couch of sighs and is never to rise again.

13-19. Unable to stand up, unable to sit down, he laments. Unable to eat, unable to drink, he laments. Held fast by the door-bolt of Namtar, he is unable to rise. Like a ... fish in a cistern, he ill. Like a captured gazelle buck, he couch. Namtar with no hands or feet, who one by night,

[1 line fragmentary / Unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

(The sequence of Segments B, C, D, and E is uncertain) 1-5. Then the young lord, Lord Gilgamesh, [4 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

(The sequence of Segments B, C, D, and E is uncertain) 1-9. [4 lines fragmentary] Then the young lord, Lord Gilgamesh,

[4 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT D

(The sequence of Segments B, C, D, and E is uncertain) 1-11. [11 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines

SEGMENT E

(The sequence of Segments B, C, D, and E is uncertain) 1-7. [5 lines fragmentary] Gilgamesh

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT F

1-22. [2 lines fragmentary] Then the young lord, Lord Gilgamesh, lay down on his death-bed.

[2 lines fragmentary] After Lord Gilgamesh had arrived at the assembly, the pre-eminent place of the gods, they said to Lord Gilgamesh concerning him: "As regards your case: after having travelled all the roads that there are, having fetched cedar, the unique tree, from its mountains, having killed Huwawa in his forest, you set up many stelae for future days, for days to come. Having founded many temples of the gods, you reached Zi-ud-sura in his [dwelling place] [(1 ms. has instead:) place]. Having brought down to the Land the divine powers of Sumer, which at that time were forgotten forever, the orders, and the rituals, he carried out correctly the rites of hand washing and mouth washing

[1 line fragmentary / 3 lines missing] 23-37. [2 lines fragmentary] Enlil's advice was given to Enki. Enki answered An and Enlil: "In those days, in those distant days, in those nights, in those distant nights, in those years, in those distant years, after the assembly had made the Flood sweep over to destroy the seed of mankind, among us I was the only one who was for life, and so he remained alive --Zi-ud-sura, although a human being, remained alive. Then you made me swear by heaven and by earth, and that no human will be allowed to live forever any more. Now, as we look at Gilgamesh, could not he escape because of his

38-41. (Another god speaks:) "Let Gilgamesh as a ghost, below among the dead, be the governor of the nether world.

Let him be pre-eminent among the ghosts, so that he will pass judgements and render verdicts, and what he says will be as weighty as the words of Ningishzida and Dumuzid.

42-62. Then young Lord Gilgamesh became depressed because of (?) all mankind. "You should not despair, you should not feel depressed.

[1 line fragmentary] Mighty youths and a semicircle

[14 lines missing]

63-81. "Go ahead to the place where the Anuna gods, the great gods, sit at the funerary offerings, to the place where the en priests lie, to where the lagar priests lie, to where the lumah priests and the nindigir priestesses lie, to where the gudug priests lie, to where the linen-clad priests lie, to where the nindigir priestesses lie, to where the lie, to the place where your father, your grandfather, your mother, your sisters, your, to where your precious friend, your companion, your friend Enkidu, your young comrade, and the governors appointed by the king to the Great City are, to the place where the sergeants of the army lie, to where the captains of the troops lie.

[3 lines missing]

From the house of, the will come to meet you. Your jewel will come to meet you, your precious one will come to meet you. The elders of your city will come to meet you. You should not despair, you should not feel depressed.'

82-86. "He will now be counted among the Anuna gods. He will be counted a companion of the [(1 ms. adds:) great] gods. the governor of the nether world. He will pass judgements and render verdicts, and what he says will be as weighty as the words of Ningishzida and Dumuzid.

87-99. And then the young lord, Lord Gilgamesh, woke up his eyes, a dream! a

[3 lines fragmentary] "Am I to become again as I were on the lap of my own mother Ninsumun? who makes the great mountains tremble (?). Namtar with no hands or feet takes away

[1 line fragmentary]

100-115. Lord Nudimmud made him see a dream: After Lord Gilgamesh had arrived at the assembly, the pre-eminent place of the gods, they said to Lord Gilgamesh concerning him: "As regards your case: after having travelled all the roads that there are, having fetched cedar, the unique tree, from its mountains, having killed Huwawa in his forest, you set up many stelae for future days Having founded many temples of the gods,
[1 line fragmentary] Having brought down to the Land the

divine powers of Sumer, which at that time were forgotten forever, the orders, and the rituals, he (?) carried out correctly the rites of hand washing and mouth washing. the settlements of the countries."

[2 lines fragmentary]

116-130. [1 line fragmentary] Gilgamesh Enlil's advice was given to Enki. Enki answered An and Enlil: 'In those days, in those distant days, in those nights, in those distant nights, in those years, in those distant years, after the assembly had made the Flood sweep over to destroy the seed of mankind, among us I was the only one who was for life. He remained alive; Zi-ud-sura alone, although a human being, remained alive. Then you made me swear by heaven and by earth, and I swore that no human will be allowed to live forever any more. Now, as we look at Gilgamesh, could not he escape because of his mother?"

131-134. (Another god speaks:) "Let Gilgamesh as a ghost, below among the dead, be the governor of the nether world. Let him be pre-eminent among the ghosts, so that he will pass judgements and render verdicts, and what he says will be as weighty as the words of Ningishzida and Dumuzid.'

135-142. Then the young lord, Lord Gilgamesh, became depressed because of all mankind. "You should not despair, you should not feel depressed.

[1 line fragmentary] Mighty youths and a semicircle Without him (i.e. Gilgamesh) Sisig (a god of dreams), the son of Utu, will provide light for him in the place of darkness.'

143-153. "You must have been told that this is what your being a human involves. You must have been told that this is what the cutting of your umbilical cord involved. The darkest day of humans awaits you now. The solitary place of humans awaits you now. The unstoppable flood-wave awaits you now. The unequal struggle awaits you now. The unavoidable battle awaits you now. The evil from which there is no escape awaits you now. But you should not go to the underworld with heart knotted in anger. May it be before Utu. Let it be unravelled like palm-fibre and peeled like garlic."

154-167. "Go ahead to the place where the Anuna gods, the great gods, sit at the funerary offerings, to the place where the en priests lie, to where the lagar priests lie, to where the lumah priests and the nindigir priestesses lie, to where the gudug priests lie, to where the linen-clad priests lie, to where the nindigir priestesses lie, to where the lie, to the place where your father, your grandfather, your mother, your sisters, your, to where your precious friend, your

companion, your friend Enkidu, your young comrade, and the governors appointed by the king to the Great City are, to the place where the sergeants of the army lie, to where the

[1 line fragmentary]

168-172. "From the house of the sisters, the sisters will come to meet you. From the house of $\ldots\ldots$, will come to meet you. Your jewel will come to meet you, your precious one will come to met you. The elders of your city will come to meet you. You should not despair, you should not feel

173-174. "He the Anuna gods. He will be counted a companion of the great gods."

[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT G

1-5. [5 lines fragmentary]

SEGMENT H

1-9. [5 lines fragmentary] His architect designed his tomb like His god Enki showed him where the solution of the dream lies by No one but the of the king could solve the vision.

10-32. The lord imposed a levy on his city. The herald made the horn signal sound in all the lands: "Unug, arise! Open up the Euphrates! Kulaba, arise! Divert the waters of the Euphrates!" Unug's levy was a flood, Kulaba's levy was a clouded sky. Meanwhile not even the first month [had passed] [(1 ms. has instead:)], it was not five or 10 days before they had opened up the Euphrates and diverted its high water. Utu looked at its shells with admiration. Then as soon as the water in the bed of the Euphrates had receded, his tomb was built there from stone. Its walls were built from stone. Its door leaves were installed in the sockets of the entrance. Its bolt and thresholds were hard stone. Its door-pivots were hard stone. They installed its gold beams. Heavy blocks of stone were moved to [was completely covered with a thick layer of] [(1 ms. has instead:) was completely covered with] dark soil. for future days.

I line fragmentary who are searching for it should not find its precinct. He set up a solid house in the middle of Unug.

33-41. His beloved wife, his beloved children, his beloved favourite and junior wife,

[7 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT I

1-7. Gilgamesh [3 lines fragmentary] entered, entrance. opened up the Euphrates, its water.

[1 line fragmentary]

8-10. Then the young lord, Lord Gilgamesh,

[2 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

1-11. [2 lines fragmentary] Gilgamesh [8 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

1-2. to the city smeared with dust
3-12. Lord Gilgamesh despaired and felt depressed. For all the people, whoever they may be, funerary statues are made for future days, and set aside in the temples of the gods. Their names, once uttered, do not sink into oblivion. Aruru, the older sister of Enlil, provides them with offspring for that purpose. Their statues are made for future days and they are mentioned in the Land. Ereshkigala, mother of Ninazu, it is sweet to praise you!

THE FLOOD STORY

The Eridu Genesis

Translation: ETCSL t.1.7.4; University of Oxford Estimated Range of Dating: 1600 B.C.

(The earliest record of a Sumerian creation myth, called The Eridu Genesis by historian Thorkild Jacobsen, is found on a single fragmentary tablet excavated in Nippur. It is written in the Sumerian language and dated to around 1600 BC. The translation was adapted from B.R. Foster.

Sumerian Creation Myth

The earliest record of a Sumerian creation myth, called The Eridu Genesis by historian Thorkild Jacobsen, is found on a single fragmentary tablet excavated in Nippur. It is written in the Sumerian language and dated to around 1600 BC. Other Sumerian creation myths from around this date are called the Barton Cylinder, the Debate between sheep and grain and the Debate between Winter and Summer, also found at Nippur.

Where the tablet picks up, the gods An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursanga create the black-headed people and create comfortable conditions for the animals to live and procreate.

Then kingship descends from heaven and the first cities are founded: Eridu, Bad-tibira, Larak, Sippar, and Shuruppak.

After a missing section in the tablet, we learn that the gods have decided not to save mankind from an impending flood. Zi-ud-sura, the king and gudug priest, learns of this. In the later Akkadian version, Ea, or Enki in Sumerian, the god of the waters, warns the hero (Atra-hasis in this case) and gives him instructions for the ark. This is missing in the Sumerian fragment, but a mention of Enki taking counsel with himself suggests that this is Enki's role in the Sumerian version as well.

When the tablet resumes, it is describing the flood. A terrible storm rocks the huge boat for seven days and seven nights, then Utu (the Sun god) appears and Zi-ud-sura creates an opening in the boat, prostrates himself, and sacrifices oxen and sheep.

After another break, the text resumes: the flood is apparently over, the animals disembark and Zi-ud-sura prostrates himself before An (sky-god) and Enlil (chief of the gods), who give him eternal life and take him to dwell in Dilmun for "preserving the animals and the seed of mankind". The remainder of the poem is lost. The flood mythos possibly relates to a factual Sumerian flood.

Other flood myths with many similarities to the Sumerian story are the story of the Dravida king Manu in the Matsya Purana, the Utnapishtim episode in the Epic of Gilgamesh and the Genesis flood narrative found in the Bible. The ancient Greeks have two similar myths from a later date: The Deucalion and Zeus' flooding of the world in Book I of Ovid's Metamorphoses.

Zinsudra and Xisuthros

Zi-ud-sura is known to us from the following sources: 1.) From the Sumerian Flood myth discussed above; 2.) In reference to his immortality in some versions of The Death of Gilgamesh; 3.) Again in reference to his immortality in The Poem of Early Rulers; 4.) As Xisuthros in Berossus' Hellenistic account of the Babylonian history; 5.) As Ziusudra in the WB-62 recension of the Sumerian king list. This text diverges from all other extant king lists by listing the city of Shuruppak as a king, and including Ziusudra as "Shuruppak's" successor. A later version of a document known as The Instructions of Shuruppak refers to Ziusudra. In both of the late-dated king lists cited above, the name Ziud-sura was inserted immediately before a flood event included in all versions of the Sumerian king list, apparently creating a connection between the ancient Flood myth and a historic flood mentioned in the king list. However, no other king list mentions Zi-ud-sura.)

SEGMENT A

[approx. 36 lines missing]
1-10. sets up "I will the perishing of my mankind; for Nintur, I will stop the annihilation of my creatures, and I will return the people from their dwelling grounds. Let them build many cities so that I can refresh myself in their shade. Let them lay the bricks of many cities in pure places, let them establish places of divination in pure places, and when the fire-quenching is arranged, the divine rites and exalted powers are perfected and the earth is irrigated, I will establish well-being there."

10-14. After An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursaga had fashioned the black-headed people, they also made animals multiply everywhere, and made herds of four-legged animals exist on the plains, as is befitting.

[approx. 32 lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-3. [3 lines fragmentary]
4-5. "I will oversee their labour. Let the builder of the Land, dig a solid foundation."

6-18. After the of kingship had descended from heaven, after the exalted crown and throne of kingship had descended from heaven, the divine rites and the exalted powers were perfected, the bricks of the cities were laid in holy places, their names were announced and the were distributed. The first of the cities, Eridug, was given to Nudimmud the leader. The second, Bad-tibira, was given to the Mistress. The third, Larag, was given to Pabilsag. The fourth, Zimbir, was given to the hero Utu. The fifth, Shuruppag, was given to Sud. And after the names of these cities had been announced and the had been distributed, the river, was watered, and with the cleansing of the small canals were established.

[approx. 34 lines missing]

SEGMENT C

1-27. seat in heaven. flood. mankind. So he made Then Nintur Holy Inana made a lament for its people. Enki took counsel with himself. An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursaga made all the gods of heaven and earth take an oath by invoking An and Enlil. In those days Zi-ud-sura the king, the gudug priest, He fashioned The

humble, committed, reverent Day by day, standing constantly at Something that was not a dream appeared, conversation, taking an oath by invoking heaven and earth. In the Ki-ur, the gods a wall. Zi-ud-sura, standing at its side, heard: "Side-wall standing at my left side, Side-wall, I will speak words to you; take heed of my words, pay attention to my instructions. A flood will sweep over the in all the A decision that the seed of mankind is to be destroyed has been made. The verdict, the word of the divine assembly, cannot be revoked. The order announced by An and Enlil cannot be overturned. Their kingship, their term has been cut off; their heart should be rested about this. Now What"
[approx. 38 lines missing]

SEGMENT D

1-11. All the windstorms and gales arose together, and the flood swept over the After the flood had swept over the land, and waves and windstorms had rocked the huge boat for seven days and seven nights. Utu the sun god came out, illuminating heaven and earth. Zi-ud-sura could drill an opening in the huge boat and the hero Utu entered the huge boat with his rays. Zi-ud-sura the king prostrated himself before Utu. The king sacrificed oxen and offered innumerable

12-17. [6 lines fragmentary / approx. 33 lines missing]

SEGMENT E

1-2. "They have made you swear by heaven and earth, An and Enlil have made you swear by heaven and

3-11. More and more animals disembarked onto the earth. Zi-ud-sura the king prostrated himself before An and Enlil. An and Enlil treated Zi-ud-sura kindly, they granted him life like a god, they brought down to him eternal life. At that time, because of preserving the animals and the seed of mankind, they settled Zi-ud-sura the king in an overseas country, in the land Dilmun, where the sun rises. 12. "You"

[approx. 39 lines missing]

THE EPIC OF ATRA-HASIS

Source: Akkadian cuneiform tablets Translation: B.R. Foster / George Smith, 1899 Additions: Wilfred G. Lambert and A. R. Millard Estimated Range of Dating 17th century BC.

(Atra-Hasis ("exceedingly wise") is the protagonist of an 18th-century BC. Akkadian epic which was recorded in various versions on clay tablets. The Atra-Hasis tablets include both a creation myth and a flood account, which is one of three surviving Babylonian Deluge stories. The name "Atra-Hasis" also appears on one of the Sumerian king lists as king of the City of Shuruppak in the times before a flood.

The oldest known copy of the epic tradition concerning Atrahasis can be dated by colophon (scribal identification) to the reign of Hammurabi's great-grandson, Ammi-Saduqa (1646-1626 BC), but various Old Babylonian fragments exist; it continued to be copied into the first millennium BC. The Atrahasis story also exists in a later fragmentary Assyrian version, having been first rediscovered in the library of Ashurbanipal, but, because of the fragmentary condition of the tablets and ambiguous words, translations had been uncertain. Its fragments were assembled and translated first by George Smith as The Chaldean Account of Genesis; the name of its hero was corrected to Atra-Hasis by Heinrich Zimmern in 1899.

In 1965 Wilfred G. Lambert and A. R. Millard published many additional texts belonging to the epic, including an Old Babylonian copy (written around 1650 BC) which is our most complete surviving recension of the tale. These new texts greatly increased knowledge of the epic and were the basis for Lambert and Millard's first English translation of the Atrahasis epic in something approaching entirety. A further fragment has been recovered in Ugarit. Walter Burkert traces the model drawn from Atrahasis to a corresponding passage, the division by Lots Of The Air, Underworld And Sea among Zeus, Hades and Poseidon in the Iliad, in which "a resetting through which the foreign framework still shows'

In its most complete surviving version, the Atrahasis epic is written on three tablets in Akkadian, the language of ancient Babvlon.

Tablet I contains a creation myth about the Sumerian gods Anu, Enlil, and Enki, gods of sky, wind, and water, "when gods were in the ways of men" according to its incipit. Following the Cleromancy (casting of lots), sky is ruled by Anu, earth by Enlil, and the freshwater sea by Enki. Enlil assigned junior divines to do farm labor and maintain the rivers and canals, but after forty years the lesser gods or

dingirs rebelled and refused to do strenuous labor. Instead of punishing the rebels, Enki, who is also the kind, wise counselor of the gods, suggested that humans be created to do the work. The mother goddess Mami is assigned the task of creating humans by shaping clay figurines mixed with the flesh and blood of the slain god Geshtu-E, "a god who had intelligence" (his name means "ear" or "wisdom"). All the gods in turn spit upon the clay. After 10 months, a speciallymade womb breaks open and humans are born. Tablet I continues with legends about overpopulation and plagues. Atrahasis is mentioned at the end of Tablet I.

Tablet II begins with more overpopulation of humans and the god Enlil sending first famine and drought at formulaic intervals of 1200 years to reduce the population. In this epic Enlil is depicted as a cruel, capricious god while Enki is depicted as a kind, helpful god, perhaps because priests of Enki were writing and copying the story. Tablet II is mostly damaged, but ends with Enlil's decision to destroy humankind with a flood and Enki bound by an oath to keep the plan

Tablet III of the Atrahasis Epic contains the flood story. This is the part that was adapted in tablet XI of the Epic of Gilgamesh. Tablet III of Atrahasis tells how the god Enki warns the hero Atrahasis ("Extremely Wise") of Shuruppak, speaking through a reed wall (suggestive of an oracle) to dismantle his house (perhaps to provide a construction site) and build a boat to escape the flood planned by the god Enlil to destroy humankind. The hoat is to have a roof "like Apsu (a subterranean, fresh water realm presided over by the god Enki), upper and lower decks, and to be sealed with bitumen. Atrahasis boards the boat with his family and animals and seals the door. The storm and flood begin. Even the gods are afraid. In tablet III iv, lines 7-9 the words "river" and "riverbank" are used, which probably mean the Euphrates River, because Atrahasis is listed in WB-62 as a ruler of Shuruppak which was on the Euphrates River.

After seven days the flood ends and Atrahasis offers sacrifices to the gods. Enlil is furious with Enki for violating his oath. But Enki denies violating his oath and argues: "I made sure life was preserved." Enki and Enlil agree on other means for controlling the human population.

Atrahasis in History

A few general histories can be attributed to the Mesopotamian Atrahasis by ancient sources; these should generally be considered mythology but they do give an insight into the possible origins of the character. The Epic of Gilgamesh labels Atrahasis as the son of Uhara-Tutu king of Shuruppak, on tablet XI, 'Gilgamesh spoke to Utnapishtim (Atrahasis), the Faraway... O man of Shuruppak, son of Ubara-Tutu'. The Instructions of Shuruppak instead label Atrahasis (under the name Ziusudra) as the son of the eponymous Shuruppak, who himself is labelled as the son of Ubara-Tutu.[9] At this point we are left with two possible fathers: Ubara-Tutu or Shuruppak. Many available tablets comprising The Sumerian King Lists support The Epic of Gilgamesh by omitting Shuruppak as a ruler of Shuruppak. These lists imply an immediate flood after or during the rule of Ubara-Tutu. These lists also make no mention of Atrahasis under any name. However WB-62 lists a different and rather interesting chronology - here Atrahasis is listed as a ruler of Shuruppak and gudug priest, preceded by his father Shuruppak who is in turn preceded by his father Ubara-Tutu. WB-62 would therefore lend support to The Instructions of Shuruppak and is peculiar in that it mentions both Shuruppak and Atrahasis. In any event it seems that Atrahasis was of royal blood: whether he himself ruled and in what way this would affect the chronology is debatable.

The Epic of Atrahasis

The Epic of Atrahasis is the fullest Mesopotamian account of the Great Flood, with Atrahasis in the role of Noah. It was written in the seventeenth century BCE

The text is known from several versions: two were written by Assyrian scribes (one in the Assyrian, one in the Babylonian dialect), a third one (on three tablets) was written during the reign of king Ammi-saduqa of Babylonia (1647-1626 BCE). Parts are quoted in Tablet XI of the Epic of Gilgamesh; other influences are in the Babylonian History by Berossus (quote). These texts can be used to reconstruct the lost parts of the Epic of Atrahasis, while the overall structure is, of course, known from the Bible.

Summary:

The conditions immediately after the Creation: the Lower Gods have to work very hard and start to complain

Revolt of the Lower Gods

Negotiations with the Great Gods

Proposal to create humans, to relieve the Lower Gods from their labor

Creation of the Man

Man's noisy behaviour; new complaints from the gods

The supreme god Enlil's decision to extinguish mankind by a Great Flood

Atrahasis is warned in a dream

Enki explains the dream to Atrahasis (and betrays the plan) Construction of the Ark

Boarding of the Ark

Departure

The Great Flood

The gods are hungry because there are no farmers left to bring sacrifices, and decide to spare Atrahasis, even though he is a rebel

Regulations to cut down the noise: childbirth, infant mortality, and celibacy)

COMPLAINTS OF THE LOWER GODS

[1] When the gods were man they did forced labour, they bore drudgery.

Great indeed was the drudgery of the gods, the forced labor was heavy, the misery too much:

[5] the seven great Anunna-gods were burdening the Igigigodsnote with forced labour.

[Lacuna]

[21] The gods were digging watercourses, canals they opened, the life of the land. The Igigi-gods were digging watercourses canals they opened, the life of the land.

[25] The Igigi-gods dug the Tigris river and the Euphrates thereafter. Springs they opened from the depths, wells ... they established

THEY HEAPED UP ALL THE MOUNTAINS.

[Several lines missing]

[34] ... years of drudgery

[35] ... the vast marsh. They counted years of drudgery, ... and forty years, too much! ... forced labour they bore night and day. They were complaining, denouncing,

[40] muttering down in the ditch: "Let us face up to our foreman the prefect, he must take off our heavy burden upon us! Enlil, counsellor of the gods, the warrior, come, let us remove him from his dwelling;

[45] Enlil, counsellor of the gods, the warrior, come, let us remove him from his dwelling!

[Several lines missing]

[61] "Now them, call for battle, battle let us join, warfare!" The gods heard his words: they set fire to their tools,

[65] they put fire to their spaces, and flame to their workbaskets. Off they went, one and all, to the gate of the warrior Enlil's abode. ... Insurrection of the Lower Gods

[70] It was night, half-way through the watch, the house was surrounded, but the god did not know. It was night, halfway through the watch, Ekur was surrounded, but Enlil did not know!

[Several lines missing; the great gods send a messenger]

THE GREAT GODS SEND A MESSENGER

[132] Nusku opened his gate, took his weapons and went ... Enlil. In the assembly of all the gods,

[135] he knelt, stood up, expounded the command, "Anu, your father, your counsellor, the warrior Enlil, your prefect, Ninurta, and your bailiff Ennugi have sent me to say:

[140] 'Who is the instigator of this battle? Who is the instigator of these hostilities? Who declared war, that battle has run up to the gate of Enlil? In ...

[145] he transgressed the command of Enlil."Reply by the Lower Gods "Everyone of us gods has declared war; ... We have set ... un the excvation, excessive drudgery has killed us,

[150] our forced labour was heavy, the misery too much! Now, everyone of us gods has resolved on a reckoning with

[The great gods decide to create man, to relieve the lower gods from their misery.]

PROPOSALS BY EA, BELET-ILI, AND ENKI

[a1] Ea made ready to speak, and said to the gods, his brothers: "What calumny do we lay to their charge? Their forced labour was heavy, their misery too much!

[a5] Every day ... the outcry was loud, we could hear the clamour. There is ... Belet-ili, the midwife, is present. Let her create, then, a human, a man,

[a10] Let him bear the yoke! Let him bear the yoke! Let man assume the drudgery of the god." Belet-ili, the midwife, is

[190] Let the midwife create a human being! Let man assume the drudgery of the god." They summoned and asked the goddess the midwife of the gods, wise Mami:note "Will you be the birth goddess, creatress of mankind?

[195] Create a human being, that he bear the yoke, let him bear the yoke, the task of Enlil, let man assume the drudgery of the god." Nintu made ready to speak, and said to the great

[200] "It is not for me to do it, the task is Enki's. He it is that cleanses all, let him provide me the clay so I can do the making." Enki made ready to speak,

[205] and said to the great gods: "On the first, seventh, and fifteenth days of the month, let me establish a purification, a

bath. Let one god be slaughtered, then let the gods be cleansed by immersion.

[210] Let Nintu mix clay with his flesh and blood. Let that same god and man be thoroughly mixed in the clay. Let us hear the drum for the rest of the time.

[215] From the flesh of the god let a spirit remain, let it make the living know its sign, lest he be allowed to be forgotten, let the spirit remain." The great Anunna-gods, who administer destinies,

[220] answered "yes!" in the assembly.

THE CREATION OF MAN

On the first, seventh, and fifteenth days of the month, he established a purification, a bath. They slaughtered Aw-ilu, who had the inspiration, in their assembly.

[225] Nintu mixed clay with his flesh and blood. That same god and man were thoroughly mixed in the clay. For the rest of the time they would hear the drum. From the flesh of the god the spirit remained. It would make the living know its sign.

[230] Lest he be allowed to be forgotten, the spirit remained. After she had mixed the clay, she summoned the Anunna, the great gods. The Igigi, the great gods, spat upon the clay.

[235] Mami made rady to speak, and said to the great gods: "You ordered me the task and I have completed it! You have slaughtered the god, along with his inspiration.

[240] I have done away with your heavy forced labour, I have imposed your drudgery on man. You have bestowed clamor upon mankind. I have released the yoke, I have made restoration." They heard this speech of hers,

[245] they ran, free of care, and kissed her feet, saying: "Formerly we used to call you Mami, now let your name be Belet-kala-ili:"

[The human population increases and their noise disturbs the gods, who decide to wipe out mankind. The god Enki, however, sends a dream to Atrahasis. When the text resumes, Enki is still speaking.]

ENKI EXPLAINS ATRAHASIS' DREAM

[i.b35] "Enlil committed an evil deed against the people."

[i.c11] Atrahasis made ready to speak, and said to his lord: "Make me know the meaning of the dream. let me know, that I may look out for its consequence."

[i.e15] Enki made ready to speak, and said to his servant: "You might say, 'Am I to be looking out while in the bedroom?' Do you pay attention to message that I speak for your:

[i.c20] 'Wall, listen to me! Reed wall, pay attention to all my words! Flee the house, build a boat, forsake possessions, and save life.

[i.c25] The boat which you build ... be equal Roof her over like the depth,

[i.c30] so that the sun shall not see inside her. Let her be roofed over fore and aft. The gear should be very strong, the pitch should be firm, and so give the boat strength. I will shower down upon you later

[i.c35] a windfall of birds, a spate of fishes."He opened the water clock and filled it, he told it of the coming of the sevenday deluge. Atrahasis and the Elders Atrahasis received the command. He assembled the Elders at his gate.

[i.c40] Atrahasis made ready to speak, and said to the Elders: "My god does not agree with your god, Enki and Enlil are constantly angry with each other. They have expelled me from the land.

[i.c45] Since I have always reverenced Enki, he told me this. I can not live in ... Nor can I set my feet on the earth of Enlil. I will dwell with my god in the depths.

[i.c50] This he told me: ..." Construction of the Ark

[ii.10] The Elders ..

The carpenter carried his axe, the reedworker carried his stone, the rich man carried the pitch, the poor man brought the materials needed.

[Lacuna of about fifteen lines; the word Atrahasis can be discerned.]

BOARDING OF THE ARK

[ii.29] Bringing ..

[ii.30] whatever he had ... Whatever he had ... Pure animals he slaughtered, cattle ... Fat animals he killed. Sheep ... he choose and and brought on board.

[ii.35] The birds flying in the heavens, the cattle and the ... of the cattle god, the creatures of the steppe, ... he brought on board ...

[ii.40] he invited his people ... to a feast ... his family was brought on board. While one was eating an another was drinking,

[ii.45] he went in and out; he could not sit, could not kneel, for his heart was broken, he was retching gall.

DEPARTUR

The outlook of the weather changed. Adadnote began to roar in the clouds.

[ii.50] The god they heard, his clamour. He brought pitch to seal his door. By the time he had bolted his door, Adad was roaring in the clouds. The winds were furious as he set forth,

[ii.55] He cut the mooring rope and released the boat. [Lacuna]

THE GREAT FLOOD

[iii.5] ... the storm ... were yoked Anzu rent the sky with his talons, He ... the land

[iii.10] and broke its clamor like a pot. ... the flood came forth. Its power came upn the peoples like a battle, one person did not see another, they could not recognise each other in the catastrophe

[iii.15] The deluge belowed like a bull, The wind resounded like a screaming eagle. The darkness was dense, the sun was gone, ... like flies.

[iii.20] the clamor of the deluge.

Lacuna. The gods find themselves hungry because there are no farmers left and sacrifices are no longer brought. When they discover that Atrahasis has survived, they make a plan to make sure that the noise will remain within limits: they invent childbirth, infant mortality, and celibacy.]

MANKIND PUNISHED

[iii.45] Enki made ready to speak, and said to Nintu the birth goddess: "You, birth goddess, creatress of destinies, establish death for all peoples!

[iii.d1] "Now then, let there be a third woman among the people, among the people are the woman who has borne and the woman who has not borne. Let there be also among the people the pasittu (she-demon):

[iii.d5] Let her snatch the baby from the lap who bore it. And etablish high priestesses and priestesses, let them be taboo, and so cut down childbirth."

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KINGS

(The section "Kings" is a title we have deliberately chosen as some of the King,s stories here are similar to those ones in the Book of Kings of the younger Hebrew Bible. Some of the here displayed stories are official accounts, others are written as poems or prayers. All of these texts give us an incredible glimpse of building projects and of the daily life of Sumerian society of which Abraham and his tribe were a part of.)

THE BUILDING OF NINGIRSU'S TEMPLE BY GUDEA

The Construction of Ninurta's Temple (Gudea, cylinders A and B, and fragments of X) Translation: ETCSL: t.2.1.7

(The Gudea cylinders are a pair of terracotta cylinders dating to circa 2125 BC, on which is written in cuneiform a Sumerian myth called the Building of Ningirsu's temple. The cylinders were made by King Gudea, the ruler of Lagash, and were found in 1877 during excavations at Telloh (ancient Girsu), Iraq and are now displayed in the Louvre in Paris, France. They are the largest cuneiform cylinders yet discovered and contain the longest known text written in the Sumerian language. Preceded by the Kesh temple hymn, the Gudea cylinders are one of the first ritual temple building stories ever recorded. The style, traditions and format of the account has notable similarities to those in the Bible such as the building of the tabernacle of Moses in Exodus 25 and Numbers 7: it has also noted similarities to the later account of the construction of Solomon's temple in 1 Kings 6:1-38, 1 Kings Chapter 7, and Chapter 8 and in the Book of Chronicles.

Gudea, the creator of the cylinders, was a ruler (ensi) of the state of Lagash in Southern Mesopotamia who ruled c. 2144—2124 BC. He probably did not come from the city, but had married Ninalla, daughter of the ruler Ur-Baba (2164—2144 BC) of Lagash, thus gaining entrance to the royal house of Lagash. He was succeeded by his son Ur-Ningirsu. Gudea ruled at a time when the center of Sumer was ruled by the Gutian dynasty, and when Ishtup-Ilum ruled to the north in Mari. Under Gudea, Lagash had a golden age, and seemed to enjoy a high level of independence from the Gutians.

Ninurta, also known as Ningirsu (Sumerian, meaning "Lord of Girsu"), is an ancient Mesopotamian god associated with farming, healing, hunting, law, scribes, and war who was first worshipped in early Sumer. Like all the other "gods" in Mesopotamia, he well might have been a person of kingly or other rank becoming deffed either by himself or by his successors. Ninurta is mentioned in the Second Book of Kings under the name Nisroch. In the earliest records, he is a god of agriculture and healing, who releases humans from sickness and the power of demons. In later times, as Mesopotamia grew more militarized, he became a warrior deity, though he retained many of his earlier agricultural attributes. He was

regarded as the son of the chief god Enlil and his main cult centre in Sumer was the Eshumesha temple in Nippur. Ningirsu was honoured by King Gudea of Lagash (ruled 2144–2124 BC), who rebuilt Ningirsu's temple in Lagash.

The cylinders were found in a drain by Ernest de Sarzec under the Eninnu temple complex at Telloh, the ancient ruins of the Sumerian "holy city" of Girsu, during the first season of excavations in 1877. They were found next to a building known as the Agaren, where a brick pillar (pictured) was found containing an inscription describing its construction by Gudea within Eninnu during the Second Dynasty of Lagash. The Agaren was described on the pillar as a place of judgement, or mercy seat, and it is thought that the cylinders were either kept there or elsewhere in the Eninnu. They are thought to have fallen into the drain during the destruction of Girsu generations later. In 1878 the cylinders were shipped to Paris, France where they remain on display today at the Louvre, Department of Near East antiquities, Richelieu, ground floor, room 2, accession numbers MNB 1511 and MNB 1512.

The two cylinders were labelled A and B, with A being 61 cm high with a diameter of 32 cm and B being 56 cm with a diameter of 33 cm. The cylinders were hollow with perforations in the centre for mounting. These were originally found with clay plugs filling the holes, and the cylinders themselves filled with an unknown type of plaster. The clay shells of the cylinders are approximately 2.5 to 3 cm thick. Both cylinders were cracked and in need of restoration and the Louvre still holds 12 cylinder fragments, some of which can be used to restore a section of cylinder B. Cylinder A contains thirty columns and cylinder B twenty four. These columns are divided into between sixteen and thirty-five cases per column containing between one and six lines per case. The cuneiform was meant to be read with the cylinders in a horizontal position and is a typical form used between the Akkadian Empire and the Ur III dynasty, typical of inscriptions dating to the 2nd Dynasty of Lagash. Script differences in the shapes of certain signs indicate that the cylinders were written by different scribes.

Translations and commentaries: Detailed reproductions of the cylinders were made by Ernest de Sarzec in his excavation reports which are still used in modern times. The first translation and transliteration was published by Francois Threau-Dangin in 1905. Another edition with a notable concordance was published by Ira Maurice Price in 1927. Further translations were made by M. Lambert and R. Tournay in 1948, Adam Falkenstein in 1953, Giorgio Castellino in 1977, Thorkild Jacobsen in 1987, and Dietz Otto Edzard in 1997. The latest translation by the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (ETCSL) project was provided by Joachim Krecher with legacy material from Hermann Behrens and Bram Jagersma. [10] Samuel Noah Kramer also published a detailed commentary in 1966 and in 1988

Composition: Interpretation of the text faces substantial limitations for modern scholars, who are not the intended recipients of the information and do not share a common knowledge of the ancient world and the background behind the literature. Irene Winter points out that understanding the story demands "the viewer's prior knowledge and correct identification of the scene – a process of 'matching' rather than 'reading' of imagery itself qua narrative." The hero of the story is Gudea (statue pictured), king of the city-state of Lagash at the end of the third millennium BC. A large quantity of sculpted and inscribed artifacts have survived pertaining to his reconstruction and dedication of the Eninnu, the temple of Ningursu, the patron deity of Lagash. These include foundation nails (pictured), building plans (pictured) and pictorial accounts sculpted on limestone stelae. The temple, Eninnu was a formidable complex of buildings, likely including the E-pa, Kasurra and sanctuary of Bau among others. There are no substantial architectural remains of Gudea's buildings, so the text is the best record of his achievements.

Cylinder X: Some fragments of another Gudea inscription were found that could not be pieced together with the two in the Louvre. This has led some scholars to suggest that there was a missing cylinder preceding the texts recovered. It has been argued that the two cylinders present a balanced and complete literary with a line at the end of Cylinder A having been suggested by Falkenstein to mark the middle of the composition. This colophon has however also been suggested to mark the cylinder itself as the middle one in a group of three. The opening of cylinder A also shows similarities to the openings of other myths with the destinies of heaven and earth being determined. Various conjectures have been made regarding the supposed contents of an initial cylinder. Victor Hurowitz suggested it may have contained an introductory hymn praising Ningirsu and Lagash. Thorkild Jacobsen suggested it may have explained why a relatively recent similar temple built by Ur-baba (or Ur-bau), Gudea's fatherin-law "was deemed insufficient".)

- 1-4. On the day when in heaven and earth the fates had been decided, Lagas raised its head high in full grandeur, and Enlil looked at Lord Ningirsu with approval. In our city there was perfection.
- 5-9. The heart overflowed with joy, Enlil's heart, a river in flood, overflowed with joy. The heart overflowed with joy, and just as the Tigris brings sweet water, so Enlil, whose will is an enormous flood, sparkling and awe-inspiring, came to a sweet decision:
- 10-16. "The lord called for his house and I intend to make the grandeur of E-ninnu known everywhere. Using his wisdom, the ruler (i.e. Gudea) will achieve great things. He will direct faultless cattle and kids for offering. It is for him the fated brick is waiting. It is by him that the building of the holy house is to be done."
- 17-23. On that day, in a nocturnal vision Gudea saw his master, Lord Ningirsu. Ningirsu spoke to him of his house, of its building. He showed him an E-ninnu with full grandeur. Outstanding though his mind was, the message remained to be understood for him.

 24-32. "Well, I have to tell her about this! Well, I have to
- 24-32. "Well, I have to tell her about this! Well, I have to tell her about this! I will ask her to stand by me in this matter. Profound things came suddenly to me, the shepherd, but the meaning of what the nocturnal vision brought to me I do not understand. So I will take my dream to my mother and I will ask my dream-interpreter, an expert on her own, my divine sister from Sirara, Nanse, to reveal its meaning to me."
- 33-38. He stepped aboard his boat, directed it on the canal Id-Nigin-dua towards her city Nigin, and merrily cut through the waves of the river. After he had reached Bagara, the house extending as far as the river, he offered bread, poured cold water and went to the master of Bagara to pray to him.
- 39-51. "Warrior, rampant lion, who has no opponent! Ningirsu, important in the abzu, respected in Nibru! Warrior, I want to carry out faithfully what you have commanded me; Ningirsu, I want to build up your house for you, I want to make it perfect for you, so I will ask your sister, the child born of Eridug, an authority on her own, the lady, the dreaminterpreter among the gods, my divine sister from Sirara, Nanse, to show me the way." His call was heard; his master, Lord Ningirsu, accepted from Gudea his prayer and supplication.
- 52-63. Gudea celebrated the eses festival in the house of Bagara. The ruler set up his bed near to Gatumdug. He offered bread and poured cold water and went to holy Gatumdug to pray to her: "My lady, child begotten by holy An, an authority on her own, proud goddess, living in the Land, of her city! Lady, mother, you who founded Lagas, if you but look upon your people, it brings abundance; the worthy young man on whom you look will enjoy a long life"
- 64-67. "For me, who has no mother, you are my mother; for me, who has no father, you are my father. You implanted my semen in the womb, gave birth to me in the sanctuary, Gatumdug, sweet is your holy name!"
 68-79. "Tonight I shall lie down here. You are my great
- 68-79. "Tonight I shall lie down here. You are my great dagger, being attached to my side; you are a planted in great waters, providing me with life; you are a broad sunshade; let me cool off in your shade. May the favourable, right-hand palm of your lofty hands, my lady Gatumdug, lend me protection! I am going to the city, may my sign be favourable! May your friendly guardian go before me, and may your friendly protecting genius walk with me on the way towards Nigin, the mountain rising from the water."
- 80-89. "Well, I have to tell her about this! Well, I have to tell her about this! I will ask her to stand by me in this matter. I will take my dream to my mother and I will ask my dream-interpreter, an expert on her own, my divine sister from Sirara, Nanse, to reveal its meaning to me." His call was heard; his lady, holy Gatumdug, accepted from Gudea his prayer and supplication.
- 90-100. He stepped aboard his boat, directed it towards her city Nigin, mooring it at the quay of Nigin. The ruler raised his head high in the courtyard of the goddess from Sirara. He offered bread, poured cold water and went to Nanse to pray to her: "Nanse, mighty lady, lady of most precious powers, lady who like Enlil determine fates, my Nanse, what you say is trustworthy and takes precedence. You are the interpreter of dreams among the gods, you are the lady of all the lands. Mother, my matter today is a dream:"
- 101-109. "In the dream there was someone who was as enormous as the heavens, who was as enormous as the earth. His head was like that of a god, his wings were like those of the Anzud bird, his lower body was like a flood storm. Lions were lying at his right and his left. He spoke to me about building his house, but I could not understand what he exactly meant, then daylight rose for me on the horizon."
- 110-114. "Then there was a woman -- whoever she was. She sheaves. She held a stylus of refined silver in her hand, and placed it on a tablet with propitious stars, and was consulting it."
- 115-123. "There was, furthermore, a warrior. His arm was bent, holding a lapis lazuli tablet in his hand, and he was

setting down the plan of the house. The holy basket stood in front of me, the holy brick mould was ready and the fated brick was placed in the mould for me. In a fine ildag tree standing before me tigidlu birds were spending the day twittering. My master's right-side donkey stallion was pawing the ground for me."

124-131. His mother Nanse answered the ruler: "My shepherd, I will explain your dream for you in every detail. The person who, as you said, was as enormous as the heavens, who was as enormous as the earth, whose head was like that of a god, whose wings, as you said, were like those of the Anzud bird, and whose lower body was, as you said, like a flood storm, at whose right and left lions were lying, was in fact my brother Ningirsu. He spoke to you about the building of his shrine, the E-ninnu."

132-133. "The daylight that had risen for you on the horizon is your personal god Ningiszida, who will rise for you as the daylight on the horizon."

134-140. "The young woman sheaves, who held a stylus of refined silver in her hand, who had placed it on a tablet with propitious stars and was consulting it, was in fact my sister Nisaba. She announced to you the holy stars auguring the building of the house."

141-143. "The second one, who was a warrior and whose arm was bent, holding a lapis lazuli tablet in his hand, was Nindub, putting the plan of the house on the tablet."

144-146. "As regards the holy basket standing in front of you, the holy brick mould which was ready and the fated brick placed in the mould, this part of the dream concerns the good brick of the E-ninnu."

147-149. "As regards the fine ildag tree standing before you, in which, as you said, tigidlu birds were spending the day twittering, this means that the building of the house will not let sweet sleep come into your eyes."

150-151. "As regards that part when the right-side donkey stallion of your master, as you said, pawed the ground for you; this refers to you, who will paw the ground for the E-ninnu like a choice steed."

152-172. "Let me advise you and may my advice be taken. Direct your steps to Girsu, the foremost house of the land of Lagas, open your storehouse up and take out wood from it; build a chariot for your master and harness a donkey stallion to it; decorate this chariot with refined silver and lapis lazuli and equip it with arrows that will fly out from the quiver like sunbeams, and with the an-kar weapon, the strength of heroism; fashion for him his beloved standard and write your name on it, and then enter before the warrior who loves gifts, before your master Lord Ningirsu in E-ninnu-the-white-Anzud-bird, together with his beloved balag drum Usumgalkalama, his famous instrument to which he keeps listening. Your requests will then be taken as if they were commands; and the drum will make the inclination of the lord -- which is as inconceivable as the heavens -- will make the inclination of Ningirsu, the son of Enlil, favourable for you so that he will reveal the design of his house to you in every detail. With his powers, which are the greatest, the warrior will make the house thrive for you.'

173-195. The true shepherd Gudea is wise, and able too to realise things. Accepting what Nanse had told him, he opened his storehouse up and took out wood from it. Gudea checked the wood piece by piece, taking great care of the wood. He smoothed mes wood, split halub wood with an axe and built a blue chariot from them for him. He harnessed to it the stallion Pirig-kase-pada. He fashioned for him his beloved standard, wrote his name on it, and then entered before the warrior who loves gifts, before his master Lord Ningirsu in E-ninnu-the-white-Anzud-bird, together with his beloved balag drum Usumgal-kalama, his famous instrument to which he keeps listening. He joyfully brought the drum to him in the temple. Gudea came out of the shrine E-ninnu with a radiant face.

196-206. Thereafter the house was the concern of all the days and all the nights that he made pass by. He levelled what was high, rejected chance utterances, he removed the sorcerers' spittle from the roads. Facing Su-galam, the fearful place, the place of making judgments, from where Ningirsu keeps an eye on all lands, the ruler had a fattened sheep, a fattail sheep, and a grain-fed kid rest on hides of a virgin kid. He put juniper, the mountains' pure plant, onto the fire, and raised smoke with cedar resin, the scent of gods.

207-216. He rose to his master in public and prayed to him; he went to him in the Ubsu-unkena and saluted him: "My master Ningirsu, lord who has turned back the fierce waters, true lord, semen ejaculated by the Great Mountain, noble young hero who has no opponent! Ningirsu, I am going to build up your house for you, but I lack an ominous sign. Warrior, you asked for perfection, but, son of Enlil, Lord Ningirsu, you did not let me know your will as to how to achieve it."

217-225. "Your will, ever-rising as the sea, crashing down as a destructive flood, roaring like gushing waters, destroying cities like a flood-wave, battering against the rebel lands like a storm; my master, your will, gushing water that no one can stem; warrior, your will inconceivable as the heavens -- can I

learn anything about it from you, son of Enlil, Lord Ningirsu?"

226-231. Afterwards, Ningirsu stepped up to the head of the sleeper, briefly touching him: "You who are going to build it for me, you who are going to build it for me, ruler, you who are going to build my house for me, Gudea, let me tell you the ominous sign for building my house, let me tell you the pure stars of heaven indicating my regulations."

232-240. "As if at the roaring of the Anzud bird, the heavens tremble at my house, the E-ninnu founded by An, the powers of which are the greatest, surpassing all other powers, at the house whose owner looks out over a great distance. Its fierce halo reaches up to heaven, the great fearsomeness of my house settles upon all the lands. In response to its fame all lands will gather from as far as heaven's borders, even Magan and Meluha will come down from their mountains."

241-247. "I am Ningirsu who has turned back the fierce waters, the great warrior of Enlil's realm, a lord without opponent. My house the E-ninnu, a crown, is bigger than the mountains; my weapon the Sar-ur subdues all the lands. No country can bear my fierce stare, nobody escapes my outstretched arms."

248-253. "Because of his great love, my father who begot me called me "King, Enlil's flood, whose fierce stare is never lifted from the mountains, Ningirsu, warrior of Enlil", and endowed me with fifty powers."

254-261. "I lay the ritual table and perform correctly the

254-261. "I lay the ritual table and perform correctly the hand-washing rites. My outstretched hands wake holy An from sleep. My father who begot me receives the very best food from my hands. An, king of the gods, called me therefore "Ningirsu, king, lustration priest of An"."

262-265. "I founded the Tiras shrine with as much majesty as the abzu. Each month at the new moon the great rites, my "Festival of An", are performed for me perfectly in it."

266-270. "Like a fierce snake, I built E-hus, my fierce place, in a dread location. When my heart gets angry at a land that rebels against me -- unutterable idea -- it will produce venom for me like a snake that dribbles poison."

271-276. "In the E-babbar, where I issue orders, where I shine like Utu, there I justly decide the lawsuits of my city like Istaran. In the E-bagara, my dining place, the great gods of Lagas gather around me."

277-285. "When you, true shepherd Gudea, really set to work for me on my house, the foremost house of all lands, the right arm of Lagas, the Anzud bird roaring on the horizon, the E-ninnu, my royal house, I will call up to heaven for humid winds so that plenty comes down to you from heaven and the land will thrive under your reign in abundance."

286-293. "Laying the foundations of my temple will bring immediate abundance: the great fields will grow rich for you, the levees and ditches will be full to the brim for you, the water will rise for you to heights never reached by the water before. Under you more oil than ever will be poured and more wool than ever will weighed in Sumer."

294-305. "When you drive in my foundation pegs for me, when you really set to work for me on my house, I shall direct my steps to the mountains where the north wind dwells and make the man with enormous wings, the north wind, bring you wind from the mountains, the pure place, so that this will give vigour to the Land, and thus one man will be able to do as much work as two. At night the moonlight, at noon the sun will send plentiful light for you so the day will build the house for you and the night will make it rise for you."

306-314. "I will bring halub and nehan trees up from the south, and cedar, cypress and zabalumwood together will be brought for you from the uplands. From the ebony mountains I will have ebony trees brought for you, in the mountains of stones I will have the great stones of the mountain ranges cut in slabs for you. On that day I will touch your arm with fire and you will know my sign."

315-322. Gudea rose -- it was sleep; he shuddered -- it was a dream. Accepting Ningirsu's words, he went to perform extispicy on a white kid. He performed it on the kid and his omen was favourable. Ningirsu's intention became as clear as daylight to Gudea.

323-329. He is wise, and able too to realise things. The ruler gave instructions to his city as to one man. The land of Lagas became of one accord for him, like children of one mother. He opened manacles, removed fetters; established, rejected legal complaints, and locked up those guilty of capital offences (instead of executing them).

330-344. He undid the tongue of the goad and the whip, replacing them with wool from lamb-bearing sheep. No mother shouted at her child. No child answered its mother back. No slave who was hit on the head by his master, no misbehaving slave girl was slapped on the face by her mistress. Nobody could make the ruler building the E-ninnu, Gudea, let fall a chance utterance. The ruler cleansed the city, he let purifying fire loose over it. He expelled the persons ritually unclean, unpleasant to look at, and from the city.

345-352. In respect of the of the brick-mould he had a kid lie down, and he requested from the kid an omen about the brick. He looked at the excavated earth approvingly, and

the shepherd, called by his name by Nanse, it with majesty. After making a drawing on the of the brick mould and the excavated earth with majesty, he made the Anzud bird, the standard of his master, glisten there as a banner.

353-364. The citizens were purifying an area of 24 iku for him, they were cleansing that area for him. He put juniper, the mountains' pure plant, onto the fire and raised smoke with cedar resin, the scent of gods. For him the day was for praying, and the night passed for him in supplications. In order to build the house of Ningirsu, the Anuna gods of the land of Lagas stood by Gudea in prayer and supplication, and all this made the true shepherd Gudea extremely happy.

365-371. Now the ruler imposed a levy on his Land. He imposed a levy on his realm of abundant, on Ningirsu's Gu-edina. He imposed a levy on his built-up cities and settlements, on Nanse's Gu-gisbara.

372-376. There was a levy for him on the clans of Ningirsu "Rampant fierce bull which has no opponent" and "White cedars surrounding their master", and he placed Lugal-kurdub, their magnificent standard, in front of them.

377-381. There was a levy for him on the clan of Nanse "Both river banks and shores rising out of the waters, the huge river, full of water, which spreads its abundance everywhere", and he placed the holy pelican, the standard of Nanse, in front of them.

382-385. There was a levy for him on the clans of Inana "The net suspended for catching the beasts of the steppe" and "Choice steeds, famous team, the team beloved by Utu", and he placed the rosette, the standard of Inana, in front of them.

386-391. In order to build the house of Ningirsu,

[3 lines missing / 2 lines fragmentary]

392-396. The Elamites came to him from Elam, the Susians came to him from Susa. Magan and Meluha loaded wood from their mountains upon their shoulders for him, and to build the house of Ningirsu, they gathered for Gudea at his city Girsu.

397-404. Ninzaga was commanded and he made his copper, as much as if it were a huge grain transport, reach Gudea, the man in charge of building the house. Ninsikila was also instructed and she made large halub logs, ebony, and aba wood reach the ruler building the E-ninnu.

405-411. Lord Ningirsu directed Gudea into the impenetrable mountain of cedars and he cut down its cedars with great axes and carved the Sar-ur, the right arm of Lagas, his master's flood-storm weapon, out of it.

412-423. It was like a giant serpent floating on the water as, for Lord Ningirsu, Gudea had the long rafts floating downstream moor at the main quay of Kan-sura: logs of cedar wood from the cedar hills, logs of cypress wood from the cypress hills, logs of zabalum wood from the zabalum hills, tall spruce trees, plane trees, and eranum trees.

424-433. Lord Ningirsu directed Gudea into the impenetrable mountains of stones and he brought back great stones in the form of slabs. For Lord Ningirsu, Gudea had ships with hauna dock there, and ships with gravel, with dried bitumen, bitumen, and gypsum from the hills of Madga, cargoes like boats bringing grain from the fields.

434-445. Great things came to the succour of the ruler building the E-ninnu: a copper mountain in Kimas revealed itself to him. He mined its copper onto rafts. To the man in charge of building his master's house, the ruler, gold was brought in dust form from its mountains. For Gudea refined silver was brought down from its mountains. Translucent cornelian from Meluha was spread before him. From the alabaster mountains alabaster was brought down to him.

446-451. The shepherd was going to build the house with silver, so he sat together with silversmiths. He was going to build the E-ninnu with precious stone, so he sat with jewellers. He was going to build it with copper and tin, so the mother-goddess of the Land directed before him the chief of the smiths.

452-456. The heavy hammer-stones roared for him like a storm. The dolerite, the light hammer-stones, two three. like a huge mass of water gushing forth.

[1 line fragmentary / 1 line missing]

458-462. He the days. Gudea prolonged the nights for Ningirsu. Because of building the house for his master, he neither slept at night, nor did he rest his head during the siesta

463-470. For the one looked on with favour by Nanse, for the favourite of Enlil, for the ruler by Ningirsu, for Gudea, born in the august sanctuary by Gatumdug, Nisaba opened the house of understanding and Enki put right the design of the house.

471-481. Towards the house whose halo reaches to heaven, whose powers embrace heaven and earth, whose owner is a lord with a fierce stare, whose warrior Ningirsu is expert at battle, towards E-ninnu-the-white-Anzud-bird, Gudea went from the south and admired it northwards. From the north he went towards it and admired it southwards. He measured out with rope exactly one iku. He drove in pegs at its sides and personally verified them. This made him extremely happy.

482-491. When the night fell, he went to the old temple to pray, so that the inclination of the one from the dais of Girnun (i.e. Ningirsu) would become favourable for Gudea. When day broke, he took a bath and arranged his outfit correctly. Utu let abundance come forth for him. Gudea left Iri-kug a second time; he sacrificed a perfect bull and a perfect kid. He went to the house and saluted it.

492-498. He the holy basket and true fated brick mould the E-ninnu. As he and walked proudly, Lugal-kur-dub walked in front of him, Ig-alim directed him and Ningiszida, his personal god, held him by the hand throughout the time.

499-512. He poured clear water into the of the brick mould -- adab, sim and ala drums were playing for the ruler. He prepared the excavated earth for making the brick, and hoed honey, ghee and precious oil into it. He worked balsam and essences from all kinds of trees into the paste. He lifted up the holy carrying-basket and put it next to the brick mould. Gudea placed the clay into the brick mould and acted exactly as prescribed, bringing the first brick of the house into existence in it, while all the bystanders sprinkled oil or cedar perfume. His city and the land of Lagas spent the day with him in jov.

513-522. He shook the brick mould and left the brick to dry. He looked at the with satisfaction. He anointed it with cypress essence and balsam. Utu rejoiced over the brick put into the mould by Gudea, and King Enki the rising like a great river and Gudea went into the house.

523-542. He raised the brick out of the of the mould, and it looked as a holy crown worn by An. He lifted up the brick and went around among his people: it was like Utu's holy team tossing their heads. The brick lifting its head toward the house was as if Nanna's cows were eager to be tethered in their pen. He put down the brick, entered the house and as if he himself were Nisaba knowing the inmost secrets of numbers, he started setting down the ground plan of the house. As if he were a young man building a house for the first time, sweet sleep never came into his eyes. Like a cow keeping an eye on its calf, he went in constant worry to the house. Like a man who takes but little food into his mouth, he went around untiringly. The intention of his master had become clear for him, the words of Ningirsu had become as conspicuous as a banner to Gudea. In his heart beating loudly because of building the house, someone a propitious ominous remark. This made him extremely happy

543-550. He performed extispicy on a kid and his omen was favourable. He cast grain on to and its appearance was right. Gudea lay down for a dream oracle, and while he was sleeping a message came to him: in the vision he saw his master's house already built, the E-ninnu separating heaven and earth. This made him extremely happy.

551-561. He stretched out lines in the most perfect way; he set up a sanctuary in the holy uzga. In the house, Enki drove in the foundation pegs, while Nanse, the daughter of Eridug, took care of the oracular messages. The mother of Lagas, holy Gatumdug, gave birth to its bricks amid cries, and Bau, the lady, first-born daughter of An, sprinkled them with oil and cedar essence. En and lagar priests were detailed to the house to provide maintenance for it. The Anuna gods stood there full of admiration.

562-577. Gudea, in charge of building the house, placed on his head the carrying-basket for the house, as if it were a holy crown. He laid the foundation, set the walls on the ground. He marked out a square, aligned the bricks with a string. He marked out a second square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is the line-mark for a topped-off jar of 1 ban capacity." He marked out a third square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is the Anzud bird enveloping its fledgling with its wings." He marked out a fourth square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is a panther embracing a fierce lion." He marked out a fifth square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is the blue sky in all its splendour." He marked out a sixth square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is the day of supply, full of luxuriance." He marked out a seventh square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is the Land with moonlight at dawn."

578-590. They inserted the wooden door frames, which were like a crown worn in the blue sky. As Gudea sat down at a wooden door frame, from there it was like a huge house embracing heaven. As he built the house and laid wooden scaffolding against it, it was like Nanna's lagoon attended by Enki. They made the house grow as high as the hills, they mad it float in the midst of heaven as a cloud, they made it lift its horns as a bull and they made it raise its head above all the lands, like the gisgana tree over the abzu. As the house had been made to lift its head so high as to fill the space between heaven and earth like the hills, it was like a luxuriant cedar growing among high grass; E-ninnu was decorated most alluringly among Sumer's buildings.

591-601. As they placed wooden beams on the house, they looked like dragons of the abzu coming out all together, they were like of heaven, they were like huge serpents of the foothills The reeds cut for the house were like mountain snakes sleeping together. Its upper parts were

covered with luxuriant cedar and cypress, and they put white cedars in its inner room of cedar, marvellous to behold. They treated them with good perfume and precious oil. The mudwall of the house was covered with the abundance of the abzu and they tied its to it. The shrine of E-ninnu was thus placed in the hand of An.

602-616. The ruler built the house, he made it high, high as a great mountain. Its abzu foundation pegs, big mooring stakes, he drove into the ground so deep they could take counsel with Enki in the E-engura. He had heavenly foundation pegs surround the house like warriors, so that each one was drinking water at the libation place of the gods. He fixed the E-ninnu, the mooring stake, he drove in its pegs shaped like praying wizards. He planted the pleasant poplars of his city so that they cast their shadow. He embedded its Sar-ur weapon beside Lagas like a big standard, placed it in its dreadful place, the Su-galam, and made it emanate fearsome radiance. On the dais of Gir-nun, on the place of making judgments, the provider of Lagas lifted his horns like a mighty bull.

617-624. It took one year to bring the great stones in slabs and it took another year to fashion them, although not even two or three days did he let pass idly. Then it needed a day's work to set up each one but by the seventh day he had set them all up around the house. He laid down the trimmings from the slabs as stairs, or fashioned basins from them, and had them stand in the house

625-629. The stela which he set up in the great courtyard he named as "The king who the courtyard, Lord Ningirsu, has recognised Gudea from the Gir-nun".

630-635. The stela which he set up at the Kan-sura gate he named as "The king, Enlil's flood storm, who has no opponent, Lord Ningirsu, has looked with favour at Gudea".

636-641. The stela which he set up facing the rising sun he named as "The king, the roaring storm of Enlil, the lord without rival, Lord Ningirsu, has chosen Gudea with his holy heart"

642-646. The stela which he set up facing Su-galam he named as "The king, at whose name the foreign countries tremble, Lord Ningirsu, has made Gudea's throne firm".

647-650. The stela which he set up facing E-uru-ga he named as "Lord Ningirsu has decided a good fate for Gudea". 651-654. The stela which he set up by the inner room of

651-654. The stela which he set up by the inner room of Bau he named as "The eyes of An know the E-ninnu, and Bau is the life source of Gudea".

655-664. He built his master's house exactly as he had been told to. The true shepherd Gudea made it grow so high as to fill the space between heaven and earth, had it wear a tiara shaped like the new moon, and had its fame spread as far as the heart of the highlands. Gudea made Ningirsu's house come out like the sun from the clouds, had it grow to be like hills of lapis lazuli and had it stand to be marvelled at like hills of white alabaster.

665-672. He made its door-sockets stand like wild bulls and he flanked them with dragons crouching on their paws like lions. He had its terraced tower grow on a place as pure as the abzu. He made the metal tops of its standards twinkle as the horns of the holy stags of the abzu. Gudea made the house of Ningirsu stand to be marvelled at like the new moon in the skies.

673-687. The built-in door-sockets of the house are lahama deities standing by the abzu. Its timber store looks like waves of an enormous lagoon where snakes have dived into the water. Its is full of fearsomeness. Its is a light floating in the midst of heaven. On the Gate where the King Enters an eagle is raising its eyes toward a wild bull. Its curved wooden posts joining above the gate are a rainbow stretching over the sky. Its upper lintel of the gate like the Eninnu stands among rumbling, roaring storms. Its awe-inspiring eyebrow-shaped arch meets the admiring eyes of the gods. His white dais of the house is a firmly founded lapis lazuli mountain connecting heaven and earth.

688-695. They installed the great dining hall for the evening meals: it was as if An himself were setting out golden bowls filled with honey and wine. They built the bedchamber: it is the abzu's fruit-bearing holy mes tree among innumerable mountains. He finished with the building, which made the hearts of the gods overflow with joy.

696-721. The true shepherd Gudea is wise, and able too to realise things. In the inner room where the weapons hang, at the Gate of Battle he had the warriors Six-headed wild ram and head take their stand. Facing the city, its place laden with awe, he had the Seven-headed serpent take its stand. In Su-galam, its awesome gate, he had the Dragon and the Date palm take their stand. Facing the sunrise, where the fates are decided, he erected the standard of Utu, the Bison head, beside others already there. At the Kan-sura gate, at its lookout post, he had the Lion, the terror of the gods, take its stand. In the Tar-sirsir, where the orders are issued, he had the Fish-man and the Copper take their stand. In Bau's inner room, where the heart can be soothed, he had the Magilum boat and the Bison take their stand. Because these were warriors slain by Ningirsu, he set their mouths towards

libation places. Gudea, the ruler of Lagas, made their names appear among those of the gods.

722-729. The cedar doors installed in the house are Iskur roaring above. The locks of the E-ninnu are bisons, its doorpivots are lions, from its bolts horned vipers and fierce snakes are hissing at wild bulls. Its jambs, against which the door leaves close, are young lions and panthers lying on their paws.

730-737. The shining roof-beam nails hammered into the house are dragons gripping a victim. The shining ropes attached to the doors are holy Nirah parting the abzu. Its is pure like Kes and Aratta, its is a fierce lion keeping an eye on the Land; nobody going alone can pass in front of it.

738-758. The fearsomeness of the E-ninnu covers all the lands like a garment. The house! It is founded by An on refined silver, it is painted with kohl, and comes out as the moonlight with heavenly splendour. The house! Its front is a great mountain firmly grounded, its inside resounds with incantations and harmonious hymns, its exterior is the sky, a great house rising in abundance, its outer assembly hall is the Anuna gods' place of rendering judgments, from its words of prayer can be heard, its food supply is the abundance of the gods, its standards erected around the house are the Anzud bird spreading its wings over the bright mountain. Eninut's clay plaster, harmoniously blended clay taken from the Edin canal, has been chosen by its master Lord Ningirsu with his holy heart, and was painted by Gudea with the splendours of heaven as if kohl were being poured all over it.

759-769. From its cow-pen butter and milk are brought in. From its huge oven, great cakes and croissants come. Its an uzga shrine. Its wine-cellar is a mountain oozing wine, from its brewery as much beer comes as the Tigris at high water.

770-780. Its storehouse is full of gems, silver and tin. Its coach-house is a mountain set on the ground. Its drum hall is a roaring bull. Its courtyard resounds with holy prayers, sim and ala drums. Its stone stairs, laid before the house, are like a mountain range lying down in princely joy. Its upper stairs leading to the roof are like a light clearly visible as far as the mountains. Its vineyard "Black garden in the steppe", planted near the house, is a mountain oozing wine and grows in a place with fearsomeness and radiance.

781-798. The seven stones surrounding the house are there to take counsel with its owner. Its chapel for funerary offerings is as pure as the clean abzu. The stone basins set up in the house are like the holy room of the lustration priest where water never ceases to flow. Its high battlements where pigeons live is Eridug E-ninnu offers rest to pigeons, it is a protective cover with large branches and a pleasant shade, with swallows and other birds chirping loudly there. It is Enlil's E-kur when a festival takes place in it. The house's great awesomeness settles upon the whole Land, its praise reaches to the highlands, the awesomeness of the E-ninnu covers all lands like a garment.

799-803. The house has been built most sumptuously by its lord. It was built on a pedestal by Ningiszida. Its foundation pegs were driven in by Gudea, the ruler of Lagas.

804-812. For the restoration of E-ninnu, the house that rises like the sun over the Land, stands like a great bull in the sand, illuminates the assembly like delightful moonlight, is as sumptuous as lush green foothills, and stands to be maryelled at, praise be to Ningirsu!

813-814. This is the middle of the hymn "The building of Ningirsu's house".

815-819. House, mooring post of the Land, grown so high as to fill the space between heaven and earth, E-ninnu, the true brickwork, for which Enlil determined a good fate, green hill standing to be marvelled at, standing out above all the lands!

820-823. The house is a great mountain reaching up to the skies. It is Utu filling the midst of the heavens; E-ninnu is the white Anzud bird spreading its talons upon the mountain land

824-829. All the people were placed before it, the whole Land was detailed to it. The Anuna gods stood there in admiration. The ruler, who is wise, who is knowledgeable, kissed the ground before that godly company. He touched the ground in prostration, with supplications and prayers; the ruler, the god of his city prayed.

830-833. For the bread-consuming house he added more and more bread, for the suppers in need of mutton he added sheep. In front of the house he lined up bowls like abundance

834-841. He went to the Anuna gods and prayed to them: "O all you Anuna gods, admired by the land of Lagas, protectors of all the countries, whose command, a massive breach in a dam, carries away any who try to stop it. The worthy young man on whom you have looked will enjoy a long life. I, the shepherd, built the house, and now I will let my master enter his house. O Anuna gods, may you pray on my behalf!"

842-850. The true shepherd Gudea is wise, and able too to realise things. His friendly guardian went before him and his friendly protecting genius followed him. For his master, Lord

Ningirsu, Gudea gave numerous gifts to the house of yore, the old house, his dwelling place. He went into the E-ninnu to the lord, and prayed to him:

851-862. "My master Ningirsu, lord who has turned back the fierce waters, lord whose commands take precedence, male child of Enlil, warrior, I have carried out faithfully what you have ordered me to do. Ningirsu, I have built up your house for you; now I shall let you enter it in joy! My goddess Bau, I have set up your E-mi quarters for you: take up pleasant residence in them." His call was heard, his hero Lord Ningirsu accepted from Gudea his prayer and supplication.

863-870. The year ended and the month was completed. A new year started, a month began and three days elapsed in that month. As Ningirsu arrived from Eridug, beautiful moonlight shone illuminating the Land, and the E-ninnu competed with the new-born Suen.

871-882. Gudea made a paste with cornelian and lapis lazuli and applied it to the corners. He sprinkled the floor with precious oil. He made the, who worked there, leave the house. Syrup, ghee, wine, sour milk, gipar fruit, figcakes topped with cheese, dates, and small grapes, things untouched by fire, were the foods for the gods which he prepared with syrup and ghee.

883-891. On the day when the true god was to arrive, Gudea was busy with the evening meal from early morning. Asari cared for the maintenance of the house. Ninmada took care of its cleaning. King Enki gave oracular pronouncements concerning it. Nindub, the chief purification priest of Eridug, filled it with the smoke of incense. The lady of precious rites, Nanse, versed in singing holy songs, sang songs for the house.

892-906. They sheared the black ewes and milked the udder of the cow of heaven. They cleaned the E-ninnu, they polished it with brooms of tamarisk and The ruler made the whole city kneel down, made the whole land prostrate itself. He levelled what was high, rejected chance utterances; the sorcerers' spittle was removed from the roads. In the city only the mother of a sick person administered a potion. The wild animals, creatures of the steppe, all had crouched together. The lions and the dragons of the steppe were lying asleep.

907-909. The day was for supplication, the night was for prayer. The moonlight early morning. Its master 910-924. Warrior Ningirsu entered the house, the owner of

910-924. Warrior Ningirsu entered the house, the owner of the house had arrived. He was an eagle raising its eyes toward a wild bull. The warrior's entering his house was a storm roaring into battle. Ningirsu entered his house and it became the shrine of the abzu when there is a festival. The owner came out of his house and he was Utu rising over the land of Lagas. Bau's going to her E-mi quarters was a true woman's taking her house in hand. Her entering her bedroom was the Tigris at high water. When she sat down beside her, she was the lady, the daughter of holy An, a green garden bearing fruit

925-928. The daylight came out, the fate had been decided. Bau entered her E-mi quarters, and there was abundance for the land of Lagas. The day dawned. Utu of Lagas lifted his head over the Land.

929-933. The house received fattened oxen and sheep. Bowls were set up in the open air and were filled with wine. The Anuna gods of the land of Lagas gathered around Lord Ningirsu. In the house the purification had been completed, the oracular pronouncements had been taken care of.

934-943. Wine was poured from big jars while was heaped up in the E-ninnu. Nindub caused the sanctuary to be filled with clatter and noise and with fresh bread and hind's milk available day and night; he woke from sleep the noble one, the beloved son of Enlil, the warrior Ningirsu. Ningirsu raised his head with all the great powers, and rituals, for the sanctuary E-ninnu.

944-956. With his divine duties, namely to guide the hand of the righteous one; to force the evil-doer's neck into a neck stock; to keep the house safe; to keep the house pleasant; to instruct his city and the sanctuaries of Girsu; to set up an auspicous throne; to hold the sceptre of never-ending days; to raise high the head of the shepherd called by Ningirsu, as if he wore a blue crown; and to appoint to their offices in the courtyard of E-ninnu the skin-clad ones, the linen-clad ones and those whose head is covered, Gudea introduced Ig-alim, the Great Door (ig gal), the Pole (dim) of Gir-nun, the chief bailiff of Girsu, his beloved son, to Lord Ningirsu.

957-970. With his divine duties, namely to keep the house clean; to let hands always be washed; to serve water to the lord with holy hands; to pour beer into bowls; to pour wine into jars; to make emmer beer in the brewery, the house of pure strength, fizz like the water of the Papsir canal; to make certain that faultless cattle and goats, grain-fed sheep, fresh bread and hind's milk are available day and night; to wake from sleep the noble one, Enlil's beloved son, the warrior Ningirsu, by offering food and drink, Gudea introduced Sulsaga, the lord of the pure hand-washings (su-luh), the first-born son of E-ninnu, to Ningirsu.

971-982. With his divine duties, namely to carry the sevenheaded mace; to open the door of the an-kar house, the Gate of Battle; to hit exactly with the dagger blades, with the mitum mace, with the "floodstorm" weapon and with the marratum club, its battle tools; to inundate Enlil's enemy land, Gudea introduced Lugal-kur-dub, the warrior Sar-ur, who in battle subdues all the foreign lands, the mighty general of the E-ninnu, a falcon against the rebel lands, his general, to Lord Ningirsu.

983-989. After the heavenly mitum mace had roared against the foreign lands like a fierce storm -- the Sar-ur, the flood storm in battle, the cudgel for the rebel lands -- after the lord had frowned at the rebellious land, the foreign country, hurled at it his furious words, driven it insane (the text here seems to be corrupt, and there may be some lines missing),

990-992. With his divine duties, Gudea introduced the lord's second general, Kur-suna-buruam, to the son of Enlil.

993-1005. With his divine duties, namely to send entreaties on behalf of the land of Lagas; to perform supplications and prayers for it, propitious ones; to greet pleasantly the warrior departing for Eridug; and until Ningirsu comes from Eridug, to keep the throne of the built-up city firm; to pray, with hand placed before the nose, together with Gudea, for the life of the true shepherd, Gudea introduced his adviser, Lugal-sisa, to Lord Ningirsu.

1006-1014. With his divine duties, namely to request; to

1006-1014. With his divine duties, namely to request; to command; to co-operate with the one speaking straightforwardly; to the one speaking evil; to inform Ningirsu, the warrior sitting on a holy dais in the E-ninnu, Gudea introduced Sakkan, the wild ram, the minister of the E-duga, his, to Lord Ningirsu.

1015-1023. With his divine duties, namely to clean with water; to clean with soap; to with oil from white bowls and with soap; to urge him to sweet sleep on his bed strewn with fresh herbs; to let him enter the E-duga, his bed chamber, from outside and to make him not wish to leave it, Gudea introduced Kinda-zid, the man in charge of the E-duga, to Lord Ningirsu.

1024-1034. With his divine duties, namely to yoke up the holy chariot decorated with stars; to harness the donkey stallion, Pirig-kase-pada, before it; to a slender donkey from Eridug with the stallion; to have them joyfully transport their owner Ningirsu, Gudea introduced En-seg-nun, who roars like a lion, who rises like a flood storm, Ningirsu's hurrying bailiff, his donkey herdsman, to Lord Ningirsu.

1035-1040. With his divine duties, namely, to make the butter abundant; to make the cream abundant; to see that the butter and the milk of the holy goats, the milking goats, and the hind, the mother of Ningirsu, do not cease to flow in the E-ninnu sanctuary, Gudea introduced En-lulim, the herdsman of the hinds, to Lord Ningirsu.

1041-1047. With his divine duties, namely to tune properly the sweet-toned tigi instrument; to fill the courtyard of Eninnu with joy; to make the algar and miritum, instruments of the E-duga, offer their best in the E-ninnu to Ningirsu, the warrior with an ear for music, Gudea introduced his beloved musician, Usumgal-kalama, to Lord Ningirsu.

1048-1057. With his divine duties, namely to soothe the heart, to soothe the spirits; to dry weeping eyes; to banish mourning from the mourning heart; to the heart of the lord that rises like the sea, that washes away like the Euphrates, that hits like a flood storm, that has overflowed with joy after inundating a land which is Enlil's enemy, Gudea introduced his balag drum, Lugal-igi-hus, to Lord Ningirus

1058-1069. Zazaru, Iskur-pa-e, Ur-agrunta-ea, He-Girnuna, He-saga, Zurgu and Zargu, who are Bau's septuplets, the offspring of Lord Ningirsu, his beloved lukur maidens, who create plenty for the myriads, stepped forward to Lord Ningirsu with friendly entreaties on behalf of Gudea.

1070-1081. With his divine duties, namely to see that the great fields grow rich; to see that the levees and ditches of Lagas will be full to the brim; to see that Ezina-Kusu, the pure stalk, will raise its head high in the furrows in Gu-edina, the plain befitting its owner; to see that after the good fields have provided wheat, emmer and all kinds of pulses, numerous grain heaps -- the yield of the land of Lagas -- will be heaped up, Gudea introduced Gisbar-e, Enlil's surveyor, the farmer of Gu-edina, to Lord Ningirsu.

1082-1087. With his divine duties, namely to make sure

1082-1087. With his divine duties, namely to make sure that Imin-satam, the messenger of Gu-edina, informs Ningirsu in the E-ninnu about the amount of carp and perch yielded by the marshes, and about the quantity of new shoots of reed yielded by the green reedbeds, Gudea introduced Lama, the inspector of the fisheries of Gu-edina, to Lord Ningirsu.

1088-1099. With his divine duties, namely to administer the open country, the pleasant place; to give directions concerning the Gu-edina, the pleasant open country; to make its birds propagate; to have them lay their eggs in nests; to have them rear their young; to see that the multiplication of the beasts of Ningirsu's beloved countryside does not diminish, Gudea introduced Dim-gal-abzu, the herald of Gu-edina, to Lord Ningirsu.

1100-1106. With his divine duties, namely to erect cities; to found settlements; to build guard-houses for the wall of the Iri-kug; to have its divine resident constable, the mace of white cedar with its enormous head, patrol around the house, Gudea introduced Lugal-ennu-iri-kugakam to Lord Ningirsu.

1107-1117. Holy An made the location appropriate. Enlil wound a turban round its top. Ninhursaga looked at it approvingly. Enki, the king of Eridug, drove in its foundation pegs. The true lord with a pure heart, Suen, made its powers the largest in heaven and on earth. Ningirsu chose it among shrines of sprouting seeds with his heart. Mother Nanse cared for it especially among the buildings of the land of Lagas. But it was the god of most reliable progeny who built the house and made its name famous.

1118-1124. The mighty steward of Nanse, the accomplished shepherd of Ningirsu, is wise, and able too to realise things; the man in charge of building the house, Gudea the ruler of Lagas, was to make presents for the house.

1125-1142. Gudea, the ruler in charge of building the house, the ruler of Lagas, presented it with the chariot "It makes the mountains bow down", which carries awesome radiance and on which great fearsomeness rides and with its donkey stallion, Ud-gu-dugduga, to serve before it; with the seven-headed mace, the fierce battle weapon, the weapon unbearable both for the North and for the South, with a battle cudgel, with the mitum mace, with the lion-headed weapon made from nir stone, which never turns back before the highlands, with dagger blades, with nine standards, with the "strength of heroism", with his bow which twangs like a mes forest, with his angry arrows which whizz like lightning flashes in battle, and with his quiver, which is like a lion, a pirig lion, or a fierce snake sticking out its tongue -- strengths of battle imbued with the power of kingship.

1143-1154. Along with copper, tin, slabs of lapis lazuli, refined silver and pure Meluha cornelian, he set up huge copper cauldrons, huge of copper, shining copper goblets and shining copper jars worthy of An, for laying a holy table in the open air at the place of regular offerings. Ningirsu gave his city, Lagas He set up his bed within the bedchamber, the house's resting place; and everyone rested like birds in the streets with the son of Enlil.

1155-1181. With his duties, namely to fill the channels with flowing water; to make the marshes full with carp and perch and to have the inspector of fisheries and the inspector of dykes stand at their posts; to fill the great waters with boats carrying grain; to see that tons, heaps and tons -- the yield of the land of Lagas -- will be piled up; to see that cattle-pens and sheepfolds will be erected; to see that lambs abound around healthy ewes; to have the rams let loose on the healthy ewes; to see that numerous calves stand beside healthy cows; to see that breed bulls bellow loudly among them; to have the oxen properly yoked and to have the farmers and ox drivers stand beside them; to have donkeys carry packsaddles and to have their drivers, who feed them, follow behind them; to see that large copper will be strapped onto jackasses; to see that the principal mill will produce; to the house of Ningirsu's young slave women; to set right; to see that the courtyard of the E-ninnu will be filled with joy; to see that the ala drums and balag drum will sound in perfect concert with the sim drums, and to see that his beloved drum Usumgal-kalama will walk in front of the procession, the ruler who had built the E-ninnu, Gudea, himself entered before Lord Ningirsu.

1182-1202. The temple towered upwards in full grandeur, unparallelled in fearsomeness and radiance. Like a boat it and Its owner, the warrior Ningirsu, came out as the daylight on the dais of Gir-nun. Its resting on supports was like the blue sky in all its splendour. Its standards and their caps were Ningirsu himself emanating fearsomeness; their leather straps stretched out in front of them were green snake-eater birds bathing. Its owner, the warrior Ningirsu, stood like Utu in his most fascinating blue chariot. Its throne, standing in the guena hall, was An's holy seat which is sat upon joyfully. Its bed, standing in the bedroom, was a young cow kneeling down in its sleeping place. On its holy quilt, strewn with fresh herbs, Mother Bau was resting comfortably with Lord Ningirsu.

1203-1210. Large bronze plates offered all sorts of food. In the good house were cooked in shining bronze vessels. Its pure bowls standing in the great dining hall were troughs in various sizes that never lack water, and the goblets beside them were the Tigris and Euphrates continually carrying

1211-1223. He had everything function as it should in his city. Gudea had built the E-ninnu, made its powers perfect. He brought butter and cream into its dairy and provided its with bread. He had debts remitted and made all hands clear. When his master entered the house, for seven days the slave woman was allowed to became equal to her mistress and the slave was allowed to walk side by side with his master. But the ritually unclean ones could sleep only at the border of his city. He silenced the evil-speaking tongue and locked up evil.

1224-1231. He paid attention to the justice of Nanse and Ningirsu. He provided protection for the orphan against the rich, and provided protection for the widow against the powerful. He had the daughter become the heir in the families without a son. A day of justice dawned for him. He set his foot on the neck of evil ones and malcontents.

1232-1247. Like Utu, he rose on the horizon for the city. He wound a turban on his head. He made himself known by the eyes of holy An. He entered the shrine of E-ninnu with raised head like a bull and sacrificed there faultless oxen and kids. He set bowls in the open air and filled them full with wine. Usumgal-kalama was accompanied by tigi drums, and ala drums roared for him like a storm. The ruler stepped onto the outer wall and his city looked up to him in admiration. Gudea

[6 lines missing]

1254-1257. made abundance come forth for him. The earth produced mottled barley for him. Lagas thrived in abundance with the ruler.

1258-1276. For the warrior who entered his new house, for Lord Ningirsu, he arranged a rich banquet. He seated An at the place of honour for him, he seated Enlil next to An and Ninmah next to Enlil.

[12 lines missing / 1 line fragmentary]

1277-1284. Rejoicing over the house, the owner determined a fate for the brickwork of E-ninnu: "O brickwork of E-ninnu, let there be a good fate determined, brickwork of E-ninnu, let there be a fate determined, let there be a good fate determined! House! Mountain founded by An, built in grandeur!"

[16 lines missing]

1301-1320. determined a fate for the brickwork of Eninnu: "O brickwork, let there be a fate determined, brickwork of E-ninnu, let there be a good fate determined! House embers (?) embracing heaven.

[14 lines missing / 1 line fragmentary]

1321-1325. "On your behalf, numerous cow-pens will be erected and many sheepfolds renewed! The people will lie down in safe pastures, enjoying abundance under you. The eves of Sumer and all the countries will be directed toward you. An will elevate your house of Anzud for you.

[11 lines missing] 1337-1354.

[3 lines fragmentary] "..... grown as tall as Gilgames. No one shall remove its throne set up there. Your god, Lord Ningiszida, is the grandson of An; your divine mother is Ninsumun, the bearing mother of good offspring, who loves her offspring; you are a child born by the true cow. You are a true youth made to rise over the land of Lagas by Ningirsu; your name is established from below to above. Gudea, nobody what you say. You are a man known to An. You are a true ruler, for whom the house has determined a good fate. Gudea, son of Ningiszida, you will enjoy a long

1355-1361. The house reaches up to heaven like a huge mountain and its fearsomeness and radiance have settled upon the Land. An and Enlil have determined the fate of Lagas; Ningirsu's authority has become known to all the countries; E-ninnu has grown so high as to fill the space between heaven and earth. Ningirsu be praised!

1362-1363. This is the end of the hymn "The building of Ningirsu's house".

THE UR-NAMMU CYCLE

THE DEATH OF UR-NAMMA

(Ur-Namma A) Translation: ETCSL: t.2.4.1.1

(Ur-Nammu (or Ur-Namma, Ur-Engur, Ur-Gur, ruled c. 2112-2094 BC middle chronology, or possibly c. 2048-2030 BC short chronology) founded the Sumerian Third Dynasty of Ur, in southern Mesopotamia, following several centuries of Akkadian and Gutian rule. His main achievement was state-building, and Ur-Nammu is chiefly remembered today for his legal code, the Code of Ur-Nammu, the oldest known surviving example in the world. He held the titles of "King of Ur, and King of Sumer and Akkad". He was succeeded by Shulgi who stayed in power for 48 years. There are 7 cuneiform texts that deal with Ur-Nammu:

1.) The death of Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma A); 2.) A tigi to Enlil for Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma B); 3.) praise poem of Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma C); 4.) Ur-Namma the canal-digger (Ur-Namma D); 5.) A sir-namsub to Nanna for Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma E): 6.) A sir-namsub to Nanna for Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma F); 7.) The victory of Utu-hegal. Such a collection of texts is called "cycle" by archaeologists.)

A VERSION FROM NIBRU (Nippur)

1-7. entire land, struck, the palace was devastated. panic spread rapidly among the dwellings of the black-headed people. abandoned places in Sumer. the cities were destroyed in their entirety; the people were seized with panic. Evil came upon Urim and made the trustworthy shepherd pass away. It made Ur-Namma, the trustworthy shepherd, pass away; it made the trustworthy shepherd pass away.

8-14. Because An had altered his holy words completely, became empty, and because, deceitfully, Enlil had completely changed the fate he decreed, Ninmah began a lament in her Enki shut the great door of Eridug. Nudimmud withdrew into his bedchamber and lay down fasting. At his zenith, Nanna frowned at the words of An. Utu did not come forth in the sky, and the day was full of sorrow.

15-21. The mother, miserable because of her son, the mother of the king, holy Ninsumun, was crying: "Oh my heart!". Because of the fate decreed for Ur-Namma, because it made the trustworthy shepherd pass away, she was weeping bitterly in the broad square, which is otherwise a place of entertainment. Sweet sleep did not come to the people whose happiness: they passed their time in lamentation over the trustworthy shepherd who had been snatched away.

22-30. As the early flood was filling the canals, their canalinspector was already silenced; the mottled barley grown on the arable lands, the life of the land, was inundated. To the farmer, the fertile fields planted by him yielded little. Enkimdu, the lord of levees and ditches, took away the levees and ditches from Urim.

[1 line fragmentary] As the intelligence and of the Land were lost, fine food became scarce. The plains did not grow lush grass any more, they grew the grass of mourning. The cows, their cattle-pen has been destroyed. The calves their cows bleated bitterly.

31-51. The wise shepherd does not give orders any more. in battle and combat. The king, the advocate of Sumer, the ornament of the assembly, Ur-Namma, the advocate of Sumer, the ornament of the assembly, the leader of Sumer, lies sick. His hands which used to grasp cannot grasp any more, he lies sick. His feet cannot step any more, he lies sick.

[1 line fragmentary] The trustworthy shepherd, king, the sword of Sumer, Ur-Namma, the king of the Land, was taken to the house. He was taken to Urim; the king of the Land was brought into the house. The proud one lay in his palace. Ur-Namma, he who was beloved by the troops, could not raise his neck any more. The wise one lay down; silence descended. As he, who was the vigour of the Land, had fallen, the Land became demolished like a mountain; like a cypress forest it was stripped, its appearance changed. As if he were a boxwood tree, they put axes against him in his joyous dwelling place. As if he were a sappy cedar tree, he was uprooted in the palace where he used to sleep. His spouse resting place; was covered by a storm; it embraced it like a wife her sweetheart. His appointed time had arrived, and he passed away in his prime.

52-75. His pleasing sacrifices were no longer accepted; they were treated as dirty. The Anuna gods refused his gifts. An did not stand by an "It is enough", and he could not complete his days. Because of what Enlil ordered, there was no more rising up; his beloved men lost their wise one. Strangers turned into How iniquitously Ur-Namma was abandoned, like a broken jar! His with grandeur like thick clouds. He does not any more, and he does not reach out for "..... Ur-Namma, alas, what is it to me?" Ur-Namma, the son of Ninsumun, was brought to Arali, the pre-eminent place of the Land, in his prime. The soldiers accompanying the king shed tears: their boat (i.e. Ur-Namma) was sunk in a land as foreign to them as Dilmun. was cut. It was stripped of the oars, punting poles and rudder which it had.; its bolt was broken off. was put aside; it stood in saltpetre. His donkeys were to be found with the king; they were buried with him. His donkeys were to be found with Ur-Namma; they were buried with him. As he crossed over the of the Land, the Land was deprived of its ornament. The journey to the nether world is a desolate route. Because of the king, the chariots were covered over, the roads were thrown into disorder, no one could go up and down on them. Because of Ur-Namma, the chariots were covered over, the roads were thrown into disorder, no one could go up and down on them.

76-87. He presented gifts to the seven chief porters of the nether world. As the famous kings who had died and the dead isib priests, lumah priests, and nindigir priestesses, all chosen by extispicy, announced the king's coming to the people, a tumult arose in the nether world. As they announced Ur-Namma's coming to the people, a tumult arose in the nether world. The king slaughtered numerous bulls and sheep, Ur-Namma seated the people at a huge banquet. The food of the nether world is bitter, the water of the nether world is brackish. The trustworthy shepherd knew well the rites of the nether world, so the king presented the offerings of the nether world, Ur-Namma presented the offerings of the nether world: as many faultless bulls, faultless kids, and fattened sheep as could be brought.

88-91. To Nergal, the Enlil of the nether world, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a mace, a large bow with quiver and arrows, an artfully made barbed dagger, and a multicoloured leather bag for wearing at the hip.

92-96. To Gilgames, the king of the nether world, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a spear, a leather bag

for a saddle-hook, a heavenly lion-headed imitum mace, a shield resting on the ground, a heroic weapon, and a battleaxe, an implement beloved of Ereskigala.

97-101. To Ereskigala, the mother of Ninazu, in her palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a which he filled with oil, a sagan bowl of perfect make, a heavy garment, a longfleeced garment, a queenly pala robe, the divine powers of the nether world.

102-105. To Dumuzid, the beloved husband of Inana, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a sheep,, mountain, a lordly golden sceptre, a shining hand. [(1 ms. adds:) He a gold and silver, a lapis-

lazuli, and a pin to Dimpikug]
106-109. To Namtar, who decrees all the fates, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered perfectly wrought jewellery. a golden ring cast as a barge, pure cornelian stone fit to be worn on the breasts of the gods.

110-113. To Husbisag, the wife of Namtar, in her palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a chest with a lapis-lazuli handle, containing everything that is essential in the underworld, a silver hair clasp adorned with lapis-lazuli, and a comb of womanly fashion.

114-122. To the valiant warrior Ningiszida, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a chariot with wheels sparkling with gold, donkeys, thoroughbreds, donkeys with dappled thighs,, followed by a shepherd and a herdsman. To [Dimpimekug] [(1 ms. has instead:) Dimpikug], who stands by his side, he gave a lapislazuli seal hanging from a pin, and a gold and silver togglepin with a bison's head.

123-128. To his spouse, Ninazimua, the august scribe, denizen of Arali, in her palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a headdress with the august ear-pieces of a sage, made of alabaster, a stylus, the hallmark of the scribe, a surveyor's gleaming line, and the measuring rod 129-131. To, the great of the nether world, he

[2 lines fragmentary]

132-144. After the king had presented properly the offerings of the nether world, after Ur-Namma had presented properly the offerings of the nether world, the of the underworld, the, seated Ur-Namma on a great dais of the nether world and set up a dwelling place for him in the nether world. At the command of Ereskigala all the soldiers who had been killed by weapons and all the men who had been found guilty were given into the king's hands. Ur-Namma was, so with Gilgames, his beloved brother, he will issue the judgments of the nether world and render the decisions of the nether world.

145-154. After seven days, 10 days had passed, lamenting for Sumer overwhelmed my king, lamenting for Sumer overwhelmed Ur-Namma. My king's heart was full of tears, he bitterly that he could not complete the wall of Urim; that he could no longer enjoy the new palace he had built; that he, the shepherd, could no longer his household; that he could no longer bring pleasure to his wife with his embrace; that he could not bring up his sons on his knees; that he would never see in their prime the beauty of their little sisters who had not yet grown up.

155-165. The trustworthy shepherd a heart-rending lament for himself: "I, who have been treated like this, served the gods well, set up chapels for them. I have created evident abundance for the Anuna gods. I have laid treasures on their beds strewn with fresh herbs. Yet no god stood by me and soothed my heart. Because of them, anything that could have been a favourable portent for me was as far away from me as the heavens, the What is my reward for my eagerness to serve during the days? My days have been finished for serving them sleeplessly during the night! Now, just as the rain pouring down from heaven cannot turn back, alas, nor can I turn back to brick-built Urim."

166-186. "Alas, my wife has become a widow! She spends the days in tears and bitter laments. My strength has ebbed away The hand of the fate demon bitterly me, the hero. Like a wild bull, I cannot Like a mighty bull, Like an offshoot Like an ass, I died. my wife She spends the days in tears and bitter laments. Her kind protective god has left her; her kind protective goddess does not care for her any more. Ninsumun no longer rests her august arm firmly on her head. Nanna, Lord Asimbabbar, no longer leads her by the hand. Enki, the lord of Eridug, does not Her has been silenced, she can no longer answer. She is cast adrift like a boat in a raging storm; the mooring pole has not been strong enough for her. Like a wild ass lured into a perilous pit she has been treated heavy-handedly. Like a lion fallen into a pitfall, a guard has been set up for her. Like a dog kept in a cage, she is silenced. Utu does not pay heed to the cries "Oh my king" overwhelming her."
187-197. "My tigi, adab, flute and zamzam songs have been

turned into laments because of me. The instruments of the house of music have been propped against the wall. Because I have been made to in a soil-filled pit instead of my throne whose beauty was endless; because I have been made to lie down in the open, desolate steppe instead of my bed, the sleeping place whose was endless, alas, my wife and my children are in tears and wailing. My people whom I used to command sing like lamentation and dirge singers because of her. While I was so treated, foremost Inana, the warlike lady, was not present at my verdict. Enlil had sent her as a messenger to all the foreign lands concerning very important matters.'

198-216. When she had turned her gaze away from there, Inana humbly entered the shining E-kur, she at Enlil's fierce brow. (Then Enlil said:) "Great lady of the E-ana, once someone has bowed down, he cannot any more; the trustworthy shepherd left E-ana, you cannot see him any more." My lady among the people [.....] [(1 ms. has instead:) like]. Then Inana, the fierce storm, the eldest child of Suen,, made the heavens tremble, made the earth shake. Inana destroyed cattle-pens, devastated sheepfolds, saying: "I want to hurl insults at An, the king of the gods: Who can change the matter, if Enlil elevates someone? Who can change the import of the august words uttered by An, the king? If there are divine ordinances imposed on the Land, but they are not observed, there will be no abundance at the gods's place of sunrise. My holy gipar, the shrine E-ana, has been barred up [like a mountain] [(some mss. have instead:) like the heavens]. If only my shepherd could enter before me in it in his prime -- [I will not enter it otherwise!] [(some mss. have instead:) Why should I enter it otherwise?] If only my strong one could grow for me like greenery in the desert. If only he could hold steady for me like a river boat at its calm mooring." This is how Inana [gave vent to a lament over him] [(1 ms. has instead:) Ur-

217-233. Lord Ningiszida Ur-Namma, my who was killed,

I line fragmentary Among tears and laments, decreed a fate for Ur-Namma: "Ur-Namma, your august name will be called upon. From the south to the uplands, the holy sceptre. Sumer to your palace. The people will admire the canals which you have dug, the which you have, the large and grand arable tracts which you have, the reedbeds which you have drained, the wide barley fields which you, and the fortresses and settlements which you have Ur-Namma, they will call upon your name. Lord Nunamnir, surpassing, will drive away the evil spirits"

234-242. After shepherd Ur-Namma, Nanna, Lord Asimbabbar,, Enki, the king of Eridug [.....devastated sheepfolds] [(the other ms. has instead:) the foremost, the flood]. [..... holy, lion born on high] [(the other ms. has instead:) basket]. your city; renders just judgments. , Lord Ningiszida be praised! My king among tears and laments; among tears and laments.

A VERSION FROM SUSA SEGMENT A

[approx. 10 lines missing]

1-4. [1 line fragmentary] frowned at the day was full of sorrow. withdrew into his bedchamber and lay down fasting.

5-11. The mother, wretched because of her son, .. mother of the king, holy Ninsumun, was crying: "Oh my ". She was weeping bitterly in the broad square, which is otherwise a place of entertainment, that the fate of Ur-Namma had been overturned and that the trustworthy shepherd had been made to pass away. She spent the day in lamentation over the trustworthy shepherd who had been snatched away. Sweet sleep did not come to the people whose happiness had come to an end.

12-19. As the early flood was filling the canals, their canalinspector The mottled barley come forth on the arable lands, the life of the land, To the farmer, the fertile fields Enkimdu, the lord of levees and ditches, its numerous people of the Land The plains fine grass heavy cows

[approx. 4 lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-13. Ur-Namma His hands which used to grasp, cannot His feet which used to tread,

[1 line unclear] The trustworthy shepherd, the king, the of Sumer, Ur-Namma, As he himself was going to Urim, Ur-Namma house. The proud one lying in the palace, Ur-Namma, who by the troops, He could not rise any more, the wise one of the countries lay down; silence As he, who was the vigour of the Land, has fallen the land became demolished like a mountain. As he a cypress forest was felled the state of the Land became confused. As he, the cedar tree of the Land, was uprooted, the state of the Land became altered. Axes were set against him, a boxwood tree, in his joyous dwelling place. His appointed time arrived, and he passed away in his prime.

14-22. His pleasing sacrifices were no longer accepted; they were treated as dirty. The Anuna gods did not reach out for his gifts any more. did not stand by an "It is enough", his days were not prolonged., there was no more rising up. Ur-Namma, a broken jar, was abandoned at

[3 lines unclear], what is it to me?" [approx. 5 lines missing]

SEGMENT C

1-10. [3 lines unclear] the bolt sat in saltpetre., the roads were thrown into disorder, no one could go up and down on them;, the roads were thrown into disorder, no one could go up and down on them. is a long route. the way the journey to the nether world

11-20. gifts chief porters who died, dead nindigir priestesses, chosen by extispicy,

[1 line unclear] raised a tumult; .. tumult The king knew well the rites of the nether world, Ur-Namma knew well the rites of the nether world: so he brought magnificent bulls, faultless kids, and fattened

21-24. To Nergal, the Enlil of the nether world, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a mace, a large bow with quiver and arrows, a large barbed dagger, and a multicoloured leather bag for wearing at the hip.

25-28. To Gilgames, the king of the nether world, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a spear, a leather bag for the saddle-hook, a heavenly lion-headed mitum mace, a shield resting on the ground, and a battle-axe, an implement beloved of Ereskigala.

29-32. To Ereskigala, the mother of Ninazu, in her palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a with oil, a sagan bowl of perfect make, a royal, the divine powers of the nether world

33-37. To Dumuzid, the beloved husband of Inana, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered alum sheep, longfleeced sheep, big mountain he-goats, a lordly of manu wood fit for a shining hand, and shepherd's staff and crook of manu wood, fit for a lord.

38-41. To Namtar, who decrees all the fates, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered perfectly wrought jewellery, a golden ring cast as a barge, pure cornelian stone of the gods.

42-45. To Husbisag, the wife of Namtar, in her palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a chest with a lapis-lazuli handle. containing everything that is essential in the underworld, a hair clasp adorned with lapis-lazuli, and seven combs of womanly fashion.

46-50. To Ningiszida, in his palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a sparkling with, donkeys that bray loudly, followed by

51-56. To Ninazimua, denizen of Arali, and to Gestin-ana, the king's sister, in her palace, the shepherd Ur-Namma offered a, the hallmark of the scribe,, a peg and the measuring rod

57-60. To Dimpimekug, who stands at the right and the left, the shepherd Ur-Namma and offered in her palace a golden and silver toggle-pin with a bison's head, and a lapislazuli seal with a golden edge and a pin of refined silver.

61-63. To, the great ensi of the nether world he brought the magnificent bulls, faultless kids, and fattened sheep that he had; in his palace the shepherd Ur-Namma offered them.

64-72. After the offerings were presented to the great of the underworld, the Anuna, they seated Ur-Namma on a great dais of the nether world and set up a dwelling place for him in the nether world. At the command of Ereskigala, with Gilgames, his beloved brother, he will pass the judgments of the nether world and render the decisions concerning all the men who fell by weapons and all the men who guilty.

73-88. After five days, 10 days had passed, lamenting for Sumer overwhelmed my king, lamenting for Sumer overwhelmed Ur-Namma. As he could not complete the wall of Urim; as he could no longer enjoy the new palace he had built; as he, the shepherd, could no longer protect his household; as he could no longer bring pleasure to his wife with his embrace; as he could not bring up his sons on his knees; as he would never see in their prime the beauty of their little sisters, who are yet to grow up, the trustworthy shepherd uttered a heart-rending lament for himself: "I, who have experienced, who have experienced fear, for the great gods, I have set up chapels for them. I have created evident abundance for the Anuna gods. I have treasures to their shining thrones. a favourable portent for me, was as the nether world or the heavens

[1 line fragmentary / approx. 7 lines missing]

SEGMENT D

1-1	1. ".	gua	rd	 silence	 	adab,
flute	and	zamzam	songs	 laments.	 have	been

propped against the wall. Because I have been made to sit on whose beauty was endless; because I have been made to fall in was endless,

I line fragmentary Maiden Inana, the warlike lady, Enlil had sent her as a messenger to all the great mountains."

12-20. When she had turned her gaze away from there, the trustworthy shepherd had left the E-ana, and she could not see him any more. She at Enlil's fierce brow. Antagonistically she insulted An, the king of the gods: "When An, the king speaks, his words cannot be changed! Ur-Namma There will be no at the gods' place of sunrise. holy gipar, shrine E-ana not enter"

A TIGI TO ENLIL FOR UR-NAMMA

(Ur-Namma B) Translation: ETCSL: t.2.4.1.2

1-6. Exalted Enlil, fame, lord who his great princedom, Nunamnir, king of heaven and earth, looked around among the people. The Great Mountain Enlil chose Ur-Namma the good shepherd from the multitude of people. "Let him be the shepherd of Nunamnir!" He made him emanate fierce awesomeness.

7-19. The divine plans of brick-built E-kur were drawn up. The Great Mountain Enlil made up his mind, filled with pure and useful thoughts, to make them shine like the sun in the E-kur, his august shrine. He instructed the shepherd Ur-Namma to make the E-kur rise high; the king made him the mightiest in the Land, he made him the first among the people. The good shepherd Ur-Namma, whose trust in Nunamnir is enduring, the knowledgeable judge, the lord of great wisdom, prepared the brick mould. Enlil brought order in his rebellious and hostile lands for the shepherd Ur-Namma, and made Sumer flourish in joy, in days filled with prosperity. The foundations were laid down firmly and the holy foundation pegs were driven in. The enkum and ninkum priests praised it duly and Enki made the temple rejoice with his artful incantations.

20-30. The shepherd Ur-Namma made the lofty E-kur grow high in Dur-an-ki. He made it to be wondered by the multitude of people. He made glittering the eyebrow-shaped arches of the Lofty Gate, the Great Gate, the Gate of Peace, the Ḥursag-galama and the Gate of Perpetual Grain Supplies, by covering them with refined silver. The Anzud bird runs there and an eagle seizes enemies in its claws. Its doors are lofty; he filled them with joy. The temple is lofty, it is surrounded with fearsome radiance. It is spread wide, it awakes great awesomeness. Within it, he made the Ḥursag-galama, the raised temple, the holy dwelling stand fast for the Great Mountain like a lofty tower.

31-38. In the Gagissua of the great palace, where she renders verdicts with grandeur, he made the great mother Ninlil glad. Enlil and Ninlil relished it there. In its great dining hall, the trustworthy hero chosen by Nunamnir made them enjoy a magnificent meal: the E-kur was rejoicing. They looked with approval at the shepherd Ur-Namma, and the Great Mountain decreed a great destiny for Ur-Namma for all time, making him the mightiest among his black-headed people.

39. The sa-gida.

40-45. "I am Nunamnir, whose firm commands and decisions are immutable! You have made my lofty E-kur shine gloriously, you have raised it high with a brilliant crenellation. Trustworthy hero, you have made it shine gloriously in the Land. Ur-Namma, mighty lord, may your kingship be unparalleled, may your fame spread to heaven's borders, as far as the foot of the mountains!"

46-51. "I am the Great Mountain, Father Enlil, whose firm commands and decisions are immutable! You have made my lofty E-kur shine gloriously, you have raised it high with a brilliant crenellation. Trustworthy hero, you have made it shine gloriously in the Land. Ur-Namma, mighty lord, may your kingship be unparalleled, may your fame spread to heaven's borders, as far as the foot of the mountains!"

52-57. Lord Nunamnir gave to my king the lofty mace which heaps up human heads like piles of dust in the hostile foreign countries and smashes the rebellious lands; he gave to the shepherd Ur-Namma the lofty mace which heaps up human heads like piles of dust in the hostile foreign countries and smashes the rebellious lands, so now he beats down the foreign lands and tramples them underfoot. Lord Nunamnir gave it to the shepherd Ur-Namma, so now he beats down the foreign lands and tramples them underfoot.

58-65. He destroys the cities of the wicked, and with heavy oppression he turns them into haunted places. The shepherd Ur-Namma destroys the cities of the wicked, and with heavy oppression he turns them into haunted places. He has a terrible fame in the houses of the rebellious lands, his storming the wicked. The shepherd Ur-Namma has a terrible fame in the houses of the rebellious lands, his storming the wicked.

66-71. He has made the royal dais stand firmly, he has made Urim resplendent. The shepherd Ur-Namma has made it exude awesomeness, and he, as king of the Land, has lifted his head high there. All this was granted to him in the place of his king, Enlil: a fate was decreed and then it was duly fulfilled. There is now joy and abundance in Urim because of Ur-Namma

72. The sa-gara.73. A tigi of Enlil.

A PRAISE POEM OF UR-NAMMA

(Ur-Namma C) Translation: ETCSL: t.2.4.1.3

1-16. City of the finest divine powers, lofty royal throne-dais! Shrine Urim, pre-eminent in Sumer, built in a pure place! City, your well-founded great wall has grown out of the abzu! City, beautiful as the sky, endowed with beauty, colourfully decorated in a great place! Shrine Urim, well-founded gipar, dwelling of An and Enlil! Your lofty palace is the E-kis-nugal, in which the fates are determined! Your pilasters heavy with radiance tower over all the countries! Its terrace like a white cloud is a spectacle in the midst of heaven. Its.—I like flashing lightning shines inside a shrine. Like a single bull under the yoke, Suen's beloved pure table; E-kis-nugal, Suen's beloved pure table. The king, ornament of the royal offering place, occupies the august courtyard; Ur-Namma the exalted, whom no one dare oppose, Urim, the wide city

[1 line unclear]

17-30. , the authoritative, praised himself exultantly: Under Ur-Namma, king of Urim, for whom a favorable destiny was determined, the roads have been made passable. An opens his holy mouth, and because of me rain is produced. He directs it downward into the earth, and abundance is brought for me. Enlil treats me kindly, bestowing early floods, grain and dappled barley. Nintur formed me; I am peerless. brought me up well; I am the king of the Land. I am ; under my rule the cattlepens and sheepfolds are extended wide. Utu endowed me with eloquence; my judgments create concord in Sumer and Akkad. Ningublaga has given me strength. In the whole extent of heaven and earth, no one can escape from a battle with me.

43-49. After my seed had been poured into the holy womb, Suen, loving its appearance, made it partake of Nanna's attractiveness. Coming forth over the Land like Utu, Enlil called me by an auspicious name, and Nintur assisted at my birth. As I came forth from the womb of my mother Ninsumun, a favorable allotted destiny was determined for me.

50-56. In me, Ur-Namma, the lands of Sumer and Akkad have their protecting genius. I am a source of joy for the Land; my life indeed creates!, the fields are resplendent (?) under my rule. In the fields growing with, did not multiply under my rule. In the desert, the roads are made up as for a festival, and are passable because of me. The owner of the fields; it rises up to his chest. I have freed the sons of the noor from their duty of reing to fatch linewood.

of the poor from their duty of going to fetch firewood.
57-69. After the storm, and the month had been completed for me, Enlil chose me by extispicy on a day very auspicious for him. He spoke fairly to Sumer, and caused me to arise from my family. Because of my broad understanding and wisdom, An the king entrusted into my hands. I am the cosmic bond of Sumer. I am good I am
I am of the Land.

[3 lines fragmentary] I, the lord,

70-78. I, Ur-Namma, born on high, shining. The people line up in front of me. Enlil has given me the task of keeping the Land secure, with unscathed troops. I am clad in linen in the gipar. I lie down on the splendid bed in its delightful bedchamber. I cause the people to eat splendid food; I am their Enkimdu (i.e. the god of irrigation and cultivation). I am the good shepherd whose sheep multiply greatly. I open the of the cattle-pens and sheepfolds. I am peerless. the pastures and watering-places of shepherds.

79-85. Since I have been adorned with their rulership, no one imposes taxes on my abundant crops which grow tall. My commands bring about joy in the great fortresses of the mountains. The joy of my city and the territory of Sumer delights me. I release water into the canals of Sumer, making the trees grow tall on their banks. I have lifted the yoke of its male prostitutes.

[1 line unclear]

86-100. I returned to Urim. I made return to his country like I loaded its grain on barges, I delivered it to its storehouses. I returned its citizens to their homes. I their earth-baskets. I the savage hands of the Gutians, the After I had made the evil-doers return to their, I restored the walls that had been torn down; my outstanding mind the shrine of Urim I am the foremost workman of Enlil; I am the one who food offerings.

7 lines fragmentary or missing

101-110. at a banquet with me in the city. joyful dance I have brought abundance to Enlil's temple on the king's canal: I have directed ships both to Kargestina of Enlil and to the lapis-lazuli quay of Nanna. Alcohol and syrup have been poured out before Enlil. To me, the shepherd Ur-Namma, let life be given as a reward! For Nanna, my master, I have built his temple; as if it were a verdant hillside, I have set up the E-kis-nu-gal in a great place. I have surrounded its terrace with a gold and lapis-lazuli fence.

111-115. I am the creature of Nanna! I am the older brother of Gilgames! I am the son borne by Ninsumun, a princely seed! For me, kingship came down from heaven! Sweet is the praise of me, the shepherd Ur-Namma!

UR-NAMMA THE CANAL-DIGGER

(Ur-Namma D) Translation: ETCSL: t.2.4.1.4

A version from Nibru (Nippur)

1-5. Who will dig it? Who will dig it? Who will dig the Asila-kug canal? Who will dig the Pabi-luh canal? Ur-Namma will dig it. will dig it.

6-14., Asimbabbar you are on your because of Enlil. The watercourse of is full of fish, and the air above is full of birds. The fresh water of is full of fish, the air above is full of birds. honey-plants are planted, and the carp grow fat. honey-plants are planted, and the carp grow fat. The gizi reed of is so sweet that the fish eat them. Since my was founded, it is teeming with fish and birds. Since was founded, it is teeming with fish and birds.

15-16. Its is the master of Eridug -- your provider (Ur-Namma) is exultant. Nudimmud, the master of Eridug -- your provider is exultant.

17-18. May the fresh water bring; may they be carried in baskets to me. May the fresh water bring; may they be carried in baskets to me.

A version of unknown provenance

1-5. Who will dig it? Who will dig it? Who will dig the canal? Who will dig the Kese-kug canal? Who will dig the canal? Who will dig the Pabi-luh canal? Who will dig the canal? Wealthy Ur-Namma will dig it. The trustworthy, prosperous youth will dig it.

6-20. My king, Lord Asimbabbar, you are on your throne because of Enlil. Youthful Suen, Lord Asimbabbar, you are on your throne because of Enlil. I, the king, whose fate was already decreed in the true womb, who raises his head in authority, Ur-Namma, the youth who caught the eyes of the Great Mountain Enlil, was chosen by Nunamnir in Sumer and Akkad. He decreed my fate in Nibru, in the mountain of life. He beamed at me approvingly and bestowed the kingship on me. In Urim, in the E-mud-kura, he made the foundation of my throne firm. He the holy sceptre to guide the numerous people in my hand. He the staff and the shepherd's crook to the expanding and teeming people. Lord Asimbabbar a long-lasting life. Enlil of the four quarters of the world. He a lasting name, a name worthy to be praised. Enki presented me with my broad wisdom.

21-33. In my city I dug a canal of abundance and named it the Kese-kug canal; in Urim, I dug a canal of abundance and named it the Kese-kug canal. I named it the Pabi-luh canal, a lasting name worthy to be praised. The watercourse of my city is full of fish, and the air above it is full of birds. The watercourse of Urim is full of fish, and the air above it is full of birds. In my city honey-plants are planted, and the carp grow fat. In Urim honey-plants are planted, and the carp grow fat. The gizi reed of my city is so sweet that the cows eat them. The gizi reed of Urim is so sweet that the cows eat them. Since my, it is teeming with fish and birds. In Urim May the watercourse bring them (the fish) into my canal, may they be carried in baskets to him. May they be carried in baskets to him.

34-35. Its king is the master of Eridug -- your provider (Ur-Namma) is exultant. Nudimmud, the master of Eridug -- your provider is exultant.

36-39. King of the four quarters, you who make Enlil content, Ur-Namma, provider of Nibru, supporter of Urim,

with you the people pass the time joyously at moonlight over the Land of Urim.

40. Ur-Namma, king of Urim, sweet is your praise!

A version from Urim

1-10. [unknown no. of lines missing / 1 line fragmentary] Who will dig it? Who will dig the canal? Who will dig the canal? Who will dig the canal? Wealthy Ur-Namma will dig it. Who will dig the canal? Prosperous Shulgi will dig it. Who will dig the canal?

11-28. I, the king, whose fate was already decreed in the true womb, who raises his head in authority, Ur-Namma, the youth who caught the eyes of the Great Mountain Enlil, was chosen by Nunamnir in Sumer and Akkad. He decreed my fate in Nibru, in the mountain of life. In Urim, in the E-mud-kura, he made the foundation of my throne firm. He placed the awesome crown, the adornment of kingship, on my head. He put the holy staff to guide the numerous people in my hand. He the staff, the shepherd's crook into my hand, and the nose-rope to lead the living. He the amazing house

[2 lines fragmentary / 1 line missing] strengthened the roots of E-kis-nu-gal,, E-temen-ni-guru, a delightful residence.

[1 line unclear] standing in silver

29-36. , and I named it the Kese-kug canal. I named it the Pabi-luh canal, a lasting name worthy to be praised. The watercourse of my city is full of fish, and the air above it is full of birds. The city of the Kese-kug canal is full of fish, and the air above it is full of birds. The watercourse of the Pabi-luh canal is full of fish, and the air above it is full of birds. Its abundance brings fish and birds for me to the E-kis-nu-gal. Its banks are lush with licorice, a honey-sweet plant to eat. Its arable tracts grow fine grain sprouting abundantly like a forest.

37-39. King of the four quarters, favourite of Enlil, shepherd Ur-Namma, the provider of Sumer and Akkad, beloved of Enlil, it is you who makes of Urim pass the time joyously

40. Ur-Namma, king of eternal fame, sweet is your praise!

A SHIR-NAMSHUB TO NANNA FOR UR-NAMMA

(Ur-Namma E) Translation: ETCSL: t.2.4.1.5

[approx. 6 lines missing]

1-8. Those who leave through your gate are an uncontrollable flood. Shrine Urim, your interior is a mountain of abundance, your exterior a hill of plenty. No one can learn the interior of the E-kis-nu-gal, the artfully fashioned mountain. Your place of marvel is of cedar, your name makes the Land rejoice. Your lord is the one called as the beautiful lord, the child of Ninsumun, the ornament of all the lands. Urim, your great divine power is the gods's shackle on the Land. Your name be praised indeed!

9-12. Your gate is the blue sky imbued with fearsomeness; only when it is open does Utu illuminate from the horizon. Your platform is where the fates are determined by the gods; you make just decisions. Your name be praised indeed!

13-19. In your interior, the evildoer dare not lay hold of the holy statutes. E-kis-nu-gal, the evil-doer cannot even come to know your interior, which is a dragon. House, your terrace Enlil your offerings. At your Dubla-mah, the place where the fates are determined, the great gods determine the fates. Worthy of the E-temen-ni-guru, born, your name be praised indeed!

born, your name be praised indeed!
20-24. The beautiful lord the true shepherd Ur-Namma, Urim The silent house like Utu.
Your name be praised indeed! Ur-Namma, adorned with a lapis lazuli beard

25-34. In his pure heart Asimbabbar has chosen Ur-Namma, the king endowed with allure, the radiance covering the nation. Wickedness cannot pass unnoticed before his eyes. Ur-Namma has accomplished an achievement, justice! The king, who knows the spreading branches, Ur-Namma acts as constable. The eloquent one of the lord, who knows the spreading branches, Ur-Namma acts as constable. The king, Ur-Namma, refreshes himself at the house of Suen.

35-40. She has determined a fate for the king, for the Tigris and the Euphrates and for Ur-Namma. Its lady, the lady of possessions, the lady of, has determined a fate for Ur-Namma. The woman of the princely seed has treated him kindly. Ur-Namma

A SHIR-NAMSHUB TO NANNA FOR UR-NAMMA

(Ur-Namma F) Translation: ETCSL: t.2.4.1.6

1-6. Imbued with allure from the shining rooftops, Urim, your foundation rests on abundance. City, your lord rides high in joy, Ur-Namma rides high indeed; the one adorned

with a lapis-lazuli beard rides high indeed! He is the tallest among all the lords, appearing as the noblest among them.
7-12. Those who leave through your gate are an

7-12. Those who leave through your gate are an uncontrollable flood. Shrine Urim, your interior is a mountain of abundance, your exterior a hill of plenty. No one can learn the interior of the E-kis-nu-gal, the artfully fashioned hill. Your temple is a shimmering mountain; your very name is merciful. Your lord is the one called as the beautiful lord, the child of Ninsumun, the ornament of all the lands.

13-17. House, your great divine power is the shackle of the gods put on the Land. Your gate is named by your god, the beautiful god; only when it is is open does Utu illuminate from the horizon. Your platform, the place where the fates are determined by the gods, in order to make just decisions, is where the Anuna, the gods of heaven and earth, take counsel.

18-24. Your makes the faithful woman joyous, the father proud. In your interior the evildoer dare not lay hold of the holy statutes. House whose offerings of the temple terrace devastate the rebel lands. At your Dubla-mah, the place where the fates are determined, the great gods determine the fates. Suen chose Sumer and Akkad, the black-headed people, and Ur-Namma in his heart.

25-35. Let me give praise to the king endowed with allure, the radiance covering the nation, Lord Ur-Namma! In his heart Asimbabbar has chosen Ur-Namma, Ur-Namma who is endowed with allure, the radiance covering the nation, placing thereby a shackle on all the lands and blocking the way with a strong bolt. The king is worthy of Suen! Wickedness cannot pass unnoticed before his eyes. Ur-Namma has accomplished an achievement, justice! He fills the wicked land with his battle-cry. The rebellious land is overthrown, Ur-Namma acts as the constable.

36-44. She has determined a fate for the king and the temple of Suen, for the Tigris and the Euphrates and for Ur-Namma. As the sun rises from the horizon, may the population multiply! May he pass the of Ninsumun! admiration. Its lady, the lady who loves possessions, who loves him, has determined a fate for Ur-Namma; Ningal, its lady, the lady who loves possessions, the woman of princely seed, has determined a fate for Ur-Namma.

45-51. The shepherd Ur-Namma is elevated; in the house of Suen, he is the one adorned with a lapis lazuli beard. May he pass! is good, is sweet in its luxuriance. Like Ninlil who gives birth in a storm, child of Ninsumun, she has given birth to you. May holy An sit with the shepherd! with the shepherd Ur-Namma.

52. A sir-namsub of Nanna.

THE VICTORY OF UTU-HEGAL

Translation: ETCSL: t.2.1.6

1-12. Enlil, the king of all the lands, entrusted Utu-hegal, the mighty man, the king of Unug, the king of the four quarters, the king whose orders cannot be countermanded, with wiping out the name of Gutium, the fanged snake of the mountains, who acted with violence against the gods, who carried off the kingship of Sumer to foreign lands, who filled Sumer with wickedness, who took away spouses from the married and took away children from parents, who made wickedness and violence normal in the Land.

13-16. He went to his lady, Inana, and prayed to her: "My lady, lioness in the battle, who butts the foreign lands, Enlil has entrusted me with bringing back the kingship to Sumer. May you be my help!"

17-23. The enemy troops established themselves everywere. Tirigan, the king of Gutium the mouths of the channels. Nobody came out of his city to face him; he already occupied both banks of the Tigris. In the south, in Sumer, he blocked the water from the fields, in the uplands he closed off the roads. Because of him the grass grew high on the highways of the land

24-34. But the king, endowed with power by Enlil, chosen by Inana with her [(1 ms. adds:) holy] heart -- Utu-hegal, the mighty man, came out from Unug to face him and set up camp at the temple of Iskur. He addressed a speech to the citizens of his city: "Enlil has given Gutium to me and my lady Inana will be my help! Dumuzid-ama-usumgal-ana has declared "It is a matter for me!" and assigned Gilgames, the son of Ninsumun, to me as a constable!" The citizens of Unug and Kulaba rejoiced and followed him with one accord. He lined up his élite troops.

35-39. After departing from the temple of Iskur, on the fourth day he set up camp in Nagsu on the Surungal canal, and on the fifth day he set up camp at the shrine at Ili-tappê. He captured Ur-Ninazu and Nabi-Enlil, generals of Tirigan sent as envoys to Sumer, and put them in handcuffs.

40-50. After departing from the shrine at Ili-tappê, on the sixth day he set up camp at Karkara. He went to Iskur and prayed to him: "O Iskur, Enlil has provided me with weapons, may you be my help!" In the middle of that night, he departed and above Adab he went to the rising Utu and prayed to him: "O Utu, Enlil has given Gutium to me, may

you be my help!" He laid a trap there behind the Gutian. Utuhegal, the mighty man, defeated their generals.

51-62. Then Tirigan the king of Gutium ran away alone on foot. He thought himself safe in Dabrum, where he fled to save his life; but since the people of Dabrum knew that Utuhegal was a king endowed with power by Enlil, they did not let Tirigan go, and an envoy of Utu-hegal arrested Tirigan together with his wife and children in Dabrum. He put handcuffs and a blindfold on him. Before Utu, Utu-hegal made him lie at his feet and placed his foot on his neck. He made Gutium, the fanged snake of the mountains drink again from the crevices, he, he and he boat. He brought back the kingship of Sumer.

THE SHULGI CYCLE

(The (hi)story of Ur-Nammu and his wise and wealthy son Shulgi reminds us a bit of Solomon (Hebrew: Shlomoh also called Jedidiah or Yedidyah; reign c. 970–931 BC), who was a fabulously wealthy and wise king of the United Kingdom of Israel who succeeded his father, King David (reign: c. 1010–970 BC).

Connexion with the Hebrew Bible

A thousand years earlier, Ur-Nammu and Shulgi of Ur were the first and second kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur. One of the first achievements of Ur-Nammu was that he kicked the Akkadian Goliath out of Ur and its region. With that, he established a Sumerian Renaissance which his son Shulgi continued with an iron fist but also with sensible reforms. According to the Hebrew Bible, Ur was the hometown of Abraham. Shulgi reigned there for 48 years (c. 2030–1982 BC) and his accomplishments include the completion of construction of the Great Ziggurat of Ur, begun by his father Ur-Nammu (reigned c. 2048–2030 BC). On his inscriptions, he took the titles "King of Ur", "King of Sumer and Akkad" and "King of the four corners of the universe".

Shulgi's Name

Uncertainties about interpreting of cuneiform before the end of the 19th century led scholars to use the name "Dungi" for him. Cause of this trouble was a cuneiform character distinctively shaped as 8-pointed star. Shulgi used the symbol before his name, which was in Sumerian spoken like Digir or Tingir and it means "God." This 8-pointed star was not fully pronounced but simply spoken as "d," as in "dlnanna," meaning "the Goddess Inanna," which led to Shulgi's faulty pronunciation as "dungi" in the first place. This 8-pointed star became the common word for God and was most certainly also known by the Canaanites, Phoenicians, and Hebrews around the tribe of Abraham whose hometown was Ur.

The Cuneiform Star

In the end, it might turn out that this star was the only cuneiform symbol used internationally and therefore appeared on all sorts of coins since then in the Mediterranean. As such, it might well have become the trigger for the Star Prophecy in the Tanakh, the Hebrew Bible. The Star Prophecy was a Messianic text used by Jewish Zealots and early Christians. It is found in Numbers 24:17: "I shall see him, but not now: I shall behold him, but not nigh: there shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of Sheth." The Star as symbol of Messiah, a messianic leader sent from God, represents God.

Armed conflicts

While Der had been one of the cities whose temple affairs Shulgi had directed in the first part of his reign, in his 20th year he claimed that the gods had decided that it now be destroyed, apparently as some punishment. The inscriptions state that he "put its field accounts in order" with the pickaxe. His 18th year-name was Year Liwir-mitashu, the king's daughter, was elevated to the ladyship in Marhashi, referring to a (not identified) country east of Elam and her dynastic marriage to its king, Libanukshabash. Following this, Shulgi engaged in a period of expansionism at the expense of highlanders such as the Lullubi, and destroyed Simurrum (another mountain tribe) and Lulubum nine times between the 26th and 45th years of his reign. In his 30th year, his daughter was married to the governor of Anshan; in his 34th year, he was already levying a punitive campaign against the place. He also destroyed Kimash and Humurtu (cities to the east of Ur, somewhere in Elam) in the 45th year of his reign. Shulgi was never able to rule any of these distant peoples; at one point, in his 37th year, he was obliged to build a large wall in an attempt to keep them out. However, probably with the help of his daughter, Shulgi was probably one of the earliest Sumerians to establish trade relationships with the Indus Valley Civilisation of Harappa in the Northwest of ancient India as the discoveries of carnelian beads tell us.

Personal Glorification

Shulgi apparently led a major modernisation of the Third Dynasty of Ur. He improved communications, reorganised the army, reformed the writing system and weight and measures, unified the tax system and created a strong bureaucracy. He also promulgated the law code known as the Code of Ur-Nammu after his father. Shulgi is best known for his extensive revision of the scribal school's curriculum. Although it is unclear how much he actually wrote, there are numerous praise poems written by and directed towards this ruler. He proclaimed himself a god in his 23rd regnal year. King Shulgi wrote quite a lot of "self-praising hymns" in which he appears to be boasting about almost everything he did. In reality those texts were less about boasting but had more to do with intelligent propaganda, pretty much like The Gallic War or the Civil War in which Gaius Julius Caesar appeared to be boasting about almost everything he did, Today, they are still bestsellers. Shulgi's hymns of self-praise might well have represented annual propaganda bulletins published to be read by his people. And just like Caesars propaganda writings, Shulgi's texts are the witness of an extraordinary mind.)

SHULGI ON RIGHTEOUSNESS, WAR AND PURIFICATION

A praise poem of Shulgi (Shulgi A) Translation: 2.4.2.01

1-6. I, the king, was a hero already in the womb; I, Shulgi, was born to be a mighty man. I am a fierce-looking lion, begotten by a dragon. I am the king of the four regions; I am the herdsman and shepherd of the black-headed people (the Sumerians). I am a respected one, the god of all the lands.

7-15. I am a child born of Ninsun. I am the choice of holy An's heart. I am the man whose fate was decided by Enlil. I am Shulgi, the beloved of Ninlil. I am he who is cherished by Nintud. I am he who was endowed with wisdom by Enki. I am the powerful king of Nanna. I am the growling lion of Utu. I am Shulgi, who has been chosen by Inana for his attractiveness.

16-18. I am a mule, most suitable for the road. I am a horse, whose tail waves on the highway. I am a stallion of Cakkan, eager to run. (1 ms.: I am a donkey of Cakkan, who loves running.)

19-25. I am a knowledgeable scribe of Nisaba; I have perfected my wisdom just as my heroism and my strength (1 ms. has instead: my distinction). Reliable words can reach me. I cherish righteousness but do not tolerate wickedness. I hate anyone who speaks wickedly.

26-35. Because I am a powerful man who enjoys using his thighs, I, Shulgi, the mighty king, superior to all, strengthened the roads, put in order the highways of the Land. I marked out the double-hour distances, built there lodging houses. I planted gardens by their side and established resting-places (I ms. has instead: I established gardens and resting-places by their side), and installed in those places experienced men. Whichever direction one comes from, one can refresh oneself at their cool sides; and the traveller who reaches nightfall on the road can seek haven there as in a well-built city.

36-41. So that my name should be established for distant days and never fall into oblivion, so that my praise should be uttered (1 ms.: spread) throughout the Land, and my glory should be proclaimed in the foreign lands, I, the fast runner, summoned my strength and, to prove my speed, my heart prompted me to make a return journey from Nibru to brickbuilt Urim as if it were only the distance of a double-hour.

42-47. I, the lion, never failing in his vigour, standing firm in his strength, fastened the small nijlam garment firmly to my hips. Like a pigeon anxiously fleeing from a snake, I spread my wings; like the Anzud bird lifting its gaze to the mountains, I stretched forward my legs. The inhabitants of the cities which I had founded in the land, lined up for me; the black-headed people, as numerous as ewes, looked at me with sweet admiration.

48-59. I entered the E-kic-nujal like a mountain kid hurrying to its habitation, when Utu spreads broad daylight over the countryside. I filled with abundance the temple of Suen, a cow-pen which yields plenty of fat. I had oxen slaughtered there; I had sheep offered there lavishly (some mss.: butchered there). I had cen and ala drums resound there and caused tigi drums play there sweetly. (1 ms. has instead the line: I the balaj player.) I, Shulgi, who makes everything abundant, presented food-offerings there and, like a lion, spreading fearsomeness from the royal offering-place, I bent down and bathed in flowing water; I knelt down and feasted in the E-gal-mah of Ninegal.

60-69. Then I arose like an owl, like a falcon to return to Nibru in my vigour. But a storm shrieked, and the west wind whirled around. The north wind and the south wind howled at each other. Lightning together with the seven winds view with each other in the heavens. Thundering storms made the earth quake, and Ickur roared in the broad heavens. The rains

of heaven mingled with the waters of the earth. (1 ms. has instead: The rains of heaven competed with the waters of the earth.) Small and large hailstones drummed on my back.

70-78. I, the king, however, did not fear, nor was I terrified. I rushed forth like a fierce lion. I galloped like an ass in the desert. With my heart full of joy, I ran onward. Trotting like a solitary wild ass, I traversed a distance of fifteen double-hours by the time Utu was to set his face toward his house; my saj-ursaj priests looked at me with admiration. (I ms. has instead: numerous; I prayed in the of Enlil and Ninlil.) I celebrated the ecec festival in both Nibru and Urim on the same day!

79-83. I drank beer in the palace founded by An with my brother and companion, the hero Utu. My singers praised me with songs accompanied by seven tigi drums. My spouse, the maiden Inana, the lady, the joy of heaven and earth, sat with me at the banquet.

84-87. Truly I am not boasting! Wherever I look to, there I go; wherever my heart desires, I reach. (1 ms. adds at least 10 lines: By the life of my father holy Lugalbanda, and Nanna the king of heaven and earth, I swear that the words written on my tablet are

[at least 4 lines missing or unclear]

...... since the days of yore, since, no king of Sumer as great as I has existed for the people.) An placed a legitimate and lofty (some mss. have: golden) (1 ms. has.: good silver) (1 ms. has.: silver) crown firmly on my head.

88-94In the lustrous E-kur, I seized the holy sceptre and I lifted my head towards heaven on a shining dais, a throne with firm foundation. I consolidated my kingship, subdued the foreign lands, fortified the Land. May my name be proclaimed among the well-guarded people of the four regions! May they praise it in holy hymns about me! May they glorify my majesty, saying:

95-101. "The one provided with lofty royal power; the one given heroism, power and happy life by Suen of the E-kicnujal; the one endowed with superior strength by Nunamnir; Shulgi, the destroyer of foreign lands, the fortifier of the Land, the purification priest of heaven and earth, who has no rival; Shulgi, who is cared for by the respected child of An!"

102. Nisaba be praised! (1 ms. has instead: Shulgi, be praised by An's respected son!)

SHULGI ON RIGHTEOUSNESS, PURITY, AND STRENGTH

A praise poem of Shulgi (Shulgi B) Translation: 2 4 2 02

1-10. To make his name famous for all time until distant days, and to transmit to posterity and the days to come the praise poems of his power, the songs of his might, and the lasting fame of his exceptional intelligence, King Shulgi, king of Urim, has brought the songs' latent wisdom before the mighty son of Ninsumun. He praises his own power in song, and lauds his own superior native intelligence:

11-20. I am a king, offspring begotten by a king and borne by a queen. I, Shulgi the noble, have been blessed with a favourable destiny right from the womb. When I was small, I was at the academy, where I learned the scribal art from the tablets of Sumer and Akkad. None of the nobles could write on clay as I could. There where people regularly went for tutelage in the scribal art, I qualified fully in subtraction, addition, reckoning and accounting. The fair Nanibgal, Nisaba, provided me amply with knowledge and comprehension. I am an experienced scribe who does not neglect a thing.

21-38. When I sprang up, muscular as a young lion, galloping like a spirited ass at full gallop, the favour of An brought me joy; to my delight Enlil spoke favourably about me, and they gave me the sceptre because of my righteousness. I place my foot on the neck of the foreign lands; the fame of my weapons is established as far as the south, and my victory is established in the highlands. When I set off for battle and strife to a place that Enlil has commanded me, I go ahead of the main body of my troops and I clear the terrain for my scouts. I have a positive passion for weapons. Not only do I carry lance and spear, I also know how to handle slingstones with a sling. The clay bullets, the treacherous pellets that I shoot, fly around like a violent rainstorm. In my rage I do not let them miss.

39-51. I sow fear and confusion in the foreign land. I look to my brother and friend, youthful Utu, as a source of divine encouragement. I, Shulgi, converse with him whenever he rises over there; he is the god who keeps a good eye on my battles. The youth Utu, beloved in the mountains, is the protective deity of my weapons; by his words I am strengthened and made pugnacious. In those battles, where weapon clashes on weapon, Utu shines on me. Thus I broke the weapons of the highlands over my knees, and in the south placed a yoke on the neck of Elam. I make the populations of the rebel lands — how could they still resist my weapons? — scatter like seed-grain over Sumer and Akkad.

52-55. Let me boast of what I have done. The fame of my power is spread far and wide. My wisdom is full of subtlety. Do not my achievements surpass all qualifications?

56-76. I stride forward in majesty, trampling endlessly through the esparto grass and thickets, capturing elephant after elephant, creatures of the plain; and I put an end to the heroic roaring in the plains of the savage lion, dragon of the plains, wherever it approaches from and wherever it is going. I do not go after them with a net, nor do I lie in wait for them in a hide; it comes to a confrontation of strength and weapons. I do not hurl a weapon; when I plunge a bitter-pointed lance in their throats, I do not flinch at their roar. I am not one to retreat to my hiding-place but, as when one warrior kills another warrior, I do everything swiftly on the open plain. In the desert where the paths peter out. I reduce the roar at the lair to silence. In the sheepfold and the cattle-pen, where heads are laid to rest, I put the shepherd tribesmen at ease. Let no one ever at any time say about me, "Could he really subdue them all on his own?" The number of lions that I have dispatched with my weapons is limitless; their total is unknown

77-80. Let me boast of what I have done. The fame of my power is spread far and wide. My wisdom is full of subtlety. Do not my achievements surpass all qualifications?

81-94. I am Shulgi, god of manliness, the foremost of the troops. When I stretch the bowstring on the bow, when I fit a perfect arrow to it, I shoot the bow's arrow with the full strength of my arms. The great wild bull, the bull of heaven, the wild cow and the bison bellow. As they pass across the foothills of the mountains, I shoot barbed arrows at them with my powerful strength.

[1 line unclear]

As they collapse on the plain, I topple them like old towers. I make their heads plunge to the ground like crushing pestles. For the wild asses I set no snares, dig no pits, shoot no arrows against them. But I race after them as against my own rivals; I do not try to surround them to kill their young, as people kill slim ass foals.

95-113. When a burly wild boar is running across the plain, I pierce its lungs with an arrow. With only one shot of mine I bring it to the ground; no single clansman from my regiments can surpass me in archery. I am a man with sharp eyes. When I lead the of the crack troops, I know best of all how to cast the throwstick, running as quick as light radiating from heaven. What I hit no longer rises from its place.

[1 line unclear]

I can throw an ellag (a weapon) as high in the air as if it is a rag. I can bring down quadrupeds lightning-quick with the sling. I, Shulgi, can catch a goat with a quick pace; nothing checks my power. has been given to me. Wherever I direct my steps, I always achieve something; when I return from the desert, I always bring something more for her -- for Ninsumun, my own mother, I am her son of five things, of ten things (= of everything).

114-117. Let me boast of what I have done. The fame of my power is spread far and wide. My wisdom is full of subtlety. Do not my achievements surpass all qualifications?

118-130. I, the king, am the Land's most excellent fighter against the enemy. I, Shulgi, am respected for my immense bodily strength. I am mighty; nothing resists me; I know no setbacks. My barges on the river do not sink under me (alludes to a proverb); my teams of asses do not collapse under me. Striding forward like my brother and friend, the youth Utu, as if with the legs of a lion, I am the good groom of my dust-making asses that bray like lions roaring. Like that of a stallion, my strength is unwavering during the running-race; I come first in the race, and my knees do not get tired. I am fearless; I dance with joy. My words shall never be forgotten. Praise for me because of my reliable judgements is on everyone's lips.

131-149. I am a ritually pure interpreter of omens. I am the very Nintud (creator deity) of the collections of omens. These words of the gods are of pre-eminent value for the exact performance of hand-washing and purification rites, for eulogy of the en priestess or for her enthronement in the jipar, for the choosing of the lumah and nindiir priests by sacred extispicy, for attacking the south or for defeating the uplands, for the opening of the emblem house, for the washing of lances in the "water of battle" (blood), for the taking of subtle decisions about the rebel lands. After I have determined a sound omen through extispicy from a white lamb and a sheep, water and flour are libated at the place of invocation. Then, as I prepare the sheep with words of prayer, my diviner watches in amazement like an idiot. The prepared sheep is placed at my disposal, and I never confuse a favourable sign with an unfavourable one. I myself have a clear intuition, and I judge by my own eyes. In the insides of just one sheep I, the king, can find the indications for everything and everywhere.

150-153. Let me boast of what I have done. The fame of my power is spread far and wide. My wisdom is full of subtlety. Do not my achievements surpass all qualifications?

154-174. I, Shulgi, king of Urim, have also devoted myself to the art of music. Nothing is too complicated for me; I know the full extent of the tigi and the adab, the perfection of the

art of music. When I fix the frets on the lute, which enraptures my heart. I never damage its neck: I have devised rules for raising and lowering its intervals. On the gu-uc lyre I know the melodious tuning. I am familiar with the sa-ec and with drumming on its musical soundbox. I can take in my hands the miritum, which I know the finger technique of the aljar and sabitum, royal creations. In the same way I can produce sounds from the urzababitum, the harhar, the zanaru. the ur-gula and the dim-lu-magura. Even if they bring to me. as one might to a skilled musician, a musical instrument that I have not played previously, when I strike it up I make its true sound known; I am able to handle it just like something that has been in my hands before. Tuning, stringing, unstringing and fastening are not beyond my skills. I do not make the reed pipe sound like a rustic pipe, and on my own initiative I can wail a sumunca or make a lament as well as anyone who does it regularly.

175-189. I bestow joy and gladness, and I pass my days in pomp and splendour. But people should consider for themselves -- it is a matter to keep in one's sights -- that at the inescapable end of life, no one will be spared the bitter gall of the land of oppression. But I am one who is powerful enough to trust in his own power. He who trusts in his own exalted name may carry out great things. Why should he do less? Since it was for my true mother Ninsumun that my mother together with her actually bore me to bestow joy and gladness, lovingly she cherished my unborn fruit. She did not endure scandal from anyone's mouth. Before she released her little one, this lady passed her time in my palace in the greatest joy.

190-205. Before Utu son of Ningal, I, Shulgi, declare that in my long life in which I have achieved great things since the day that my kingly destiny was determined, in my life in which everything was richly provided in contentment, I have never lacked anything. Until the distant future may this song bless the name of me, the king, with a life of long days. As I am musical, as I am eloquent, I am a heavenly star of steadfastness. It is an awe-inspiring brow that establishes palaces, just as a peg and a measuring cord are the builders of cities. With the awesomeness that radiates from my forehead, which I make the foreign lands wear like a nose-rope, and the fear-inspiring lustre, my personal weapon, which I impose on the Land like a neck-stock, I am able to root out and undo crime. I have the ability to reconcile great matters with one word

206-220. When I like a torrent with the roar of a great storm, in the capture of a citadel in Elam, I can understand what their spokesman answers. By origin I am a son of Sumer; I am a warrior, a warrior of Sumer. Thirdly, I can conduct a conversation with a man from the black mountains. Fourthly, I can do service as a translator with an Amorite, a man of the mountains I myself can correct his confused words in his own language. Fifthly, when a man of Subir yells, I can even distinguish the words in his language, although I am not a fellow-citizen of his. When I provide justice in the legal cases of Sumer, I give answers in all five languages. In my palace no one in conversation switches to another language as quickly as I do.

221-243. When I pronounce a completed verdict, it is heartily welcomed, since I am wise and exalted in kingship. So that my consultative assemblies, sitting together to care for the people, inspire respect in their hearts when the chief herald sounds the horn, they should deliberate and debate: and so that the council should decide policy properly, I have taught my governors to deliberate and to debate. While the words at their dining tables flow like a river, I tackle crime, so that the foundations are securely established for my wide dominions. I vanquish a city with words as weapons, and my wisdom keeps it subjected just as violence with burning torches would. I have taught them the meaning of the words 'I have no mother". My words can be words smooth as the finest quality oil; I know how to cool hearts which are hot as fire, and I know how to extinguish a mouth set on fire like a reed-bed. I weigh my words against those of the braggart. I am a man of the very highest standards of value. The importance of the humble is of particular value to me, and they cannot be counter-productive to any of my activities. By command of An and by command of Enlil, prayers are said for the life of the Land and for the life of the foreign lands, and l neither neglect them nor allow them to be interrupted.

244-258. I also know how to serve the gods, and I can cool the hearts of the Anuna gods. I am Shulgi, whose thick neck becomes fat in majesty. Grand achievements that I have accomplished which bring joy to my heart I do not cast negligently aside; therefore I give pride of place to progress. I give no orders concerning the development of waste ground, but devote my energies to extensive building plots. I have planted trees in fields and in agricultural land; I devote my powers to dams,, ditches and canals. I try to ensure a surplus of oil and wool. Thanks to my efforts flax and barley are of the highest quality. The thirst and hunger of the gods are a cause of the greatest anxiety to me; I, Shulgi, am the life of Sumer

259-269. I have no equal among even the most distant rulers, and I can also state that my deeds are great deeds.

Everything is achievable by me, the king. Since the time when Enlil gave me the direction of his numerous people in view of my wisdom, my extraordinary power and my justice, in view of my resolute and unforgettable words, and in view of my expertise, comparable to that of Ictaran, in verdicts, my heart has never committed violence against even one other king, be he an Akkadian or a son of Sumer, or even a brute from Guttium.

270-280. I am no fool as regards the knowledge acquired since the time that mankind was, from heaven above, set on its path: when I have discovered tigi and zamzam hymns from past days, old ones from ancient times, I have never declared them to be false, and have never contradicted their contents. I have conserved these antiquities, never abandoning them to oblivion. Wherever the tigi and the zamzam sounded, I have recovered all that knowledge, and I have had those cir-gida songs brilliantly performed in my own good house. So that they should never fall into disuse, I have added them to the singers' repertoire, and thereby I have set the heart of the Land on fire and aflame.

281-296. Whatever is acquired is destined to be lost. What mortal has ever reached the heavens? At some time in the distant future, a man of Enlil may arise, and if he is a just king, like myself, then let my odes, prayers and learned songs about my heroic courage and expeditions follow that king in his good palace. He should take to heart the benefit that has been conferred on him; he should exalt the power of my odes, absorb the exuberance of my songs, and value highly my great wisdom. Just as a strong person can consider on an equal basis even those things which he has not brought about by his own efforts, let him applaud and welcome my achievements. Let him call upon my good name.

297-307. But if his heart devises treason against me, and he commits violence against anything of mine, may Nanna then adjudicate against this rebel, and let Utu the torch catch him. Wherever that king's path may lead, his word shall be wiped out. Until he has completed the days of his life, he shall do everything in his power to keep the hymns in their proper form. Through becoming familiar thereby with me, the king, he will speak of me in awed amazement. Because of my extraordinary wisdom and my ancient fame as a master, he should choose my hymns as examples, and himself beget heavenly writings.

308-319. In the south, in Urim, I caused a House of the Wisdom of Nisaba to spring up in sacrosanct ground for the writing of my hymns; up country in Nibru I established another. May the scribe be on duty there and transcribe with his hand the prayers which I instituted in the E-kur; and may the singer perform, reciting from the text. The academies are never to be altered; the places of learning shall never cease to exist. This and this only is now my accumulated knowledge! The collected words of all the hymns that are in my honour supersede all other formulations. By An, Enlil, Utu and Inana, it is no lie—it is true!

320-336. Furthermore no one will assert under oath that to this day there is any mention in my inscriptions of a single city that I have not devastated, or wall that I have not demolished, or land that I have not made tremble like a reed hut, or praise that I have not completely verified. Why should a singer put them in hymns? An eminent example deserves eternal fame. What is the use of writing lies without truth? For me, the king, the singer has recorded my exploits in songs about the strength of the protective deity of my power; my songs are unforgettable, and my words shall not fall into oblivion. I am the best king of the Land. From the very first origins until the full flourishing of mankind, there will never be any king who can measure himself against my achievements whom An will let wear his crown or wield his sceptre from a royal throne.

337-353. I am gifted with power, insight and wisdom. The high point of my great deeds is the culling of lions before the lance as if they were garden weeds, the snapping of fierce felines like reeds as if under the carding-comb, and the crushing (?) of their throats under the axe as if they were dogs. Great powerful wild cows, indomitable bulls, cattle on their way to their mountain pastures, which were killed in the plain, were the mountains. That the hills were impenetrable and inaccessible – those are pure lies. Where, in important words on tablets, my wisdom and my power

[1 line unclear]

He who knows, and does not the truth about me as lies, will applaud and praise me.

354-357. I am a warrior whose might is enormous might. I am Shulgi, whose shadow lies over the mountain lands. I am the king, the weapon and the downfall of rebel lands. Thus I have spread far and wide my everlasting renown.

358-373. Now, I swear by Utu on this very day — and my younger brothers shall be witnesses of it in foreign lands where the sons of Sumer are not known, where people do not have the use of paved (?) roads, where they have no access to the written word — that the firstborn son is a fashioner of words, a composer of songs, a composer of words, and that they will recite my songs as heavenly writings, and that they will bow down before my words as a

[8 lines fragmentary]

374-385. For that house, I am the right man to step over the threshold. I am the man whose name has been chosen by Nanna. I am the steward of Enlil's temple, the domestic slave of An. I am Shulgi, and my house E-hursaj is the palace of palaces. My royal residence is above all praise; I made it tower up like a lapis-lazuli mountain. Inana, the queen of the gods, the protective deity of my power, has perfected the songs of my might — the foremost among kings — in respect of everything in the whole world. It is good to praise me. Praise he to Nicaba

SHULGI ON CORNELIAN FROM INDIA

A praise poem of Shulgi (Shulgi C) Translation: 2.4.2.03

(In the lines 21-31, Shulgi makes here an astonishing remark: "As I rose over my city like Utu, suspended in its midst, I filled the E-temen-ni-guru (The Great Ziggurat of Ur, the central temple that had shape of a large step-pyramid), founded with divine powers, with princely cornelian (cornalyn)*. I touched it and made it perfect with royal handwashing rituals. I cleansed myself in water of purification from Eridug (Eridu)." Astonishing is that passage because Shulgi says with it that he has trade relations with India. Carnelian (also spelled cornelian, meaning cornalyn) is a brownish-red mineral commonly used as a semi-precious gemstone found not in Mesopotamia or nearby but in faraway locations like India, Indonesia, Germany, Russia (Siberia), and Brazil. When polished, it feels like ivory or Amber. Similar to carnelian is sard, which is generally harder and darker. The difference is not rigidly defined, and the two names are often used interchangeably. Both, carnelian and sard, are varieties of the silica mineral chalcedony coloured by impurities of iron oxide. The colour can vary greatly, ranging from pale orange to an intense almost-black colour tone. This attractive, semi-transparent material was used to make beads, a kind of pearls. The beads had all sorts of shapes: balls, rings, cylinders, or sticks; some had inscriptions etched (engraved by strong acid or mordant) on their surface or little patterns. They usually were put together to necklaces or things alike.

Etched carnelian beads from the Indus were found in the tombs of the Royal Cemetery of Ur, dating to 2600–2450 BC. They are an important marker of Indus-Mesopotamia relations in ancient times. The Neo-Sumerian ruler Gudea (circa 2100 BC), in his Gudea cylinders (cylinder B 14), mentioned his procurement of "blocks of lapis lazuli and bright carnelian from Meluhha." [Moorey, Peter Roger Stuart (1999). Ancient Mesopotamian Materials and Industries: The Archaeological Evidence. Eisenbrauns. p. 87.] Meluhha is generally identified with the Indus region [MS 2814 - The Schoyen Collection".]. It is thought that these carnelian beads were considered as an important status symbol in Sumerian society [Art of the first cities: the third millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. 2003, pp. 395–396.].

King Shulgi (c. 2094–2047 BC) is known to have made dedications at Susa (Elam in Persia), as foundation nails with his name, dedicated to god Inshushinak have been found there [Potts, Daniel T., The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State, Cambridge University Press 1999, p. 14.]. One of the votive foundation nails reads: "The god 'Lord of Susa,' his king, Shulgi, the mighty male, king of Ur, king of Sumer and Akkad, the..., his beloved temple, built." [CDLI-Found Texts Louvre Museum Sb 2881", cdli. ucla.edu.]. An etched carnelian bead, now located in the Louvre Museum (Sb 6627) and inscribed with a dedication by Shulgi was also found in Susa, the inscription reading: "Ningal, his mother, Shulgi, god of his land, King of Ur, King of the four world quarters, for his life dedicated (this)", [Site officiel du musée du Louvre". cartelfr. louvre. fr.]

The British Museum also has such a carnelian bead and calls it "cylinder seal / bead." It has the shape of a 7 cm long stick made in Harappan style, provenance unknown. Bearing a cuneiform commemorative inscription of Shulgi, dedicating the bead to the goddess Ninlil: "To Ninlil, his Lady, Shulgi, mighty man, king of Ur, king of the lands of Sumer and Akkad, dedicated (this bead) for his (own) life". British Museum, BM 129493. Its Inscription says: "To Ninlil, his lady, Shulgi, mighty man, King of Ur, King of Sumer and Akkad, has dedicated (this stone) for the sake of his life." (RIME 3/2, p. 161-162) This type of carnelian bead was probably imported from India [Art of the First Cities: The Third Millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to he Indus. Metropolitan Museum of Art. 2003. p. 243. ISBN 978-1-58839-043-1.]

Etched carnelian beads were manufactured by the Indus Valley civilisation in 3rd-millennium-BC Northwest of India. They were made with an alkaline-etching technique developed by the Harappans. Vast quantities of these beads were found in the archaeological sites of the Indus Valley civilisation [F. A. Khan, Pakistan Archaeology, No. 2, 1965; p. 21]. They are considered as an important marker of ancient trade between the Indus Valley, Mesopotamia and even Ancient

Egypt, as these precious and unique manufactured items circulated in great numbers between these geographical areas during the 3rd millennium BC, and have been found in numerous tomb deposits.)

SEGMENT A

1-17. I am the king, a wild bull of acknowledged strength, a lion with wide-open jaws! I am Shulgi, a wild bull of acknowledged strength, a lion with wide-open jaws! I am a great storm let loose from heaven, sending its splendour far and wide! I am good stock, with brindled body, engendered by a breed-bull! I am a king born from a cow, resting amid butter and milk! I am the calf of a thick-necked white cow. reared in the cow-pen! Dressed in a royal robe and holding out a sceptre. I am perfect for I am also the good shepherd who takes joy in justice, the scourge and stick of all evil! Strength of lions, hero of battle -- I have no rivals! Handsome of limb, ferocious lion, I am perfection in warfare! Grasping a lapis-lazuli mace and a battle-axe, with long fingers I sharpen a tin knife to untie knots. In the turbulent affray of battle in the conflict I shoot out my tongue a muchuc darting out its tongue at the foreign lands, a dragon raging at men.

18-20. I am a hero! Let them appropriately acknowledge my fame! I am a shepherd! Let them repeatedly bless me in prayer according to the heavenly stars! Let them tell in song a perfect recital of all my praiseworthy deeds!

21-31. Since I first arose in human form, a bull-calf born in a year of plenty and announced at a time of prosperity. nourished on good milk, my head was refulgent with the crown. As I rose over my city like Utu, suspended in its midst, I filled the E-temen-ni-guru (the Ziggurat or Ur), founded with divine powers, with princely cornelian (cornalyn)*. I touched it and made it perfect with royal hand-washing rituals. I cleansed myself in water of purification from Eridug (Eridu). Its seven wisdoms attended upon me, and they were not negligent of me, the radiant heart dressed in a robe.

32-34. I am a hero! Let them appropriately acknowledge my fame! I am a shepherd! Let them repeatedly bless me in prayer according to the heavenly stars! Let them tell in song a perfect recital of all my praiseworthy deeds!

35-49. In the house of wise knowledge of the Land, I. Shulgi, king of Sumer, set a good example. My hand guides the holy reed stylus correctly.

[4 lines unclear]

.. the fields in the holy and the holy agricultural land with a lapis-lazuli measuring line, bringing in plentiful harvests, top-quality flax, top-quality barley. I am greatly expert in assigning work with the pickaxe and the brick-mould, in drawing plans, in laying foundations, and in writing cuneiform inscriptions on pedestals; I can make things absolutely clear on tablets of lapis lazuli. I also have a solidly based knowledge of the intelligent implementation of the counting, accounting and planning of the Land.

50-52. I am a hero! Let them appropriately acknowledge my fame! I am a shepherd! Let them repeatedly bless me in prayer according to the heavenly stars! Let them tell in song a perfect recital of all my praiseworthy deeds!

53-75. I am fair of mouth with well-formed lips. My heart

[1 line fragmentary]

I also have a solidly based knowledge of In my assembly where grand deliberation takes place, where the black-headed are gathered together, a minister message from the foreign lands. Eloquent in the assembly and refined,

[2 lines fragmentary] He roared like a bull.

[12 lines missing or fragmentary]

76-81. I am a shepherd who, apart from being one who always makes the right decisions on what he has sworn, is also fully able to re-establish in the Land and to forcefully the house of the rebel lands; who grasps hold of the righteous as if they were great bulls, and who darts out his tongue at the wicked like a snake. I never frighten the iust, and I never the evil.

82-84. I am a hero! Let them appropriately acknowledge my fame! I am a shepherd! Let them repeatedly bless me in prayer according to the heavenly stars! Let them tell in song a perfect recital of all my praiseworthy deeds!

85-111. I am the leader living in Sumer! I am engaged in carrying out the planning! When I stand against the cities and territories of the hostile rebel lands, my battle is a hurricane that cannot be overwhelmed. When I surround their contingents from the south and cut the people off,

[1 line fragmentary]

In the great palace, where I take decisions, when I a pure lamb, on the right favourable, as I on my great throne. In my well-established dwelling, I can tell whether to strike with weapons or not to strike with weapons. Since from birth I am also a Nintud (creator deity), wise in all matters, I can recognise the omens of that extispicy in a pure place. I keep a look-out that I am a lord range about in my anger. I also have a solidly based

knowledge of My vision enables me to be the dreaminterpreter of the Land: my heart enables me to be the Ictaran (god of justice) of the foreign lands. I am Shulgi, good shepherd of Sumer. Like my brother and friend Gilgamesh, I can recognise the virtuous and I can recognise the wicked. The virtuous gets justice in my presence, and the wicked and evil person will be carried off by Who like me is able to interpret what is spoken in the heart or is articulated on the

112-114. I am a hero! Let them appropriately acknowledge my fame! I am a shepherd! Let them repeatedly bless me in prayer according to the heavenly stars! Let them tell in song a perfect recital of all my praiseworthy deeds!

115-142. Since I am also wise and highly intelligent, [5 lines fragmentary]

Also I know Amorite as well as I do Sumerian. .. mountain people walking in the hills, they greet me and I reply to them in Amorite. Also I know the Elamite language as well as I do Sumerian. in Elam, they greet me and I reply in Elamite.

[4 lines missing or fragmentary]

In wrestling and athletics I am I am the shepherd who with nimbly gripping fingers Who can resist me, on the exercise ground as well as in battle? The greatest heroes of the Land, the notable strong men and athletes from the foreign lands, the of Sumer, the totality of combatants, at my wrists.

[1 line unclear]

I am powerful in athletics, and I am strong in wrestling. I am Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer, and no one can

143-145. I am a hero! Let them appropriately acknowledge my fame! I am a shepherd! Let them repeatedly bless me in prayer according to the heavenly stars! Let them tell in song a perfect recital of all my praiseworthy deeds!

146. I am a runner who is successful in his aspirations. [unknown no. of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-16. Lion, feline

[5 lines fragmentary or unclear]

May its glory cover the cities, and its battle-cry smother the foreign lands! May the people be terrified at its roaring, as at a storm in the heavens! I am Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer! May he bring me the muscles of a lion, the sinews of a lion! May he receive my spear!

[3 lines unclear]

The black-headed will look on in amazement and in my city.

17-19. I am a hero! Let them appropriately acknowledge my fame! I am a shepherd! Let them repeatedly bless me in prayer according to the heavenly stars! Let them tell in song a perfect recital of all my praiseworthy deeds!

20-71. Where I stand, I destroy foreign lands; where I sit, I .. Where my weapons plunder cities. At my command, ... strike, .

[7 lines fragmentary or unclear]

Their bricks are dug up from the footings The city which I smash shall not be restored; the houses which I destroy shall be counted as ruin mounds; the walls proudly rising to heaven shall not open

[1 line unclear]
..... I have been given great strength.

[1 line fragmentary]

..... arrows of my quiver a flying bird. As if; like a wild bull in a meadow. My spear goes straight. My great emblems are raised at the edge of the mountains. When day breaks and Utu comes forth and looks upon the hills, I shall marvel at them.

[2 lines unclear]

... may they be terrified, and may his troops be frightened. [1 line fragmentary]

Since I am a king who puts the Land on track,

[4 lines fragmentary] Night falls,

[2 lines unclear]

The rebel lands They are scattered by force, like sheep that have no shepherd.

[7 lines fragmentary or unclear]

May concord be promoted in the Land. May my attack cause them to collapse, like a wild bull going to its resting

[1 line unclear]

May the numerous people in their well-established dwelling be avenged.

72-74. I am a hero! Let them appropriately acknowledge my fame! I am a shepherd! Let them repeatedly bless me in prayer according to the heavenly stars! Let them tell in song a perfect recital of all my praiseworthy deeds!

75-101. Since I am also pleasure-loving and a devotee of singing, I can perform tigi, adab and great malgatum compositions. When fixing the frets of the great lutes, I know how to raise and lower them. I am adept enough to play perfectly all the seven instruments. balbale on the

flute; their divergent strings; the sa-ec instrument

[4 lines missing, fragmentary or unclear]

a performing musician

[1 line unclear]

I also have a solidly based knowledge of praying in a melodious voice, capering joyfully to the sound of the holy balai drum

1 line unclear in song, for my sister Jectin-ana, my own mother

Ninsumun in wisdom [6 lines missing]

102-110. [4 lines fragmentary] in the of Enlil, Ninlil and Nintud, Nanna and Ninurta, in the of holy Inana

[2 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT C

1-14. [9 lines fragmentary] To my brother and friend Gilgamesh

[4 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SHULGI ON JUSTICE AND WEALTH

Self-Praise of Shulgi (Shulgi D) Museum of Archaeology and Anthropolog University of Pennsylvania, CBS 8289 / CBS 11065 Translation: Jacob Klein, 1981 / ETCSL: 2.4.2.04 1998 Estimated Range of Dating: 2100-2000 B.C.

(Self-praise of Shulgi (Shulgi D) is a Sumerian myth, written on clay tablets dated to between 2100 and 2000 BC. The myth was discovered on the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, catalogue of the Babylonian section (CBS), tablet number 11065 from their excavations at the temple library at Nippur. This was translated by George Aaron Barton in 1918 and first published as "Sumerian religious texts" in "Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions", number three, entitled "Hymn to Dungi" (Dungi was later renamed to Shulgi).

Shulgi was most likely the author of the Code of Ur-Nammu (See: The Grand Bible, The Scriptures of Mesopotamia.) Samuel Noah Kramer, the translator of the Code of Ur-Nammu suggests that Shulgi hymns speaking about the achievements of the king focussed on the two areas of social behaviour and religion. He is both shown to be concerned for social justice, law and equity along with being faithful in his priestly rites and interaction with the gods. He notes "uppermost in their minds was the Ekur, the holy temple of Nippur where virtually every king in the hymnal repertoire brought gifts, offerings, and sacrifices to Enlil.'

The tablet is 7 inches (18 cm) by 5.4 inches (14 cm) by 1.6 inches (4.1 cm) at its thickest point. Barton noted that similar hymns were published by Stephen Herbert Langdon and introduced into Sumerian religion at the time of the Third dynasty of Ur onwards. He dates the tablet to the reign of Shulgi, saying "The script of our tablets shows that this copy was made during the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, but that does not preclude an earlier date for the composition of the original." Further tablets were used by Jacob Klein to expand and translate the myth again in 1981. He used several other tablets from the University Museum in Pennsylvania including CBS 8289. He also included translations from tablets in the Nippur collection of the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul, catalogue number 4571. He also used Tablet 5379 from the Louvre in Paris.

In the story, Shulgi is praised and compared to all manner of animals and wondrous things such as a tree. His interactions and relationships with a large number of the pantheon of Sumerian gods are described along with victories in foreign lands and description of the royal barge.)

1-13. O my king, great bull with splendid limbs, dragon with a lion's eyes! Shepherd Shulgi, great bull with splendid limbs, dragon with a lion's eyes! Bull-calf born in the cattlepen of abundance, thriving there! Mighty one fit for heroism, the ornament of his Land! Righteous man, invested with justice by Utu! Fierce leopard who feeds on rich milk, rampant bull who was born to be a great beast! A lapis-lazuli beard, a holy breast -- marvellous to behold! O king, joy of the royal tiara! Shulgi, ornament of the legitimate crown, wearing the pectoral of godhead, named by An with a good name! Good shepherd, endowed with strength by Enlil, Shulgi, the beloved of Ninlil's heart!

14-17. O, my king, who is as mighty as you, and who rivals you? Indeed, who is there who from birth is as richly endowed with understanding as you? May your heroism shine forth, and may your might be respectfully praised!

18-31. You destroy the offspring of You are mighty, You are brave, When in the E-kur, in the hostile foreign lands you plunder cities; like a panting lion, you; like a raging lion, you; a dragon, you;

[2 lines missing]

You hurl angry words against the people of the foreign lands that are hostile to Nanna. You are adorned with splendid curved horns, like a virile wild bull born to be a great wild bull. You are a chariot, a waggon set on the road. Like a noble ass, by your vigorous running you bring joy to Fnlil

32-35. You are as strong as an ildag tree planted by the side of a watercourse. You are a sweet sight, like a fertile mec tree laden with colourful fruit. You are cherished by Ninegala, like a date palm of holy Dilmun. You have a pleasant shade, like a sappy cedar growing amid the cypresses.

36-39. O, my king, who is as mighty as you, and who rivals you? Indeed, who is there who from birth is as richly endowed with understanding as you? May your heroism shine forth, and may your might be respectfully praised!

40-52. Shepherd Shulgi, when your seed was placed in the holy womb, your mother Ninsun gave birth to you; your personal god, holy Lugalbanda, fashioned you; mother Nintud nurtured you; An named you with a good name; Enlil lifted your head; Ninlil loved you. The princely son of the E-kur The king, the holy barge which traverses the sky, Nanna, the lord Suen

[2 lines fragmentary]

53-60. Nudimmud like small trees. He cherished you like an ildag tree, like a mec tree or a palm-tree. At that time, An wrote a tablet for you and decreed a fate for you. Ninlil's heart was soothed with prayers and supplications. The gods of heaven, with their ready approval, came to heaven, where the fates are decreed. Enlil, the king of all the lands, gave you shepherdship over the Land, in the south and in the highlands.

61-134. O, my king, who is as mighty as you, and who rivals you? Indeed, who is there who from birth is as richly endowed with understanding as you? May your heroism shine forth, and may your might be respectfully praised!

[70 lines missing]

135-149. You hero, after stepping on the, you roared at the foreign land hostile to Nanna. Hurl your battle-cry at the that was disobedient to Enlil! My king,

approx. 10 lines missing

....., great bull

150-176. "I, the king, upon the foreign lands a mighty yoke of heroism, I subject their people to destruction. After setting my foot on the neck of the foreign lands, I make on the rebel lands. After knocking down like, and placing my foot on his head, I make him die amid dripping blood Against their, my battle-axe gnashes and gnashes its teeth like a sharp-toothed beast. Against their, which are well fitted with axes of meteoric iron and gold ore, like a snake my mouth brings forth venom. I cut off from his strength the strong one who resorts to his strength. My against their warriors as if they were fish. the small net over their runners, I catch them like gazelles in the woods. Having . like fire against their fearless runners. I make them fall violently into a prepared trap and net like wild asses. I place on their boastful ones in the battle. My fierce weapons pour forth venom into them like a serpent ready to bite. After tearing out the entrails of its who are still alive, I make the man coiling like an attacking snake sink his head in the dust, like an ailing, neglected bull. I make their little ones who survive eat bitter dust as long as they live, like the locust which consumes everything.

177-189. "I raise my spear against the, I set up my emblems at the border of the foreign lands. I fill my quiver, and my bow is stretched, ready to shoot, like a raging serpent. Barbed arrows flash before me like lightning. Like scudding bats, arrows fly into the mouth of battle. Slingstones rain down on their people; clay bullets clatter on their backs like hammerstones. With my throwstick and sling I cut down like locusts the crushed people of the rebel lands. My weapon sharpens its teeth at the head of the Land.

190-196. "My battle-axe sheds the blood of the people like water. My double-edged axe weapon in their blood, which covers the, spilled on the hills like the contents of a broken wine jug. I the people in their meadows; the blood like water in their wadis; the blood into the cracks of the earth.

197-210. "Its, in the foreign land The rebel land The foreign land

[7 lines missing]

The heart Having filled the, his prosperous; I give them as a gift to

211-217. "I shall kill on the roofs those of the foreign lands who lie on the roofs. I shall smite on the walls those who lie on the walls. Whoever is able to stand up I shall make stand on his feet; those who are unable to stand up I shall smite on the spot. I shall let the young ones of the foreign lands embark on ships, but I shall kill the adults as revenge. Even those whom I have not killed and those whom I have not dispersed will not live long!

218-227. "I, the king, shall avenge my city. Whatever has been destroyed in Sumer, I shall destroy in the foreign lands. I shall make the gods of their cities turn away (?) from them; I

shall cause their male and female protective deities, their good eyes, to stand aside. I shall let long grass grow in their fertile fields of shining barley. I shall uproot their small trees. With the axe I shall destroy their thick and tall trees, and I shall tear down by the crown their valuable trees. In their irrigated gardens, where honey and fig trees used to grow, I shall make weeds grow, so that plants and herbs break through the soil.

228-239. "After I, the king, have destroyed the cities and ruined the city walls, have terrified the foreign lands like a flood, have scattered the seed of Gutium like seed-grain, have established Enlil's triumph, have crushed the populations as if with a pestle, have my heart, then I shall load the pure lapis lazuli of the foreign lands into leather pouches and leather bags."

[approx. 5 lines missing]

240-251. The king On that day, in the foreign land His roar the hills The city which Enlil has, which An has, which Nintud has, which Enki has good wisdom. Nanna has the heights of heaven, Utu has on the horizon; Inana the lady of battle has frowned on it. The people of the rebel lands, like dead reed The great and terrible battle of Shulgi

252-287. Zagar, the god of dreams, as their beneficent protective spirit, in a dream,

[2 lines fragmentary / approx. 31 lines missing]

288-294. Like a sajkal snake, he roars against the of hostile foreign lands The king, roaring like a rising flood against the rebel lands, Shulgi, roaring like a rising flood against the rebel lands, embraces Gilgamesh, his brother and friend, his comrade, as one who was born, and he walks along the road together with Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer

295-298. The king of the holy heavens, adorned with a wide crown, the lord, the bright luminary of the gods, father Nanna, by him on his right side; and he walks along the road together with Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer.

299-303. Born to a great wild bull, like a lion standing firm in his strength, mighty heir of youthful Suen, heroic son of Acimbabbar, Sun-zid by him on his left side; and he walks along the road together with Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer.

304-306. The king of, Ninjiczida, and he walks along the road together with Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer

307-311. When he arrives at Enegir,, the fierce serpent, ready to bite, the lord of, Ninazu, and he walks along the road together with Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer.

312-318. At the same time, King Enki emerges from the abzu; he has but to raise one eye from the abzu to destroy for him the foreign lands from where he stands, to destroy for him their cities from where he sits -- he of the trustworthy command, whose utterances are firmly established, Nudimmud the great lord of Eridug; and he walks along the road together with Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer.

319-330. When he arrives at the E-babbar, the house of Utu, the king who loves justice,, who is clad in linen, [approx. 10 lines missing]

331-333. He let the young ones of the foreign lands embark on ships, but killed the adults as revenge. Even those whom he did not kill and those whom he did not disperse did not live long!

334-343. The hero avenged his city. Whatever was destroyed in Sumer, he destroyed in the foreign lands. He made the gods of their cities turn away from them; he caused their male and female protective deities, their good eyes, to stand aside. He let long grass grow in their cultivated fields of shining barley. With the axe he destroyed their thick and tall trees, and he tore down by the crown their valuable trees. He uprooted their small trees. In their irrigated gardens, where honey and fig trees used to grow, he made weeds grow, so that plants and herbs broke through the soil.

344-353. After the king had destroyed the cities and ruined the city walls, had terrified the foreign lands like a flood, had scattered the seed of Gutium like seed-grain, had his heart, then he loaded the pure lapis lazuli of the foreign lands into leather pouches and leather bags. He heaped up all their treasures and amassed all the wealth of the foreign lands. He invoked the name of Enlil and invoked the name of Ninlil on their fattened cattle and fattened sheep.

354-362. After carrying out a noble revenge in the foreign lands, the hero had his brilliant royal barge caulked. Imbued with terrible splendour on the Exalted River, it was adorned with holy horns, and its golden ram symbol gleamed in the open air. Its bitumen was the bitumen of Enki provided generously by the abzu; its cabin was a palace. It was decorated with stars like the sky. Its holy

[1 line fragmentary]

363-367. The king, Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer, his feet upon; he took his seat on a throne of The sim and ala drums resounded for him, and the tigi drums played music for him.

368-381. "My king,, you have destroyed the foreign lands and plundered their cities; like a wild bull the hills", sang the singers for him in a song. His boatmen, in tireless effort,

[1 line unclear]

These, citizens of Enegir and citizens of Urim, thrust forth their oars at the command of the lord. He moored the boat at the temple area of Nibru, the temple area Dur-an-ki, at Enlil's Kar-jectina. He entered before Enlil with the silver and lapis lazuli of the foreign lands loaded into leather pouches and leather bags, all their heaped-up treasures, and with the amassed wealth of the foreign lands.

382-397., the king Enlil decrees a destiny for Shulgi: "O King, I will decree a destiny for you, I will decree a good destiny for you! O Shulgi, I will decree a destiny for you, I will decree a good destiny for you! I will decree heroism as your destiny! I will decree long-lasting office as ruler and king as your destiny! May you raise your head in terrifying splendour! May no man stand his ground before your fierce gaze! May your royal crown shine radiantly! May your sceptre be a princely sceptre, and may its shining branches provide shade! May there be joy in your heart, and may you never grow weary! May you be the life-giving king of your assembly! May your life flourish like herbs, may it flourish like grain! May it flourish like a fertile mec tree in a broad plot!"

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SHULGI ON ACHIEVEMENTS, HUNGER, AND ARTS

A Praise Poem of Shulgi (Shulgi É) Translation: 2.4.2.05

1-8. Enlil, foundation platform of heaven and earth, who holds the crook that makes the Land firm, whose beard flows over the mountains, who reveres his own divine powers -- Enlil, the everlasting shepherd of the Land, has addressed me, Shulgi, king of Urim, favourably, looking at me with wide-open eyes. In the overflowing of his heart, the lord bestowed the sceptre on me.

9-13 Everywhere the word of Enlil has brought benefits to me, who was specially crowned in brick-built Eridug; to me, who was invested with the lapis-lazuli diadem in Unug; to me, the beloved shepherd of Nanna, fit for the throne. When I bring firewood, he looks at me and speaks gladly to me.

14-19. I, Shulgi, the king whose name is very suitable for songs, intend to be praised in my prayers and hymns. At the command of my sister Jectin-ana, my scholars and composers of have composed adab, tigi and malgatum hymns about my being the Nintud of all that is, about how wise I am in attending upon the gods, about how the god of intercession has given me favourable signs that years of abundance will elapse for me in due course.

23-30. They have composed cir-gida songs, royal praise poetry, sumundu, kunjar and balbale compositions about how I carried warfare across the sea to the south, how I jerked up the hostile land of Elam as if it were grass by a gateway, how in the uplands I the people like grain, how I trekked the length of the mountains in battle, how I travel about indefatigably in the mountain uplands like an old donkey on the road, and about my expeditions

31-38. They composed for me gigid and zamzam songs about my manual skill, ever reliable for the finest task of the scribal art; about my ability to unravel the calculating and reckoning of the waxing of the new moon; about my causing joy and happiness; about how I know exactly at what point to raise and lower the tigi and zamzam instruments, and how I have complete control of the plectra of the great stringed instruments; how I cannot be stopped by anything insurmountable, about my being a runner tireless when emerging from the race.

39-46. In the name of An, the pre-eminent king; and of Enlil, who never ../changes his utterances; and in the name of Suen, the brickwork of cities cursed by whom shall rise no more, and the people cursed by whom will get leprosy; and in the name of Utu, the constable of the gods: I swear no one has ever put anything mendacious about me in my hymns; no one has embellished my prayers with achievements that I have not matched; I, Shulgi, have never allowed exaggerated praise of power to be put in a song.

47-52. How I glisten like fine silver, how I am musical and eloquent in wisdom; how I, the shepherd, do everything to absolute perfection: may all this be commended in my kingship. Of all the lines that there are in my songs, none of them is false -- they are indeed true!

53-62. In the cult-places, let no one neglect the songs about me, whether they are adab, whether they are tigi or malgatum, cir-gida or praises of kingship, whether they are cumundu, kunjar or balbale, whether they are gi-gid or zamzam -- so that they shall never pass out of memory and never lapse from people's mouths. Let them never cease to be sung in the shining E-kur! Let them be played for Enlil in his Shrine of the New Moon! When at the ecce festival they serve the clear beer endlessly like water, may they be offered repeatedly before Enlil as he sits with Ninlil.

63-73. In future days, a man like myself whom Enlil shall call to the shepherdship of the Land my songs; let him see Let him call upon my name in the beloved that man, whenever my hymns

[1 line missing]

.... my singer May he establish my name in the beloved temple. Whether he is a man Enki and Enlil, may come forth from the house which ... justice and a favourable destiny.

74-91. But if removes my name from my hymns, and fails to his name, and does not call upon my name in brick-built E-kur, and if that man commits enmity and violence against the temple, then whether that man is a king or a governor, Enlil shall curse him May enmity and violence come forth against him from the house of Enlil. Let him be given enmity as his companion. May an asag demon, as causer of the plague, deprive his city of contentment. Because of famine in years of hunger, may he find no favour in the eyes of the Land. May Acnan produce no grain in sheaves. May fair Nanibgal, Nisaba, make no clay covering for his grain piles. the troops His chief merchant silver May the hunger and the thirst of the gods the city during his reign grain.

92-110. riches, or bronze and silver vessels. May the creatures of his Land reach out for what is left over and not distributed. Famine May he have to pay two shekels in his city for one sila of barley. May the people wield the hoe Let that man be unable to touch the drinks and foods of his palace. May the great sin Nanna, the king of Urim, shall clamp those who look upon the balaj and the sim, and who touch or look at bread. Their lives

[5 lines unclear or missing]

..... gold May a scoundrel be judge over the population of the city, and be his superior.

111-151. The man who my hymns

[2 lines unclear]

May he outside the city. May he no longer within the walls of the city. May the criminal offspring of his kingship not May he not stand where the king stands, the shining place. May he from the Ubcu-unkena. ... his heart's desire and ambitions.

[2 lines unclear]

When he brings offerings to the E-kur, may Enlil His special presents and benefits

[28 lines missing or unclear]

152-154. I, Shulgi the noble, who have no opponent [2 lines unclear]

155-173. I am Shulgi, the great musician, superintendent of the art of music. If favourable My songs, lapsing from people's mouths and passing out of memory, neglected in all the cult-places his king, in the music-rooms of the gods ...

[10 lines unclear]

King of the singer's art, Suen, protective goddess of the singer's art, Jectinana

[3 lines unclear or missing]

174-190. On the day when the destiny of the lands was determined, the king who in his arrogance, in luxuriance Enlil and Ninlil, for the life of Sumer and Akkad, justice for the Land, canals which he did not maintain, a city which he did not enlarge The Great Mountain at their side great places. He did not the god of the palace. He to Enlil, and did not offer great gifts in the E-kur, and did not the door-sockets of the gods. songs. What he achieves with his praises, what he creatively decoratives with his words, the singer in his songs.

191-201. I, Shulgi the king, who cares for holy kn, food offerings, who constantly attends upon Enlil, Nanna, the office of en; Ninurta, the ensi appointed by Enlil, has given me good luck and a battle-mace from the E-cumeca. Not since the seed of mankind was germinated, has Enlil ever before been able to give the sceptre of kingship to a king who could control the troops singlehanded. As a lone donkey stallion, one who resists the weapons -- no king of the Land has ever turned against the weapons.

202-212. I did not lie in ambush, like a fierce young lion, against the rebel and hostile lands, the aggressive foreign lands, in order to establish my renown as far as the horizon with the power of my master Enlil, and to transmit my lasting fame of victories to the distant future. I did not come out of a hole like a scorpion. Instead I left my main forces at my side, and went ahead of my scouts. As I repelled the tribal Gutians, the bandits of the hills, like a snake I made my fearsomeness reach afar.

213-219. No one can get near my inspired troops. Running quite alone into the foreign lands unknown to him, like a lion that has seized a wild cow in its claws, I tear its flesh apart. Like a solitary dragon I spread fear, as I proceed unflaggingly against the civilised towns and make them quiver like flames at my frightful roaring. Spine-chilling yells and raging flames are cast at the hills.

220-239. For the rebel lands, the illiterate ones that carry no emblems, my warfare is a horizon on which there are clouds, enveloping the twilight in fear. The mountains, where the forests do not grow as thick as thornbushes, where in the cult places of the rites of Inana (i.e. in battle) throwstick and shield do not tumble to the earth in a great storm, where the combatants take no rest in the insistent bitterness of the fierce battle, where life-fluid and blood from both scoundrel and honest person where no black ewes trek over the mountains like floating clouds, and corpses in reed-beds and crannies

[1 line unclear]

The desert scorpion shall no longer behave thus . Neither shortly nor in the future shall he rise again. A villain and rebel to the weapons of strength. A path that is confused, a way that is cut off like a I bent low the land of the Gutians like a mubum tree, and the land turned its heart in its fear before me, as I put my foot on its neck. I am he who all alone plunders cities with his own strength. I am the strong one who is praised for his weapons. I am he whose lasting name and prayerful words are as tremendous as I am the just and the benefactor in the Land.

240-257. May my hymns be in everyone's mouth; let the songs about me not pass from memory. So that the fame of my praises, the words which Enki composed about me, and which Jectin-ana joyously speaks from the heart and broadcasts far and wide, shall never be forgotten, I have had them written down line by line in the House of the Wisdom of Nisaba in holy heavenly writing, as great works of scholarship. No one shall ever let any of it pass from memory It shall not be forgotten, since indestructible heavenly writing has a lasting renown. The scribe should bring it to the singer, and can let him look at it, and with the wisdom and intelligence of Nisaba, let him read it to him as if from a lapis-lazuli tablet. Let my songs sparkle like silver in the lode! Let them be performed in all the cult-places, and let no one neglect them in the Shrine of the New Moon. In the music-rooms of Enlil and Ninlil and at the morning and evening meals of Nanna, let the sweet praise of me, Shulgi, be never-ending.

SHULGI "THE SHEPHERD" ON KINGSHIP

An Adab to Enlil for Shulgi (Shulgi G) Translation: 2.4.2.07

1-8. Enlil, the eminent one, the sovereign lord, whose utterance is trustworthy; Nunamnir, the eternal shepherd of the Land. who hails from the great mountain; the great counsellor, the first and foremost in heaven and on earth, who is in control of all the divine powers; lord, who is imbued with great fearsomeness in accordance with his nobility, a perfected heavenly star, who takes good care of the primeval and choice divine powers, who alone is the lofty god; lord, life-giving light, who leads the people all over the world along one track; huge net spread over heaven and earth rone stretched over all the lands! Who ever instructed Enlil, who ever rivalled him?

9-14. He thought up something of great importance and he made public what his heart, a mighty river, carried: the hidden secrets of his holy thought. The matter is a holy and pure one, it concerns the divine powers of the E-kur, the fated good brick embedded in the bottom of the abzu, it is something most important: a trustworthy man will rebuild the E-kur, thereby acquiring a lasting name. The son of this trustworthy man will long hold the sceptre, and their throne will never be overthrown.

15-20. To that end, Acimbabbar appeared shining in the Ekur, pleaded to his father Enlil and made him bring a childbearing mother: in the E-duga, Nanna, the princely son. asked for the thing to happen. The en priestess gave birth to the trustworthy man from his semen placed in the womb. Enlil, the powerful shepherd, caused a young man to emerge: a royal child, one who is perfectly fitted for the throne-dais, Shulgi the king.

21-27. Enlil gave him a good name: "A lion's seed, who provides the E-kur generously, the beloved one of Ninlil; the one granted authority in the E-kur; the king of Urim, the one with shining heart, the shepherd, the protective genius of the Land." Enlil chose Shulgi in his pure heart and entrusted the Land to him. As the shepherd of all the countries, Enlil leant the crook and the staff against his arm, and placed the immutable sceptre of Nanna in his hand; he made him raise his head high, sitting on an unshakeable royal seat.

28-30. The day was for prayers, the night was for supplications; the Land rested in peace. The shepherd of prosperity, Shulgi, he with a lasting name, the king of jubilation, the mighty one, the semen engendered by the faithful man, praised Enlil.

31-31. This is the sagida.

32-33. Shulgi, the mighty king, who exults in his triumph, the king vanquished the rebellious land with the agakar weapon of Inana.

34-34. It is the antiphon of the sagida

35-43. May Enlil the trustworthy, whose words are lofty -good fate determined by him takes precedence -- who makes sturdy flax and barley grow -- may he prolong the life of Shulgi, the provider of the E-kur -- hence its flax is indeed fine flax, its barley is indeed fine barley -- the property of Nanna, the houseborn-slave of the E-kur, him whom Ninlil named at his birth Shulgi, the shepherd of the Land, the man whom Enlil knows, the steward of the temple.

44-48. So that its voluminous offering meals would bring joy to the E-kur, Enlil called upon Urim, the good city founded by the princely one, the inside of which is a holy treasure chest which, like the abzu, no eye can see -- the city of good purification rites and pure hand-washing rites; and what he says is trustworthy.

49-53. For his setting up the abundant sacrificial tin cups, for his having served evening meals in the dining-hall of the E-kur, Enlil determined a princely fate for the shepherd, him who is worthy of the kingship and the lofty throne-dais, Shulgi, who is adorned with the ma garment of the en priests.

54-59. The one beautiful like heaven,, Nanna, the king, the, gave him good in the Ki-ur, the great place. At the command of Enlil, he, he roars for him against the foreign land that no one dares to oppose. He stabilises the countryside, and the people lie at his feet.

60-62. Shulgi, the shepherd is the honey man beloved by Nibru; may the true shepherd, Shulgi, refresh himself in the pleasant shade of Enlil's brickwork!

63-63. It is the saiara.

64-64. O Shulgi, Enlil has brought forth happy days for you in your reign!

65-65. It is the antiphon of the sajara.

66-68. Heaven's king, earth's great mountain, father Enlil, heaven's king, earth's great mountain, thought up something great: he chose Shulgi in his heart for a good reign!

69-69. It is its urune. An adab of Enlil.

LULLABY FOR A SON OF SHULGI

(Shulgi N) Translation: 2.4.2.14

1-5. Ah, ah, may he grow sturdy through my crooning, may he flourish through my crooning! May he put down strong foundations as roots, may he spread branches wide like a cakir

6-11. Lord, from this you know our whereabouts; among those resplendent apple trees overhanging the river, may someone who passes by reach out his hand, may someone lying there raise his hand. My son, sleep will overtake you, sleep will settle on you.

12-18. Sleep come, sleep come, sleep come to my son, sleep hasten to my son! Put to sleep his open eyes, settle your hand upon his sparkling eyes -- as for his murmuring tongue, let the murmuring not spoil his sleep.

19-23. May he fill your lap with emmer while I sweeten miniature cheeses for you, those cheeses that are the healer of mankind, that are the healer of mankind, and of the lord's son, the son of lord Shulgi.

24-30. In my garden, it is the lettuces that I have watered, and among the lettuces it is the gakkul lettuce that I have chopped. Let the lord eat this lettuce! Through my crooning let me give him a wife, let me give him a wife, let me give him a son! May a happy nursemaid chatter with him, may a happy nursemaid suckle him!

31-38. Let me a wife for my son, and may she bear him son so sweet. May his wife lie in his warm embrace, and may his son lie in his outstretched arms. May his wife be happy with him, and may his son be happy with him. May his young wife be happy in his embrace, and may his son grow vigorously on his gentle knees.

39-48. You are restless -- I am troubled, I am quite silent, gazing at the stars, as the crescent moon shines on my face. Your bones might be arrayed on the wall! The man of the wall might shed tears for you! The mongoose might beat the balaj drums for you! The gecko might gouge its cheeks for you! The fly might gash its lips for you! The lizard might tear out its tongue for you!

49-56. May the lullaby make us flourish! May the lullaby make us thrive! When you flourish, when you thrive, when you the shaking of churns, sweet sleep, the sweet hed

[2 lines fragmentary] 57-63. May a wife be your support, and may a son May a son be your fortune. May winnowed grain be your lover, and may Ezina-Kusu (the goddess of grain) be your aid. May you have an eloquent protective goddess. May you be brought up to a reign of favourable days. May you smile upon

64-66 My son is • he knows nothing He does not know the length of his old age. He does not know the dwelling of

67-73. May you discover May you eat [3 lines fragmentary] May you be May you be

74-91. [7 lines fragmentary] goats, sheep and

donkeys
[1 line fragmentary] Ninkasi (the goddess of beer) in her vat

[5 lines fragmentary] The shepherd's wife He the of the date palm. He brings date shoots among the offerings.

92-114. As for you, lie in sleep! May your palm tree, extending its fronds, spread joy like a fig tree. Place coals beside Urim! Place charcoal beside Unug (The City of Uruk)! Seize the enemy's mouth like! Bind his arms like reed bundles! Make the enemy cower before you, lest he rip open your back like a sack,

[4 lines fragmentary / approx. 6 lines missing] [4 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SHULGI, THE GOOD SHEPHERD OF SUMER

A Praise Poem of Shulgi (Shulgi O) Translation: 2.4.2.15

SEGMENT A

1-12. City worthy of the divine powers, according to its name: shrine Urim, raging storm of Sumer, battleground -and well established! Origin of human seed, consolidating the foundations of the Land, abundance -- and well established! Lofty dais of An, pure place, holy place, provider of first-fruit offerings for An to refresh himself, dripping with syrup and wine -- and well established! Du-ur, celebrated place of Enlil, in whose interior are the assigned divine powers, place whose destiny was decreed by father Enlil, great dais -- and well established! Eridug, shrine expert in decreeing the fates, with princely divine powers, pure divine powers -- and well established! E-kic-nu-jal, cattle-pen of Suen, where fecund cows, breed-bulls and holy calves gambol together, producing fine cream -- and well established! Abzu, holy residence of youthful Suen, tall crook lifting its head towards heaven, a marvel -- and well established!

13-24. Jipar, shrine built in exuberance, with the true divine powers of the rank of en priestess -- and well established! Princely en priestess, your great name is pure; loosener of combs of Nanna who makes the dwelling pleasant. with good words and justice -- and well established! Id-nunkug (Holy princely river) with ample flowing waters, your reservoir abounds with fish and birds -- and well established! Its city, established within the encircling walls, is a battlemace, a weapon -- and well established! The convened assembly of its numerous people is a shield -- and well established! Great awe of the occupied settlements of Sumer -and well established! Its foreign lands, teeming like herds of fecund cows, fat cows, numerous ewes with their lambs in the sheepfold -- and well established! Its army, rising to battle, is an irresistible onrush of water, a fearsome sea, a raging .. and well established!

25-37. Its prince, the hero of Enlil, a lion rising up in its strength, a furious lion baring its teeth at the foreign lands, inspects great wild bulls, eating, extending Shepherd Shulgi, son of Ninsumun, ornament of, in their evil words, brought the hero Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba into He produced an utterance for him from the foreign lands, of his palace. of the foreign lands. he looked at him as if at halhal reeds.

38-48. On the day when the destiny of the Land was determined, when the seed of all living beings was originally brought forth, when the king appeared radiantly to his comrade -- on that day, Gilgamesh, the lord of Kulaba, conversed with Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer, at his shining feet. So that their praise would be sung forever, so that it be would handed down to distant days, so that it shold be not forgotten in remote years, they looked at each other favourably in their mighty heroism.

49-52. Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer, praised his brother and friend, lord Gilgamesh, in his might, and declared to him in his heroism:

53-60. "Mighty in battle, destroyer of cities, smiting them in combat! Skilled with the slingstone against the holy wall of palm-fronds! You brought forth your weapons against the house of Kic. You captured dead its seven heroes. You trampled underfoot the head of the king of Kic, En-mebarage-sig You brought the kingship from Kic to Unug.

61-84. Thus he eulogised him who was born in Kulaba. [1 line unclear]

Gilgamesh, lord of Kulaba,

[6 lines fragmentary or unclear / approx. 4 lines missing]

(Gilgamesh continues speaking:) "Like, falsely you trampled underfoot, as if in a mighty clamp.
You gathered its like small birds rising into the air. You entered with them into the presence of Enlil in the shrine of Nibru. Even those who escaped from the, wail bitterly a copper statue fashioned in Urim, the seven gods, stationed beside, wielding battle-axes. Fearsome hero, king of Sumer, you stand firm in your strength.'

85-88. Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer, praised his brother and friend, the lord Gilgamesh, in his might, and declared to him in his heroism:

89-106 [1 line fragmentary] "In the judgements that you pronounce Who else like you has gone directly on the road to the mountains and has travelled the way to Valiant one, the mountain cedars, the tall forests, the boats. Huwawa. his seven terrors. the small from his well-established dwelling. to Enlil, in the shrine of Nibru your captured hero. You allowed the mother of the sick man to fetch her son to her embrace. Your battle-mace, its mouth gaping wide, attacks the foreign lands for you. Gilgamesh, noble one of Unug, violent storm, at whose oppression The inimical rebel land, like You have revealed your immense majesty! May you extend your protective arms over

107-108. The lord Gilgamesh Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer:

109-137. [12 lines fragmentary / approx. 5 lines missing] [8 lines fragmentary] "The youthful, a god among the Anuna gods, venerates Fearsome hero, king of Sumer, you stand firm in your strength.'

138-141. Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer, praised his brother and friend, the lord Gilgamesh, in his might, and declared to him in his heroism:

142. "Ictaran, the judge who dwells in the Land" [unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

(The sequence of Segments B, C, D and E is uncertain) 1-81. [line fragmentary] Mighty heir of kingship

powerful, stallion of Suen, wearing a lapis-lazuli beard...... their praise, their songs ... renown: son .

[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT C

(The sequence of Segments B, C, D and E is uncertain; Segments C and D are adjacent)

1-14. [fragmentary ends of 14 lines]

SEGMENT D

(The sequence of Segments B, C, D and E is uncertain; Segments C and D are adjacent)

1-42. [lines fragmentary] (Gilgamesh continues speaking:) "Fearsome hero, king of Sumer, you stand firm in your strength

5-8. Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer, praised his brother and friend, the lord Gilgamesh, in his might, and declared to him in his heroism:

9-14. "Gilgamesh, the thoroughbred donkey, divine

[2 lines fragmentary or unclear]

like a butting wild bull

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing

SEGMENT E

(The sequence of Segments B, C, D and E is uncertain) 1-3. the rebel lands like a horned viper, Shulgi, son of Ninsumun Enki

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SHULGI AND THE ROYAL MOTHER

A praise poem of Shulgi (Shulgi P) Translation: 2.4.2.16

SEGMENT A

1-6. [1 line fragmentary] shining He (probably Lugalbanda) spoke to her (probably Ninsun) tenderly: "He will accomplish precisely the fate determined for him. Your father holy An will make his branches spread as if he were a sappy cedar planted among hacur trees.

7-10. Then my lady stepped up to the word of An, Ninsun made a fateful decision with her spouse, holy Lugalbanda; she attended to his supplication. She went straight to holy An in the Ubcu-unkena:

11-14. "My father, An, you are the king among the gods! I have looked through the land in all its extent and among its black-headed people who are as numerous as ewes, and I have elevated Shulgi for me high above their head. May he be their trustworthy shepherd!

15-21. "He is my mes tree with spreading branches; he sprang up from the soil for me, brings abundant yield for me every year. He is my spikenard herb, growing for me with sturdy stems. He makes my radiant in the brickwork of Sumer

[1 line unclear] May be stand daily in

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

1-2. of Urim grant him kingship! [unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT C

1-10. (An is speaking:) "Its roots sank deep into the earth. I will stand by you in that holy matter. May he who is worthy of being praised with good words, Shulgi, the king of a propitious reign, perform the rites established for the kingship perfectly for you, the goddess, at the great and lofty wall-tower of Urim (Ur)! May he execute properly for you the statutes of the gods! May he always offer you food at the time of the new moon and at the new year! May you yourself bring me his prayers daily! My tree is indeed abundance, sprouting from the earth like herbs and plants!"

11-17. Then, rejoicing over the words of An, my lady Ninsun took Shulgi the king of Urim by his right hand, led him joyfully into her Egal-mah and seated him upon the exalted dais erected by An. She treated him tenderly with her holy bosom, saying:

17-21. "Shepherd Shulgi, I am your great sword. My holy heart, a rising flood, rejoices over you. My father, An ... who is your master, praises you, who are surpassing in

kingship for the of your kingship.
22-27. "Shulgi, you are a pure calf, born to me. You are a good seed of Lugal-banda. I raised you upon my own holy lap. I have decided your fate with my holy bosom. You are a good fortune which fell to my share. I requested you from holy An

28-34. "I, the lady, holy Ninsun, the royal mother, the good woman with beautiful hair befitting a lady, Shulgi, I am your faithful guardian. May you be dressed in my ma garment! Dance on my holy knees! May you, the shepherd, born for justice, trust in my holy words!

35-42. "Your holy name is worthy of being praised; may it please the flesh of the great gods like fine oil! An has given you a sceptre for rendering judgements; may your head be raised high! Your father who begot you, holy Lugalbanda, has named you as the 'Valiant one whom An made known among the gods'. He has made you acquire a He has adorned you with a royal crown; may he purify your breath of life with an enduring sceptre!

43-48. "May Gectin-ana, the king's sister, the mellifluous mouth of the gods, never stop rejoicing over you joy in your palace, erected for you as a source of happiness! May she always step forward to me with friendy entreaties on your behalf! May she never cease praying for you!

49-55. "I, the lady holy temple of residence My mother, Urac, the lady of the gods and my father, An, the king of the gods the woman, the good cow in the great sheepfold. They give me enduring kingship. They have placed the people in their entirety in my hands.

56-66. "At the place where the fates are decided, the Anuna. the great gods, stood by me. They made Shulgi's shepherdship everlasting for me and made Shulgi, the righteous one of his god, rise over the land like Utu for me. They set up a throne of firm reign for him. The shepherd will decree just judgements and will make just decisions upon it. They granted Shulgi a royal crown. great

[1 line fragmentary]

SHULGI THE HEAVENLY AUGUSTUS

An Adab to Utu for Shulgi (Shulgi Q) Translation: 2.4.2.17

[unknown no. of lines missing]

1-11. Youthful Utu, from Urac; brilliant light, great lion,, hero emerging from the holy interior of heaven, storm whose splendour covers the Land and is laden with great awesomeness; Utu, king of justice that befits the true offspring, made Shulgi, the trustworthy shepherd, glorious in the battle. The great wild bull, youthful Utu, who like a torch illuminates the Land from the holy heavens; the wise one of all the countries, the fearsome radiance of Urac, the just god among the Anuna gods, the long, holy dragon, the first-born son cherished by Suen, the lord born to command -- Utu bestowed the kingship of the Land on Shulgi.

12-22. Like a mace with three lion-heads, he makes the mountains tremble and then destroys the rebel lands. the enemy of Nanna. the great of the gods.

[2 lines fragmentary]

Utu the shepherd. Shulgi justice. in famine. son of Ninsumun May great fearsomeness for the people for you. the creation of no one ...

23. Sa-gida.

24. Utu, assign a sweet destiny to the king!

25. Jicgijal of the sa-gida.

26-36. is exalted. Like very pleasing. shepherd Shulgi, the lion the rebel lands As long as the cities are not pacified Youthful Utu the people numerous as ewes. May of the holy lapis-lazuli shrine, rejoicing. very proudly Like a cow proudly.

[3 lines fragmentary]

37-43. Shulgi Utu a fragrant cedar forest. O king, the lord who covers the heavens with awesomeness the heavenly august dais from the holy

place. The lord august radiance on all the lands from the holy heavens. Because of your purity, youthful Utu has made everything abundant for you; may a sweet life be your lot, son of Ninsumun.

44. Sa-jara.

45-48. Youthful Utu chose the shepherd in his heart. Years of plenty are assigned to Shulgi, the trustworthy shepherd, the king, as his fate. From the shrine in Nibru, Enlil bestowed this on the trustworthy shepherd, whose fate is determined by

49. Jicgijal of the sa-jara.

50-52. Lord of all the great divine powers, borne by Ningal! Youthful Utu, lord of all the great divine powers, borne by

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SHULGI AND NINLIL'S BARGE

A Tigi To Ninlil (Shulgi R) Translation: ETCSL: t.2.4.2.18

1-9. Oh barge, Enki assigned the quay of abundance to you as your fate. Father Enlil looked at you with approval. Your lady, Ninlil, commanded your construction. She entrusted it to the faithful provider, King Shulgi; and the shepherd, who is of broad intelligence, will not rest day and night in thinking deeply about you. He, the wise one, who is proficient in planning, he, the omniscient one, will fell large cedars in the huge forests for you. He will make you perfect and you will be breathtaking to look upon.

10-22. Your woven is Your covering reedmats are the daylight spreading wide over the holy settlements. Your timbers are sniffing reptiles crouching on their paws. Your punting poles are dragons sleeping a sweet sleep in their lair. Your strakes are snakes, Your floor-planks are flood-currents, sparkling altogether in the pure Euphrates. Your side-planks, which are fastened into their fixed places with wooden rings, are a stairway leading to a mountain spring, a filled with Your holy are persisting and firmly founded abundance. Your bench is a lofty dais erected in the midst of the abzu. Your is Aratta, full-laden with treasures. Your door, facing the sunrise, is a bird, carrying a in its talons while spreading wide its wings.

23-31. Your glittering golden sun-disc, fastened with leather straps, is the brilliant moonlight, shining brightly upon all the lands. Your banner, adorned with the divine powers of kingship, is a woodland of cypress trees irrigated with clean water, giving a pleasant shade. Your small reed mats are the evening sky, illuminated with stars, imbued with terrible awesomeness. In the midst of your carefully tended small gizi reeds with numerous twigs, flocks of little birds twitter as in a holy swamp. Their chirping, as pleasing to the heart as the sound of the churn's shaking, makes Enlil and

Ninlil extremely happy.
32-39. Your rudder is a large kig fish in the broad waters at the mouth of the Kisala canal. Your are a bison, inspiring terror on the great earth. Your tow-rope is the gliding Nirah extended over the land. Your mooring pole is the heavenly bond, which Your longside beams are a warrior striking straight against another warrior. Your prow is Nanna fair sky. Your stern is Utu at the horizon. Your canopy is

40. Sa-gida.

41-47. The faithful shepherd Shulgi established the holy festival and the great rituals. The great gods bathe in holy water in Nibru. He assigns the fates to their places in the city and allocates the right divine powers. The mother of the Land, Ninlil the fair, comes out from the house, and Enlil embraces her like a pure wild cow. They take their seats on the barge's holy dais, and provisions are lavishly prepared.

48-63. The lofty barge, the ornament of the Tigris, enters the rolling river; on the shining water. The ritually washed five-headed mace, mitum mace, lance and standard at the bow. Enlil's warrior, Ninurta, goes at their front, directing the of your wide ferry-boat straight. He the holy punting pole of the barge, the holy raft. The ferrymen holy songs; they the great exaltedness of the lady. The good woman, Ninlil, joyfully with Shulgi. Sumer and Urim joy and happiness. The barge bobs at the quay Mete-agi (Ornament of the waves): it sails off into the reedbeds of Enlil's Tummal. Like a goring ox, it raises, then lowers its head. It strikes its breast against the rising waves; it stirs up the encircling waters. When it thrusts within the waters, the fish of the subterranean waters become frightened; as it glides upon them, it makes the waters sparkle luxuriantly.

64-70. the holy raft; the lady of Tummal prayer. Enlil's ancestors and An the king, the god who determines the fates, greets her. With Ninlil, they take their seats at the banquet, and Shulgi the shepherd brings along his great food-offerings for them. They pass the day in abundance, they give praise throughout night. They decree a fate, an

allotted fate to be pre-eminent forever, for the king who fitted out the holy barge

71-81. Then light shines up at the edge of the Land as Utu rises refulgently. As the barge is travelling upstream, it radiates and creaks. in the Ninmutum, the canal of the year of abundance As the carp make their bellies sparkle, Enlil rejoices. As the musu fish play noisily there, Ninlil rejoices. As the, fish, Enki rejoices. As the suhurmas fish dart about, Nanna rejoices. The Anuna gods rejoice at lifts its head in the Euphrates; it In the midst of ever-flowing water is carried. In joyous Nibru, he moors the holy barge at the quay.

82-90. With joyful eyes and shining forehead, Ninlil,, looks upon King Shulgi: "Shepherd, Shulgi, who has a lasting name, king of jubilation! I will prolong the nights of the crown that was placed upon your head by holy An, and I will extend the days of the holy sceptre that was given to you by Enlil. May the foundation of your throne that bestowed on you by Enki be firm! Shepherd who brings about perfection, may Nanna, the robust calf, the seed of Enlil, to whom I gave birth, cover your life with which is full of exuberance as if it were my holy ba garment!"

91. Sa-gara.

SHULGI'S DEDICATION OF A STATUE

Self-Praise of Shulgi (Shulgi V) Translation: ETCSL: t.2.4.2.22

1-6. Enlil, the beaming light,, whose utterance is immutable, the most powerful of the Anuna gods,, looked favourably at Shulgi, the fearsome dragon, the king, the creation of his hands. He granted him great strength. His roar fills the whole extent of heaven and earth.

7-12. In the E-kur, the great snake of the deep,, in Dur-an-ki, which lavishly the eternal divine powers,, Enlil determined a great fate from the womb for the long-enduring sapling of the brickwork founded by the princely one, Shulgi, who was born for a prosperous reign: "Make the people obedient, you enduring king of the multitudes!"

13-21. The swift runner, a hurricane -- the strength of his loins is never ending, who emerges victorious from the race among the settlements; the terrifying one, who is furious in his running, the strongest among those selected from the people, When he stretches his arms out, at his sides. Shulgi, from the horizon. Because of his being most powerful, in his vigour He, the tireless one, the road. No king ever cared so much for the black-headed people; he established justice on a grand scale.

22-29. On a day that dawned for prosperity, that was destined for rain-clouds, he ran from the Ki-ur of Nibru to the shrine of Urim, the E-temen-ni-guru; and provided the princely bowls of Nanna, set up in the morning dining-hall, with a copious ration. On that day, prosperity was decreed for him. In a violent storm, a whirlwind that broke out, Utu; Shulgi returned to the lustrous E-kur.

30-35. In order that the heroes for ever praise Shulgi's great exaltedness, he made his enduring statue of everlasting fame brilliant like the heavenly stars, and set it up in majesty before the good eyes, filled with generosity, of the immutably eminent Father Enlil.

SHULGI'S EROTIC POEM TO HIS WIFE

A praise poem of Shulgi (Shulgi X) Translation: 2.4.2.24

1-8. The king sailed to Unug towards the princely divine powers. Sumer and Akkad marvelled at him as he moored the boat at the quay of Kulaba. With a large wild bull of the mountains with uplifted horns, and with a sheep led by the hand of an en priest at his right side, with a dappled kid and a bearded kid clasped to his breast, he entered before Inana in the shrine of E-ana.

9-13. Shulgi, the good shepherd, a heart in love, dressed himself in the ma garment and put a hili wig on his head as a crown. Inana looked at him with admiration and spontaneously struck up a song, singing the words:

14-35. "When I have bathed for the king, for the lord, when I have bathed for the shepherd Dumuzid, when I have adorned my flanks with ointment, when I have anointed my mouth with balsamic oil, when I have painted my eyes with kohl, when he has my hips with his fair hands, when the lord who lies down beside holy Inana, the shepherd Dumuzid, has on his lap, when he has relaxed in my pure arms, when he has intercourse with me like choice beer, when he ruffles my pubic hair for me, when he plays with the hair of my head, when he lays his hands on my holy genitals, when he lies down in the of my sweet womb, .

[2 lines unclear]

.... when he treats me tenderly on the bed, then I will too treat my lord tenderly.

36-41. "I will decree a good fate for him! I will treat Shulgi, the good shepherd, tenderly! I will decree a good fate for him! I will treat him tenderly in his! I will decree the shepherdship of all the lands as his destiny!"

42-48. The lady, the light of heaven, the delight of the black-headed (the Sumerians), the youthful woman who excels her mother, who was granted divine powers by her father, Inana, the daughter of Suen, decreed a destiny for Shulgi, the son of Ninsun:

49-73. "In battle I will be the one who goes before you. In combat I will carry your weapon like a personal attendant. In the assembly I will be your advocate. On campaign I will be your encouragement. You are a shepherd chosen by holy You are the generous provider of E-ana. You are the pure one of An's Iri-gal. You are worthy of You are one who is entitled to hold high his head on the lofty dais. You are one who is worthy of sitting on the shining throne. Your head is worthy of the brilliant crown. Your body is worthy of the long fleecy garment. You are worthy of being dressed in the royal garb. You are suited to hold the mitum weapon in your arm. You are suited to run fast with the battle-mace. You are suited to hit accurately with the barbed arrows and the bow. You are suited to fasten the throwstick and the sling to your side. Your hand is worthy of the holy sceptre. Your feet are worthy of the holy shoes. You are a fast runner suited to race on the road. You are worthy to delight yourself on my holy breast like a pure calf. May your love be lasting! An has determined this for you, and may he never alter it! May Enlil, the decreer of fates, never change it!" Thus Inana treated him

74-79. He who knows the joyful heart of Ninegala sheared a black kid, bathed a white kid, and tied a wild bull of the mountains by its nose. Then he brought them into the temple E-babbar which roars like a noble breed-bull, to the hero Utu in the shrine.

80-102. The hero Utu received him smiling, and decreed a fate for Shulgi the good shepherd of Sumer: "King, eloquent and good-looking, mighty hero, born to be a lion, young wild bull standing firm in its vigour, valiant one, unrestrained in his strength, who tramples great mountains underfoot: you have subdued the heroes of the foreign lands, you have trampled upon all the foreign rulers, you have established your name to the ends of the world. Go now in peace to your master Acimbabbar." And so he moored the boat at Enegir, the town built in splendour. (Shulgi speaks:) "Seed placed by the prince in the holy womb, born on the bright mountain, Ninazu, who like a wild bull which lows in its drinking,

[8 lines missing or unclear]
103-117. (Ninazu speaks:) "...... like syrup ghee You, the hero, coming from the rebel land O king, the lord of prayers and supplications has chosen you in his heart; shepherd Shulgi, the lord of prayers and supplications has chosen you in his heart. Who can rival a king to whom Enlil has given strength? Who can enter your? Who could escape your? no one who knows you could wish to strive with you any longer. If they wished battle with you, what could escape your outstretched arms? When you shriek like the Anzud-bird, who could stand before you? When you howl like the storm, the foreign lands and the hills tremble like a reed, a split reed The people in the houses of the foreign lands gaze at your deeds, the people of Tidnum joyfully admire them.

118-125. "As if you were Utu, your terror radiates in battle. As if you were Nergal, your battle-mace drools with gore and your spear reaches into the blood of the Land. You are the great door of the city, you are the great wall of the Land. You are a net piled up over heaven and earth, you are a laid around Sumer. May proclaim your glory in abundance! May the words of Enlil, which are so enormous, provide a shelter over your head! May the loving heart, Inana, never abandon you!

126-131. After Ninazu had pronounced and blessings, Shulgi provided a lavish choice of ewes and lambs, he provided a lavish choice of goats and kids, he generously white cows and calves, and then entered with them before Nanna in his E-temen-ni-guru and lifted his head high in the royal chamber, its most suitable hall, in its royal offering place, the holy place.

132-140. His master Acimbabbar looked at him with joy and decreed a fate for Shulgi, the good shepherd of Sumer: "Hero, lord, mighty one of the foreign lands, the right arm of the Land, you have achieved victory for me, have carried out what I have commanded you. You have reduced to ruins the houses of the rebel land that I have cursed. May you never grow weary of perfecting the divine powers for me every month at the new moon! May your name be as sweet as that of Acnan in the mouth of the Land and in the mouths of all the countries! May holy Ningal, the lady of the shrine, spread out her lan for you like the wooden frame of a waterskin!" Thus Suen decreed a good fate for him.

141-150. He took his seat on the holy dais in the lofty palace of Ninegala. He, the Ictaran of Sumer, omniscient from birth, decrees judgements in due order for the Land, and makes decisions in due order for the Land, so that the strong

does not abuse the weak, so that the mother speaks tenderly with her child and the child answers truthfully to his father. Under him, Sumer is filled with abundance, Urim is prolonged in splendour, and is established.

151-159. Because the king exulted in his triumph and let his might radiate, because he implemented his heroism perfectly, made the rebellious land bow and made our city, Urim, rise in prosperity; because the king is adorned with a lapis-lazuli headdress; because the son of Enlil lifts his head high, wearing a wide crown; because he takes counsel with An in his lofty place and is enthroned with Urac on a great dais; because he makes the Land of Sumer and all the foreign lands dance with joy day and night, may the lord Acimbabbar be praised.

160. Nisaba be praised!

LETTERS OF THE KINGS

And the 24 Letters of the Royal Correspondence of Ur

("The Letters of the Kings" are an enlightening collection of governmental Sumarian of governmental Sumerian correspondence. "The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur" (CKU) itself, also known as the Royal Correspondence of Ur, is a part of it. It is a collection of 24 literary letters written in the Sumerian language and attributed to kings of the Ur III period, 2048-1940 BC (2112-2004 middle chronology). They are known primarily from copies dating to the Old Babylonian period, ca. 1800-1600 BC; their original date of composition and their historical accuracy are debated which is not a surprise because the 24 letters are known only through copies written on clay tablets as school exercises by students learning to write cuneiform. All but one of the known copies have been dated to the Old Babylonian period, and were found in cities of Mesopotamia or the broader Near East, including Nippur, Ur, Isin, Uruk, Kish, Sippar, and Susa. A single tablet bearing copies of two of the letters and dating to the Middle Babylonian period was also found at Susa. About 115 cuneiform tablets bearing copies of one or more CKU letters are currently known. We are going to show here 43 letters:)

LETTER FROM ARADGU TO SHULGI ABOUT APILLASHA

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.01

- 1-2. Say to my lord: this is what Aradgu, your servant, says: 3-8. You instructed me, as I was taking the direct route to Subir, to secure your provincial taxes, to inform myself precisely as to the state of the territory, and to ensure its obedience by taking counsel with Apillasa, the 'Sage of the Assembly', so that he could thus return the people of Subir to their customary way of speaking.
- 9-11. But when I arrived at the palace gate, no one enquired after the well-being of my lord. No one rose from their seat before me, or bowed down. [(1 ms. adds:) They intimidated me.]
- 12-18. [When I came nearer] [(1 ms. has instead:) carries] -- well, your wayside hostel where cardingcombs and lances inlaid with gold, silver, cornelian and lapis lazuli have been set up, covers an area of one hectare! Apillasa himself is decked out in [gold and lapis lazuli] [(1 ms. has instead:) lapis lazuli, gold, silver and cornelian], and he sits on a raised throne furnished with a rich raiment. His feet rest upon a golden footstool. He would not remove his feet in my
- 19-21. To his right and left he had soldiers stationed, five thousand at each side. He placed at their disposal six fattened oxen and [60] [(1 ms. has instead:) 20] fattened [sheep] [(1 ms. has instead:) rams] for a meal. He assumed the right to perform my lord's lustration rites.
- 22-25. After a close interrogation at the gate, nobody even bade me enter. When I finally entered, someone brought me a throne with studs plated with red gold and told me: "Sit down!" I replied: "I am here to present the instructions of my king. Therefore I will not sit down!""
- 26-28. They brought me [two fattened oxen] [(1 ms. has instead:) one fattened ox and [20] [(the same ms. has instead:) 6] fattened sheep to my table. Then because, without my lord's soldiers overturned my table, I became frightened and my flesh crept.
- 29-34. In the month Ezen-Ninazu, after [the 15th day] [(1 ms. has instead:) five days had passed], my lord gave me his instructions. [By the first day] [(2 mss. have instead:) after one day had passed] of the month U-bigu, I [sent to you] [(1 ms. has instead:) I sent to my lord] a messenger. Now it is [midday] [(1 ms. has instead:) mid-month] [(1 other ms. has instead:) the day did not], approached. May my lord know!

LETTER FROM SHULGI TO ARADGU ABOUT APILLASHA

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.02

1-2. Say to Aradgu: this is what Shulgi, your lord, says: 3-5. The man to whom I have sent you is not your subordinate -- he will not [accept] [(1 ms. has instead:) change]

orders from your hand! How can you ignore what he himself has done too, and that it is indeed so?

6-15. As I myself ordered, you were to secure the provinces, and to correctly guide the people and [make them obedient] [(2 mss. have instead:) secure the foundations of the provinces]. When you approach the cities of the provinces, inform yourself precisely of their intentions, and inform yourself of the words of their dignitaries. Let my roar [be emitted over all the lands] [(1 ms. has instead:) fill all the lands] [(1 ms. has instead:) cover all the lands]. Let my powerful arm, my heroic arm, fall upon all the lands. Let my storm [cover] [(1 ms. has instead:) be released over the Land. Make the . disappear into the desert, and the robbers into the fields! Until you reach Apillasa, my 'Sage of the Assembly',!

16-17. That was how I had instructed you. Why have you not acted as I ordered you?

18-26. If I do not make my 'Sage of the Assembly' feel just as important as I am, if he does not sit on a throne on a dais, furnished with a high-quality cloth cover (?), if his feet do not rest on a golden footstool, if he is not allowed by his own highest authority both to appoint and then to remove a governor from his function as governor, an official [from his charge] [(some mss. have instead:) from his function as official] [(1 ms. has instead:) from an official], if he does not kill or blind anyone, if he does not elevate his favourite over others -how else can he secure the provinces?

27-28. If you truly love me, you will not bear him a grudge! 29-30. You are important, [but you do not even know your own soldiers] [(1 ms. has instead:) and you even know the soldiers that are at Apillasa's disposal]. Your eyes have learnt something about [these men] [(some mss. have instead:) Apillasa's men], and about [Apillasa's heroism] [(some mss. have instead:) my heroism].
31-35. If [you, Aradgu, are indeed my servant] [(some mss.

have instead:) you, Aradgu and Apillasa, are indeed my servants], you should both pay attention to my written communications. Come to an understanding, you two! Secure the foundations of the provinces! It is urgent!

LETTER FROM ARADGU TO SHULGI ABOUT IRRIGATION WORK

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.03

1-2. Say to my lord: thus says Aradgu, your servant:

3-6. My lord, you have given me instructions about every matter from the sea and the land of Dilmun. Ifrom the salt waters and the borders of the land of the Martul [(some mss. have instead:) to the salt waters and the borders of the land of the Martu], [to] [(1 ms. has instead:) from] the [side] [(1 ms. has instead:) borders (?)] of Simurrum and [the territory of] [(1 ms. has instead:) the territory of Subir]:

7-11. Their various cities and [all their environs] [(1 ms. has instead:) their troops], their canals, fields, arable tracts and their embankments and ditches,

1 line unclear

All the cities are listening to my lord.

[1 line unclear]

12-14. I have established strong guards for their fortresses, and I have made all their troops submit.

[1 line unclear]

15-22. I have drained the arable tracts when they were flooded. I have when their embankments were leaky. I have their fields and reedbeds. bowing their

4 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

LETTER FROM ARADGU TO SHULGI ABOUT THE COUNTRY

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.04

Segment A 1-2. Say to my lord: This is what Aradgu, your servant,

3-7. My lord, the vast territory which has been given to you as booty has been made obedient: it is of one mind. The people, abundant as vegetation, belong to Shulgi, shepherd of the reliable word. You are the god of mankind, in the south and the highlands. They keep their gaze fixed on you.

8-15. The widespread people, abundant as vegetation, say: "Hail, my lord!", from the flooding Tigris and Euphrates to the Tigris will rise. put aside. I will make. which is esteemed. When I have filled

[1 line fragmentary / unknown no. of lines missing]

Segment B

1-8. [1 line fragmentary] which he obtained, I am

[1 line fragmentary] the citizens of the territory of Gutium,, Mari and Rapiqum, who will listen at all times, are before me. Whatever you say, my lord, I will do.

LETTER FROM ARADGU TO SHULGI ABOUT ABA-INDASA'S MISSING TROOPS

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.05

1-2. Say to my lord: this is what Aradgu, your servant, says: 3-4. Aba-indasa, the captain of the royal pledged troops, has sent you May my lord take note most carefully concerning this matter.

5-10. When I had set my sights towards Zimudar, I was levying troops for the expedition, my lord; but when Abaindasa had inspected the troops, 2000 men of those troops were missing. They were not, nor They have the fortress, my lord, they have taken 11-15. offence

[2 lines fragmentary] Whatever you say, my lord! May my

LETTER FROM ARADGU TO SHULGI ABOUT THE FORTRESS IGI-HURSAGA

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.06

Segment A

1-2. Say to my lord: This is what Aradgu, your servant,

3-4. My lord, your word is the word of An, it Your decreed destiny has been bestowed on you as on a god.

5-9. As to the fortification which my lord sent me back to, the work on it has been put into effect. The approach of the enemy is kept at a distance from the Land. My lord continues to maintain his sublime reputation in the south and the uplands, from the rising to the setting sun, as far as the turned back] [(an Akkadian gloss has instead:) The totality]. borders of the entire Land. [The rebellious (?) Martu have

10-12. [Kurgamabi] [(an Akkadian gloss has instead:) Kunsi-matum] to Shulgi. The fortress Igihursaga And who will rival him?

unknown no. of lines missing

Segment B

1-3. [.....] [(an Akkadian gloss has instead:) The letter of] my lord Whatever, my lord, My lord

LETTER FROM SHULGI TO ARADGU ABOUT ABA-INDASA'S LETTER

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.06.1

1-2. Say to Aradgu: This is what your lord Shulgi says:

3-9. Because Aba-indasa, the captain of the pledged troops, had sent a letter concerning, he indeed insisted on clamping down heavily, when you have borne the offence. Why do they let him rise up from among their troops and make him enter of my guard? Carry it, and have your heart bear the offence, the enemy has departed, and then return him to their troops!

10-17. From my own, the fortress approx. 2 lines fragmentary I had set up the fortress, you knew (?) sending my letter by his hand, return him to their troops!

18-22. when you have made good by appointing, you ruin! was set, it was for you. In a safe place where before you, you should take your seat on a throne. This is urgent!

VERSION B

[unknown no. of lines missing] 1-7. [1 line fragmentary] Ur-Namma, my own father, the fortress I have set up for their From the fortress After my letter, return to their troops!

8-10. May not ruin their city! Its pride for their troops., may you on a throne.

LETTER FROM PUZUR-SHULGI TO SHULGI ABOUT THE ADVANCE OF THE ENEMY

Translation: ETCSL: t 3 1 07

1-3. Say to my lord: this is what [Puzur-Shulgi] [(1 ms. has instead:) Puzur-Marduk] [(1 other ms. has instead:) Puzur-Numusdal, the commander of the fortress Igi-hursaga, your servant, says:

- 4-8. All the [gold and silver] [(1 ms. has instead:) gold and lapis lazuli] [(1 other ms. has instead:) silver and gold] that my lord has been fashioning for the [(1 ms. adds:) great] gods -- is it not for his own life? For [the life] [(1 ms. has instead:) the well-being] of the troops and his land, my king has built the great fortress Igi-hursaga for the people of his land, because of the wicked enemy.
- 9-11. And now the enemy troops have risen up. [One] [(1 ms. has instead:)] man who had fled from me has been brought back. Having been caught, he has given me evidence of this, and [went ahead] [(1 ms. has instead:) "..... go!", and I went].
- 12-14. I am also well-informed about the oracular signs concerning the enemy: the enemy has replenished his strength for battle. However, my strength is limited, I cannot strengthen the fortress further or [guard it] [(1 ms. has instead:) guard the cities] against him.
- 15-22. As for the sector of [Su-Numusda] [(1 ms. has instead:) Su-Marduk] [(1 other ms. has instead:) Puzur-Numusda], the ruler of Girilumtura: five nindan lengths of it are cut off. As for the sector of Lugal-melem, the manager of the [Segseg watercourse] [(1 ms. has instead:) city of (the correct form of this name is not known)]: [40] [(1 ms. has instead:) 25] [(1 other ms. has instead:) 30] [(1 further ms. has instead:) 45] nindan lengths of on top of it are no longer fixed. As for the sector of Ka-kugani, the ruler of the territory of Murub: 45 nindan lengths were destroyed when the opposite side was captured. As for the sector of Takil-ilisu, the [canal inspector] [(1 ms. has instead:) ruler] of the Ab-gal and Me-Enlila watercourses: 50 nindan lengths of the edge have been removed, and in the middle of it they collapsed.
- 23-25. Moreover it is not [established] [(1 ms. has instead:) stated] [(1 other ms. has instead:) known] when the enemy will pitch camp. [Once the enemy is camped I will replenish my powers] [(1 ms. has instead:) The enemy will replenish his strength for battle]. [(1 ms. adds:) I will fortify and] His troops are camped among the hills.
- 26-29. If my lord agrees, [may he send to me speedily] [(1 ms. has instead:), let there be available 7,200 soldiers as workmen who will carry baskets for me. [May he send to me speedily] [(1 ms. has instead:) May there come, at my disposal,] 70 [Simaskian attendants] [(1 ms. has instead:)] [(1 other ms. has instead:)].
- 30-31. [The enemy has devised their plans concerning this: "I will resettle them"] [(1 ms. has instead:) The enemy has devised his plans and has resettled the people] [(1 other ms. has instead:) Plans concerning me have been devised: "I will resettle them"l. May it be known that, by night or by day the enemy's sins are forever grave.
- 32-34. I am the loyal servant of my lord Shulgi. [(1 ms. adds:) which is not negligent.] Let this not be the death of me! May my lord know! [(1 ms. adds:) It is urgent!]

LETTER FROM SHULGI TO PUZUR-SHULGI ABOUT THE FORTRESS IGI-HURSAGA

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.08

VERSION A SEGMENT A

- 1-3. Say to Puzur-Shulgi, the commander: this is what Shulgi, your lord, says:
- 4-8. When I had the fortress Igi-hursaga, and An and Enlil had supreme rule over all the foreign lands and the widespread people, the cities and the Land, and the people of the widespread Land lay

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

- 1. They should mobilise all these cities.
- 2-6. When the master-builder has taken up the work concerned, he is to re-establish securely any place where the fortification has fallen into ruins. Let him reinforce and also rebuild it. The neglected work load is to be completed within one month; I shall be questioning him about this work.
- 7-11. the Tidnum have returned from their mountain land. I am therefore setting over you Lu-Nanna, the ruler of the province of Zimudar, together with his troops (?). There is for you together with his There is not for him

[1 line fragmentary]

- 13-14. May be sent when is completed.
 15-17. Should Lu-Nanna, the ruler of the province of
- Zimudar, together with his troops, abandon you, then you and Aradgu [should not turn aside] [(1 ms. has instead:) should not feel constrained].
- 18-21. The orders are rigorous: you should not neglect your work load. They are to proceed with the building work by night and in the heat of noon. You will not be sleeping during the night or in the heat of noon! You should know this!

VERSION B (from Susa)

- 1-2. Say to Puzur-Numusda: this is what Shulgi, your lord.
- 3-7. When I had built the great fortress Igi-hursaga and An and Enlil had given to me the over all the foreign lands and the widespread people, each of their towns and all their provinces, and the people of the widespread Land lay in green meadows. I made them rest in spacious habitations, in peaceful dwelling places.
- 8-13. As for their men and women: the man among them goes wherever he pleases, and the woman with spindle and hair clasp goes wherever she pleases. After they had set up stock-pens in the vastness of the desert, and established their tents and camps, the workmen and the labourers spend the days in the fields.
- 14-15. In order that the ruler and the general manager can build everything for you concerning the fortress, carry out this work on the fortress now. The reputation of this fortress shall not be diminished.
- 16-19. By consulting omens and according to my heart's desire I have benefited the life of the troops and the province Now the troops have arrived. As for the work on this fortress, the men are to proceed with the building
- 20-22. Now I have sent Aradgu to you. Let the ruler and the general manager bring these men. They are to mobilise all the settlements
- 23-27. The master builder has taken up his work. Where substantial work has been neglected, let him return to it. He is to reinforce and rebuild it. He is to complete the fortress within one month. Let him not question this assignment.
- 28-30. May Lu-Nanna, the ruler of the province of Zimudar, go to join his troops. He certainly has flour provisions with
- him. He should not be deterred by hardship. 31. When the fortress is completed, a letter from the two of you should reach me.
- 32-36. When you have seen for yourselves, let Lu-Nanna, the ruler of the province of Zimudar, proceed to his troops. You and Aradgu should not delay them! Let the building work proceed both by night and by the noonday heat. Your orders are rigorous, and you should not give up this work load. It is urgent!

LETTER FROM SHULGI TO PUZUR-SHULGI ABOUT WATERWAYS

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.10

- 1-2. Say to Puzur-Shulgi, commander of the fortress Igihursaga: this is what Shulgi, your lord, says:
- 3-5. [Where] [(1 ms. has instead:) when] I had built the great fortress Igi-hursaga, the not come out. The cannot drink water, [because of a breach (?) in (?) the Tigris and Euphrates [(1 ms. has instead:) together with the Euphrates].
- 6-9. In order that should lie down, in order that should be absolutely clean, in order that should be put,

[1 line missing]

- 10-14. I will make change After sending you back, I instructed you I have built there They returned
 - 15-16. May be taken up. May he rebuild
- 17-22. is sending to me I will ask you of Zimudar shall indeed come to you

[1 line fragmentary] was taken. 23-28. be sent. I know very well abandon you. Should take, you both It is

LETTER FROM ARADGU TO SHULGI ABOUT BANDITS AND APILLASA

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.11

[unknown number of lines missing]

1-7. The men started irrigation work on the watercourses, [..... the watercourses] [(1 ms. has instead:) and dug and cleaned them out thoroughly]. These bandits and brigands applied their hoes to levelling the desert completely. As for their men and their women [(1 ms. adds:) the road]: the man among them goes wherever he pleases, [the woman among them] [(1 ms. has instead:) the woman], holding a spindle and hair clasp in her hand, [goes] [(1 ms. has instead:)] [(1 other ms. has instead:) going] the way of her choice. In the vastness of the desert [they set up] [(1 ms. has instead:) they knock up] animal pens, and [after setting up their tents and camps] [(1 ms. has instead:) they lie in green meadows in their tents and camps], their workers and agricultural labourers spend the day together on the fields.

8-14. I have not neglected the instructions of my lord Shulgi: both at night and in the noonday heat I my neck; the workload concerned. Since his childhood, Apillasa [has] [(1 ms. has instead:) has not]. A man such as

he knows my heart, as your eyes [know] [(1 ms. has instead:) have seen]. My lord, with the open eye of a god, [..... to an evildoer] [(1 ms. has instead:) you know the evildoer]. While the great official of all the foreign lands surpasses, my lord, you surpass all great things, an equal.

15-20. [The report is returned;] [(1 ms. has instead:) Whatever statements have been made,] your matter is an important matter, and your affairs are great affairs. His pleasant words are in your heart, They are the people. Your eyes How could I bear a grudge? I am securing the foundations of the province, and making it obedient. My lord, no king can rival you; let your heart be glad!

LETTER FROM UR-DUN TO SHULGI ABOUT APILLASA

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.11.1

- 1-2. Say to my lord: this is what the merchant Ur-DUN, your servant, says:
- 3-9. My lord gave me silver and sent me to a distant land in order to purchase cedar resin. After I had entered the land and had purchased cedar resin, Apillasa, the 'Sage of the Assembly', sent men to me and they took away my goods.
- 10-16. When I arrived at his palace gate, no one enquired about my business. Aradgu, your servant, and Babati, the archivist, had gone from Zimudar to Simurrum and had learnt and their messengers
- 17-18. of my lord Being in a weak position, I was not able to their illegal seizure.
- 19-20. He has given you a report, lord. Whatever you say, my lord!

LETTER FROM SHULGI TO ARADGU ABOUT TROOPS Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.13.1

1-2. To Aradgu Shulgi : 3-8. [2 lines fragmentary] As regards your concern May For their troops not

[1 line fragmentary] Their troops

LETTER FROM SHULGI TO ISHBI-ERRA ABOUT THE PURCHASE OF GRAIN

Translation: ETCSL: t 3 1 13 2

- 1-2. Say to Isbi-Erra: this is what Shulgi, your lord, says:
- 3-5. You have made me so happy with the news and everything. Who could give me a house-born slave such as you are? Who has such a capable man, so beneficial to his lord?
- 6-7. Now, no sign can confirm anything of what I have been sending to you, but I have sent it to you anyway.
- 8-11. I had Babati, the archivist -- who is to me a grandfather, an advisor of longstanding, who knows how to give advice -- send you 600 talents of silver and 600 talents of gold, which I had delivered to you because of the taking of from my troops.
- 12-14. I have also sent you intelligence information about the troops. Pass it on to Babati, and do whatever he wishes, lest his heart suddenly turns to hatred!
- 15-17. You are to receive the gold and silver from him, and purchase grain everywhere according to whatever exchange rate they will take from you. May your nothing at all.
- 18-19. From today, you are my son who makes me happy. The cities of the province, the land of the Martu, Elam -- all of them I have placed before you: you are just as important as I
- 20-22. So sit before them on a throne on a golden dais! Let their messengers prostrate themselves in front of you! May your at its rear; do not at all!
- 23-27. Remove a governor -- appoint a governor! Appoint a commander! Designate a captain-general! Certainly you should put a man to death, a man who has killed: blind the man who has killed! Build your house of manhood for an attendant who has been favourably looked upon! Make sure your recompense is great!
- 28-29. Now, you should not suddenly alter your word about all that I have been sending to you.

LETTER FROM SHARRUM-BANI TO SHU-SUEN ABOUT KEEPING THE MARTU AT BAY

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.15

- 1-2. Say to Su-Suen, my lord: this is what Sarrum-bani, the 'Sage of the Assembly', your servant, says:
- 3-8. You sent me a message ordering me to work on the construction of the great fortification Muriq-Tidnim. [You presented yourself before me] [(1 ms. has instead:) A messenger presented himself before me], announcing: "The Martu have invaded the land." [You instructed me] [(1 ms. has

instead:) You have imposed on me as a task] to build the fortification, so as to cut off their route; also, that no breaches of the Tigris or the Euphrates should cover the fields with water

9-11. When I was setting out, their from the bank of the Ab-gal watercourse to the province of Zimudar.

12-16. When I was constructing this fortification to the length of 26 danna, and had reached the area between the two mountain ranges, I was informed of the Martu camping within the mountain ranges because of my building work. Simurrum had come to their assistance. So I set off to the area between the mountain ranges of Ebih in order to engage in military action.

17-18. But as far as I can say, I have not seen troops carrying baskets. In order to engage in military action, I went to their

19-21. If my lord agrees, may he provide me with additional workmen and set the wages for me. did not succeed tribute of the provinces.

22-26. I sent a messenger to the province of Murub: the attitude of the province has altered. I will not neglect to build the fortification — in fact I am building and engaging in military action at the same time. After all, as 'Sage of the Assembly' I descend from a great lineage! I have been advised that the attitude of the province has not altered.

27-30. At the time I sent my messenger to you, I sent another messenger, after him, to [Lu-Nanna] [(1 ms. has instead:) Lu-Enki], the ruler of the province of Zimudar. He has sent you 7200 workers.

31-33. Basket men are available; however, men fit to engage in military action are limited. If my lord should arrange the dismissal of the workers ready to work, let me pursue military action together with them, when I have removed them.

34-38. The dignitaries of your provinces are sending a man to them. They have presented themselves before me, announcing: "As far as we are concerned, we are unable to guard all the cities. But how exactly will any troops be given to you?" My messenger has been sent to them.

39-43. Once my lord has given me instructions, I will repeatedly return to work at nightfall and at midnight, as well as engaging in military action. I stand at the disposal of the fame and word of my lord, and so I will bring weapons to bear. No strength has yet been displayed, nor any firmness shown by means of weapons. Let the storm cover all the lands! May my lord know!

LETTER FROM SHU-SUEN TO SHARRUM-BANI ABOUT DIGGING A TRENCH

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.16

1-2. Say to Sarrum-bani: this is what Su-Suen, your lord, says:

As for myself, whatever you say to me

7-14. When you went into the province -- who but you has approached the province? Spending the night When their dignitaries have their words, if

1 line unclear

Their dignitaries should stand by you in their quarters. When their have been cast away, they themselves the province.

15-20. If officials should pass by,

[1 line unclear]

By placing the enemy, their cities, their borders, until [they come down] [(1 ms. has instead:) they come out from their fortress], they must not overturn it!

21-22. When their men had killed, [their women] [(1 ms. has instead:) their soldiers] passed through your cities of the province; it was not

23-24. That was how I instructed you. Why did you not act as I ordered you?

25-27. You were not empowered to kill anyone, to blind people or to destroy cities; but I gave you authority to do so.

28-30. When my father Shulgi built the fortress, it was not you people who were involved -- and my throne is not the throne of Shulgi!

31-34. Concerning Lu-Enki, the ruler of the province of Zimudar, he should come to you, and should bring with him 60 troops. Let them be sent together with

35-36. , the archivist, made limited. According to the instructions that have been given to him, he should build that fortress.

37-38. And as for you, with the soldiers who are under your authority, get the trench dug!

39-42. So as not to change the attitude of the province, you people are not to release the workers while the land has not yet been secured.

43-45. Let messengers bring me news about those eastern provinces. This is urgent!

LETTER FROM ISHBI-ERRA TO IBBI-SUEN ABOUT THE PURCHASE OF GRAIN

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.17

1-2. Say to Ibbi-Suen, my lord: this is what Isbi-Erra, your servant, says:

3-6. You ordered me to travel to Isin and Kazallu to purchase grain. With grain reaching the exchange rate of one shekel of silver per gur, 20 talents of silver have been invested for [the purchase] [(2 mss. have instead:)] of grain.

7-12. I heard news that the hostile Martu have entered inside your territories. [I entered with 72,000 gur of grain] [(1 ms. has instead:) 72,000 gur of grain was brought] -- the entire amount of grain -- inside Isin. Now I have let the Martu, all of them, penetrate inside the Land, and one by one I have seized all the fortifications therein. Because of the Martu, [I am unable to hand over] [(2 ms. have instead:) I am unable to make] this grain for threshing. They are stronger than me, while I am condemned to sitting around.

13-16. Let my lord repair 600 [barges] [(2 mss. have instead:) boats] of 120 gur draught each; 72 solid boats, 20, 30, placing 50 and 60 (?) boat doors on the boats, may he also all the boats.

17-21. [Let them bring it up] [(1 ms. has instead:) May he make them go out] by water, along the Kura and the Palistum watercourses, to the grain heaps that are spread out. And I myself intend to [go] [(1 ms. has instead:) come out] and meet them. The place there where the boats moor will be under my responsibility. Let them load up huge amounts of grain, the entire amount of grain; it should reach you.

22-23. If you have not got enough grain, I myself shall have grain brought in to you.

24-28. My lord has become distressed about the battles in Elam. But the Elamites' grain rations have quickly been exhausted, so do not slacken your forces! Do not fall head first into their slavery, nor follow at their heels!

29-30. I have at my disposal enough grain to meet the needs of your palace and of [all the cities] [(1 ms. has instead:) all your cities] for 15 years.

31-33. [That I should guard for you] [(2 mss. have instead:) To guard] [(1 ms. adds:) the city of] Isin, and Nibru: [let it be my responsibility.] [(1 ms. has instead:) my lord, is this my responsibility?] My lord should know this! (end of shorter version)

34-37. My lord, I am without fear! I will not delay; I will not in their midst. Each one of Isin's and Nibru's gods may search there for faces; I have indeed looked for them. Their widespread people, their population, huge, are indeed healthy; the true seed is [indeed great there] [(1 ms. has instead:) precious].

38-41. Urim, your holy city, rivalling heaven and earth, whose great prince you are, of which the appearance is precious, which dispenses the divine powers and makes the foundations and the plans firm both in the south and in the uplands, will surely escape from the grasp and will cry

42-45. Elam, a raging dog, a destroyer, will not defile E-kis-nu-gal, the sanctuary which covers heaven and earth, which has no Its protective spirits shall not be split apart! My lord: the loudest roarer, the runner, has taken flight!

46-51. May An, Enlil and Enki, who have loved lbbi-Suen from the womb, look upon him approvingly. is indeed placed there; they have changed their appearance. With the and the city-gates of Urim opening, they cry "Aee!" If says, "Who is my lord?" -- You are the king to whom Enlil has given no rival!

52-55. Your heart should not fret over this,! For has avenged; he has made its foundations firm for you. Let your heart be glad over and its seed. As long as my lord is alive, he will exercise kingship over Urim.

56-58. Do not suddenly reject anything that is sent as a message to my lord! Before Utu, I will not change my word.

LETTER FROM IBBI-SUEN TO ISHBI-ERRA ABOUT HIS BAD CONDUCT

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.18

1-2. Say to Isbi-Erra: this is what your lord (?), Ibbi-Suen, says:

3-10. As long as Enlil was my lord, what course were you following? And is this how you alter your word? Today Enlil detests me, he detests his son Suen (the principal deity of Urim), and is handing Urim over to the enemy. Its central part is gone, the enemy has risen up, and all the lands are thrown into disarray. But on the day when Enlil turns again towards his son Suen, you and your word will be marked out!

11-13. You have received 20 talents of silver to purchase grain. You purchase it at the price of one shekel of silver per 2 gur of grain, but in dealing with me, you fix the price at one shekel of silver per 1 gur of grain!

14-18. How could you allow Puzur-Numusda, the commander of the fortress Igi-hursaga, to let the hostile

Martu penetrate into my Land? Until now he has not sent to you word about engaging in battle. There are puny men in the Land! Why has he not faced the Martu?

LETTER FROM PUZUR-SHULGI TO IBBI-SUEN ABOUT ISHBI-ERRA'S CLAIM ON ISIN

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.19

1-3. Say to Ibbi-Suen, my lord: this is what Puzur-Shulgi, the governor of Kazallu, your servant, says:

4-6. A messenger of Isbi-Erra came to me. He presented himself before me announcing: "Isbi-Erra, my lord, sends you a message:"

a message:"
7-14. " "Enlil, my lord, has the shepherdship of the land. Enlil has told me to bring before Ninisina the cities, detities and troops of the region of the Tigris, Euphrates, Abgal and Me-Enlila watercourses, from the province of Hamazi [to the sea of Magan] [(1 ms. has instead:) and from the of Magan], so as to make Isin the storehouse of Enlil, to make it famous, and [to make those regions its spoils of war and to make Isin's citizens occupy their cities] [(1 ms. has instead:) to make Isin's citizens occupy the cities as spoils of war.]"

15-17. "Why do you oppose (?) me? [I swear by the name of my lord Enlil and by Dagan, my personal god] [(2 mss. have instead:) I swear by the name of Dagan, my personal god], that I will indeed get hold of Kazallu!""

18-25. " "The cities and the province which Enlil has promised me [I want to build up] [(1 ms. has instead:) I want to place] within Isin in their I want to perform at their eses festivals. I want to install my statues, my emblems, my en priests [(2 mss. add:) and lumah priests] and nindigir priestesses in their gipar shrines. Before Enlil, within the E-kur, before Nanna, within the E-kis-nu-gal, the shall speak their prayers ""

speak their prayers.""

26-29. " "And as for you, [I want to remove] [(2 mss. have instead:) eradicate] from within his country the man in whom you placed your trust! I want to rebuild the fortification of Isin and name it Idil-pasunu!""

30-32. Just as he said he would, he has rebuilt the fortification of Isin and named it Idil-pasunu.

33-34. He has captured Nibru and installed [his garrison] [(1 ms. has instead:) set guards] there. Also he has captured Nigdugani, the chief administrator [of Nibru] [(1 ms. has instead:) at Nibru].

35-36. He [has imprisoned] [(1 ms. has instead:) made a prisoner of] Zinnum, the governor [of Subir] [(1 ms. has instead:) of Kisl. He has plundered Hamazi.

37-42. He has made [Nūr-ahi] [(2 mss. have instead:) Nūr-Ea], the governor of Esnunna, Su-Enlil, the governor of Kis, and [Puzur-Tutu] [(1 ms. has instead:) Puzur-Marduk], the governor of Bad-ziaba, return to their posts. At his cry of victory the land is covered like a Isbi-Erra is constantly at the head of his soldiers!

43-48. Just as he said he would, he has captured the regions of the Tigris, Euphrates, Ab-gal and Me-Enlila watercourses. He has made Iddin enter Malgium. [Opposing] [(1 ms. has instead:) hating] Girbubu, the governor of Girikal, he [cut off his strap] [(2 mss. have instead:) he removed his barley stores] and captured him. [His cry of victory lies heavily upon us] [(1 ms. has instead:) he named

ms. has instead:) he named].
49-53. Now Isbi-Erra is looking in my direction. I have no ally, nobody with whom I can align myself. Since he has not yet been able to get me in his grasp, let me come to you when he falls upon me. My lord should know this!

LETTER FROM IBBI-SUEN TO PUZUR-SHULGI HOPING FOR ISHBI-ERRA'S DOWNFALL

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.20

VERSION A

1-3. Say to [Puzur-Shulgi] [(2 mss. have instead:) Puzur-Numusda], the governor of Kazallu: this is what Ibbi-Suen, your lord, says:

4-5. When I had chosen for you from among the troops, they were at your disposal, as governor of Kazallu. But as in my own case, are not [your troops] [(1 ms. has instead:) your people] proof of your importance?

6-9. Why have you sent me somebody saying: "Isbi-Erra has got his eyes upon me -- so let me come to you when he falls upon me"?

10-14. How come you did not know how long it would take to make Isbi-Erra return to the mountain lands? Why have you and Girbubu, the governor of Girikal, not confronted him with the troops which you had at hand? How could you allow him to restore?

15-19. Today Enlil loathes Sumer and has elevated to the shepherdship of the Land an ape which has [descended] [(2 mss. have instead:) come forth] from those mountain lands. [Now Enlil has given kingship to a dishonest man, [a seller of] [(1 ms. has instead:) who values] asafoetida] [(1 ms. has instead:) At this moment Enlil to somebody who sells asafoetida, a

peripatetic criminal] -- to Isbi-Erra, who is not of Sumerian

origin.
20-24. See, the assembly where the gods are and Sumer itself have been dispersed! Father Enlil, whose words prevail, said: "Until the enemy has been expelled from Urim, Isbi-Erra, the man from Mari, will tear out Urim's foundations. He will indeed measure out Sumer like grain." He has spoken just so.

25-28. Even though you were installed as governors of the various the others will defect to Isbi-Erra, in accordance with Enlil's word. Should you hand over your city to the enemy like your companions, [Isbi-Erra will not recognise you as his faithful and agreeable servant.] [(1 ms. has instead:) will Isbi-Erra recognise you as his faithful and agreeable servant?]

29-34. May it now be brought about that good words should be restored and treason extinguished. Let Isbi-Erra participate in the harvest among the people there; but you yourself, [do not turn back] [(1 ms. has instead:) do not harvest], and do not come to me! His grasp should not get hold of the city! This man from Mari, with the understanding of a dog, should not exercise lordship!
35-38. [Now Enlil, my helper, has made the Martu rise

from their mountain lands] [(1 ms. has instead:) Now Enlil has the Tidnum as from their mountain lands]. They will repel Elam and seize Isbi-Erra. To regain the Land will indeed make our might known in all the foreign lands. It is urgent! [Do not be neglectful] [(1 ms. has instead:) Do not all give up]!

VERSION B

[unknown no. of lines missing]

1-4. sent:

[1 line missing]

... come. they stood

5-8. How come you did not know to make return to the mountain lands? of Girikal, they had, they have not confronted him. How could you allow him to?

9-13. detests After he has elevated to the shepherdship of the Land. has given kingship to asafoetida, who is

14-19. After has been dispersed,

[3 lines missing]
Enlil spoke thus: "..... will

20-23

[1 line fragmentary] He will defect to Isbi-Erra So long as has indeed not been handed over to the enemy, will Isbi-Erra himself recognise?

24-35. You he destroyed for you.

[1 line fragmentary] he overturns there. returning in my having I had in mind was set there in prosperity. . supreme over, after I have made there. I will seize him with my own hands

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

LETTER FROM ABA-INDASA TO SHULGI ABOUT HIS NEGLECT

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.1.21

1-8. Say to my lord, and repeat to my kid of the mountains. with beautiful horns; to my horse of the mountains, with an eagle's claws; my date-palm, growing on untouched ground and with fresh dates hanging from it: this is what the captain of pledged [troops] [(2 mss. have instead:) soldiers], Abaindasa -- who, by means of prayers for his king, greatly

pleases his king's heart -- your servant, says:
9-10. You are mighty, [my lord; I will follow you] [(1 ms. has instead:) let me be your soldier]! [Let me be the courier of your business] [(1 ms. has instead:) I will stand before him

11-13. When a boat is available, I will steer with the rudder: [when water is available] [(1 ms. has instead:) when a father is available], I will plunge in; [(2 mss. add:) when a son is available, I will thresh;] [(1 ms. adds:) I will make shiny;] when wind is available, [I will winnow] [(1 ms. has instead:) I will].

14-15. I am a scribe and I write on stelae. [(2 ms. add:) business concerning the troops.] I will business which has been neglected in the assembly, when it [(1 ms. adds:) business which makes good equal.]

16-19. But like a tree planted in riverine thickets, I am bowed down in dirt. They have bound a rope around my hands, on my chair where they have tied me. In my city, where I would wear clean clothes, I am clothed instead in mourning dress. When I wash away clods of soil, dust still gets into my

20-23. Dogs devour corpses, lifting their chests. When dragons kill, what is left from their mouths is put aside. Fire consumes reedbeds even though they have waterways. Utu, who eats butter, who eats cream, nevertheless touches the table of the poor. [(1 ms. adds:) Grant me my life and hold my hands! I am a son of a widow, and I have no one to take care of

24. As for me, when will the heart of Shulgi, my lord, be restored to me? [(1 ms. adds:) May my lord attend to me and restore me to my mother.]

LETTER FROM SIN-ILLAT TO IDDIN-DAGAN ABOUT CONFRONTING THE MARTU

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.2.01

1-3. Speak to my lord: this is what Sin-illat the general, your servant, says:

4-7. When I moved opposite Kakkulatum, the Martu rose up from their ambush with their weapons. When I, I captured 70 and brought them into Kakkulatum.

8-11. If my lord arranges for the troops to encamp, let him have them take their tied-up leather sacks. If my lord arranges for the troops not to encamp, [then let them stay put] [(2 mss. have instead:) then let them go]. [May my lord know] [(1 ms. has instead:) This is urgent]!

LETTER FROM IDDIN-DAGAN TO SIN-ILLAT ABOUT THE TROOPS

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.2.02

1-2. Speak to Sin-illat the general: this is what Iddin-Dagan, your lord, says:

3-9. My expeditionary force is able to cross to both banks of the river, inspiring awe and creating a blockade. When you moved opposite Kakkulatum, the protective goddess and Dagan and and Enlil, king of the Land, the soldiers. My splendour covers the Land. And as for you, your heroism and strength

[1 line fragmentary] Kingship

10-19. The troops heavy work. You should the recruits (?) of the men who are mounting guard. They should check on your behalf all those entering and leaving. My lord, When you by your treacherous [Do not cut back your troops] [(1 ms. has instead:) their troops]. Come quickly! It is urgent!

LETTER FROM NANNA-KI-AG TO LIPIT-ESHTAR ABOUT GUNGUNUM'S TROOPS

Translation: ETCSL: t 3 2 03

1-3. Speak to my lord: this is what Nanna-ki-ag the general, your servant, says:

4-6. E-danna has turned against my lord. Atta-mannum has made six hundred troops of Gungunum enter into E-danna.

7-11. I would not allow these troops to enter old Iri-sagana. They camped instead in Iri-gibil. [These troops] [(1 ms. has instead:) The troops of Gungunum] have come from the banks of the Id-Amar-Suena watercourse, in order to build, to make Dunnum ready and to

12-17. If my lord does not crews of highlanders, bows, arrows, small boats, fishermen, their tied-up leather sacks, weapons, and implements, the armaments of battle, then the troops will construct brick structures by the bank of the Id-Amar-Suena watercourse, and dig a canal.

18-19. They should not be neglectful, my lord! It is urgent!

LETTER FROM LIPIT-ESHTAR TO NANNA-KI-AG ABOUT DRIVING AWAY THE ENEMY

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.2.04

1-3. Say to Nanna-ki-ag, the general: this is what Lipit-Estar, your lord, says:

4-7. Because of [enemy troops] [(1 ms. has instead:) the enemy], [I, the king, have sent you a letter] [(1 ms. has instead:) I have sent a letter]. Atta-mannum, who pleases his lord, is a better [servant to his lord] [(1 ms. has instead:) man] than you! Why is it that [you have not been avenging your lord, and not keeping me informed] [(1 ms. has instead:) while I have kept the soldiers loyal, you have not stationed them among those people]? [(1 ms. adds:) So now you are to station the troops there.1

8-10. Now, [I have sent to you in haste] [(1 ms. has instead:) they have pursued [2000] [(1 ms. has instead:) 4000] [(1 other ms. has instead:) 3000] soldiers [who are spear-throwers] [(1 ms. has instead:) who are spear-throwers], [2000] [(1 ms. has instead:) 4000] soldiers [who are archers] [(1 ms. has instead:) who are archers], and [2000] [(1 ms. has instead:) 1000] soldiers [who are double-axe wielders] [(1 ms. has instead:) who are double-axe wielders].

11-17. The enemy has camped down in Iri-gibil. Chase them away from those settlements; do not Guard each Do not let these cities out of your grasp. Station your people -- it is urgent!

LETTER FROM SIN-IDDINAM TO THE GOD UTU

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.2.05

1-5. Say to Utu my lord, the exalted judge of heaven and earth, who cares for the Land, who renders verdicts; just god, who loves to keep man alive, who heeds entreaty, who extends mercy, who knows compassion, who loves justice, who selects honesty,:

6-11. Repeat to the bearded one, the son of Ningal, a lapis-lazuli beard, [who opens the bolts of heaven and earth] [(1 ms. has instead:) who opens the bolts], who creates brightness in darkness; foremost lord who alone is resplendent, whose greatness is unequalled; warrior, son given birth by Ningal, who guards and gathers together the divine powers; just god, prince who determines all the fates, my lord, father of the black-headed: this is what Sin-iddinam, king of Larsam, your servant, says:

12-20. Distress has been caused in your city Larsam, which you have chosen in your heart. The broad squares where days have been passed in merriment [have been reduced to] [(1 ms. has instead:) are left in silence. Your commendable troops who were assembled have been annihilated like reeds from a reed fence splitting apart. Your young men have been harvested like barley at the due time; they have been picked and have been plucked like ripened fruit. The people have been smashed like terracotta figurines; they have perished all together. An evil storm took away the little ones from the laps of their mothers. The people; their appearance has been changed. Overwhelming troops have been set loose, the Land like flour. O youthful Utu, like an enemy you stand aside from your city Larsam.

21-29. The mountain land of Elam where there are no dead in great numbers like, and Subir, a heavy cloud, which knows no reverence even towards the gods -- these districts have not been weakened; their time has not yet come. [The Simaskian does not elect nugig or lukur priestesses for the places of the gods] [(1 ms. has instead:) The Simaskian knows neither his god nor those elected nugig and lukur priestesses] [(1 other ms. has instead:) The Simaskian neither the nugig nor the nubar priestesses for the places of the gods]. His soldiers are numerous like grass; his seed [is widespread] [(1 ms. has instead:) is indeed exalted]. He who lives in tents, who does not know of the places of the gods: like a wild beast which mounts, he knows nothing of [esa flour nor prayers] [(1 ms. has instead:) flour and the offering of prayers]. The evil namtar demon and the distressing asag demon [have not carried him off (?)] [(1 ms. has instead:) do not approach him]. Who a divine oath is committing sacrilege, yet his troops are in good health.

30-33. [For seven years, in my city there has been no battle and combat, and death has not been imminent] [(1 ms. has instead:) For five years, in my city we have not been extinguished by battle, not oppressed by death]. In the open country the lion [does not diminish] [(1 ms. has instead:)] devouring men. I am [treated] [(1 ms. has instead:) I have been bound like one who does not know how to entreat a god fervently. I serve the great gods daily with prayers, and my fervent entreaties are sublime.

34-44. O youthful Utu, for that reason look favourably upon your city Larsam! Say "Alas!" for your city! Say "Alas for the sanctuary!"! Extend sympathetic compassion to Larsam! Take heed of the causes of distress, and make leave Larsam! Remove and distress from [its midst] [(1 ms. has instead:) within Larsam]! the frightful in Larsam, so that may escape the clutches of death. may its seed be great! May sing your praise!

45-46. And as for me, for my reverence give me life! Bestow on me long life as a gift!

LETTER FROM UR-SAGA TO A KING FEARING THE LOSS OF HIS FATHER'S HOUSEHOLD

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.01

1-2. Speak to my lord, the [bull] [(1 ms. has instead:) wild bull] [(1 other ms. has instead:) bison] with sparkling eyes, who wears a lapis-lazuli beard:

3-5. Repeat to my golden statue born on a favourable day, to my water buffalo reared in a holy fold, chosen in the heart [of holy Inana] [(1 ms. has instead:) of holy Inana, of Suenl, to my lord, the trusted one of Inana:

6-9. You are fashioned like the son of An. As with the words of a god, [what you say is irrevocable] [(1 ms. has instead:) all the foreign lands cannot answer your words]. Your words, like rain pouring from the skies, [are uncountable] [(1 ms. has instead:) are uncheckable] [(1 other ms. has instead:) are uncontrollable]: this is what Ur-saga, vour servant, says:

10-14. My lord [has taken care of me] [(2 mss. have instead:) has not taken care of me]; I am a citizen of Urim. [If my lord agrees] [(1 ms. has instead:) If it pleases my lord], let no one waste my father's household, let no one take away [the home

of my father's estate] [(1 ms. has instead:) my old man's home]! May my lord know this!

LETTER FROM LUGAL-NESAGE TO A KING RADIANT AS THE MOON

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.02

VERSION A (from Nibru)

1-5. Say this to the king who has made his radiance resplendent over all the lands like the moonlight. Repeat it to the king who renders just verdicts like Utu and regulates decisions like Istaran, to my king who heeds prayers. This is what [Lugal-nesage] [(3 mss. have instead:) Lugal-su], a citizen of Nibru and your servant, says:

6-11. Like a sheep I use my mouth for eating grass and I am unfamiliar with washing with soap. Like an ox bearing a yoke which it cannot support, I have been driven out into the high plains. Like a cow whose calf is not close by, I utter pitiful cries. As happens to a ewe whose lamb is restrained in the milking pen, hands seize me. As happens to a bird, men take my nest away. As happens to a boat which is not anchored to a firm quay, I drift in the wind. (1 ms. omits lines 10-12)

12-15. In the streets of Nibru grief consumes me. A hostile city has taken over my city and I have no protector. A hostile house has taken over my house and against me. In my city, like a slave, no and I wear a filthy fleece.

16-21. My friends, companions, acquaintances and esteemed colleagues look on with scorn as at a man who eats alone. My mother who begot me and whose breasts are crescent-shaped has snatched from my mouth my contented consumption of milk. My father who raised me in his lap has cast me aside. My merciful lady whose house is treasured no longer notices me.

22-23. As happens to a sickly tree that has borne no fruit, no one rejoices over me. I am fresh fruit but I have no buds and I do not

24. May my king care for me and may I return to my former status.

VERSION B (from Urim)

[unknown number of lines missing]

[4 lines fragmentary]

7. to my king who heeds prayers.

[1 line fragmentary] Nibru

8-18. Like a sheep I set my mouth to eating grass and I am unfamiliar with washing with soap. Like an ox under a yoke which it cannot support, I have been driven out into the high plains. Like a cow whose calf is not close by, I utter pitiful cries. As happens to a, hands seize me. As happens to a boat which is not anchored to a firm quay, I drift in the wind.

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

LETTER FROM LUGAL-NESAGE TO A KING RADIANT AS THE SUN

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.03

1-7. Say this to the king who like the sun has made the heart of the Land radiant. Repeat it to the one who removed oppressive toil from the furrow, who [defeated] [(1 ms. has instead:) confronted] Tidnum and holds its sceptre, who is counted as its honoured king. This is what [Lugal-nesage] [(2 mss. have instead:) Lugal-su], a citizen of Nibru and your

8-15. A punishment which I do not understand has ravaged me and I have wailed my lamenting. In a strange city I moan like a dove and receive no mercy. I am constantly restless like a dog which does not know where to settle down. I am watchful like a bird which has flown from the claws of a falcon. My exuberance has perished in blight like a garden that has not been [watered] [(1 ms. has instead:) tended] . Envy within my king's palace overwhelms me and a bad reputation besets me.

16-31. Grief Woe Like an ox I am overwhelmed, my fodder. My descendants and offspring are on good terms their nest, the mouth for eating food. [As happens on] [(1 ms. has instead:) Like a distant from] the high plains where the winds blow, the mill. I will not be buried on dying but ground like grain. My brother, although not an enemy, contemptuously.

[approx. 6 lines missing / 3 lines fragmentary] 32-33. The king, like Utu.

VERSION B (from Kis)

[unknown number of lines missing]

1-9. a bird the claws of a falcon. like a garden which has been watered. Envy within my king's palace overwhelms me and Grief Woe Like an ox I am overwhelmed, like my fodder. My descendants and offspring are worried in their nests. Like a distant from the high plains where the winds blow, the

mill. I will not experience being buried as befits the dead but ground like grain.
[unknown number of lines missing]

LETTER FROM UR-ENLILA TO A GOVERNOR AND TEMPLE ADMINISTRATOR

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.04

1-2. Say to the governor and temple administrator what Ur-Enlila says:

3-5. The irrigation ditch which has been cleared was bringing water but [Enlil-digirgu] [(1 ms. has instead:) Enlilagu] [(another ms. has instead:) Enlilagu] and Ḥanzamu have drawn off the water and taken it from the ditch

6. And what Lugal-Ane says:

7-12. I proposed, " [Water should be brought] [(1 ms. has instead:) The irrigation should be donel on the basis of one ditch for me, one ditch for you and one ditch for the governor," but they did not agree. Your canal has no workers but its ditch brings water. It brings water for me unchecked. My workforce is inadequate so send me five or [10] [(1 ms. has instead:) 60] able-bodied men. It is urgent.

LETTER FROM A GOVERNOR AND TEMPLE ADMINISTRATOR TO A KING

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.05

VERSION A (from Nibru; Nippur)

1-2. Say to our king what the governor and temple administrator say:

3-10. The three sar (i.e. 3,240 iku) of the field Dabta are assigned for the benefit of Enlil [(2 mss. add:), Ninlil] and Ninurta. Of this, [three bur (i.e. 54 iku)] [(1 ms. has instead:) three BURgunû (i.e. 540 iku)] are the portion of the men in charge of the requisitions. Iqbisum and Abi-qati have made a claim over one bur (i.e. 18 iku) at the bottom of the field. If our king consents, he should send a courier and should the instructions for doing the work and for the boundary stakes of the field.

11-15. Two iku at its and the area facing the field have been hoed and worked upon. Workers, extra labourers, farmers, ox-drivers and ploughmen being unavailable, the field has been harrowed with single oxen and we do the work with hoes. Our king should know this.

VERSION B (from Urim: Ur)

1-14. The three sar (i.e. 3,240 iku) of the field Meam (Where-is-it?) are assigned for the benefit of Enlil and Ninurta. Of this, three BURgunû (i.e. 540 iku) are the portion of the men in charge of the requisitions. Two iku which are at its have been hoed and Ploughmen are not available for work on a plot in the field. Iqbisum and Abi-qati have made a claim against you. If my king consents, he should send a courier. They the instructions for doing the work and for the boundary stakes of the field.

LETTER FROM ABA-TAH-LUGALGA TO HIS BROTHERS

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.06

1-2. Say to my brothers what Aba-tah-lugalga says: 3-12. We are to go on journeys that are long and now the just king, our king, draws near. Journey is to be added to journey after journey. I shall not be able to look after our mother. Take great care that the sun does not set over our neighbourhood before you have one litre of salt, one litre of mustard [(1 ms. adds on the lower edge:), from the hand,] and one garment for travellers. Our journeys will be long. It is urgent.

LETTER FROM UGUBI TO HIS MOTHER

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.07

1-3. Traveller, traveller, say to my mother what Ugubi says: 4-11. Urim (Ur) is the joyful city of Nanna. But I sit behind the door of the chief musician's house in Eridug (Eridu), the abundant city of Enki. Longing consumes me. I do not want to die because the bread is never fresh and the beer is never fresh. Send a messenger to me at once. It is urgent.

LETTER FROM SAMAS-ţAB TO ILAK-NI'ID

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.08

1-2 Say to Ilak-ni'id what Samas-tah says:

3-12. It is a journey of one month and fifteen days, and Why on the third day of the month have you not brought your news to me [at] [(1 ms. has instead:) from] Niqum? I have looked out for you and your route was arranged. In question are: 4 shekels of silver for 2 yoked

donkeys, 1/2 shekel of silver for 1 linen garment, 1 shekel for your rental of the boat, and 1 and 1/3 shekels for your rental of the boat.

[1 line unclear]

Your additional expenditure is not included in this total.

13-18. I have calculated the cost of two loads of purple wool for you. The price is [1 and 2/3] [(2 mss. have instead:) 2/3] mana of silver -- bring me the equivalent in tin. And look out for quartz, stone and stone. Your extra silver and the capital have been held for you and recorded on a clay tablet. From now on news should be brought about you. It is

LETTER FROM LUGAL-NESAGE TO ENLIL-MASSU Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.09

1-9. Say this to Enlil-massu who [enhances] [(1 ms. has instead:) pronounces advice and counsel, the mellifluous mouth which makes speech persuasive. Repeat it to the son who serves his god and respects his father and mother. [Say it a third time] [(1 ms. has instead:) Repeat it] to my protective guardian and propitious spirit -- the precious powers -- whose form and stature are pleasing, honour to the scribal craft, [hero among the administrators and ornament of the palace] [(1 Urim ms. has instead:) hero among the administrators] [(2 mss. have instead:) ornament of the palace and hero among the administrators] who reinstates decrees and greatly pleases the heart of his king. This is what Lugal-nesage, the nues priest of Enlil and person who brings laughter to the king, son of [Enlil-alsag] [(1 Urim ms. has instead:) Zuzu], the

scholar of Nibru and your father, says: 10-16. When [your mighty] [(the 2 Urim mss. have instead:) my] completely crushed me, my heart sank and [thirst and hunger] [(1 Urim ms. has instead:) hunger and thirst] wasted me away. Your status consumes me, your complaints crush me, your majesty oppresses me, your [slander] [(1 Urim ms. has instead:) your storminess] puts an end to me. [After being attentive I have been abandoned] [(the 2 Urim mss. have instead:) Despite being attentive I have been cut off from my position]. [Deceit has emerged from my wisdom and sympathy] [(1 Urim ms. has instead:) Deceit has replaced wisdom and sympathy] . (2 mss. omit line 16)

17-20. [After my becoming sorely afraid, my heart is full of blood and gore. As a result of deep concern, I am in distress.] [(1 Urim ms. has instead:) On my becoming sorely afraid, my heart blood and much gore. As a result of deep concern, I am in distress.] [(the other Urim ms. has instead:) As a result of deep concern, I am in distress. As a result of becoming sorely afraid, my heart is full of blood and gore.] So long as I have not gone to the place where destiny is decided, may your countenance favour me in accordance with the instructions of Enlil.

LETTER FROM INANAKA TO THE GODDESS NINTINUGA

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.10

1-11. Say to Nintinuga, the reliable stewardess of the E-kur, the physician of the Land; repeat to the lady, whose incantation heals the multitude of people, whose spells make the people recover, to [my][(1 ms. has instead:) the] relenting lady, who loves to revive the people and loves supplications, the merciful and compassionate one who listens to prayers. You are the caretaker of the living and the dead; you are the great healer of all the crippled ones. This is what Inanaka, the

daughter of Enlil-a-mah, your maidservant says: 12-18. I have fallen ill [for a second time][(1 ms. has instead:) twice], but I do not yet know the divine oracle concerning [my being in agonies][(1 ms. has instead:) these agonies]. [(1 ms. adds:)] My lady, a house has been built for me, but I have to sit there with longing eyes. My valued acquaintances [keep][(1 ms. has instead:) stay] away from me. I have no one who would take care of me. Since this is full, too full for me, I am distressed.

19-25. If it pleases my lady, [and the asag demon which is in my body leaves my body, and thus][(some mss. have instead:) may the asag demon which is in my body leave my body, so that] [it (the asag demon) allows me][(1 ms. has instead:) I can] step again on the [path][(1 ms. has instead:) ground] of life with my feet. [I will then be your maidservant, the courtyard sweeper of your temple, and will serve you. Furthermore after I have recovered, I will name you, my lady, as "the healer of the crippled"] [(some mss. have instead:) I will then be her maidservant, the courtyard sweeper of her temple, and will serve her. Furthermore after I have recovered, I will name her, my lady, as "the healer of the crippled"].

LETTER FROM INIM-INANA TO ENLIL-MASSU

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.11

1-2. Say to Enlil-massu what Inim-Inana says:

3-15. They told me everything and I am pleased beyond exaggeration. May the precious protective power of a lifetime; Lugal-su, Nabi-Enlil and Enlil-alsag, the scholars who precede you; and Ninimma, your own goddess, and Nisaba, the lady of broad wisdom, give wisdom to you. You did not know what was written on the tablet or that the city would be unforthcoming. Lu-gena is sending you two shekels of silver, one garment and two sashes. Accept them. But your mother should not touch the remaining assets. It is urgent.

LETTER FROM INIM-INANA TO LUGAL-IBILA

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.12

1-2. Say to Lugal-ibila what Inim-Inana says:

3-12. Do not neglect the Sumerian language. For the second time, I am sending you a message in correct language. [(1 ms. adds:)] Do not let the children who sit before you go out from the school. However much anyone misleads you and says "I want to go" on account of his father, until you and I agree on a sign and a messenger comes to you, do not let the children out. [......] [(the ms. which adds 1. 4A has instead:) A father entrusts his child's well-being to your]. It is urgent.

LETTER FROM GUDEA TO HIS PERSONAL DEITY

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.20

- 1-2. Speak to my god: this is what Gudea, your servant,
- says:

 3-4. I am like a sheep who has no reliable shepherd; there is no reliable herdsman to lead me on.
- 5-6. An unintelligent merchant transported me for trading purposes. With a vicious whip he me cruelly like a donkey.
- 7-9. I am noble but do not utter a word, being vigilantly Seven times has not my accomplishments. Seven times my god has not been able to find out about their extent.
- 10. My god, I am not one to be hostile. May you show sympathy towards me once again.

LETTER FROM THE SCRIBE NANNA-MANSHUM TO THE GODDESS NINISINA

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.21

- 1-11. Speak to Ninisina, first-born child of holy An, eminent among ladies, of Lord Nunamnir; who perfects the divine powers of E-kur, of the great mother Ninlil, with notions in her heart which are expressed; wife of the great hero, Lord Pabilsag, youth who has no rival; holy Ninisina, you reapply a dressing to soothe the dark place of sores which no one can understand; mother of the Land, great physician of the black-headed, incantation priestess of the widespread people -- from the namtar demon and which are settled in a man's body and which no one knows how to expel, divine lady of the Egal-mah, with the help of you will make that person well again to keep a person alive, who knows and listens, to my lady:
- 12-13. This is what Nanna-mansum, the scribe, son of Ilsumuballit, your servant, says:
- 14-20. When took care, she placed on my The barber, the throne-bearer of the gods has given me Nine times she (?) has placed on my head and battle-axe. gathered in Nibru and Isin. They approached me but did not give their for my life. They have applied and created a dressing which does not hold. She made a fattened dove come, for my

LETTER FROM X TO THE GOD NANNA

Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.22

- 1-7. Say to Nanna, the firstborn son of Enlil, who loves prayers; repeat to the lord whose light spreads widely, the crown of heaven and earth, the great lord who loves to revive man; the father of the black-headed; the merciful king, who can untie and release; the merciful, compassionate god who listens to appeals:
- 8-16. You who are perfect in lordship and wear the legitimate headdress, the one with gleaming appearance and noble countenance, holy form endowed lavishly with beauty: your greatness covers all countries. Your fearsome radiance overwhelms the holy sky. Your great awesomeness is imbued with terror. is pre-eminent in the Land. You are indeed glorious from east to west. From the interior of heaven has given you , and entrusted you with the heavens. You

are the king of heaven and earth; it is you who decide their fate

LETTER FROM INIM-ENLILA TO A KING Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.27

SEGMENT A

1-7. Say to the king who entreats the gods fervently and, serving the gods, prepares the food offerings; repeat to the one elevated in stature who has the ability to give advice and counsel, the mercful one who makes the Land feel content -- this is what Inim-Enlila the scribe, son of Suen-palil, your servant, says:

8-10. I do not know my punishment: my punishment has not been considered yet. I am devoured by sorrow at the fate of the captive (?) families. Let my bones not be carried off by water to a foreign city.

[unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1. [1 line fragmentary] may not be part of this composition [unknown number of lines missing]

LETTER FROM KUG-NANNA TO THE GOD NINSHUBUR Translation: ETCSL: t.3.3.39

SEGMENT A

1-13. Say to

[1 line missing] to the counsellor who constantly cares for, the god who distributes the divine powers, who utters pleasing words, who a verdant branch by his head; the linen-clad god of the abzu, the chief administrator, who makes the oracular responses favourable, whose words are pre-eminent; the powerful one at the bow of the boat "Stag of the Abzu", the lord of wide and complete wisdom, the minister who knows An's secrets, with whom no god can compare; the lord of the protective goddesses; him whose great sweet eyes inspire confidence, who provides the Antuna gods, the great gods, with food offerings; the adviser who comes forth from the skies, who is worthy of holy lnana; without whom no lord or king could receive the lofty sceptre-to Ninsubur, the merciful god who listens to prayers and supplications, repeat: this is what Kug-Nanna the incantation priest, the son of Lugal-ka-gena, your servant, says:

14-15. I am, I am an ailing old man, I am handcuffs.

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

1-4. [1 line fragmentary / 1 line unclear] foreign plague looked at me contemptuously and insulted me for my doing In the street my friend would not talk to me; he bent his head down.

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

THE FIVE SUMERIAN CITY LAMENTS

(The term "Sumer" (Sumerian: Eme'gi, Akkadian: Shumeru, Egyptian: Sngr, Hittite: Shanhar, Canaanite and Aramaic: Shin'ar) is the name given to the land of the "Sumerians", the ancient non-Semitic-speaking inhabitants of southern Mesopotamia, by their successors the East Semitic-speaking Akkadians. The Sumerian civilisation florished c. 4500–1900 BC and the Sumerians themselves referred to their land as Kengir, the 'Country of the noble lords' (ken'gi-r, lit. 'country' + 'lords' + 'noble') as seen in their inscriptions. The people of Sumer referred to themselves as "Black Headed Ones" or "Black-Headed People" (sag-gig, lit. 'head' + 'black', or sang-gig-ga, lit. 'head' + 'black' + 'carry'). The Sumerian king Shulgi described himself as "the king of the four quarters, the pastor of the black-headed people". The Akkadians also called the Sumerians 'black-headed people', or Salmat-qaqqadi, in the Semitic Akkadian language.

Whilst our knowledge on the beginnings of the Sumerians is very limited, we get information of their end through their cuneiform tablets. In around 2004 BC, during the last year of King Ibbi-Sin's reign, Ur fell to an army from Elam. The Five Sumerian Laments tell us what happend lament composed

around the time of the fall of Ur to the Elamites and the end of the city's third dynasty (c. 2000 BC).

This is what probably happened. During the first part of the rule of the Simashki dynasty, Elam was under intermittent attack from the Sumerians of Mesopotamia and also Gutians from northwestern Persia, alternating with periods of peace and diplomatic approaches. The Elamite state of Simashki at this time also extended into northern Iran, and possibly even as far as the Caspian Sea. Shu-Sin of Ur gave one of his daughters in marriage to a prince of Anshan. But the power of the Sumerians was waning; Ibbi-Sin in the 21st century did not manage to penetrate far into Elam, and in 2004 BC, the Elamites, allied with the people of Susa and led by king Kindattu, the sixth king of Simashki, managed to sack Ur and lead Ibbi-Sin into captivity, ending the third dynasty of Ur. Several other cities were also sacked. It is this conflict, the Five Laments were all about. The Akkadian kings of Isin, successor state to Ur, managed to drive the Elamites out of Ur, rebuild the city, and to return the statue of Nanna that the Elamites had plundered.

The Sumerians decided that such a catastrophic event could only be explained through divine intervention and wrote in the lament that the gods, "An, Enlil, Enki and Ninmah decided [Ur's] fate" The literary works of the Sumerians were widely translated by the Hittites, Hurrians and Canaanites, and later Greek as well as Hebrew texts "were profoundly influenced by them." Contemporary scholars have drawn parallels between the lament and passages from the bible (e.g. "the Lord departed from his temple and stood on the mountain east of Jerusalem (Ezekiel 10:18-19)."

The relations of Sumerians with Akkadians and Canaanites are not well-known either. During the 3rd millennium BC, a close cultural symbiosis developed between the Sumerians, who spoke a language isolate, and Akkadian-speakers, which included widespread bilingualism. The Sumerians lost their identity with their language around 2000 BC, because a large group of Semitic speaking Canaanites, known as Amorites or Amurru in Akkadian and Sumerian texts, moved into their region. These were people, Abraham was a member of. The Sumerian language continued as a religious language taught in schools in Babylonia and Assyria, for as long as cuneiform was used.)

THE LAMENT FOR URIM (UR) (Ur-AO 6446) Translation: ETCSLt.2.2.2; University of Oxford Estimated Range of Dating:

1-8. He has abandoned his cow-pen and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. The wild bull has abandoned his cow-pen and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. The lord of all the lands has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. Enlil has abandoned the shrine Nibru and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. His wife Ninlil has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Ninlil has abandoned that house, the Ki-ur, and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. The queen of Kec has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Ninmah has abandoned that house Kec and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold.

9-18. She of Isin has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Ninisina has abandoned the shrine Egalmah and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. The queen of Unug has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Inana has abandoned that house Unug and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Nanna has abandoned Urim and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. Suen has abandoned E-kic-nu-jal and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. His wife Ningal has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Ningal has abandoned her Agrun-kug and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. The wild bull of Eridug has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. Enki has abandoned that house Eridug and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold.

18A-26. [(1 ms. adds 1 line:) (partially preserved name of a goddess) has abandoned that house Larag and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold.] Cara has abandoned E-mah and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. Ud-sahara has abandoned that house Umma and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Bau has abandoned Iri-kug and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. She has abandoned her flooded chamber and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Her son Ab-Bau has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. Ab-Bau has abandoned Ma-gu-ena and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold. The protective goddess of the holy house has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt his sheepfold.

26-34. The protective goddess has abandoned E-tar-sirsir and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. The mother of Lagac has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Jatumdug has abandoned that house Lagac and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. She of Nijin has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. The great queen has abandoned that house Sirara and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. She of Kinirca has abandoned it

and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Dumuzid-abzu has abandoned that house Kinirca and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. She of Gu-aba has abandoned it and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold. Nimmarki has abandoned the shrine Gu-aba and has let the breezes haunt her sheepfold.

35. 1st kirugu.

36-37. She has let the breeze haunt her sheepfold, she groans grievously over it. O cow, your lowing no longer fills the byre, the cow-pen no longer brings joy to the prince.

38. Its jicgijal.

39-46. O city, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. Your lament is bitter, O city, the lament made for you. In his righteous destroyed city its lament is bitter. In his righteous destroyed Urim, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. Your lament is bitter, O city, the lament made for you. In his destroyed Urim its lament is bitter. How long will your bitter lament grieve your lord who weeps? How long will your bitter lament grieve Nanna who weeps?

47-55. O brick-built Urim, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O E-kic-nu-jal, your lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O shrine Agrun-kug, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O great place Ki-ur, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O shrine Nibru, city, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O brick-built E-kur, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O Ja-jic-cua, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O Ubcu-unkena, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O brick-built Iri-kug, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O you.

56-63. O E-tar-sirsir, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O Ma-gu-ena, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O brick-built Isin, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O shrine Egal-mah, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O brick-built Unug, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O brick-built Eridug, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. O brick-built Eridug, the lament is bitter, the lament made for you. How long will your bitter lament grieve your lord who weeps? How long will your bitter lament grieve Nanna who weeps?

64-71. O city, your name exists but you have been destroyed. O city, your wall rises high but your Land has perished. O my city, like an innocent ewe your lamb has been torn from you. O Urim, like an innocent goat your kid has perished. O city, your rites have been alienated from you, your powers have been changed into alien powers. How long will your bitter lament grieve your lord who weeps? How long will your bitter lament grieve Nanna who weeps?

72. 2nd kirugu.

73-74. In his righteous destroyed city its lament is bitter. In his destroyed Urim its lament is bitter.

75. Its jicgijal.

76-84. Together with the lord whose house had been devastated, his city was given over to tears. Together with Nanna whose Land had perished, Urim joined the lament. The good woman, to disquiet the lord concerning his city, Ningal, to give him no rest concerning his Land, approached him for the sake of his city -- bitterly she weeps. She approached the lord for the sake of his house -- bitterly she weeps. She approached him for the sake of his devastated city -- bitterly she weeps. She approached him for the sake of his devastated city -- bitterly she weeps. She approached him for the sake of his devastated house -- before him she makes its bitter lament.

85-94. The woman, after she had composed her song for the tearful balaj (weeping) instrument, herself utters softly a lamentation for the silent house: "The storm that came to be-its lamentation hangs heavy on me. Raging about because of the storm, I am the woman for whom the storm came to be. The storm that came to be -- its lamentation hangs heavy on me. The bitter storm having come to be for me during the day, I trembled on account of that day but I did not flee before the day's violence. Because of this debilitating storm I could not see a good day for my rule, not one good day for my rule."

95-100. A. "The bitter lament having come to be for me during the night, I trembled on account of that night but I did not flee before the night's violence. The awesomeness of this storm, destructive as the flood, truly hangs heavy on me Because of its existence, in my nightly sleeping place, even in my nightly sleeping place truly there was no peace for me. Nor, because of this debilitating storm, was the quiet of my sleeping place, not even the quiet of my sleeping place, allowed to me. [(2 mss. add 1 line:) Truly I did not forsake my Land.]"

101-111. "Because there was bitterness in my Land, I trudged the earth like a cow for its calf. My Land was not granted success. Because there was bitter distress in my city, I beat my wings like a bird of heaven and flew to my city; and my city was destroyed in its foundations; and Urim perished where it lay. Because the hand of the storm appeared above, I screamed and cried to it "Return, O storm, to the plain". The storm's breast did not rise."

112-122. "To me, the woman, in the Agrun-kug, my house of queenship, they did not grant a reign of distant days. Indeed they established weeping and lamentation for me. As for the house which used to be where the spirit of the black-headed people was soothed, instead of its festivals wrath and terror indeed multiply. Because of this debilitating storm,

depression, and lament and bitterness, lament and bitterness have been brought into my house, the favourable place, my devastated righteous house upon which no eye had been cast. My house founded by the righteous was pushed over on its side like a garden fence."

123-132. "For E-kic-nu-jal, my house of royalty, the good house, my house which has been given over to tears, they granted to me as its lot and share: its building, falsely, and its perishing, truly. Wind and rain have been made to fall on it, as onto a tent, a shelter on the denuded harvest ground, as onto a shelter on the denuded harvest ground. Urim, my all-surpassing chamber, the house and the smitten city, all have been uprooted. Like a shepherd's sheepfold it has been uprooted. The swamp has swallowed my possessions accumulated in the city."

133. 3rd kirugu.

134. Urim has been given over to tears.

35. Its jicgijal.

136-143. "On that day, when such a storm had pounded, when in the presence of the queen her city had been destroyed, on that day, when such a storm had been created, when they had pronounced the utter destruction of my city, when they had pronounced the utter destruction of Urim, when they had directed that its people be killed, on that day I did not abandon my city, I did not forsake my land."

144-150. "Truly I shed my tears before An. Truly I myself made supplication to Enlil. "Let not my city be destroyed," I implored them. "Let not Urim be destroyed," I implored them. "Let not its people perish," I implored them. But An did not change that word. Enlil did not soothe my heart with an "It is good -- so be it"."

151-160. "A second time, when the council had settled itself in the pre-eminent place, and the Anuna had seated themselves to ratify decisions, I prostrated (?) myself and stretched out my arms. Truly I shed my tears before An. Truly I myself made supplication to Enlil. "Let not my city be destroyed," I implored them. "Let not Urim be destroyed," I implored them. "Let not its people perish," I implored them. But An did not change that word. Enlil did not soothe my heart with an "It is good -- so be it"."

161-168. "They gave instructions that my city should be utterly destroyed. They gave instructions that Urim should be utterly destroyed. They decreed its destiny that its people should be killed. In return for the speech which I had given them, they both bound me together with my city and also bound my Urim together with me. An is not one to change his command, and Enlil does not alter what he has uttered."

169. 4th kirugu.

170. Her city has been destroyed in her presence, her powers have been alienated from her.

171. Its jicgijal.

172-178. Enlil called the storm -- the people groan. He brought the storm of abundance away from the Land -- the people groan. He brought the good storm away from Sumer - the people groan. He issued directions to the evil storm -- the people groan. He entrusted it to Kin-gal-uda, the keeper of the storm. He called upon the storm that annihilates the Land -- the people groan. He called upon the evil gales -- the people groan.

179-187. Enlil brought Gibil as his aid. He called the great storm of heaven -- the people groan. The great storm howls above -- the people groan. The storm that annihilates the Land roars below -- the people groan. The evil wind, like a rushing torrent, cannot be restrained. The weapons in the city smash heads and consume indiscriminately. The storm whirled gloom around the base of the horizon -- the people groan. In front of the storm, heat blazes -- the people groan. A fiery glow burns with the raging storm.

188-191. After the haze had lifted at noon, he made fires blaze. He locked up the day and the rising of the bright sun together with the good storm. In the Land he did not let the bright sun rise; it shone like the evening star. In the delightful night, the time when coolness sets in, he redoubled the south wind

192-196. The scorching potsherds made the dust glow -the people groan. He swept the winds over the black-headed
people -- the people groan. Sumer was overturned by a snare - the people groan. It attacked the Land and devoured it
completely. Tears cannot influence the bitter storm -- the
people groan.

197-203. The reaping storm dragged across the Land. Like a flood storm it completely destroyed the city. The storm that annihilates the Land silenced the city. The storm that will make anything vanish came doing evil. The storm blazing like fire performed its task upon the people. The storm ordered by Enlil in hate, the storm which wears away the Land, covered Urim like a garment, was spread out over it like linen.

204. 5th kirugu.

205. The storm, like a lion, has attacked unceasingly -- the people groan.

206. Its jicgijal.

207-217. Then the storm was removed from the city, that city reduced to ruin mounds. It was removed from Father Nanna's city reduced to ruin mounds -- the people groan.

Then, the storm was taken from the Land -- the people groan. [(2 mss. add 1 line:) The good storm was taken from Sumer -- the people groan.] Its people littered its outskirts just as if they might have been broken potsherds. Breaches had been made in its walls -- the people groan. On its lofty city-gates where walks had been taken, corpses were piled. On its boulevards where festivals had been held, heads lay scattered. In all its streets where walks had been taken, corpses were piled. In its places where the dances of the Land had taken place, people were stacked in heaps. They made the blood of the Land flow down the wadis like copper or tin. Its corpses, like fat left in the sun, melted away of themselves.

218-229. The heads of its men slain by the axe were not covered with a cloth. Like a gazelle caught in a trap, their mouths bit the dust. Men struck down by the spear were not bound with bandages. As if in the place where their mothers had laboured, they lay in their own blood. Its men who were finished off by the battle-mace were not bandaged with new cloth. Although they were not drunk with strong drink, their necks drooped on their shoulders. He who stood up to the weapon was crushed by the weapon — the people groan. He who ran away from it was overwhelmed by the storm — the people groan. The weak and the strong of Urim perished from hunger. Mothers and fathers who did not leave their houses were consumed by fire. The little ones lying in their mothers' arms were carried off like fish by the waters. Among the nursemaids with their strong embrace, the embrace was pried open.

230-240. The Land's judgement disappeared — the people groan. The Land's counsel was swallowed by a swamp — the people groan. The mother absconded before her child's eyes — the people groan. The father turned away from his child — the people groan. In the city the wife was abandoned, the child was abandoned, possessions were scattered about. The black-headed people were carried off from their strongholds. Its queen like a bird in fright departed from her city. Ningal like a bird in fright departed from her city. All the treasures accumulated in the Land were defiled. In all the storehouses abounding in the Land fires were kindled. In its ponds Gibil, the purifier, relentlessly did his work.

241-249. The good house of the lofty untouchable mountain, E-kic-nu-jal, was entirely devoured by large axes. The people of Cimacki and Elam, the destroyers, counted its worth as only thirty shekels. They broke up the good house with pickaxes. They reduced the city to ruin mounds. Its queen cried, "Alas, my city", cried, "Alas, my house". Ningal cried, "Alas, my city," cried, "Alas, my house. As for me, the woman, both my city has been destroyed and my house has been destroyed. O Nanna, the shrine Urim has been destroyed and its people have been killed."

250. 6th kirugu.

251-252. In her cow-pen, in her sheepfold the woman utters bitter words: "The city has been destroyed by the storm."

253. Its jicgijal.

254-264. Mother Ningal, like an enemy, stands outside her city. The woman laments bitterly over her devastated house. Over her devastated shrine Urim, the princess bitterly declares: "An has indeed cursed my city, my city has been destroyed before me. Enlil has indeed transformed my house, it has been smitten by pickaxes. On my ones coming from the south he hurled fire. Alas, my city has indeed been destroyed before me. On my ones coming from the highlands Enlil hurled flames. Outside the city, the outer city was destroyed before me -- I shall cry "Alas, my city". My houses of the outer city were destroyed -- I shall cry "Alas, my houses". My houses of the inner city were destroyed -- I shall cry "Alas, my houses". "

ewes, its good shepherd is gone. Urim no longer multiplies for me like good ewes, its shepherd boy is gone. My bull no longer crouches in its cow-pen, its herdsman is gone. My sheep no longer crouch in their fold, their herdsman is gone. In the river of my city dust has gathered, and the holes of foxes have been dug there. In its midst no flowing water is carried, its tax-collector is gone. In the fields of my city there is no grain, their farmer is gone. My fields, like fields from which the hoe has been kept away, have grown tangled weeds. My orchards and gardens that produced abundant syrup and wine have grown mountain thornbushes. My plain that used to be covered in its luxurious verdure has become cracked like a kiln."

275-285. "My possessions, like a flock of rooks rising up, have risen in flight -- I shall cry "O my possessions". He who came from the south has carried my possessions off to the south -- I shall cry "O my possessions". He who came from the teighlands has carried my possessions off to the highlands -- I shall cry "O my possessions". My silver, gems and lapis lazuli have been scattered about -- I shall cry "O my possessions". The swamp has swallowed my treasures -- I shall cry "O my possessions". Men ignorant of silver have filled their hands with my silver. Men ignorant of gems have fastened my gems around their necks. My small birds and fowl have flown away -- I shall say "Alas, my city". My slave-girls and children have

been carried off by boat -- I shall say "Alas, my city". Woe is me. mv slave-girls bear strange emblems in a strange city. My young men mourn in a desert they do not know.

286-291. "Woe is me, my city which no longer exists -- I am not its queen. Nanna, Urim which no longer exists -- I am not its owner. I am the good woman whose house has been made into ruins, whose city has been destroyed, in place of whose city a strange city has been built. I am Ningal whose city has been made into ruins, whose house has been destroyed, in place of whose house a strange house has been built.'

292-298. "Woe is me, the city has been destroyed, my house too has been destroyed. Nanna, the shrine Urim has been destroyed, its people killed. Woe is me, where can I sit, where can I stand? Woe is me, in place of my city a strange house is being erected. I am the good woman in place of whose house a strange city is being built. Upon its removal from its place, from the plain, I shall say "Alas, my people". Upon my city's removal from Urim, I shall say "Alas, my house'

299-309. The woman tears at her hair as if it were rushes. She beats the holy ub drum at her chest, she cries "Alas, my city". Her eyes well with tears, she weeps bitterly: "Woe is me, my city which no longer exists -- I am not its queen. Nanna, the shrine Urim which no longer exists -- I am not its owner. Woe is me, I am one whose cow-pen has been torn down, I am one whose cows have been scattered. I am Ningal on whose ewes the weapon has fallen, as in the case of an unworthy herdsman. Woe is me, I have been exiled from the city, I can find no rest. I am Ningal, I have been exiled from the house, I can find no dwelling place. I am sitting as if a stranger with head high in a strange city. Debt-slaves bitterness ...

310-320. "I am one who, sitting in a debtors prison among its inmates, can make no extravagant claims. In that place I approached him for the sake of his city -- I weep bitterly. I approached the lord for the sake of his house -- I weep bitterly. I approached him for the sake of his destroyed house -- I weep bitterly. I approached him for the sake of his destroyed city-I weep bitterly. Woe is me, I shall say "Fate of my city, bitter is the fate of my city". I the queen shall say "O my destroyed house, bitter is the fate of my house". O my brick-built Urim which has been flooded, which has been washed away, O my good house, my city which has been reduced to ruin mounds. in the debris of your destroyed righteous house. I shall lie down alongside you. Like a fallen bull, I will never rise up from your wall.'

321-327. "Woe is me, untrustworthy was your building, and bitter your destruction. I am the woman at whose shrine Urim the food offerings have been terminated. O my Agrunkug, the all-new house whose charms never sated me. O my city no longer regarded as having been built -- devastated for what reason? O my house both destroyed and devastated -devastated for what reason? Nobody at all escaped the force of the storm ordered in hate. O my house of Suen in Urim, bitter was its destruction.'

328. 7th kirugu. 329. "Alas, my city, alas, my house."

330. Its jicgijal.

331-341. O queen, how is your heart! How you have become! O Ningal, how is your heart! How you have become! O good woman whose city has been destroyed, now how do you exist? O Ningal whose Land has perished, how is your heart! After your city has been destroyed, now how do you exist? After your house has been destroyed, how is your heart! Your city has become a strange city, now how do you exist? Your house has turned to tears, how is your heart! You are not a bird of your city which has been reduced to ruin mounds. You cannot live there as a resident in your good house given over to the pickaxe. You cannot act as queen of a people led off to slaughter.

342-347. Your tears have become strange tears, your Land no longer weeps. With no lamentation prayers, it dwells in foreign lands. Your Land like Your city has been made into ruins; now how do you exist? Your house has been laid bare, how is your heart! Urim, the shrine, is haunted by the breezes, now how do you exist?

348-358. Its gudug priest no longer walks in his wig, how is your heart! Its en priestess no longer lives in the jipar. now how do you exist? In the uzga shrine the priest who cherishes purification rites makes no purification rites for you. Father Nanna, your icib priest does not make perfect holy supplications to you. Your lumah priest does not dress in linen in your holy giguna shrine. Your righteous en priestess chosen in your ardent heart, she of the E-kic-nu-ial, does not proceed joyously from the shrine to the jipar. The aua priests do not celebrate the festivals in your house of festivals. They do not play for you the cem and ala instruments which gladden the heart, nor the tigi. The black-headed people do not bathe during your festivals. Like mourning has been decreed for them; their appearance has indeed changed.

359-368. Your song has been turned into weeping before you -- how long will this last? Your tigi music has been turned into lamentation before you -- how long will this last? Your bull is not brought into its pen, its fat is not prepared for you. Your sheep does not live in its fold, its milk is not made abundant for you. Your fat carrier does not come to you from the cow-pen -- how long will this last? Your milk carrier does not come to you from the sheepfold -- how long will this last? An evildoer has seized your fisherman who was carrying fish -how long will this last? Lightning carried off your fowler who was carrying birds -- how long will this last? The teme plants grow in the middle of your watercourses which were once suitable for barges, and mountain thornbushes grow on your roads which had been constructed for waggons

369-377. My queen, your city weeps before you as its mother. Urim, like a child lost in a street, seeks a place before you. Your house, like a man who has lost everything, stretches out its hands to you. Your brick-built righteous house, like a human being, cries "Where are you?". My queen, you have indeed left the house, you have left the city. How long will you stand aside from your city like an enemy? Mother Ningal, you confronted your city like an enemy. Although you are a queen who loves her city, you abandoned your sheepfold. Although you are one who cares for her Land, you set it on

378-386. Mother Ningal, return like a bull to your cattlepen, like a sheep to your fold, like a bull to your cattle-pen of former days, like a sheep to your fold. My queen, like a young child to your room, return to your house. May An, king of the gods, declare "Enough!" to you. May Enlil, king of all the lands, decree your fate. May he restore your city for you -exercise its queenship! May he restore Nibru for you -- exercise its queenship! May he restore Urim for you -- exercise its queenship! May he restore Isin for you -- exercise its queenship!

387. 8th kirugu.

388. "My powers have been alienated from me.

389. Its jicgijal.

390-398. Alas, storm after storm swept the Land together: the great storm of heaven, the ever-roaring storm, the malicious storm which swept over the Land, the storm which destroyed cities, the storm which destroyed houses, the storm which destroyed cow-pens, the storm which burned sheepfolds, which laid hands on the holy rites, which defiled the weighty counsel, the storm which cut off all that is good from the Land, the storm which pinioned the arms of the black-headed people.

399. 9th kirugu.

400. The storm which does not respect

401. Its jicgijal.

402-410. The storm which knows no mother, the storm which knows no father, the storm which knows no wife, the storm which knows no child, the storm which knows no sister, the storm which knows no brother, the storm which knows no neighbour the storm which knows no female companion the storm which caused the wife to be abandoned, which caused the child to be abandoned, the storm which caused the light in the Land to disappear, the storm which swept through, ordered in hate by Enlil -- Father Nanna, may that storm swoop down no more on your city. May your black-headed people see it no more.

411-416. May that storm, like rain pouring down from heaven, never recur. May that storm, which struck down all the black-headed living beings of heaven and earth, be entirely destroyed. May the door be closed on it, like the great city-gate at night-time. May that storm not be given a place in the reckoning, may its record be hung from a nail outside the house of Enlil

417, 10th kirugu

418. Until distant days, other days, future days.

419. Its jicgijal.

420-426. From distant days when the Land was founded, O Nanna, the humble people who lay hold of your feet have brought to you their tears for the silent house, playing music before you. May the black-headed people, cast away from you, make obeisance to you. In your city reduced to ruin mounds may a lament be made to you. O Nanna, may your restored city be resplendent before you. Like a bright heavenly star may it not be destroyed, may it pass before you.

427-437. The personal deity of a man brings you a greeting gift; a supplicant utters prayers to you. Nanna, you who have mercy on the Land, Lord Acimbabbar -- as concerns him who speaks your heart's desire, Nanna, after you have absolved that man's sin, may your heart relent towards him who utters prayers to you. [(3 mss. add 1 line:) The personal deity of this man brings you a present.] He looks favourably on the man who stands there with his offering. Nanna, you whose penetrating gaze searches hearts, may its people who suffered that evil storm be pure before you. May the hearts of your people who dwell in the Land be pure before you. Nanna, in your restored city may you be fittingly praised.

438. 11th kirugu.

THE LAMENT FOR SUMER AND URIM (UR)

The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature Translation: Estimated Range of Dating:

1-2. To overturn the appointed times, to obliterate the divine plans, the storms gather to strike like a flood.

3-11. (and 55)An, Enlil, Enki and Ninhursaja (2 mss. have instead: Ninmah) have decided its fate -- to overturn the divine powers of Sumer, to lock up the favourable reign in its home, to destroy the city, to destroy the house, to destroy the cattle-pen, to level the sheepfold; that the cattle should not stand in the pen, that the sheep should not multiply in the fold, that watercourses should carry brackish water, that weeds should grow in the fertile fields, that mourning plants should

grow in the open country, 12-21. that the mother should not seek out her child, that the father should not say "O my dear wife!", that the junior wife should take no joy in his embrace, that the young child should not grow vigourous on his knee, that the wet-nurse should not sing lullabies; to change the location of kingship, to defile the seeking of oracles, to take kingship away from the Land, to cast the eye of the storm on all the land, to obliterate the divine plans by the order of An and Enlil;

22-26. after An had frowned upon all the lands, after Enlil had looked favourably on an enemy land, after Nintud had scattered the creatures that she had created, after Enki had altered the course of the Tigris and Euphrates, after Utu had cast his curse on the roads and highways;

27-37. so as to obliterate the divine powers of Sumer, to change its preordained plans, to alienate the divine powers of the reign of kingship of Urim, to humiliate the princely son in his house E-kic-nu-jal, to break up the unity of the people of Nanna, numerous as ewes; to change the food offerings of Urim, the shrine of magnificent food offerings; that its people should no longer dwell in their quarters, that they should be given over to live in an inimical place; that Cimacki and Elam, the enemy, should dwell in their place; that its shepherd, in his own palace, should be captured by the enemy, that Ibbi-Suen should be taken to the land Elam in fetters, that from Mount Zabu on the edge of the sea to the borders of Ancan, like a swallow that has flown from its house, he should never return to his city:

38-46. that on the two banks of the Tigris and of the Euphrates bad weeds should grow, that no one should set out on the road, that no one should seek out the highway, that the city and its settled surroundings should be razed to ruinmounds; that its numerous black-headed people should be slaughtered; that the hoe should not attack the fertile fields. that seed should not be planted in the ground, that the melody of the cowherds' songs should not resound in the open country, that butter and cheese should not be made in the cattle-pen, that dung should not be stacked on the ground, that the shepherd should not enclose the sacred sheepfold with a fence, that the song of the churning should not resound in the sheepfold:

47-55. to decimate the animals of the open country, to finish off all living things, that the four-legged creatures of Cakkan should lay no more dung on the ground, that the marshes should be so dry as to be full of cracks and have no new seed, that sickly-headed reeds should grow in the reedbeds, that they should be covered by a stinking morass, that there should be no new growth in the orchards, that it should all collapse by itself -- so as quickly to subdue Urim like a roped ox, to bow its neck to the ground: the great charging wild bull, confident in its own strength, the primeval city of lordship and kingship, built on sacred ground.

56-57. Its fate cannot be changed. Who can overturn it? It is the command of An and Enlil. Who can oppose it?

58-68. An frightened the very dwellings of Sumer, the people were afraid. Enlil blew an evil storm, silence lay upon the city. Nintud bolted the door of the storehouses of the Land. Enki blocked the water in the Tigris and the Euphrates. Utu took away the pronouncement of equity and justice. Inana handed over victory in strife and battle to a rebellious land. Ninjirsu poured Sumer away like milk to the dogs. Turmoil descended upon the Land, something that no one had ever known, something unseen, which had no name, something that could not be fathomed. The lands were confused in their fear. The god of the city turned away, its shepherd vanished.

69-78. The people, in their fear, breathed only with difficulty. The storm immobilised them, the storm did not let them return. There was no return for them, the time of captivity did not pass. What did Enlil, the shepherd of the black-headed people, do? Enlil, to destroy the loyal households, to decimate the loyal men, to put the evil eye on the sons of the loval men, on the first-born, Enlil then sent down Gutium from the mountains. Their advance was as the flood of Enlil that cannot be withstood. The great wind of the countryside filled the countryside, it advanced before them. The extensive countryside was destroyed, no one moved about

79-92. The dark time was roasted by hailstones and flames. The bright time was wiped out by a shadow. (2 mss. add 2 lines: On that bloody day, mouths were crushed, heads were crashed. The storm was a harrow coming from above, the city was struck by a hoe.) On that day, heaven rumbled, the earth trembled, the storm worked without respite. Heaven was darkened, it was covered by a shadow; the mountains roared. Utu lay down at the horizon, dust passed over the mountains.

Nanna lay at the zenith, the people were afraid. The city stepped outside. The foreigners in the city even chased away its dead. Large trees were uprooted, the forest growth was ripped out. The orchards were stripped of their fruit, they were cleaned of their offshoots. The crop drowned while it was still on the stalk, the yield of the grain diminished.

[3 lines fragmentary]

93-103. They piled up in heaps, they spread out like sheaves. There were corpses floating in the Euphrates, brigands roamed the roads. The father turned away from his wife without saying "O my wife!" The mother turned away from her child without saying "O my child!" He who had a productive estate neglected his estate without saying "O my estate!" The rich man took an unfamiliar path away from his possessions. In those days the kingship of the Land was defiled. The tiara and crown that had been on the king's head were both spoiled. The lands that had followed the same path were split into disunity. The food offerings of Urim, the shrine of magnificent food offerings, were changed for the worse. Nanna traded away his people, numerous as ewes.

104-111. Its king sat immobilised in the palace, all alone. Ibbi-Suen was sitting in anguish in the palace, all alone. In Enamtila, his place of delight, he wept bitterly. The devastating flood was levelling everything. Like a great storm it roared over the earth -- who could escape it? -- to destroy the city, to destroy the house, so that traitors would lie on top of loyal men and the blood of traitors flow upon loyal men.

112. 1st kirugu.

113. The storms gather to strike like a flood

114. Jicgijal to the kirugu.

115-122. The house of Kic, Hursaj-kalama, was destroyed. Zababa took an unfamiliar path away from his beloved dwelling. Mother Bau was lamenting bitterly in her E-Iri-kug. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly.

[1 line fragmentary / 2 lines missing]

"Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly.

123-132. Kazallu, the city of teeming multitudes, was cast into confusion. Numucda took an unfamiliar path away from the city, his beloved dwelling. His wife Namrat, the beautiful lady, was lamenting bitterly. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. Its river bed was empty, no water flowed. Like a river cursed by Enki its opening channel was dammed up. On the fields fine grains grew no more, people had nothing to eat. The orchards were scorched like an oven, its open country was scattered. The four-legged wild animals did not run about. The four-legged creatures of Cakkan could find no rest.

133-142. Lugal-Marda stepped outside his city. Ninzuana took an unfamiliar path away from her beloved dwelling. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. Isin, the shrine that was not a quay, was split by onrushing waters. Nininsina, the mother of the Land, wept bitter tears. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. Enlil smote Dur-an-ki with a mace. Enlil made lamentation in his city, the shrine Nibru. Mother Ninlil, the lady of the Ki-ur shrine, wept bitter tears. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly.

143-154. Kec, built all alone on the high open country, was haunted. Adab, the settlement which stretches out along the river, was treated as a rebellious land. (1 ms. has instead: was deprived of water.) The snake of the mountains made his lair there, it became a rebellious land. The Gutians bred there, issued their seed. Nintud wept bitter tears over her creatures. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. In Zabalam the sacred Giguna was haunted. Inana abandoned Unug and went off to enemy territory. In the Eana the enemy set eyes upon the sacred Jipar shrine. The sacred Jipar of en-ship was defiled. Its en priest was snatched from the Jipar and carried off to enemy territory. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly.

155-162. A violent storm blew over Umma, brickwork in the midst of the highlands. Cara took an unfamiliar path away from the E-mah, his beloved dwelling. Ninmul cried bitter tears over her destroyed city. "Oh my city, whose charms can no longer satisfy me," she cried bitterly. Jirsu, the city of heroes, was afflicted with a lightning storm. Ninjirsu took an unfamiliar path away from the E-ninnu. Mother Bau wept bitter tears in her E-Iri-kug. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. 163-173. On that day the word of Enlil was an attacking storm. Who could fathom it? The word of Enlil was destruction on the right, was ... on the left. What did Enlil do in order to decide the fate of mankind? Enlil brought down the Elamites, the enemy, from the highlands. Nance, the noble daughter, was settled outside the city. Fire approached Ninmarki in the shrine Gu-aba. Large boats were carrying off its silver and lapis lazuli. The lady, sacred Ninmarki, was despondent because of her perished goods. Then the day, burning like The province of Lagac was handed over to Elam. And then the queen also reached the end of her time.

174-184. Bau, as if she were human, also reached the end of her time: "Woe is me! Enlil has handed over the city to the

storm. He has handed it over to the storm that destroys cities. He has handed it over to the storm that destroys houses." Dumuzid-abzu was full of fear in the house of Kinirca, the city of her noble youth, was ordered to be plundered. The city of Nance, Nijin, was delivered to the foreigners. Sirara, her beloved dwelling, was handed over to the evil ones. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. Its sacred Jipar of en-ship was defiled. Its en priest was snatched from the Jipar and carried off to enemy territory.

185-192. Mighty strength was set against the banks of the Id-nuna-Nanna canal. The settlements of the E-danna of Nanna, like substantial cattle-pens, were destroyed. Their refugees, like stampeding goats, were chased by dogs. They destroyed Gaec like milk poured out to dogs, and shattered its finely fashioned statues. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. Its sacred Jipar of en-ship was defiled. Its en priest was snatched from the Jipar and carried off to enemy territory.

193-205. A lament was raised at the dais that stretches out toward heaven. Its heavenly throne was not set up, was not fit to be crowned. It was cut down as if it were a date palm and tied together. Accu, the settlement that stretches out along the river, was deprived of water. At the place of Nanna where evil had never walked, the enemy walked. How was the house treated thus? The E-puhruma was emptied. Ki-abrig, which used to be filled with numerous cows and numerous calves, was destroyed like a mighty cattle-pen. Ningubalag took an unfamiliar path away from the Ja-bur. Niniagar wept bitter tears all alone. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. Its sacred Jipar of en-ship was defiled. Its en priest was snatched from the Jipar and carried off to enemy territory.

206-213. Ninazu deposited his weapon in a corner in the Egida. An evil storm swept over Ninhursaja at the E-nutura. Like a pigeon she flew from the window, she stood apart in the open country. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. In Jicbanda, the house that was filled with lamentation, lamentation reeds grew. Ninjiczida took an unfamiliar path away from Jicbanda. Azimua, the queen of the city, wept bitter tears. "Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly.

214-220. On that day, the storm forced people to live in darkness. In order to destroy Kuara, it forced people to live in darkness. Ninehama in her fear wept bitter tears. "Alas the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly Asarluhi put his robes on with haste and Lugalbanda took an unfamiliar path away from his beloved dwelling. (I ms. adds: Ninsun) "Alas the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly.

221-224. Eridug, floating on great waters, was deprived of drinking water. In its outer environs, which had turned into haunted plains, The loyal man in a place of treachery Ka-heiala and Igi-heiala

treachery Ka-hejala and Igi-hejala

225-233. "I, a young man whom the storm has not destroyed, I, not destroyed by the storm, my attractiveness not brought to an end, We have been struck down like beautiful boxwood trees. We have been struck down like with coloured eyes. We have been struck down like statues being cast in moulds. The Gutians, the vandals, are wiping us out. We turned to father Enki in the abzu of Eridug. what can we say, what more can we add?

234-242. "..... we have been driven out of Eridug. We who were in charge of during the day are eclipsed by shadows. We who were in charge of during the night are by the storm. How shall we receive among our weary ones him who was in charge during the day? How shall we let him who was in charge by night go astray among our sleepless ones? Enki, your city has been cursed, it has been given to an enemy land. Why do they reckon us among those who have been displaced from Eridug? Why do they destroy us like palm trees, us who were not violent? Why do they break us up, like a new boat that has not?"

243-250. After Enki had cast his eyes on a foreign land, [1 line unclear]

...... have risen up, have called on their cohorts. Enki took an unfamiliar path away from Eridug. Damgalnuna, the mother of the E-mah, wept bitter tears. "Alas the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. Its sacred Jipar of en-ship was defiled. Its en priest was snatched from the Jipar and carried off to enemy territory.

251-259. In Urim no one went to fetch food, no one went to fetch water. Those who went to fetch food, went away from the food and will not return. Those who went to fetch water, went away from the water and will not return. To the south, the Elamites stepped in, slaughtering In the uplands, the vandals, the enemy, The Tidnum daily strapped the mace to their loins. To the south, the Elamites, like an onrushing wave, were In the uplands, like chaff blowing in the wind, they over the open country. Urim, like a great charging wild bull, bowed its neck to the ground.

260-271. What did Enlil, who decides the fates, then do? Again he sent down the Elamites, the enemy, from the

mountains. The foremost house, firmly founded, In order to destroy Kisiga, ten men, even five men Three days and three nights did not pass, the city was raked by a hoe. Dumuzid left Kisiga like a prisoner of war, his hands were fettered.

[5 lines fragmentary]

271-280. She rode away from her possessions, she went to the mountains. She loudly sang out a lament over those brightly lit mountains: "I am queen, but I shall have to ride away from my possessions, and now I shall be a slave in those parts. I shall have to ride away from my silver and lapis lazuli, and now I shall be a slave in those parts. There, slavery, people, who can it? There, slavery, Elam, who can it? Alas, the destroyed city, my destroyed house," she cried bitterly. My queen, though not the enemy, went to enemy land. Ama-ucumgal-ana Kisiga, Like a city

281. 2nd kirugu.

[1 line fragmentary / 1 line missing] 284. Jicgijal to the kirugu.

[7 lines missing or fragmentary]

292-302. Enlil threw open the door of the grand gate to the wind. In Urim no one went to fetch food, no one went to fetch water. Its people rushed around like water being poured from a well. Their strength ebbed away, they could not even go on their way. Enlil afflicted the city with an evil famine. He afflicted the city with that which destroys cities, that which destroys houses. He afflicted the city with that which cannot be withstood with weapons. He afflicted the city with dissatisfaction and treachery. In Urim, which was like a solitary reed, there was not even fear. Its people, like fish being grabbed in a pond, sought to escape. Its young and old lay spread about, no one could rise.

303-317. At the royal station there was no food on top of the platform. The king who used to eat marvellous food grabbed at a mere ration. As the day grew dark, the eye of the sun was eclipsing, the people experienced hunger. There was no beer in the beer-hall, there was no more malt for it. There was no food for him in his palace, it was unsuitable to live in. Grain did not fill his lofty storehouse, he could not save his life. The grain-piles and granaries of Nanna held no grain. The evening meal in the great dining hall of the gods was defiled. Wine and syrup ceased to flow in the great dining hall. The butcher's knife that used to slay oxen and sheep lay hungry in the grass. Its mighty oven no longer cooked oxen and sheep, it no longer emitted the aroma of roasting meat. The sounds of the bursaj building, the pure of Nanna, were stilled. The house which used to bellow like a bull was silenced. Its holy deliveries were no longer fulfilled, its were alienated. The mortar, pestle and grinding stone lay idle; no one bent down over them.

318-327. The Shining Quay of Nanna was silted up. The sound of water against the boat's prow ceased, there was no rejoicing. Dust piled up in the unuribanda of Nanna. The rushes grew, the rushes grew, the mourning reeds grew. Boats and barges ceased docking at the Shining Quay. Nothing moved on your watercourse which was fit for barges. The plans of the festivals at the place of the divine rituals were altered. The boat with first-fruit offerings of the father who begot Nanna no longer brought first-fruit offerings. Its food offerings could not be taken to Enlil in Nibru. Its watercourse was empty, barges could not travel.

328-339. There were no paths on either of its banks, long

328-339. There were no paths on either of its banks, long grass grew there. The reed fence of the well-stocked cattle-pen of Nanna was split open. The reed huts were overrun, their walls were breached. The cows and their young were captured and carried off to enemy territory. The munzer-fed cows took an unfamiliar path in an open country that they did not know. Gayau, who loves cows, dropped his weapon in the dung. Cuni-dug, who stores butter and cheese, did not store butter and cheese. Those who are unfamiliar with butter were churning the butter. Those who are unfamiliar with milk were curdling the milk. The sound of the churning vat did not resound in the cattle-pen. Like mighty fire that once burnt, its smoke is extinguished. The great dining hall of Nanna

340-349. Suen wept to his father Enlil: "O father who begot me, why have you turned away from my city which was built for you? O Enlil, why have you turned away from my Urim which was built for you? The boat with first-fruit offerings no longer brings first-fruit offerings to the father who begot him. Your food offerings can no longer be brought to Enlil in Nibru. The en priests of the countryside and city have been carried off by phantoms. Urim, like a city raked by a hoe, is to be counted as a ruin-mound. The Ki-ur, Enlil's resting-place, has become a haunted shrine. O Enlil, gaze upon your city, an empty wasteland. Gaze upon your city Nibru, an empty wasteland.

350-356. "The dogs of Urim no longer sniff at the base of the city wall. The man who used to drill large wells scratches the ground in the market place. My father who begot me, enclose in your embrace my city which is all alone. Enlil, return to your embrace my Urim which is all alone. Enclose in your embrace my E-kic-nu-jal which is all alone. May you bring forth offspring in Urim, may you multiply its people.

May you restore the divine powers of Sumer that have been forgotten." 357. 3rd kirugu.

358. O good house, good house! O its people, its people! 359. Jicgijal.

360-370. Enlil then answered his son Suen: "There is lamentation in the haunted city, reeds of mourning grow there. (1 ms. adds the line: In its midst there is lamentation. reeds of mourning grow there.) In its midst the people pass their days in sighing. (1 ms. adds the line: My son, the noble son, why do you concern yourself with crying?) Oh Nanna, the noble son, why do you concern yourself with crying? The judgment uttered by the assembly cannot be reversed. The word of An and Enlil knows no overturning. Urim was indeed given kingship but it was not given an eternal reign. From time immemorial, since the Land was founded, until people multiplied, who has ever seen a reign of kingship that would take precedence for ever? The reign of its kingship had been long indeed but had to exhaust itself. O my Nanna, do not exert yourself in vain, abandon your city."

371-377. Then my king, the noble son, became distraught. Lord Acimbabbar, the noble son, grieved, Nanna who loves his city left his city. Suen took an unfamiliar path away from his beloved Urim. In order to go as an exile from her city to foreign territory, Ningal quickly clothed herself and left the city. The Anuna stepped outside of Urim.

378-388. approached Urim. The trees of Urim were sick, its reeds were sick. Laments sounded all along its city wall. Daily there was slaughter before it. Large axes were sharpened in front of Urim. The spears, the arms of battle, were prepared. The large bows, javelin and shield gathered together to strike. The barbed arrows covered its outer side like a raining cloud. Large stones, one after another, fell with great thuds. (1 ms. adds the line: Daily the evil wind returned in the city.) Urim, confident in its own strength, stood ready for the murderers. Its people, oppressed by the enemy, could not withstand their weapons.

389-402. In the city, those who had not been felled by weapons succumbed to hunger. Hunger filled the city like water, it would not cease. This hunger contorted people's faces, twisted their muscles. Its people were as if drowning in a pond, they gasped for breath. Its king breathed heavily in his palace, all alone. Its people dropped their weapons, their weapons hit the ground. They struck their necks with their hands and cried. They sought counsel with each other, they searched for clarification: "Alas, what can we say about it? What more can we add to it? How long until we are finished off by this catastrophe? Inside Urim there is death outside it there is death. Inside it we are to be finished off by famine. Outside it we are to be finished off by Elamite weapons. In Urim the enemy oppresses us, oh, we are finished.'

403-410. The people took refuge behind the city walls. They were united in fear. The palace that was destroyed by onrushing water was defiled, its doorbolts were torn out. Elam, like a swelling flood wave, left only the ghosts. In Urim people were smashed as if they were clay pots. Its refugees were unable to flee, they were trapped inside the walls. (1 ms. adds 3 lines: Like fish living in a pond, they tried to escape. The enemy seized the E-kic-nu-jal of Nanna. They ripped out its heavy) The statues that were in the treasury were cut down. The great stewardess Niniagar ran away from the storehouse. Its throne was cast down before it, she threw herself down into the dust.

411-419. Its mighty cows with shining horns were captured, their horns were cut off. Its unblemished oxen and grass-fed sheep were slaughtered. (1 ms. adds the line: They were cut down as date palms and were tied together.) The palm-trees, strong as mighty copper, the heroic strength, were torn out like rushes, were plucked like rushes, their trunks were turned sideways. Their tops lay in the dust, there was no one to raise them. The midriffs of their palm fronds were cut off and their tops were burnt off. Their date spadices that used to fall on the well were torn out. The fertile reeds, which grew in the sacred, were defiled. The great tribute that they had collected was hauled off to the mountains.

420-434. The house's great door ornament fell down, its parapet was destroyed. The wild animals that were intertwined on its left and right lay before it like heroes smitten by heroes. Its gaping-mouthed dragons and its aweinspiring lions were pulled down with ropes like captured wild bulls and carried off to enemy territory. The fragrance of the sacred seat of Nanna, formerly like a fragrant cedar grove. was destroyed. (1 ms. adds the line: Its architrave gold and lapis lazuli.) The glory of the house, whose glory was once so lovely, was extinguished. Like a storm that fills all the lands, it was built there like twilight in the heavens; its doors adorned with the heavenly stars, its Great bronze latches were torn out. Its hinges Together with its door fittings it wept bitterly like a fugitive. The bolt, the holv lock and the great door were not fastened for it. The noise of the door being fastened had ceased; there was no one to fasten it. The and was put out in the square.

435-448. The food offerings of his royal dining place were altered. In its sacred place the tigi, cem and ala instruments did not sound. Its mighty tigi did not perform its sacred song. Verdicts were not given at the Dublamah, the place where oaths used to be taken. The throne was not set up at its place of judgment, justice was not administered. Alamuc threw down his sceptre, his hands trembling. In the sacred bedchamber of Nanna musicians no longer played the balai drum. The sacred box that no one had set eyes upon was seen by the enemy. The divine bed was not set up, it was not spread with clean hay. The statues that were in the treasury were cut down. The cook, the dream interpreter, and the seal keeper did not perform the ceremonies properly. They stood by submissively and were carried off by the foreigners. The holy usga priests of the sacred lustrations, the linen-clad priests, forsook the divine plans and sacred divine powers, they went off to a foreign city.

449-459. In his grief Suen approached his father. He went down on his knee in front of Enlil, the father who begot him: "O father who begot me, how long will the enemy eye be cast upon my account, how long? The lordship and the kingship that you bestowed, father Enlil, the one who advises with just words, the wise words of the Land, your inimical judgment, look into your darkened heart, terrifying like waves. O father Enlil, the fate that you have decreed cannot be explained, the of lordship, my ornament." he put on a garment of mourning.

460-474. Enlil then provided a favourable response to his son Suen: "My son, the city built for you in joy and prosperity was given to you as your reign. The destroyed city, the great wall, the walls with broken battlements: all this too is part of that reign. the black, black days of the reign that has been your lot. As for dwelling in your home, the E-temen-niguru, that was properly built -- indeed Urim shall be rebuilt in splendour, the people shall bow down to you. There is to be bounty at its base, there is to be grain. There is to be splendour at its top, the sun shall rejoice there. Let an abundance of grain embrace its table. May Urim, the city whose fate was pronounced by An, be restored for you. Having pronounced his blessing, Enlil raised his head toward the heavens: "May the land, south and highland, be organised for Nanna. May the roads of the mountains be set in order for Suen. Like a cloud hugging the earth, they shall submit to him. By order of An and Enlil it shall be conferred.

475-477. AFather Nanna stood in his city of Urim with head raised high again. The youth Suen could enter again into the E-kic-nu-jal. Ningal refreshed herself in her sacred living quarters. (1 ms. adds the line: In Urim she could enter again into her E-kic-nu-ial.)

478. 4th kirugu.

479-481. There is lamentation in the haunted city, mourning reeds grew there. In its midst there is lamentation, mourning reeds grew there. Its people spend their days in moaning.

482 Jicgiial

483-492. O bitter storm, retreat o storm, storm return to your home. O storm that destroys cities, retreat o storm, storm return to your home. O storm that destroys houses, retreat o storm, storm return to your home. Indeed the storm that blew on Sumer, blew also on the foreign lands. Indeed the storm that blew on the land, blew on the foreign lands. It has blown on Tidnum, it has blown on the foreign lands. It has blown on Gutium, it has blown on the foreign lands. It has blown on Ancan, it has blown on the foreign lands. It levelled Ancan like a blowing evil wind. Famine has overwhelmed the evildoer; those people will have to submit.

493-504. May An not change the divine powers of heaven, the divine plans for treating the people with justice. May An not change the decisions and judgments to lead the people properly. To travel on the roads of the Land: may An not change it. May An and Enlil not change it, may An not change it. May Enki and Ninmah not change it, may An not change it. That the Tigris and Euphrates should again carry water: may An not change it. That there should be rain in the skies and on the ground speckled barley: may An not change it. That there should be watercourses with water and fields with grain: may An not change it. That the marshes should support fish and fowl: may An not change it. That old reeds and fresh reeds should grow in the reed-beds: may An not change it. May An and Enlil not change it. May Enki and Ninmah not change it.

505-518. That the orchards should bear syrup and grapes. that the high plain should bear the macgurum tree, that there should be long life in the palace, that the sea should bring forth every abundance: may An not change it. The land densely populated from south to uplands: may An not change it. May An and Enlil not change it, may An not change it. May Enki and Ninmah not change it, may An not change it. That cities should be rebuilt, that people should be numerous, that in the whole universe the people should be cared for; o Nanna, your kingship is sweet, return to your place. May a good abundant reign be long-lasting in Urim. Let its people lie down in safe pastures, let them reproduce. O mankind,

princess overcome by lamentation and crying! O Nanna! O your city! O your house! O your people!

519. 5th kirugu.

THE LAMENT FOR NIBRU (NIPPUR)

The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature Translation: Estimated Range of Dating:

1-11. After the cattle pen had been built for the foremost divine powers -- how did it become a haunted place? When will it be restored? Where once the brick of fate had been laid -- who scattered its divine powers? The lamentation is reprised: how did the storeroom of Nibru, the shrine Dur-anki, become a haunted place? When will it be restored? After Ki-ur, the sanctuary, had been built, after the brickwork of Ekur had been built, after Ubcu-unkena had been built, after the shrine Egal-mah had been built -- how did they become haunted? When will they be restored?

12-21. How did the true city become empty? Its precious designs have been defiled! How were the city's festivals neglected? Its magnificent rites have been thrown into disorder! In the heart of Nibru, where the divine powers were allotted and the black-headed people prolificly multiplied, the city's heart no longer revealed any sign of intelligence -- there where the Anuna used to give advice! In Ubcu-unkena, the place for making great judgments, they no longer impart decisions or justice!

22-31. Where its gods had established their dwellings, where their daily rations were offered, their daises erected, where the sacred royal offering and the evening meal in their great banquet hall were destined for the pouring out of choice beer and syrup -- Nibru, the city where the black-headed people used to cool themselves in its spreading shade -- in their dwellings Enlil fell upon them as if they were criminals. It was he who sent them scattering, like a scattered herd of cattle. How long until its lady, the goddess Ninlil, would ask after the inner city, whose bitter tears were overwhelming?

32-41. As though it were empty wasteland, no one enters that great temple whose bustle of activity was famous. As for all the great rulers who increased the wealth of the city of Nibru -- why did they disappear? For how long would Enlil neglect the Land, where the black-headed people ate rich grass like sheep? Tears, lamentation, depression and despair! How long would his spirit burn and his heart not be placated? Why were those who once played the cem and ala drums spending their time in bitter lamenting? Why were the lamenters sitting in its brick buildings? They were bewailing the hardship which beset them.

42-52. The men whose wives had fallen, whose children had fallen, were singing "Oh! Our destroyed city!". Their city gone, their homes abandoned -- as those who were singing for the brick buildings of the good city, as the lamenters of wailing, like the foster-children of an ecstatic no longer knowing their own intelligence, the people were smitten, their minds thrown into disorder. The true temple wails bitterly.

1st kirugu

..... built the temple, Ninlil Its jicgijal

53-61. The true temple gave you only tears and lamentation -- it sings a bitter song of the proper cleansing-rites that are forgotten! The brickwork of E-kur gave you only tears and lamentation -- it sings a bitter song of the proper cleansingrites that are forgotten! It weeps bitter tears over the splendid rites and most precious plans which are desecrated -- its most sacred food rations neglected and into funeral offerings. it cries "Alas!". The temple despairs of its divine powers, utterly cleansed, pure, hallowed, which are now defiled! The true temple, which it is bitter to enter on one's own, passes the time tears.

62-67. Because the sealings of the abundant materials stored in the temple have been broken open, they have placed the loads on the ground. Because the property in its welltended storehouses has been sent back, it says "What will they weigh out for me now?"; because the enemies who do not know good from evil have cut off all good things, it sings a bitter dirge; because they have finished off its populace there like animals, it cries "Oh! my Land!". Because they have piled up the young women, young men and their little children like heaps of grain, it cries "Woe!" for them. Because they have splashed their blood on the ground like a rain-storm, there is no restraint to its crying.

68-78. The temple, like a cow whose calf is cut off, groans bitterly to itself; it is grief-stricken, and the sweet-voiced lamenters, like nursemaids singing a lullaby, respond tearfully with its name. In anguish they bewail the fact that the city's lord has smashed heads there, that he has looked away from it and toward a foreign land instead. The true temple of all the countries, which had come before him -- what have the blackheaded people, who had taken a true path, done, what have they forsaken, that their lord has become enraged with them and walks in anger?

2nd kirugu

It voices bitter cries because he has removed the great divine powers from within it.

Its jicgijal

79-85. How long will the city's lord who became angry with it not turn to it, not say "Alas!" for it? Why did he cut off the road to its brickwork? He made the noisy pigeons fly away from their windows. Why did he transform the appearance of the temple which knew voices, where they used to while away the days in sweet playing of tigi drums in the brick buildings? The temple, once a place to offer salutations in humility, is now as deathly silent as a temple which no one reveres!

86-94. As though its purification priest's equipment were not utterly sacred, as though its cleansing-rites did not bring calm in all countries, he has abandoned it, turned his breast away from it, among dejection and lamentation he has made it a sacrilege. After its fate, how long till his face would be streaked with teardrops? He rejected it thus as though it were a blasphemy! Why has joy left its brickwork? Night and day he has filled its heart with tears! Even now, he has made it foreign and a sacrilege! 95-102. Its lord, who has despoiled it like an evil wind, has destroyed that city and its temples! He has ripped out their foundations, struck them with the adze, killed wives and their children within it, he has turned that city into a deserted city -- when would he restore its ancient property? Its possessions have been carried off by the wind! Enlil turned the city which used to be there into a city no longer!

103-116. He made its mind wander! He threw its intelligence into disorder and made it haunted! He took away its food and its water! He brought to an end its days of familiarity with milk and with beer! The temple which he has made a sacrilege utters bitter lamentations; he has made its eyes blurred with tears. The lamenters who perform the dirges respond to it sorrowfully. No one touches the arm of the city's lord who has removed its divine powers! No one intercedes!

3rd kirugu

114-115. How did Enlil make all his greatest divine powers fly away! No one ever touches his arm! No one ever intercedes! Its jicgijal

117-126. I am going down to my dirge singer of bitter fates and I shall weep tearfully to him. Even now the lamenters who are expert in song make ululating wails over me! Now my people who are overcome by hardship voice laments for me one by one! Even now the places of refuge of my people whose hearts are burning in dark distress have been made known to me! My people whose hearts have been broken on the bitter way perform the lullabies of my young ones for me in tears!

127-138. The well-built houses, ladies' dwellings, were falsely founded, and they have been eroded by the winds! They are making a lament for me of how the foe has finished off my Land! They are addressing the cries of my heart, overwhelmed with bitterness, in order to soothe it! They are beginning their laments about my lord Enlil! He will have mercy and compassion on me -- Enlil, father of the black-headed people, he who will give the order to restore me!

4th kirugu

My heart is dark, I am destroyed, I am in chaos, I have been devastated!

Its jicgijal

139-149. In the foremost brick buildings they sing that your fate is bitter! Even now, to Enlil who will accept your tears for you, weeping bitter tears of your own accord, speak supplications to your lord himself concerning what he did to you, concerning that fate! Say to him "My lord, how long? Look upon me with favour, my lord!". Say "Why?". Say "May your heart be soothed for me -- overturn this sacrilege for your own good! The day is!". Say "Re-enter for me your dwelling in my darkened shrines!". Say "Like a bright, cleansed, sacred day, give for your own good!". Say "....!". Say "Your misfortunes will rebuild it!".

150-156. Perhaps by this means I can make him have compassion and mercy for you. Depression has weakened your heart, but I am the one who has established good cheer for you. He will fix it forever as your lot that you shall lift your head high, he will make good again the hostilities he is directing against you.

5th kirugu

In the city which does not know freedom he struck them down.

Its jicgijal

157-166. Even now your lord has smitten the enemy fury for you! He has had mercy on you and decreed your fate! He has said "Enough", so that he has removed lamentation from your brick buildings! In good mood and with a joyful heart he has entered in there again for you! Ninurta, the mighty commissioner, has looked after things! He stood there before the hero, his provider Icme-Dagan, and issued the command to him to completely rebuild the E-kur, the most precious shrine! He has restored its ancient property! Enlil has ordered Icme-Dagan to restore its ziggurat temple, to make it shine like the day, to make fitting the dais upon its platform!

167-180. He has put back in their place the rites which the enemy disordered and desecrated, along with the scattered

divine powers! He has given him his sacred unchangeable decision that they should sanctify and purify again the cleansing-rites which the enemy had put a stop to! He has told Icme-Dagan, his beloved shepherd, that spirited bulls and spirited bucks should be slaughtered! When decrees the fate of the sacred royal offering place, he will offer salutations and stand there daily in supplication and prayer.

[2 lines fragmentary]

6th kirugu

How long before you will rest at ease?

Its jicgijal

181-183. How long will the brickwork strain its eyes upwards in tears and lamentations? Even now your lord, the Great Mountain Enlil, supreme in the universe, has removed lamentation from your brick buildings and made favourable your humour!

184-192. Now, city, your lord who has had compassion and mercy for you, Father Enlil, lord of all countries, who has commanded that you be restored, and the great mother Ninlil, who entreated him in prayer there, and the brickwork itself which said to him "Steady the trembling of Nibru!" and said to him "Rebuild my women's quarters for me! Re-establish my temples for me!" -- he who mulled things over so that he came to a decision about them, Enlil, who found agreeable his command of true words, who beneficently entered the true temple which had suffered destruction -- he himself is removing what he turned upon you in distress.

193-200. Just as he silenced you, when he made joy enter again he decreed as your fate the sound of choice beer and syrup being poured out to overflowing. "Enough! It is time to stifle the lament" he said to you himself. Because you have been living in a state of neglect, Enlil who has decreed your fate has said "My city, you have placated my sacred heart towards you!". He has returned to you! "Nibru, you have placated my sacred heart towards you!". He has returned to you! True city, he has decreed your great fate and made your reign long! Nibru, he has decreed your great fate and made your reign long!

201-213. Enlil himself has commanded Icme-Dagan that the E-kur should shine like the day! Steady sunlight shines into the Ki-ur; he has brought daylight in there again for you! Ninlil has decreed your fate in the Jajiccua! Enlil and Ninlil together founded daises in the E-kur! They dined there and enjoyed choice beer! They deliberated how to make the black-headed people secure in their dwellings! They have brought back to you the people who had been completely devastated! They have gathered back together the children whom they turned away from their mothers! The populace goes with you in their secure strongholds! Shrine Nibru, Great Mountain Enlil has returned to you!

7th kirugu

How you suffer! How depression exhausts you!

214-219. Even now, they command Icme-Dagan that Sumer and Akkad should be restored at your feet, that their scattered people should be returned to their nests! They have brought the news that the magnificent rites of Eridug would not be forgotten, its heart sending forth wisdom, so that good sense should be allotted! The Anuna, the lords who decree fates, order that Adab should be rebuilt, the city whose lady fashions living things, who promotes birthing!

220-227. An and Enlil have advised that Urim should be restored, founded in a pasture, its divine powers distinct from the rest! They command the prince of the city Larsa, the herald of the universe, the judge of the numerous people, to secure its foundations, to follow the proper path! They have taken a decision concerning Unug- Kulaba, the sacred city, the handiwork of the gods, and restored it. They have brought news of the removal of all foes and enemies from the region of Zabalam, the city where the Mistress of Heaven concentrated her forces.

228-235. An and Enlil have looked with their beneficent gaze on Lagac, the mooring-pole of heaven, and the shrine Jirsu, established long ago. They have removed the treacherous Tidnum from that temple in Umma, Sig-kur-caga, which had been ill treated! It is the great gods who have commanded that the foundations of Kic should be secured, at the edge of Sumer and Akkad, its dominion superlative! Marad, the city in whose river water flows, in whose fields is fine grain — the Anuna who took those things away from it returned them to it again!

236-246. Isin, the provisioner of the Anuna, awe-inspiring since times of old -- An, Enlil, Enki and Ninmah have made its reign long! By their command they have handed it over and expressed their approval! They have entrusted it to Ninurta, the champion, the strong hero! They have told Ninisina, the exalted child of An, the incantation priest of the Land, to rest calmly in her sacred dwelling, Egal-mah! They have told Damu, the chief barber of Nunamnir, healer of the living, to make the foreign countries bow at the feet of his father and

8th kirugu

An, Enlil, Enki and Ninmah have given their orders! Its jicgijal

247-254. Now see! Enlil has fixed a good day in the land! He has even now ordered the day for Nibru to raise its neck to heaven! He himself has provided a good day for the E-kur to shine! He himself has raised up the day for the Ki-ur's magnificent manifestation! He himself has restored the day for Sumer and Akkad to expand! He himself has set aside the day for houses to be built and storerooms to be enclosed! He himself has brought out the day for seeds to sprout and living things to be born! He has brought out the day for building cattle pens and founding sheepfolds!

255-262. The ewes which bore lambs have filled the pens! (1 ms. has instead the line: Ewes have given birth in the folds, their lambs have filled the pens!) The goats which bore kids have filled the folds! The ewes which flocked with their lambs have swelled the sheepfold! The goats which flocked with their kids have caused the pens to be widened! He himself has set the day for turning destruction to the good! He has the day evil! He has brought in Icme-Dagan as assistance for the day for establishing justice in the land!

9th kirugu

263-274. Although Sumer and Akkad had been desecrated by the foe, afterwards hearts were appeased, spirits soothed! All the great gods thus had compassion! They looked upon those sunk in exhaustion and brought them up out of it! They restored your city which had been razed to ruins! Enlil, king of all countries, restored its shining property which had been scattered, which had been devastated! There where the populace rested in the cool after building their nests, in Nibru, the mountain of the greatest divine powers, from where they had taken an unfamiliar path — at Enlil's word the Anuna, those very lords who determine the fates, ordered that the temples which they had forsaken and the jewels, put there long ago, which had been carried off by the wind, should all be restored!

275-283. He has established there dining in joy within! Enlil has given the command to Icme-Dagan, his joyous, reverent sacral officiant, who daily serves, to sanctify its food, to purify its water! He has commanded him to purify its defiled divine powers! He has put in order its disordered and scattered rites, he has put back in their place the most sacred things, neglected and defiled. He decrees as a fate the offering of daily rations and the grinding up of fine meal and flour. He has decided to make bread plentiful on the table, to make loaves numerous!

10th kirugu

284-296. Father Enlil, the lord whose command cannot be altered, prince of all countries, has fixed among the blackheaded people, and commanded for their benefit, a time when no one is to speak hostile words to another, when a son is to respect his father, a time to establish humility in the Land, for the inferior to be as important as the mighty, a time when the younger brother, fearing his big brother, is to show humility, a time when the elder child is to treat the younger child reasonably and to pay heed to his words, a time to take neither weak nor strong away into captivity, but to serve with great acts of good, a time to travel the disordered roadways, to extirpate evil growths, a time when anyone is to go where they will, to hurl no insults at one's fellow, (1 ms. has instead the line:a time when anyone is to go where they will, to carry oneself humbly in the plain, to perform no sacrilege,) a time no one is to speak hostile words to another, to perform no sacrilege. (1 ms. has instead the line:a time to go from one's own city to a foreign city, to have no fear on the plain, to perform no sacrilege,) a time to remove bitterness from the Land, to establish light therein, a time when darkness is to be lifted in the Land, so that living things should rejoice.

11th kirugu

297-303. Now, see! After that time, Enlil, the prince who is full of pity, has been beneficent to his hero who had laid the brick! He put in order again for him the divine powers which had been descerated by the enemy! He sanctified again the defiled rites for him! He purified its ziggurat temple and made it resplendent for him! Within he made abundance plentiful, he filled it with choice beer and syrup! He established there at that time the pleasing of hearts, the appeasing of spirits, the ameliorating of moods!

304-314. Icme-Dagan himself stood in prayer to Enlil and offered salutations! When he had begun the lament and spoken the supplication, the prince of all countries treated his body with oil of abundance as if it were the sweetest syrup! And his prayer was heard -- Enlil looked upon him with favour, Icme-Dagan whose words bring Enlil pleasure! Enlil's constant attendant, with whose thoughts he agrees! Because the humble one prostrated himself in his devotions and served there, because he will entreat him in supplication and will do obeisance, because he will complete and honour the royal offering and will return, because he will keep watch over everything and will not be negligent, Enlil has promised to Icme-Dagan his dominion of extended years!

315-323. He promised him that he will be a man of preeminent kingship! He promised him that he will be a king whose reign is good! He promised him that he shall have the people inhabit safe dwellings! Enlil found agreement in what he had said to the numerous people! On the day for decreeing

fates, every part of Sumer and Akkad, among the blackheaded people flocking like sheep, among their well-tended people, will praise forever the majesty of the Great Mountain Nunamnir, enkara weapon of the universe! It is his awe-

12. th kirugu

THE LAMENT FOR UNUG (URUK)

The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature Translation:

Estimated Range of Dating:

SEGMENT A

(beginning of 1st kirugu)

1-3. The which had developed -- its wiping clean was to be accomplished. The of heaven and earth put their divine powers to sleep.

[1 line fragmentary]

4-8. mortal man multiplied to become as numerous as the gods. When together had achieved a momentous decision, the of the gods Enki and Ninki determined the consensus -- deemed worthless. Enul and Ninul assigned the fate,

9-14. When together An and Enlil had created it, that one resembled When Ninlil had given it features, that one was fit for When together Aruru, Suen and Enki had fashioned its limbs, that one turned pitch black, as at night, halfway through the watch, All the great gods paled at its immensity and..... was brought about. Like a great wild bull which bellows mightily, that one filled the world with its

15-20. As its gigantic horns reached up to heaven, who trembled in his very core? As it was piled up over the mountains like a battle-net, who turned away? Who caused wailing and lamenting in those streets and? Unug, like a loyal citizen in terror, set up an alarm (and exclaimed) "Rise up!" Why did its hand seize Unug? Why did the benevolent eye look away? Who brought about such worry and lamenting and?

21-27. That one drew nearer. That one settled upon the ground. Why would he withdraw? Who distorted Unug's good sense and deranged its good counsel? Who smashed its good udug deity? Who struck its good lama deity too? Who desecrated the fearsome radiance which crowned it? Who brought about mob panic in Unug? Who sickness too? Along with the city, the foreign lands, who in the temple of Unug? That one.

[small number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

(continuation of 1st kirugu)

1-8. [1 line fragmentary] Who made? Why was expanded? Who made the black-headed people become so numerous? Who overthrew? was destroyed -- who restored? Who confronted? That one crushed

small number of lines missing

SEGMENT C

(probable beginning of 2nd kirugu)

1-9. 1 line fragmentary

..... and Utu, who in human form renders judgment at the law court of heaven, set and did not rise again. bore a heavy burden of sin. the altered verdicts of the lord Nunamnir. who can smite? and they approach (?). he brings forth. of Enlil He and puts an end to

[small number of lines missing]

SEGMENT D

(continuation of 2nd kirugu)

1-9. 1 line fragmentary

.. each and every one its ways were its destruction and demolition, The of the gods attention., who neglected, the city watched as the evil ghost approached. breathed painfully, he wept bitterly. there was no nodding of the head.

10-20. He consoled himself with tears and laments -- the city trembled. A defiled hand smote him and flattened his skull -- the city collapsed. The fearsome radiance overwhelmed each and every observer. The capital city, canal inspector for all the lands, became like one who spreads havoc. The faithful cowherds themselves overturned every single cattlepen. The chief shepherds themselves burned every sheepfold. They built them up like grain heaps, they spread them out like grain piles, they themselves flattened them. they drenched the fields with water, they turned the city into a swamp. They did all that. Like reeds in a wasteland, life could not be revived. They brought ruination. Evil things menaced the city. A hush settled over the awed hearts of its people like

21-33. Its good udug deities went away, its lama deities ran off. Its lama deity (said) "Hide in the open country" and they took foreign paths. The city's patron god turned against it and its shepherd abandoned it. Its guardian spirit, though not an enemy, was exiled to a foreign place. Thus all its most important gods evacuated Unug, they kept away from it. They hid out in the hills and wandered about in the haunted plains. In the city built upon peace, food and drink were overturned like a saman vessel. In the pasture lands a tumultuous noise arose, the asses and sheep were driven away. Elderly people and babies, taking their rest, in front They saw and slaughtered

[3 lines fragmentary / small number of lines missing]

SEGMENT E

(continuation of 2nd kirugu)
1-7. He and opened his clenched fist. He and reached out his hand. The of Sumer, the city whose king crossed over to an enemy land, to -- he smote it with the might of his weapon. He and turned the place into dust. He and piled the people up in heaps. when will its charms be restored?

2nd kirugu.

9. The of heaven and the people to the limits of heaven.

11-20. He, stretched forth his hand and induced terror in the land. Enlil struck out with great ferocity. He announced: "A devastating deluge shall be invoked. At its front war shall be a axe, at its rear it shall be a Its scales shall be a harrow, its back shall be flames. Its countenance shall be a malevolent storm that enshrouds heaven and earth. The glint of its eyes shall be lightning that flashes far like the Anzud bird. Its mouth shall be grotesque -- a blaze that extends as far as the nether world. Its tongue shall be an inferno, raining embers, that sunders the Land. Its arms shall be the majestic Anzud bird that nothing can escape when it spreads wide its talons.

21-31. "Its ribs shall be crowbars that let light pass inside like the sun's rays. Knotted at both its hips shall be citydestroying slingstones. Its great haunches shall be dripping knives, covered with gore, that make blood flow. Its muscles shall be saws that slash, its feet those of an eagle. It shall make the Tigris and Euphrates quaver, it shall make the mountains rumble. At its reverberation the hills shall be uprooted, the people shall be pitched about like sheaves, Sumer and Akkad shall shiver, they shall be flooded like a harvest crop. The foolish shall rejoice, they shall exclaim: "Let it come -- we shall be seeing war and battle in the city, how the sacred precinct (?) is destroyed, how the walls are battered down, how the city's peace is disrupted, how among the loyal families honest men are transformed into traitors.

32-40. "But the sensible shall beat their breasts and droop (?) their heads. At midnight they shall toss about tearfully and suffer insomnia. In bed, under the covers, they shall be unable to sleep soundly, they shall wander about the city. They shall wring their hands, their courage shall run out: 'May our allies serving in times of war mobilise their forces for peace. May the word of Enlil be sent back, may it turn tail. May the venom of Nunamnir's anger become exhausted. May those vicious men who have seized the E-kur be punished. May those who have set their sight upon Nibru be swept away.'

41. 3rd kirugu.

42. My heart is filled with sorrow, I am tear-stricken.

43. Its jicgijal.

44-50. Oh, Sumer! Alas -- your spirit! Alas -- your structure! Alas -- your people! The word of An, having been assigned its place, has destroyed the sacred precinct (?). The pronouncement of Enlil, having been set in motion, The devastating deluge The great and fierce, the lord Nergal like Gibil, Nergal

[1 line fragmentary]

51-65. War enemy lands echoed. Like arrows in a quiver Evildoers in Sumer Gutium, the enemy, overturned Sumer, caught in a trap, Its people were thrown into turmoil The mighty heroes of Sumer the heart of a hurricane They advanced like the front rank of troops, Like they were crushed, every one of them Their war veterans gave up, their brains were muddled. The troop leaders, the most outstanding of the men, were viciously hewn down. Gutium, the enemy, weapons Not looking at each other Like a swelling flood, like, Subir poured into Sumer.

66-74. They like stampeding goats, they tore apart the corpses of the population. They mutilated Sumer and Akkad, they pulverised it as with a pestle. They destroyed its settlements and habitations, they razed them to ruin mounds. The best of Sumer they scattered like dust, they heaped up They massacred its populace, they finished off young and old alike. They destroyed the city of the Anuna gods, they set it aflame. They put out both Unug's eyes, they uprooted its young shoots. They wandered all through the libation places of the Anuna gods. And even Kulaba, which is the primeval city, they turned into a place of murder.

75. 4th kirugu.

76. Alas -- Sumer! Alas -- its people!

77. Its jicgijal.

78-88. Unug! They seized your wharf and your borders and At Unug shouts rang out, screams reverberated, its captured men The noise reached to the south. The south was destroyed and The impact forced its way to the uplands. The uplands were struck and To the right and left no people moved about, no habitations were built. There was no and the mobilisation of troops did not rose up to heaven. Heaven perished and its strength did not upon the earth. The earth was scattered, and it did not All the settlements were dispersed -- Unug stood all alone. It was a bull, it was a champion, it was immense with pride, but it to the weapons. All night and even until midday battle was waged, and afterwards it did not

89-99Battering rams and shields were set up, they rent its walls. They breached its buttresses, they hewed the city with axes. They set fire to its stations, they the city's dwellings. They destroyed it, they demolished it. Unug, the good place, was with dust. Like a great wild bull wounded with an arrow, Like a wild cow pierced with a spear, The mighty one rushed with his weapons and implements of war. Subir, rising up like a swelling floodwave, They trampled through the streets and They let the blood of the people flow like that of a sacrificial cow, they tore out everthing that had been built.

100-111. The citizens of Unug They..... and threw down They and put an end to They seized They struck They destroyed They demolished They set up They heaped up They put an end to and did not leave behind Subir

112. 5th kirugu.

113. cried out "..... has been created" and he smeared dust

114. Its jicgijal.

115. reached

[19 fragmentary lines / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT F

(probable beginning of another kirugu)

1-5The enemy land Zabalam In Urim, the E-kic-nu-jal Cattlepen and sheepfold, evil The land of Subir.

[200-300 lines missing]

SEGMENT G

(part of 11th kirugu)
1-5. All the great gods The Anuna gods

[1 line fragmentary]

Sovereigns

[1 line fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT H

(beginning of 12th kirugu)

1-8Lady Inana whose greatness is vaster than the mountains, hovering like An, vested with grandeur like Enlil, like her father, perfect by night and in the heat of the day, like Utu, surpassing in vigour, singularly exalted in all the four regions -- let Icme-Dagan take pleasure in relaxing in your temple, let him murmer to you in your temple, let him raise his head to you in your E-ana.

9-19. Let Icme-Dagan serve you as your steward. Let him prepare great bulls for you. Let him dedicate great offerings to you. Let him make the beer, fat and oil plentiful for you. Let him make syrup and wine flow for you as from stone jars. Let Icme-Dagan, son of Enlil on the king's pedestal, bow in homage to you. May he make the ub and ala drums resound grandly for you. May the tigi sound sweetly for you, and may the zamzam play for you. May they play on the tigi for you, expressing your prayers and supplications before you.

20-27. In bringing forth, all that there are, at your Ejipar in Unug, as a humble man who has grasped your feet, as a pious one who has experienced your exaltedness, he has brought a lament as offering to you and will As for everything that happened to Sumer and Akkad, which he has witnessed in Unug, the aggrieved place, may the best singers perform songs there.

28-38. If the Anuna gods emerge tearfully, let them promise to us that as it was when heaven and earth came about, nothing of that time shall be changed. If An looks kindly upon that man and at the well-built city, the place of determining fate, proclaim "Man and city! Life and well-being!" for him. Let praises ring out. Let him be made surpassing above all, to his right or left. Tireless lama deity, take hold of his head, pronounce his fate in charitable words - by the command of An and Enlil it will remain unaltered for a long time.

39. 12th kirugu.

THE LAMENT FOR ERIDUG (ERIDU)

Translation: ETCSL. University of Oxford Estimated Range of Dating:

VERSION 1 (FROM ERIDU) SEGMENT A

(beginning of 1st kirugu)

1-10. [4 lines missing] The roaring storm covered it like a cloak, was spread over it like a sheet. It covered Eridug like a cloak, was spread over it like a sheet. In the city, the furious storm resounded In Eridug, the furious storm resounded Its voice was smothered with silence as by a sandstorm. Its people Eridug was smothered with silence as by a sandstorm. Its people
11-18. Its king staved outside his city as if it were an alien

city. He wept bitter tears. Father Enki stayed outside his city as if it were an alien city. He wept bitter tears. For the sake of his harmed city, he wept bitter tears. Its lady, like a flying bird, left her city. The mother of E-mah, holy Damgalnuna, left her city. The divine powers of the city of holiest divine powers were overturned. The divine powers of the rites of the greatest divine powers were altered. In Eridug everything was reduced to ruin, was wrought with confusion.

19-26. The evil-bearing storm went out from the city. It swept across the Land -- a storm which possesses neither kindness nor malice, does not distinguish between good and evil. Subir came down like rain. It struck hard. In the city where bright daylight used to shine forth, the day darkened. In Eridug where bright daylight used to shine forth, the day darkened. As if the sun had set below the horizon, it turned into twilight. As if An had cursed the city, alone he destroyed it. As if Enlil had frowned upon it, Eridug, Ec-abzu, bowed

low. 27. 1st kirugu.

28. It cried out bitterly: "O the destruction of the city! The destruction of the house!

29. Its jicgijal.

30-37. A second time the storm destroyed the city -- its song was plaintive. was breached. intensified the lament. It cut the lock from its main gate. The storm dislodged its door. It stacked the people up in heaps. on its own destroyed it. It turned into tears. defiled

[1 line missing]

39-47. It distorted its appearance. It distorted its appearance. It circled its wall. It overturned its foundations. Throughout his city, the pure, radiant place, the foundations were filled with dust. It cast down its ziggurat, the shrine which reaches up to heaven, into a heap of debris. The loftiness of its awe-inspiring door-ornament, befitting a house, collapsed. It cut down the gate, its Great-Ziggurat-of-Heaven-and-Earth-Covered-with-Terrible-Awesomeness, its shining door, and it broke through its bolt. It ripped out its doorframe. The house was defaced.

48. 2nd kirugu.

49. The destruction of Eridug! Its destruction was grievous. 50. Its jicgijal.

51-57. At its lion-faced gate, the place where fates are determined, it mutilated the copse forming the architrave of the house Ka-hejala and Igi-hejala, the doorkeepers of the house, Prematurely they destroyed it utterly. They completely altered At the gate of the fattening-shed, the animal-fattener the great offerings. Its birds and fish were neglected there. Destruction Throughout his house, radiant in silver and lapis lazuli, tears

58-65. The hired man and the governor festivals grandly Holy songs, songs of all kinds ... The cem drum and ala drum The great divine powers, all the divine powers The place of the gods of heaven and earth The judgment by the king, the holy sceptre at his right side, The en priestess, lumah priest and nindijir priestess

66-73. The minister Isimud Strangers to the house ... its side. Eridug, Ec-abzu, silently. The enemy the . Along cleansed tugmah robe. a man the people .. with the fluids spilled from his guts, his blood spilled forth The, which like the azure sky was embellished forever, grasped

74. 3rd kirugu.

75-76. [2 lines fragmentary]

77. Its jicgijal.

78. distressed and anxious like a pigeon [1 line fragmentary] The birds of the destroyed city a nest. The ukuku bird, bird of heart's sorrow, the place. Pain The area became entangled in wild thornbushes. It wild thornbushes. The Cimackians and Elamites, the destroyers, looked at the holy kettles which no one may look at. In the É-jectug-Nisaba, the house of wisdom, covered over The divine powers which embellish the abzu When the holy treasures stored in the treasury were put when, like a mist lying heavily on the earth,, they went like small birds shooed from their hiding places.

[7 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing]

SEGMENT B

(continuation of 4th kirugu)

1 Father Enki uttered a lament for himself

3. Bitterly Father Enki uttered a lament for himself.

Its jicgijal.

5-9. Because of this, Enki, king of the abzu, stayed outside his city as if it were an alien city. It bowed its neck down to the ground. Eridu's lady, holy Damgalnuna, the faithful cow, the compassionate one, clawed at her breast, clawed at her eyes. She uttered a frenzied cry. She held a dagger and a sword in her two hands -- they clashed together.

10-15. She tore out her hair like rushes, uttering a bitter lament: "You, my city whose woman does not dwell there, whose charms do not satisfy her -- where is a lament uttered bitterly for you? Eridug! You, my city whose woman does not dwell there, whose charms do not satisfy her -- where are tears wept for you? I fall like a bull in your lofty falls ... am My heart queen" unknown number of lines missing (incorporating end of 5th kirugu)

(continuation of 6th kirugu)

1-8. [1 line fragmentary] far away the great gods. The lord Enlil, king of the lands, looked maliciously at Sumer. He demolished it. He destroyed the Ki-ur, the great place. He razed with the pickaxe all of the shining E-kur. He destroyed it but did not abandon it -- at the lunches, in his great dininghall, they call his name.

9-20. Aruru, the sister of Enlil, destroyed her city Irisajrig. In Kec, the creation place of the Land, the people saw inside its holy sanctuary where daylight had been unknown. She destroyed it but did not abandon it -- at the lunches, in her great dining-hall, they call her name. The lord Nanna, the lord Acimbabbar, destroyed his city Urim. He decimated the Land with famine. He committed a sacrilege against the Ekic-nu-jal. He struck at its heart. He destroyed it but did not abandon it -- at the lunches, in his great dining-hall, they call

21-25. Inana, the gueen of heaven and earth, destroyed her city Unug. Fleeing from the E-ana, the house of seven corners and seven fires....., she destroyed it but did not abandon it -at the lunches, in her great dining-hall, they call her name.

26. (Damgalnuna speaks:) "My beloved, who has ever seen such a destruction as that of your city Eridug!"

27. 6th kirugu.

28. "My beloved, for how long was it built? For how long is it destroyed? adornment of the abzu."

29. Its jicgijal.

30-36. "Lord Enki, who has ever seen such a destruction as that of your city Eridug? Who has ever seen such a misfortune as that of Ec-abzu, your house?" No one goes up to his offering terrace. At the lunches, in his great dining-hall, they do not call his name. Enki, king of the abzu, felt distressed, felt anxious. At the words of his spouse, he himself began to wail. He lay down and fasted.

37-44. My king, you must not be distressed, you must not be anxious. Father Enki, you must not be distressed, you must not be anxious. Son of An, return your heart to your Ki-ur and your attention to your city. Living in an alien city is miserable -- return your attention to your city. Living in an alien house is miserable -- return your attention to your house. What can anyone compare with this city? -- Return your attention to your city. What can anyone compare with this house? -- Return your attention to your house. Eridug's day is long. Its night is over.

45-52. May your throne say to you "Sit down". May your bed say to you "Lie down". May your house say to you "Be rested". May your holy dais also say joyfully to you "Sit down". May your father An, the king of the gods, satisfy your heart. A person, a humble man, brings you a lament over your wife's faithful house. When he sings it before you, may that person soothe your heart. When he recites a prayer, look kindly upon him.

53. 7th kirugu.

54. It destroyed your and struck against your house. 55. Its jicgijal.

56-59..... and may he restore it for you.

[2 lines fragmentary] Do not hide like a criminal

A VERSION 2 (FROM UR; UET 6 142)

SEGMENT A

1-5. House of princely powers, standing in mighty water -the waters have receded from it One can walk on its wide swamp. Within it grow wild thornbushes. The delightful boat Antelone of the abzu -- the waters have receded from it: its sheepfold the wharf. They were Sirsir, the tutelary deity, and the man who rides the boat. At the prow was hurled down in front of them. Evildoers destroyed the house, and its rites were disturbed.

6-7. At the giguna shrine, the sacred house, evildoers The E-unir -- the shrine raises its head as high as heaven. Its shadow.

8-14. At the great gate, the lion-faced gate, the place where fates are determined, evildoers They set fire to its door. Ka-hejala and Igi-hejala, the doorkeepers of the house, Enki, at the place, its people. the destroyed place, the abzu the powers of the Anuna gods.

[3 lines fragmentary / unknown number of lines missing] (continuation of 3rd kirugu)

SEGMENT R

1-6. Eridug City in the reed-beds In Eridug, bull nd cow Without being a marsh boar Eridug, like and cow a bull The lady of the city cried, "My city!"

7. 3rd kirugu.

8. Father Enki! O your house, o your city, o your people the mountains.

9. Its jicgijal.

CHRONICLES

THE SUMERIAN KING LIST

Translation: ETCSL (University of Oxford) Estimated Range of Dating: 2100-1900 B.C.

(In the following translation, mss. are referred to by the sigla used by Vincente 1995; from those listed there, mss. Fi, Go, P6, and WB 62 were not used; if not specified by a note, numerical data come from ms. WB.

The Sumerian King List: list of rulers of ancient Sumer, is used as a framework for the study of Mesopotamian chronology.

Sixteen copies (indicated as A, B, C... P) of this text are known, all of them written in Sumerian, although some of them clearly show Akkadian influence. The text appears to have been composed in the late third millennium BC (Ur III period), and was later updated. The sequence of cities is identical to the Eridu Genesis.

The text presented here is based on version G, an octagonal prism from Larsa.

After the kingship descended from heaven, the kingship was in Eridu

In Eridu, Alulim became king; he ruled for 28,800 years.

Alalgar ruled for 36,000 years.

Two kings; they ruled for 64,800 years.

Then Eridu fell and the kingship was taken to Bad-tibira. In Bad-tibira, Enmen-lu-ana ruled for 43,200 years.

Enmen-gal-ana ruled for 28,800 years.

The divine Dumuzi, the shepherd, ruled for 36,000 years. Three kings; they ruled for 108,000 years.

Then Bad-tibira fell and the kingship was taken to Larak. In Larak, En-sipad-zid-ana ruled for 28,800 years. One king; he ruled for 28,800 years.

Then Larak fell and the kingship was taken to Sippar. In Sippar, Enmen-dur-ana became king; he ruled for 21,000 years.

One king; he ruled for 21,000 years.

Then Sippar fell and the kingship was taken to Suruppak. In Suruppak, Ubara-Tutu became king; he ruled for 18,600

One king; he ruled for 18,600 years.

Five cities; eight kings ruled for 385,200sic years.

Then the Flood swept over.

After the Flood had swept over, and the kingship had descended from heaven, the kingship was in Kis.

In Kis, Gisur became king; he ruled for 1,200 years.

Kullassina-bel ruled for 900 years.

Nan-GIS-lisma ruled for 1,200 years.

En-dara-ana ruled for 420 years, 3 months, and 31/2 days.

Babum ruled for 300 years.

Pu'annum ruled for 840 years. Kalibum ruled for 900 years.

Kalumum ruled for 840 years.

Zugagip ruled for 900 years.

Atab ruled for 600 years. Masda, son of Atab, ruled for 840 years.

Arwi'um, son of Masda, ruled for 720 years.

Etana, the shepherd, who ascended to heaven and put all countries in order, became king; he ruled for 1,500 years.

Balih, son of Etana, ruled for 400 years

Enme-nuna ruled for 660 years

Melem-Kis, son of Enme-nuna, ruled for 900 years. Barsal-nuna, son of Enme-nuna, ruled for 1,200 years.

Samug, son of Barsal-nuna, ruled for 140 years. Tizkar, son of Samug, ruled for 305 years. Ilku'u ruled for 900 years.

Ilta-sadum ruled for 1200 years.

Enmen-baragesi, who destroyed Elam's weapons, became king; he ruled for 900 years.

Agga, son of Enmen-baragesi, ruled for 625 years.

Twenty-three kings ruled for 23,310 years, 3 months, and 3

Then Kis was defeated and the kingship was taken to Eanna. In Eanna, Mes-ki'ag-gaser, son of Utu, became lord and king; he ruled for 324 years. Mes-ki'ag-gaser entered the sea and disappeared.

Enmekar, son of Mes-ki'ag-gaser, the king of Uruk, who built Uruk, became king; he ruled for 420 years

The divine Lugal-banda, the shepherd, ruled for 1200 years. The divine Dumuzi, the fisherman, whose city was Ku'ara, ruled for 100.

Gilgames, whose father was an invisible being, the lord of Kulaba, ruled for 126 years.

Ur-Nungal, son of the divine Gilgames, ruled for 30 years. Udul-kalama, son of Ur-Nungal, ruled for 15 years.

La-baser ruled for 9 years. Ennun-dara-ana ruled for 8 years.

Meshe, the smith, ruled for 36 years.

Melem-ana ruled for 6 years.

Lugal-ki-GIN ruled for 36 years.

Twelve kings ruled for 2310 years.

Then Uruk was defeated and the kingship was taken to Ur. In Ur, Mes-ane-pada became king; he ruled for 80 years. Mes-ki'ag-Nuna, son of Mes-ane-pada, became king; he ruled for 36 year.

Elulu ruled for 25 years.

Balulu ruled for 36 years. (mss. L1+N1, P2+L2 have:)

Four kings ruled for 177 years.

Then Ur was defeated and the kingship was taken to Awan. In Awan, [...] became king; he ruled for [...] years.

[...]-Lu ruled for [...] years.

Kul[...] ruled for 36 years.

Three kings ruled for 356 years.

Then Awan was defeated and the kingship was taken to Kis. In Kis, Su-suda, the fuller, became king; he ruled for 200+N years.

Dadase ruled for 81 years.

Mamagal, the boatman, ruled for 240+N years.

Kalbum, son of Mamagal, ruled for 195 years.

TUG ruled for 360 years. Men-nuna ruled for 180 years.

Enbi-Istar ruled for 290 years.

Lugalgu ruled for 360 years. Eight kings they ruled for 3195sic years.

Then Kis was defeated and the kingship was taken to

In Hamazi, Hatanis became king; he ruled for 360 years. One king ruled for 360 years.

Then Hamazi was defeated and the kingship was taken to

In Uruk, En-sakus-ana became king; he ruled for 60 years. Lugal-ure ruled for 120 years.

Argandea ruled for 7 years.

Three kings ruled for 187 years.

Then Uruk was defeated and the kingship was taken to Ur.

In Ur, Nanne became king; he ruled for 54+N years.

Mes-ki'ag-Nanna, son of Nanne, ruled for 48 years.

[...], the son of [...], ruled for 2 years.

Three kings ruled for [...] years

Then Ur was defeated and the kingship was taken to Adab. In Adab, Lugal-ane-mundu became king; he ruled for 90 vears.

One king ruled for 90 years.

Then Adab was defeated and the kingship was taken to

In Mari, Anubu became king; he ruled for 30 years.

Anba, son of Anubu, ruled for 17 years.

Bazi, the leather worker, ruled for 30 years.

Zizi, the fuller, ruled for 20 years.

Lim-er, the pasisu-priest, ruled for 30 years.

Sarrum-iter ruled for 9 years.

Six kings ruled for 136 years.

Then Mari was defeated and the kingship was taken to Kis. In Kis, Ku-Baba, the woman tavern-keeper, who made firm the foundations of Kis, became king; she ruled for 100 years. One queen ruled for 100 years.

Then Kis was defeated and the kingship was taken to Aksak In Aksak, Unzi became king; he ruled for 30 years.

Undalulu ruled for 6 years. Urur ruled for 6 years.

Puzur-Nirah ruled for 20 years.

Isu-Il ruled for 24 years.

Su-Sin, son of Isu-II, ruled for 7 years.

Six kings ruled for 93 years

Then Aksak was defeated and the kingship was taken to Kis.

In Kis, Puzur-Sin, son of Ku-Baba, became king; he ruled for 25 years.

Ur-Zababa, son of Puzur-Sin, ruled for 400.

Simudara ruled for 30 years.

Usi-watar ruled for 7 years.

Istar-muti ruled for 11 years

Isme-Samas ruled for 11 years.

Nanniya, the stonecutter, ruled for 7 years. Seven kings ruled for 491 years.

Then Kis was defeated and the kingship was taken to Uruk. In Uruk, Lugalzagesi became king; he ruled for 25 years. (2341-2316)

One king ruled for 25 years.

Then Uruk was defeated and the kingship was taken to Agade.

In Agade, Sargon, whose father was a gardener, the cupbearer of Ur-Zababa, became king, the king of Agade, who built Agade; he ruled for 56 years. (2335-2279)

Rimus, son of Sargon, ruled for 9 years. (2279-2270) Manistusu, the older brother of Rimus, son of Sargon,

ruled for 15 years. (2270-2255) Naram-Sin, son of Manistusu, ruled for 56 years. (2255-

Sar-kali-sarri, son of Naram-Sin, ruled for 25 years. (2218-

2193)

Then who was king? Who was not king? Irgigi was king, Nanum was king, Imi was king, Elulu was king; those four kings ruled 3 years. (2193-2190)

Dudu ruled for 21 years. (2190-2169)

Su-Durul, son of Dudu, ruled for 15 years. (2169-2154)

Eleven kings ruled for 181 years.

Then Agade was defeated and the kingship was taken to Uruk.

In Uruk, Ur-nigin became king; he ruled for 7 years. (2154-2147)

Ur-gigir, son of Ur-nigin, ruled for 6 years. (2147-2141)

Kuda ruled for 6 years. (2141-2135)

Puzur-ili ruled for 5 years. (2135-2130)

Ur-Utu ruled for 6 years. (2130-2124)

Five kings ruled for 30 years.

Uruk was defeated and the kingship was taken to the army of Gutium.

The army of Gutium, a king whose name is unknown.

Nibia became king; he ruled for 3 years.

Then Ingisu ruled for 6 years.

Ikukum-la-gaba ruled for 6 years

Sulme ruled for 6 years.

Silulumes ruled for 6 years. Inimabakes ruled for 5 years.

Ige'a'us ruled for 6 years.

I'ar-la-qaba ruled for years.

Ihate ruled for 3 years.

Yarla ruled for 3 years Kurum ruled for 1 year.

Apil-kin ruled for 3 years.

La'arabum ruled for 2 years.

Irarum ruled for 2 years.

Ibranum ruled for 1 year.

Hablum ruled for 2 years. Puzur-Sin, son of Hablum, ruled for 7 years.

Yarlaganda ruled for 7 years

Si'u ruled for 7 years.

Tiriga ruled for 40 days.

Twenty-one kings ruled for 91 years and 40 days.

Then the army of Gutium was defeated and the kingship was taken to Uruk.

In Uruk, Utu-hegal became king; he ruled for 420 years and 7 days. (2124-2113)

One king ruled for 427 years and 6 days.

Then Uruk was defeated and the kingship was taken to Ur. In Ur, Ur-Nammu became king; he ruled for 18 years. (2113-2095)

Shulgi, son of Ur-Nammu, ruled for 46 years, (2095-2047) Amar-Sin, son of Shulgi, ruled for 9 years. (2047-2038) Su-Sin, son of Amar-Sin, ruled for 9 years. (2038-2029) Ibbi-Sin, son of Su-Sin, ruled for 24 years. (2029-2004) Foursic kings ruled for 108sic years.

Then Ur was defeated. The kingship was taken to Isin. In Isin, Isbi-Irra became king; he ruled for 33 years. (2018-1985)

The divine Su-ilisu, son of Isbi-Irra, ruled for 20 years. (1985-1975)Iddin-Dagan, son of Su-ilisu, ruled for 21 years. (1975-

1954) Isme-Dagan, son of Iddin-Dagan, ruled for 20 years. (1954-

1935) Lipit-Istar, son of Isme-Dagan, ruled for 11 years. (1935-1924)

The divine Ur-Ninurta ruled for 28 years. (1924-1896) Bur-Sin, son of Ur-Ninurta, ruled for 21 years. (1896-1874) Lipit-Enlil, son of Bur-Sin, ruled for 5 years. (1864-1869) The divine Irra-imitti ruled for 8 years. (1869-1861)

The divine Enlil-bani ruled for 24 years. (1861-1837)

The divine Zambija ruled for 3 years. (1837-1834)

The divine Iter-pisa ruled for 4 years. (1834-1831)

Urdukuga ruled for 4 years. (1831-1828) Sin-magir ruled for 11 years. (1828-1817)

Damiq-ilisu, son of Sin-magir, ruled for 23 years. (1817-1794)

Thirteensic kings ruled for 213 years.

Hand of Nur-Ninsubur.

APPENDIX

After this, tablet B, from Nippur, adds some totals:

A total of thirty-nine kings ruled for 14409+N years, 3 months and 31/2 days; four dynasties in Kis.

A total of twenty-two kings ruled for 2610+N years, 6 months and 15 days; five dynasties in Uruk.

A total of twelve kings ruled for 396 years, 3 dynasties in

A total of three kings ruled for 356 years; one dynasty in Awan.

A total of one king ruled for 420 years; one dynasty in Hamazi.

A total of one king ruled for 90 years; one dynasty in Adab. A total of six kings ruled for 136 years; one dynasty in Mari. A total of six kings ruled for 99 years; one dynasty in Aksak.

A total of eleven kings ruled for 197 years; one dynasty in Agade. A total of twenty-one kings ruled for 125 years and 40 days;

one dynasty in Gutium. A total of eleven kings ruled for 159 years; one dynasty in Isin

Eleven royal cities. Their total: 134 kings. Total: 28,876+N years, N months, N days.

ANOTHER APPENDIX

A tablet from Nippur (CM 2) is an addition to the Sumerian King List. It is too damaged to make sense of it.

[...] reigned 4+N years.

Ir[...]; Ur[...], son of a man whose name is not known, ruled for 8 vears.

Sumuabum reigned 8 months.

Ikun-pi-Istar became king; he ruled for [...] years. A total of N kings ruled for 125+n years; six dynasties of [...]a.

CHRONICLE OF EARLY KINGS (ABC 20)

Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Chronicle of Early Kings (ABC 20) is a historiographical text from ancient Babylonia.

Although the Chronicle of Early Kings (ABC 20) purports to offer information about the oldest period and the Old-Babylonian empire, it was probably written much later. One anachronism is the reference to Babylon during the reign of king Sargon of Akkad. However, in outline, much information is more or less correct. The last seven lines of tablet A are identical to the beginning of tablet B, so we can be confident that we have a more or less complete text.

Related subject matter can be found in chronicle CM 41. For a very brief introduction to the literary genre of chronicles, go here. The translation on this webpage was adapted from A.K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (1975) and Jean-Jacques Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles (Atlanta, 2004).)

[A.1] Sargon, king of Agade, came to power during the reign of Istarnote[According to the Middle chronology, Sargon ruled from 2334 to 2279. His eleventh year would be 2323 BCE. He was the founder of the dynasty of Akkad.] and

lands [A.3] it diffused. He crossed the sea in the east.

[A.4] In the eleventh year he conquered the western land to its farthest point.

[A.2] he had neither rival not equal. His splendour, over the

[A.5] He brought it under one authority. He set up his statues there

[A.6] and ferried the west's booty across on barges. [A.7] He stationed his court officials at intervals of five

double hours and

[A.8] ruled in unity the tribes of the lands [A.9] He marched to Kazallu and turned Kazallu into a ruin

[A.10] so that there was not even a perch for a bird left.

[A.11] Afterwards, in his old age, all of the lands rebelled

[A.12] surrounded him in Agade. Sargon went out to fight and brought about their defeat.

- [A.13] He overthrew them and overpowered their extensive army
- [A.14] Afterwards, Subartu attacked Sargon in full force and called him to arms.
 - [A.15] Sargon set an ambush and completely defeated them.
 - [A.16] He overpowered their extensive army
 - [A.17] and sent their possessions into Akkad.
 - [A.18] He dug up the dirt of the pit of Babylon and [A.19] made a counterpart of Babylon next to Agade.
- [A.20] Because the wrong he had donenote[I.e., building a rival to Babylon.] the great lord Marduk became angry and wiped out his family by famine.
- [A.21] From east to west, the subjects rebelled against him
- [A.22-23] and Marduk afflicted him with insomnia. [A.24] and Marduk Naram-Sin,note[According to the
- Middle Chronology, Naram-Sin ruled from 2254 to 2218.] son of Sargon, marched to Apisal.afflicted him with insomnia
- [A.25] He made a breach in the city wall and Ris-Adad [A.26] he captured, the king of Apisal, and the vizier of
- Apisal. [A.27] He marched to Magan and captured Mannu-dannu, king of Magan.
- [A.28] Shulgi,note[According to the Middle Chronology, Shulgi ruled from 2094 to 2047. He was the second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur.] the son of Ur-Nammu, provided abundant food for Eridu, which is on the seashore.
- [A.29] But he had criminal tendencies and the property of Esagila and Babylon
- [A.30] he took away as booty. Bel caused caused [...] to consume his body and killed him.
- [A.31] Irra-imitti,note[According to the Chronology, Irra-Imitti, king of Isin, ruled from 1868 to 1861. His successor Enlil-bani occupied the throne in 1860-1837. This story is also told in CM 41, tablet B.] the king, installed Enlil-bani, the gardener,
- [A.32] as substitute kingnote[Substitute kings were appointed when evil omens predicted the death of a king. Irra-imitti's sin may have been that he stayed in the palace.]
- [A.33] He placed the royal tiara on his head.
- [A.34] Irra-imitti died in his palace when he sipped a hot soup.
- [A.35] Enlil-bani, who occupied the throne, did not give it up and
- [A.36] so he was sovereign.
- [A.37] Ilu-summa was king of Assyria at the time of Su-abu. [A.38] Battles.

TABLET B

[B.obv.1-7] [Identical to tablet A 31-36.]

[B.obv.8] Hammurabi,note[According to the Middle Chronology, the Babylonian king Hammurabi ruled from 1792 to 1750. Rim-Sin of Larsa was defeated in 1762, after a reign that had started in 1822 (!).] king of Babylon, mustered his army and

[B.obv.9] marched against Rim-Sin [I], king of Ur.

[B.obv.10] Hammurabi captured Ur and Larsa and

[B.obv.11] took their property to Babylon.

B.obv.12 He brought Rim-Sin in a ki-is-kap to Babylon [B.obv.13] Samsu-iluna,note[Samsu-iluna ruled from 1749

to 1712, according to the Middle Chronology.] king of Babylon, son of Hammurabi, the king

[B.obv.14] [...] he mustered and

[B.obv.15] [...] Rim-Sin [II] marched to [...]

B.obv.16] [...] he captured and

[B.obv.17] [...] in good health in his palace

[B.obv.18] [...] he went and surrounded [...] [B.obv.19] [...] his people [...]

[B.obv.20] [...]

Lacunal

B.rev. 1] [Lacuna]

[B.rev.1'][...]

[B.rev.2'] '[...] Iluma-ilu [...] [B.rev.3'] [...] he made [...]

[B.rev.4'] he did battle against them [..

[B.rev.5'] their corpses [..] in the sea [...]
[B.rev'.6'] he repeated and Samsu-iluna [...]

[B.rev.7'] Iluma-ilu attacked and brought about the defeat

[B.rev.8'] Abi-esuh,note[Abi-esuh ruled, according to the Middle Chronology, from 1711 to 1696. The story about the damming of the Tigris is also told in CM 41, tablet B.] son of Samsu-iluna, set out to conquer Iluma-ilu.

[B.rev.9'] He decided to dam the Tigris.

[B.rev.10'] He dammed the Tigris but did not capture

[B.rev.11'] At the time of Samsuditananote[Samsu-ditana became king in 1625 (Middle Chronology) and Babylon was sacked in 1595.] the Hittites marched against Akkad.

[B.rev.12'] Ea-gamil,note[Last king of the Sealand Dynasty Dating is impossible.] the king of the Sealand, fled to Elam.

[B.rev.13'] After he had gone, Ulam-Burias, brother of Kastiliasu, the Kassite,

[B.rev.14'] mustered an army and conquered the Sealand. He was master of the land

[B.rev.15'] Agum, the son of Kastiliasu, mustered his army

[B.rev.16'] marched to the Sealand.

[B.rev.17'] He seized Dur-Enlil and

[B.rev.18'] destroyed Egalgasesna, Enlil's temple in Dur-

THE ESAGILA CHRONICLE (ABC 19)

The Weidner Chronicle Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Weidner Chronicle (ABC 19) or Esagila Chronicle is a religious text from ancient Babylonia. In fact, it is not a chronicle but a piece of propaganda in the form of a letter, although it contains after line 31 a part that resembles a chronicle.

The presumed author, probably king Damiq-ilisu of Isin (ruled 1816-1794, according to the Middle chronology), writes to king Apil-Sin of Babylon (1830-1813) about the blessings that the gods bestowed upon earlier rulers who sacrificed to the supreme god Marduk in the Esagila shrine in Babylon. Most of these kings ruled in the third millennium, when Babylon and the shrine probably did not exist.

For a very brief introduction to the literary genre of chronicles, go here. The translation on this webpage was adapted from A.K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (1975), Alan Millard's rendering in W.W. Hallo (ed.), The Context of Scripture (2003 Leiden and Boston), Jean-Jacques Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles (Atlanta, 2004).)

Text:

[Pr.] Say to Apil-Sin, king of Babylon, thus says Damiqilisu, king of of Isin: [This first line can also be read as "Say to Rim-Sin, king of Larsa, thus says Enlil-bani, king of Isin."]

[...] like [...] his reign. I myself have written to you a matter to be pondered, a matter [...], but you have not considered them. You have not listened to or paid attention to the advice I gave you, nor heeded the special advice that [...] You have been looking for something else. To do you a good turn I have [...] you, but it is not in your mind. For your own good I have advised you to reinforce the training of your army, but you have not put your hand to it. His shrines where I sought advice [...] has ceased. Now I shall tell you my experience [...] learn from it speedily!

I offered sacrifice to my lady Ninkarrak [Gula], mistress of Egalmah; I prayed an implored her, I told her the matter that I was constantly considering, and spoke like this: "Entrust to me the people of Sumer and Akkad [...] all the lands. Let the people of the Upper and the Lower lands bring their weighty tribute into Egalmah.

In the night time, holy Gula, the exalted lady, stood before me, she heard my speech, spoke to me clearly and blessed me. "You shall set a place in the underground water, in the ocean beneath the earth, [...] you shall raise the top to the distant sky, in [...] above, a state of privilege. Afterwards, Marduk, the king of the gods, who [...] the whole of heaven and earth, will [...] the people of Sumer and Akkad to his city Babylon."

He [Marduk] went quickly to his father, Ea, the craftsman, the counselor of heaven and earth. "May Esagila, the majestic shrine, be [...] to the limits of heaven and earth! May the lord of lords, who dwells in the shrine, from east to west [...] May he shepherd human beings like sheep! May the city be famous! ...] The lord Nudimmud [Ea] carried out all he had said. Throughout heaven he honoured him.

Then Anu and Enlil, the great gods, favoured him and decreed "May he be the leader of the Upper and Lower lands May the great gods of heaven and earth tremble before his shrine. Raise up to the sky the top of Esagila, of Ekua, the palace of heaven and earth,note[A reference to the Etemenanki; cf. Genesis 11.4.] [...] May its foundation be fixed like sky and earth forever!

By your sacrifice I understood what you said and I have given to you long life. Apart from the order announced in the dream, good advice for [...]. For the gods of that city, the great gods of heaven and earth [...] for daily, monthly, and yearly renewal of life [...] no god shall oppose it [...] whose mind [...] at his command they are bound, the hostile gods clad in dirty clothes [...] Whoever sins against the gods of that city, his star shall not stand in the sky, his kingship will end, his scepter will be taken away, his treasury will become a heap

And the king of heaven and earth said thus: "The gods of heaven and earth [...] the behavior of each former king of

which I hear to [...]. Akka, son of [...]
Enmekar, king of Uruk, destroyed the people [...]. The sage Adapa, son of [...] heard in his holy sanctuary and cursed Enmekar. He/I gave to him rule over all lands and his rites. He/I beautified like the heavenly writing [The constellations.]

and in Esagila the king who controls the whole of heaven and earth for his 3,020 years.

In the reign of Puzur-Nirah, king of Aksak, the freshwater fishermen of Esagila were catching fish for the meal of the great lord Marduk; the officers of the king took away the fish.

The fisherman was fishing when 7 (or 8) days had passed [...] in the house of Kubaba, note[A legendary Sumerian queen and the only member of the Third Dynasty of Kis. If she is a historical figure, her reign may have been in c.2400 BC. She is also known as Kugbaba.] the tavern-keeper [...] they brought to Esagila. At that time BROKEN [An indication by the writer that the tablet he was copying was damaged.] anew for Esagila [...]

Kubaba gave bread to the fisherman and gave water, she made him offer the fish to Esagila. Marduk, the king, the prince of the Apsu, [The sweet waters below the earth.] favoured her and said: "Let it be so!" He entrusted to Kubaba, the tavern-keeper, sovereignty over the whole world. Ur-Zababa ordered Sargon, his cupbearer, to change the wine libations of Esagila. Sargon did not change but was careful to offer [...] quickly to Esagila.

Marduk, the king of the world, favoured him and gave him the rule of the four corners of the world.note[Sargon's reign can be dated to 2334-2279 (according to the Middle chronology).] He took care of Esagila. Everyone who sat on a throne brought his tribute to Babylon. Yet he ignored the command Bel had given him. He dug soil from its pit and in front of Akkad he built a city which he named Babylon. [Probably, the place names should be changed: if Sargon built a city near Babylon that he called Akkad, the anger of Enlil (a surname of Marduk) becomes understandable.]

Enlil changed the order he had given and from east to west people opposed him. He could not sleep. Naram-Sin [Naram-Sin was a descendant of Sargon and ruled, according to the Middle Chronology, from 2254 to 2218.] destroyed the people of Babylon, so twice Marduk summoned the forces of Gutium against him.

Marduk gave his kingship to the Gutian force. The Gutians were unhappy people unaware how to revere the gods, ignorant of the right cultic practices. Utu-hegal, [Utu-hegal was king of Uruk in c.2200.] the fisherman, caught a fish at the edge of the sea for an offering. That fish should not be offered to another god until it had been offered to Marduk, but the Gutians took the boiled fish from his hand before it was offered, so by his august command, Marduk removed the Gutian force from the rule of his land and gave it to Utuhegal. Utu-hegal, the fisherman, carried out criminal acts against Marduk's city, so the river carried off his corpse.

Then Marduk gave sovereignty over the whole world to Shulgi, son of Ur-nammu*, but he did not perform his rites to the letter, he defiled his purification rituals and his sin [....].

[* Ur-Nammu and Shulgi were the first kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur. According to the Middle Chronology, their reigns can be dated to 2112-2095 and 2094-2047. The third king, Amar-Sin, ruled from 2046 to 2038: Su-Sin succeeded him in 2037-2029.]

Amar-Sin, his son, changed the offerings of large oxen and sheep of the Akitu festival in Esagila. It was foretold that he would die from goring by an ox, but he died from the "bite" of his shoe. Su-Sin made Esagila like the constellations for this well-being BROKEN [An indication by the writer that the tablet he was copying was damaged.] what Shulgi did, his sin, his son Ibbi-Sin.note[The fifth king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Ibbi-Sin, ruled from 2028 to 2004 and was captured by the Elamites.]

BROKEN [An indication by the writer that the tablet he was copying was damaged.] a former king who proceeded [...] your desire and over Marduk's father Ea, the heaven and earth ...] he did not create. Anu and Istar, [...] his majestic son, the great lord Marduk, king of the gods, whom the gods [...], Ea's grandson Nabu, who [...] he will name the king.

To his descendant Sumu-la-El,note[Sumu-la-El ruled 1880-1845 and was the (grand)father of the addressee of this letter.] the king, whose name Anu pronounced, for your well-being and [...] all of it a peaceful dwelling place, a lasting rule in your hand.

[Colophon] Tablet of Marduk-etir, son of Etir-[...]-haya, devotee of Nabu. To be returned in case of loss.

THE HISTORY OF THE TUMMAL

ETCSLtranslation: t.2.1.3 Estimated Range of Dating: 1900-1600 B.C.

(The Tummal Inscription or The History of the Tummal, is small Babylonian Chronicle, a writing of ancient Sumer from the time of the ruler Ishbi-Erra. The writing lists the names of the rulers that built the temples dedicated to Enlil within Nippur and temples of Ninlil in Tummal, amongst whom were the king of Kish, Enmebaragesi and his heir Agga. The chronicle was written by two persons from Nippur and, most likely, Ur. A number of religious analyses of the inscriptions find evidence within the text for a claim of divine

intervention. The inscription was useful in the understanding of the archaeology and history of Gilgamesh.)

- 1-6. En-me-barage-si, the king, built the Iri-nanam in Enlil's temple. Aga, son of En-me-barage-si, made the Tummal flourish and brought Ninlil into the Tummal. Then the Tummal fell into ruins for the first time
- 7-11. Mesh-Ane-pada built the Bur-shushua in Enlil's temple. Mesh-ki-ag-nuna, son of Mesh-Ane-pada, made the Tummal flourish and brought Ninlil into the Tummal. Then the Tummal fell into ruins for a second time.
- 12-16. Gilgamesh built the Numunbura in Enlil's shrine. Ur-lugal, son of Gilgames, made the Tummal flourish and brought Ninlil into the Tummal. Then the Tummal fell into ruins for a third time
- 17-21. Nanni built the Lofty Garden in Enlil's temple. Mesh-ki-ag-Nanna, son of Nanni, made the Tummal flourish and brought Ninlil into the Tummal. Then the Tummal fell into ruins for a fourth time.
- 22-26. Ur-Namma, built the E-kur. Shulgi, son of Ur-Namma, made the Tummal flourish and brought Ninlil into the Tummal. Then the Tummal fell into ruins for a fifth time.
- 27-30. From the years of Amar-Suena (1 ms. has instead: Shu-Suen) until King Ibbi-Suen chose En-am-gal-ana (1. ms. has instead: En-me-gal-ana) by extispicy as the high priest of Inana of Unug, Ninlil came regularly to the Tummal.
- 31. Written according to the words of Lu-Inana the chief leatherworker of Enlil.
- 32-33. Ishbi-Erra, who looks after the E-kur, built the storehouse of Enlil.

THE ASSYRIAN KING LIST

Chroniques Mésopotamiennes (1993) (translated as Mesopotamian Chronicles, 2004) Translation: Jean-Jacques Glassner, 1993

(Assyrian King List: list of rulers of ancient Assyria, used as a framework for the study of Mesopotamian chronology.

Incomplete lists of Assyrian kings have been discovered in each of Assyria's three capitals: Assur, Dur-Sarukkin, and Nineveh. There are also two fragments. The texts of these copies are more or less consistent and goes back to one original, which was based on the list of yearly limmu-officials, who were appointed by the king and had to preside the celebration of the New Year festival.

As a consequence, modern scholars tend to believe that the numbers of regnal years mentioned in the Assyrian King List are correct; however, there are minor differences between the copies. Down to the reign of Assur-dan I, they offer identical information, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the list is more or less reliable until his regnal years, 1178-1133. Before 1178, the three documents show divergences.)

Assyrian King List

Tudija, Adamu, Jangi, Sahlamu, Harharu, Mandaru, Imsu, Harsu, Didanu, Hanu, Zuabu, Nuabu, Abazu, Belu, Azarah Uspija, Apiasal.

Total: 17 kings who lived in tents. [Probably, the author of the Assyrian King List wanted to create the impression that these rulers, with their rhyming, invented names, were nomad kings.l

Aminu was the son of Ilu-kabkabu, Ila-kabkabi of Yazkurel, Jazkur-ilu of Yakmeni, Jakmeni of Yakmesi, Jakmesi of Ilu-Mer, Ilu-Mer of Hayani, Hajanu of Samani, Samanu of Hale, Hale of Apiasal, Apiasal of Uspia.

Total: 10 kings who were ancestors. [It is not clear what is meant with "ancestors" nor is it understood why the sequence of kings is reverted. Perhaps, we must read "my predecessors", but this raises the question who is their descendant. Note the calculating error: the writer has mentioned ten kings, but one of them, Apiasal son of Uspia, has already been mentioned among the seventeen who lived in tents.]

Sulili son of Aminu, Kikkija, Akija, Puzur-Assur [I], Salimahum, Ilusuma. Total: 6 kings named on bricks, [Bricks with inscriptions of some of these rulers are indeed known.] whose number of limmu-officials is unknown.

Erisum [I], son of Ilusuma, [...] ruled for 30/40 years.

Ikunum, son of Erishu, ruled for [...] years.

Sargon [I], son of Ikunu, ruled for [...] years. [Sargon and Naram-Sin are also the names of kings of Akkad who probably ruled in the twenty-fourth and twenty-third centuries BC. However, the two men mentioned in this list appear to be more recent.]

Puzur-Assur [II], son of Sargon, ruled for [...] years. Naram-Sin, son of Puzur-Assur, ruled for N+4 years.

Erisum [II], son of Naram-Sin, ruled for [...] years.

Samsi-Adad [I], son of Ila-kabkabi [If this Ila-kabkabi is identical to the king mentioned before, the word "son" must be read as "descendant".], went to Kardunias in the time of Naram-Sin. In the eponymy of Ibni-Adad, Samsi-Adad went up from Kardunias. He took Ekallatum, where he stayed three years. In the eponymy of Atamar-Istar, Samsi-Adad went up from Ekallatum. He ousted Erisum, son of Naram-

Sin, from the throne and took it. He ruled for 33 years. (1813-1781)

Isme-Dagan [I], son of Samsi-Adad, ruled for 40 years.

Assur-dugul, son of a nobody, ["Son of a nobody" means that someone seized power, although he did not belong to the royal dynasty. It appears that Assur-dugul's reign was contested not only by the six kings mentioned in the next section, but also by Mut-Askur, Rimu-xxx, and Asinum.] who had no title to the throne, ruled for 6 years.

In the time of Assur-dugul, son of a nobody, Assur-apla-idi, Nasir-Sin, Sin-namir, Ipqi-Istar, Adad-salulu, and Adasi, six sons of nobodies, ruled at the beginning of his brief reign.

Belu-bani, son of Adasi, ruled for 10 years. Libaja, son of Belu-Bani, ruled for 17 years. Sarma-Adad [I], son of Libaia, ruled for 12 years. Iptar-Sin, son of Sarma-Adad, ruled for 12 years. Bazaja, son of Iptar-Sin, ruled for 28 years.

Lullaja, son of a nobody, ruled for 6 years. Su-Ninua, son of Bazaja, ruled for 14 years.

Sarma-Adad [II], son of Su-Ninua, ruled for 3 years. Erisum [III], son of Su-Ninua, ruled for 13 years. Samsi-Adad [II], son of Erisum, ruled for 6 years.

Isme-Dagan [II], son of Samsi-Adad, ruled for 16 years Samsi-Adad [III], son of [another] Isme-Dagan, brother of Sarma-Adad [II], son of Su-Ninua, ruled for 16 years.

Assur-nirari [I], son of Isme-Dagan, ruled for 26 years Puzur-Assur [III], son of Assur-nirari, ruled for 24/14 years. Enlil-nasir [I], son of Puzur-Assur, ruled for 13 years.

Nur-ili, son of Enlil-nasir, ruled for 12 years. Assur-saduni, son of Nur-ili, ruled for 1 month.

Assur-rabi [I], son of Enlil-nasir, ousted him, seized the throne and ruled for [...] years.

Assur-nadin-ahhe [I], son of Assur-rabi, ruled for [...] years. Enlil-nasir [II], his brother, ousted him and ruled for 6 years (1420-1415). [This appears to be the correct date. The implication is that Assur-nadin-apli ruled four years (the tablets mention 3 and 4) and Ninurta-apil-Ekur three (the tablets mention 3 and 13).]

Assur-nirari [II], son of Enlil-nasir, ruled for 7 years (1414-1408).

Assur-bel-nisesu, son of Assur-nirari, ruled for 9 years (1407-1399).

Assur-rem-nisesu, son of Assur-bel-nisesu, ruled for 8 years (1398-1391).

Assur-nadin-ahhe [II], son of Assur-rem-nisesu, ruled for 10 years (1390-1381).

Eriba-Adad [I], son of Assur-bel-nisesu, ruled for 27 years (1380-1354)

Assur-uballit [I], son of Eriba-Adad, ruled for 36 years (1353-1318).Enlil-nirari, son of Assur-uballit, ruled for 10 years (1317-

1308) Arik-den-ili, son of Enlil-nirari, ruled for 12 years (1307-

1296). Adad-nirari III, son of Arik-den-ili, ruled for 32 years

(1295-1264). Salmaneser [I], son of Adad-nirari, ruled for 30 years (1263-1234)

Tukulti-ninurta [I], son of Salmaneser, ruled for 37 years (1233-1197)

During the lifetime of Tukulti-ninurta, Assur-nadin-apli, his son, seized the throne and ruled for 4 years (1196-1193).

Assur-nirari [III], son of Assur-nadin-apli, ruled for 6 years

Enlil-kudurri-usur, son of Tukulti-ninurta, ruled for 5 years (1186-1182).

Ninurta-apil-Ekur, son of Ila-Hadda, a descendant of Eriba-Adad, went to Kardunias. He came up from Kardunias, seized the throne and ruled for 3 years (1181-1179).

Assur-dan [I], son of Assur-nadin-apli, ruled for 46 years (1178-1133).

Ninurta-tukulti-Assur, son of Assur-dan, briefly. [It is difficult to establish the length of the two "brief" reigns of Ninurta-tukulti-Assur and Mutakkil-Nusku, which makes all the dates offered above hard to verify. However, we know for certain that Assur-uballit I, who was dated to 1353-1318, exchanged letters with his Egyptian colleague Akhenaten (1353-1336). The error cannot be very large (five years?).]

Mutakkil-Nusku, his brother, fought him and took him to Kardunias. Mutakkil-Nusku held the throne briefly, then died. Assur-res-isi [I], son of Mutakkil-Nusku, ruled for 18 years (1132-1115).

Tiglath-pileser [I], son of Assur-res-isi, ruled for 39 years (1114-1076).

Asarid-apil-Ekur, son of Tiglath-pileser, ruled for 2 years (1075-1074).Assur-bel-kala, son of Tiglath-pileser, ruled for 18 years

(1073-1056). Eriba-Adad [II], son of Assur-bel-kala, ruled for 2 years

(1055-1054).Samsi-Adad [IV], son of Tiglath-pileser, came up from Kardunias. He ousted Eriba-Adad, son of Assur-bel-kala, seized the throne and ruled for 4 years (1053-1050).

Assurnasirpal [I], son of Samsi-Adad, ruled for 19 years (1049-1031)

Salmaneser [II], son of Assurnasirpal, ruled for 12 years (1030-1019).

Assur-nirari [IV], son of Salmaneser, ruled for 6 years (1018-1013)

Assur-rabi [II], son of Assurnasirpal, ruled for 41 years (1012-972).

Assur-res-isi IIII, son of Assur-rabi, ruled for 5 years (971-Tiglath-pileser [II], son of Assur-res-isi, ruled for 32 years

(966-935). Assur-dan [II], son of Tiglath-pileser, ruled for 23 years (934-912).

Adad-nirari IIII, son of Assur-dan, ruled for 21 years (911-891).

Tukulti-Ninurta [II], son of Adad-nirari, ruled for 7 years (890-884)

Assurnasirpal [II], son of Tukulti-Ninurta, ruled for 25 years (883-859) Salmaneser [III], son of Assurnasirpal, ruled for 35 years

(858-824).

Samsi-Adad [V], son of Salmaneser, ruled for 13 years (823-

Adad-nirari [III], son of Samsi-Adad, ruled for 28 years (810-783).

Salmaneser [IV], son of Adad-nirari, ruled for 10 years (782-773)

Assur-dan [III], son of Salmaneser, ruled for 18 years (772-755).

Assur-nirari [V], son of Adad-nirari, ruled for 10 years (754-745).

Tiglath-pileser [III], son of Assur-nirari, ruled for 18 years (744-727). [From the Assyrian Eponym List, it is known that Tiglath-pileser III became king in April/May 745.]

Salmaneser [V], son of Tiglath-pileser, ruled for 5 years

Assur copy. Hand of Kandalanu, scribe of the temple of Arbela. 20 Lulubu, eponomy of Adad-bela-ka'in, governor of Assur, during his second eponomy.

Alternative ending

Another tablet, written by a different scribe, contains another colophon:

Written and checked with the original. Tablet of Bel-sumaiddin, Assur's exorcist. May Samas take away the man who steals this tablet.

What's missing

The next king, Sargon II (r.721-705) came to power after a coup d'état, which may have been the immediate cause for making this king list. The remaining kings were:

Sargon II (721-705) Sennacherib (704-681) Esarhaddon (680-669) Assurbanipal (668-631) Assur-etel-ilani (?) Sin-sumu-lisir (?)

Sin-sar-iskun (? -612) Assur-uballit II (611-609)

WALKER CHRONICLE (ABC 25)

Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Walker Chronicle, which is sometimes called Chronicle 25, is one of the historiographical texts from ancient Babylonia. It deals with events during the reign of the kings of the Kassite Dynasty and the Second Dynasty of Isin, and contains several duplicate lines with the Eclectic Chronicle.

The Walker Chronicle was published by C.B.F. Walker in G. van Driel e.a. (eds.): Zikir Sumim: Assyriological Studies Presented to F.R. Kraus on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday (1982). More information can be found in Jean-Jacques Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles (Atlanta, 2004).

Tukulti-Ninurta, king of Assyria, [King of Assyria between 1233 and 1197.] took Babylon and Sippar and controlled Kardunias.

Adad-suma-usur [A successful Babylonian king (1206-1177) who defeated Tukulti-Ninurta of Assyria.] ... restored ... and rebuilt the wall of Nippur. ... he firmly established. Enlil-kudurri-usur, king of Assyria, [King from 1186 to 1182.] ... Adad-suma-usur mustered his troops, attacked, and defeated

The officers of Assyria seized Enlil-kudurri-usur, their lord, and gave him to Adad-suma-usur, ... the people of Kardunias who had fled to Assyria surrendered to Adad-suma-usur. Adad-suma-usur, to conquer Babylon, marched ... Somebody, the son of a nobody, whose name is not mentioned, [A rebellion during the reign of Adad-suma-usur. A "son of a nobody was a ruler without notable ancestors. The addition in italics is hypothetical.] [ascended to the throne].

Hearing this unexpected news, Adad-suma-usur raised a revolt, and, enjoying eternal divine protection, he entered Babylon and he became ruler of the land and established himself on his royal throne. ... they killed him. ... he attacked and removed the king of Mari in a rebellion. ... he controlled Mari.... fear of Elam fell on him and ... on the bank of the Euphrates he built a city and ... of Sumer and Akkad he brought within it, ... was cut off and the people became poor in deficiency and famine. ... they killed him in a rebellion. Enlil-nadin-apli, [Enlil-nadin-apli was king of Babylonia

from 1103 to 1100. His father had ruled the country from 1125 to 1104.] son of Nebuchadnezzar, marched on Assur to conquer it.

Marduk-nadin-ahhe,note[King from 1099 to 1082.] brother of Nebuchadnezzar, and the nobles rebelled against him and Enlil-nadin-apli returned to his land his city. They killed him with the sword. Marduk-nadin-apli and the nobles rebelled against Enlil-nadin-apli he returned ... and defeated him. He attacked and he had him killed with the sword.

Tiglath-pileser, [Tiglath-pileser I was king from 1114 to 1076 BC.] king of Assyria attacked and ... Marduk-sapik-zeri, [King of Babylonia from 1081 to 1069.] son of Marduknadin-ahhe, rebuilt the wall of Babylon. ... kings of the lands he defeated. During his reign, the people of the land enjoyed abundance and prosperity.

Adad-apla-iddina, [Adad-apla-iddina was king Babylonia from 1068 to 1047; Itti-Marduk-balatu from 1139 to 1132. The section is identical to several lines from the Eclectic Chronicle.] descendant of Itti-Marduk-balatu, the Arameans and an usurper king rebelled against him and desecrated all the sanctuaries of the land. Akkad, Der, Dur-Anki (Nippur), Sippar and Parsa (Dur-Kurigalzu) they demolished. The Suteans attacked and took home the booty of Sumer and Akkad. He repeatedly visited the shrines of Marduk and appeased the heart of Bel and the son of Bel. ... he fully restored their cults.

NABU-SUMA-ISKUN (CM 52)

Estimated Range of Dating: 7th century B.C.

The following, very fragmentary text from Uruk, is a chronographic document dealing with the history of Babylonia in the eighth century BC, and especially the demise of king Nabu-suma-iskun, who died in 748, after he had broken all written and unwritten laws of his civilisation. The text was already damaged in Antiquity: the scribe notes several breaks in the original he was copying.

More information can be found in Jean-Jacques Glassner. Mesopotamian Chronicles (Atlanta, 2004), in which this is text CM 52.

COLUMN 1

Marduk-apla-usur ...] the Chaldaean. ... the Tigris a messenger ... he killed and ...

Forced labour and corvée were imposed and ... slave .. and bread, the food offering for the fifth day that he had seized, he used up and .. the boat Idhedu ... for the Esagila.

COLUMN 2

... On a propitious day, from Babylon, Nabu-suma-iskun turned his attention toward his country but on the order of the BREAK lords Nabu and Marduk, he went into the ... inside the house and no longer went into battle nor started

In the third year, again, he brought the statue of Nanaya the goddess of the Ezida, the beloved of Nabu, into the Bit mummi but kept Nabu in Babylon and had the ceremonies of the evening before and those of the day if the essesu-festival celebrated in only one day. He covered the fine garment of Nabu with the fine garment of Bel of the month Sabatu. Dressed as the latter, he proposed Bel's marriage to Tasmetu. Unshaven, he mutilated the fingers of his apprentice scribe, and, wearing fine gold, he entered into Bel's cella of offering.

A leek, a thing forbidden in the Ezida, he brought to the temple of Nabu and gave to eat to the one "entering the temple" (i.e., the priest). Ea, the lord of wisdom, whose dwelling place was founded with pure heaven and earth, he made him get up from the dwelling place, which befitted his great divinity, and made him sit in the exalted gateway of Bel. He removed Madanu, "Bel of Babylon", his favourite god, from his seat and made him leave.

Without the authority of ... this city, he did as he pleased, of ...-ri, son of ..., who . . . He ... BREAK she who sits on the throne ... seven lions. ... he unleashed and ... allowed to roam freely. He had her grasp ... he had her leashed. He had ... of Istar ... disconnected.

... to the granary of the verdant countryside he offered ... a dust storm He presented ... Belet-duri Nabu, detained several nights in Babylon and ... seated among ... without destinies. ... Babylon ... which he destroyed by fire. .. the great lord Marduk ... he went to Marduk in place of the

king and ... he spoke ... was placed. ... kept in order the kneeling lord ... he made sing.

... Nin ... When the proud lord, the freedom of Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha and the sworn agreements of Enlil-inamati, the son of KU... BREAK, the governor of Larak, in their time had established and when he had offered sacrifices at Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha before Bel, Nabu, and Nergal.

Year after year, he made unbearable their burden of slaughter, robbery, murder, corvée, and forced labour. In only one day, he burned alive sixteen Cutheans at Zababa's gate in the heart of Babylon. He delivered inhabitants of Babylon to Hatti and Elam as a token of respect. He made the inhabitants of Babylon with woman, children, and servants go out and settled them into the countryside. He heaped up the houses of Babylon's inhabitants BREAK BREAK into piles of rubble, and he turned them into royal property.

The main street, the avenue of Sarur, his lord's beloved, who passes through the streets of his city in the month of Ululu, its passage he blocked off and turned into royal property, making him pass into a cul-de-sac. He seized Mudammiq-Adad, son of Adad-suma-eres, his court opponent, without having committed either a crime or a rebellion, and his people, as many as there were, he carried off to the Chaldaeans and the Aramaeans, as a sign of respect. His towns, his fields, his houses, his gardens, and everything that belonged to him, as many as there were, he appropriated for himself. The man Iltagal-il of the town Dur-sa-Karbi, which is on the bank of the Euphrates, came to his presence and swore agreements and oaths, but he committed insult and unspeakable slander, that are forbidden of princes, against him and counted his town as booty.

In the sixth year, he turned his attention toward the Esagila. the palace of the Enlil of the gods (i.e., Marduk), with a view to restoring it, but the possessions of the Esagila, as much as was there, what earlier kings had brought there, he took out, gathered them into his own palace, and made them his own: silver, gold, choice and priceless stones, and everything that befits a deity, as much as was there. According to his good pleasure, he made offerings of them to the gods of the Sealand. of the Chaldeans, and of the Aramaeans. He would adorn the women of his palace with them, and would give them to Hatti and Elam as signs of respect. At the beginning of the seventh year, he marched on the Bit-Dakkuri for evil.

Afterward, Nabu-suma-iskun, the Dakkurean, in violation of the sworn agreements and the oath taken by the great gods, ordered out horses, troops, and chariots and sent them to go on campaign with him. He distributed bread, beer of the first quality, and flour to all his camp. In the month of Addaru, the twentieth day, the days of games in honour of Samas and Marduk, he felt no fear with regard to the sworn agreements and oaths. The people, as many as were lying like cattle in a meadow, made merry and celebrated.

[Line 1 and 2 are missing; all other lines are dameges in the beginning]

- ... Bel ...
- ... Sin ... he made get up.
- ... in the room ..
- ... Babylon ... he ... them.
- ... Babylon.
- ... he ... and ... they knelt.
- ... they made go up "I want to send ...". ... the great lord Marduk ... looked angrily at ... Ezida and
- ... they made ... attack him and he plundered its his survivors ... confined and
- ... the fugitives ... he returned and
- ... Akkad ... he burned.
- ... Borsippa, ..., Dilbat, and Cutha.
- ... toward those who are in the vanguard, ... he stole their goods
- ... he marched to Larak and ... the governor of Larak.
- ... sworn agreements and oaths before the great gods, seven times. ... entered into with him.
- ... those people, without having committed any crime ... he seized and
- ... he took them away and ... made them live on the steppe. ... toward the Bitter Waters ... them. ... he reached ... and Nabu who, before ... kept hold of
- Babylon. he caused to be done ... Ekur not ... he made him do but Marduk, the great lord, and Nabu, the exalted crown-

prince, commanded his scattering. [From the line 26, the rest of the text is missin] ... BŘEAK

UPPER EDGE [Remains of a colophon; not readable]

FROM NABU-NASIR TO SAMAS-SUMA-UKIN (ABC 1) Estimated Range of Dating: 500 B.C.

(The Chronicle on the Reigns from Nabu-Nasir to Samassuma-ukin (ABC 1) is one of the historiographical texts from ancient Assyria and Babylonia. It deals with the resistance of an increasingly stronger Babylon, supported by Elam, against Assyria, beginning with the reign of the Babylonian king Nabu-Nasir (r. 747-734) and culminating in the accessions of Assurbanipal in Assyria and Samas-suma-ukin in Babylonia

The translation on this webpage was adapted from A.K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (1975) and Jean-Jacques Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles (Atlanta,

The text is preserved on two copies that are now in the British Museum; one of these copies was written in 499 BC, the twenty-second year of king Darius I the Great. (It is the only Neo-Babylonian chronicle that is preserved on more than one copy.) The best of these measures 193 mm long and 158 mm wide, which is extremely large; this made it possible to create two columns (cf. ABC 7, the Nabonidus Chronicle, which may have been written by the same scribe). It is from Babylon. The other fragments are from Sippar and may belong to one and the same broken, large tablet. A parallel text that contains variant information can be found here.)

The third year of Nabu-nasir: [745/744.] king of Babylon: Tiglath-Pileser [Tiglath-Pileser III.] ascended the throne in Assyria. In that same year the king of Assyria went down to Akkad plundered Rabbilu and Hamranu and abducted the gods of Sapazza. In the time of Nabu-nasir Borsippa committed hostile acts against Babylon but the battle which Nabu-Nasir waged against Borsippa is not written. [This means that thee author of the chronicle was unable to find a description that he could include.]

The fifth year of Nabu-nasir: [743/742.] Humban-Nikas ascended to the throne in Elam.

The fourteenth year: [734/733.] Nabu-nasir fell ill and went to his destiny in his palace. For fourteen years Nabu-nasir ruled Babylon, Nabu-nadin-zeri, his son, ascended the throne in Babylon.

The second year: [732/731.] Nabu-nadin-zeri was killed in a rebellion. For two years Nabu-nadin-zeri ruled Babylon. Nabu-suma-ukin, a district officer and leader of the rebellion, ascended the throne. For one month and two days, Nabu-suma-ukin ruled Babylon. Nabu-mukin-zeri, the Amukanite, removed him from the throne and seized the throne for himself.

The third year of Nabu-mukin-zeri: [729/728.] Tiglathpileser, having come down to Akkad, ravaged Bit-Amukanu and captured Nabu-mukin-zeri. For three years Nabu-mukinzeri ruled Babylon. Tiglath-pileser ascended the throne in Babylon. The second year: [727/726.] Tiglath-pileser went to his destiny in the month Tebetu.

For <eighteen> years Tiglath-pileser ruled Akkad. [The scribe left a some room unused because he was unable to find the number of regnal years. "Eighteen" is a reconstruction.] and Assyria. For two of these years he ruled in Akkad. On the twenty-fifth of the month Tebetu, Salmaneser in Assyria and Akkad ascended the throne. He ravaged Samaria. [The capital of Israel.]

The fifth year: [722/721.] Salmaneser went to his destiny in the month Tebetu. For five years Salmaneser ruled Akkad and Assyria. On the twelfth day of the month Tebetu, Sargon ascended the throne in Assyria. In the month Nisannu, Marduk-apla-iddina [The Biblical Merodach-Baladan. In fact, his accession took place in the next year.] ascended the throne in Babylon.

The second year of Marduk-apla-iddina: [720/719.] Humban-Nikas, king of Elam, did battle against Sargon, king of Assyria, in the district of Der, effected Assyria's retreat, and inflicted a major defeat upon it. Marduk-aplaiddina and his army, who to the aid of the king of Elam had gone, did not reach the battle in time so Marduk-apla-iddina withdrew. [In other sources, both the Assyrian king and his Babylonian colleague claim victory.]

The fifth year of Marduk-apla-iddina: [717/716.] Humban-Nikas, king of Elam, went to his destiny. For twenty-six years Humban-nikas ruled Elam, Sutur-Nahhunte, his sister's son, ascended the throne in Elam. From the accession year of Marduk-apla-iddina until the tenth year Assyria was belligerent towards Marduk-apla-iddina.

The tenth year: [712/711.] Marduk-apla-iddina wrecked and plundered Bit-[...]ri.

The twelfth year of Marduk-apla-iddina: [710/709.] Sargon went down to Akkad and

[ii.2] did battle against Marduk-apla-iddina. Marduk-aplaiddina retreated before him and fled to Elam. [He was to return later.] For twelve years Marduk-apla-iddina ruled Babylon. Sargon ascended the throne in Babylon.

The first year of Sennacherib [704/703.] [...] Marduk-aplaiddina [...] [too broken] [For the reconstruction of lines 6-18,

see John Brinkman, "The Babylonian Chronicle revisited" in T. Abusch, J. Huehnergard, P. Steinkeller (eds.): Lingering over words. Studies in ancient Near Eastern literature in honour of William L. Moran (1990).]

The second year of Sennacherib: [703/702.] he went down to Akkad. Before Kis [Kish], he joined battle with Mardukapla-iddina. Before him, Marduk-apla-iddina retreated and fled to Guzummanu. In Babylon, Sennacherib entered the palace of Marduk-apla-iddina and the royal treasury [...] he plundered, but Sennacherib did not disperse the Babylonians. He pursued Marduk-apla-iddina [...] the territory [...] but Marduk-apla-iddina remained undiscoverable. Sennacherib plundered his land and Larak and Sarrabanu he took. When he withdrew, Sennacherib put Bel-ibni on the throne in Babylon.

The first year of Bel-ibni: [702/701.] Sennacherib ravaged Hirimma and Hararatum.

The third year of Bel-ibni: [700/699.] Sennacherib, to Akkad he went down and plundered Akkad. He led away to Assyria Bel-ibni and his officers. For three years Bel-ibni ruled Babylon. Sennacherib, Assur-nadin-sumi, his son, he put on the throne in Babylon.

The first year of Assur-nadin-sumni: [699/698.] Sutur-Nahhunte, king of Elam, was seized by his brother, Hallusu-Insusinak and Hallusu-Insusinak shot the door in his face. [Probably, this odd statement means that he was taken prisoner.] For eighteen years Sutur-Nahhunte ruled Elam. Hallusu-Insusinak ascended the throne in Elam.

The sixth year of Assur-nadin-sumni: [694/693.] Sennacherib went down to Elam and Nagitum, Hilmu, Pillatum, and Huppapanu, he ravaged and plundered. Afterwards, Hallusu-Insusinak, king of Elam, marched to Akkad and entered Sippar at the end of the month Tasritu. He slaughtered its inhabitants. Samas did not go out of Ebabbar. Assur-nadin-sumni was taken prisoner and transported to Elam. For six years, Assur-nadin-sumni ruled Babylon. The king of Elam put Nergal-usezib in Babylon on the throne. He effected an Assyrian retreat.

The first year of Nergal-usezib: [693/692.] On the sixteenth day of the month Du'uzu Nergal-usezib captured Nippur, plundered and sacked it. On the first day of the month Tasritu the army of Assyria entered Uruk and plundered the gods and inhabitants of Uruk. After the Elamites had come and carried off the gods and inhabitants of Uruk Nergal-usezib in the district of Nippur on the seventh day of the month Tasritu did battle against the army of Assyria. He was taken prisoner in the battlefield and transported to Assyria. For one year precisely: six months - Nergal-usezib ruled Babylon. On the twenty-sixth day of the month Tasritu the subjects of Hallusu-Insusinak, king of Elam, rebelled against him. The door in his face [This remarkable statement probably means that he was taken prisoner.] they shut and they killed him. For six years Hallusu-Insusinak ruled Elam. Kudur-Nahhunte ascended the throne in Elam. Afterwards Sennacherib went down to Elam. From Rasi to Bit-Burnaki, he ravaged and plundered it. Musezib-Marduk ascended the throne in Babylon.

The first year of Musezib-Marduk: [692/691.] On the seventeenth day of the month Âbu, Kudur-Nahhunte, king of Elam, was taken prisoner in a rebellion and killed. For ten months Kudur-Nahhunte ruled Elam. Humban-nimena in Elam ascended the throne. In an unknown year Humban-nimena mustered the troops of Elam and Akkad and battle against Assyria in Halule he did. He effected an Assyrian retreat.

The fourth year of Musezib-Marduk: [689/688.] On the fifteenth day of the month Nisannu Humban-nimena, king of Elam, was stricken by paralysis and his mouth was so affected that he could not speak. On the first day of the month Kislimu the city of Babylon was captured. Musezib-Marduk was taken prisoner and transported to Assyria.

For four years, Musezib-Marduk ruled Babylon. [Babylon was sacked by Sennacherib, an event that is not recorded in this chronicle.] On the seventh day of the month Addaru Humban-nimena, king of Elam, died. For four years, Humban-nimena, ruled Elam. Humban-haltas ascended the throne in Elam.

The eighth year of there not being a king in Babylon: [681/680. In fact, Sennacherib ruled over the country, but he was not recognised, because he had sacked Babylon.] on the third day of the month Du'uzu, the gods of Uruk went from Elam to Uruk. On the twenty-third day of the month Tarritu, at the noon hour, Humban-Haltas, king of Elam, became paralysed and died at sunset. For eight years Humban-Haltas ruled Elam. Humban-Haltas the second, his son, ascended the throne. On the twentieth day of the month Tebetu, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, was killed by his son in a rebellion. For twenty-four years Sennacherib ruled Assyria. After the twentieth day of the month Tebetu the rebellion continued in Assyria until the second day of the month Addaru. On the eighteenth day of the month Addaru Esarhaddon, his son, ascended the throne in Assyria.

The first year of Esarhaddon: [680/679.] when Nabu-zer-kitti-lisir, governor of the Sealand, had gone upstream, he encamped against Ur, but did not capture the city. Instead he

fled from the Assyrian officers and went back into Elam. In Elam the king of Elam took him prisoner and put him to the sword

In an unknown month the governor [...] in Nippur. In the month Ululu, Istaran and the gods of Der went from [...] to Der [...] went to Dur-Sarrukin [...]. [The capital of Assyria.] In the month Adarru [...].

In the month Adarru [...].

In the second year: [679/678.] the major-domo [conscripted troops in Akkad...] [Restoration based on ABC 14.] In that same year Arza was captured and sacked. The people were plundered, the king and his son were taken prisoner. There was a slaughter in Bussua and there was a slaughter of the Cimmerians in Subuhn.]

The third year [of Esarhaddon]: [678/677.] [...]-ahhe-sullim, the governor of Nippur, and Samas-ibni, the Dakkurean, were transported to Assyria and executed in Assyria.

The fourth year: [677/676.] Sidon was captured and sacked. In that same year: the major-domo conscripted troops in Akkad.

The fifth year: [676/675.] On the second day of the month Tasritu the army of Assyria

[iv.6] captured Baza. In the month Tasritu the head of [Abdi-Milkutti] the king of Sidon was cut off and conveyed to Assyria. In the month Addaru the head of [Sanduarri] the king of Kundu and Sissu was cut off and conveyed to Assyria.

The sixth year: [675/674.] The king of Elam entered Sippar and a massacre took place. Samas did not come out of Ebabbar. The Assyrian marched to Milidu. On the seventh day of the month Ululu Humban-haltas, king of Elam, without becoming ill, died in his palace. For five years, Humban-haltas ruled Elam. Urtak, his brother, ascended the throne in Elam. In an unknown month Suma-iddina, the governor of Nippur, and Kudurru, the Dakurrean, were transported to Assyria.

The seventh year: [674/673.] On the fifth day of the month Addaru the army of Assyria was defeated in Egypt. In the month Addaru, Istar of Akkad and the gods of Akkad left Elam and entered Akkad on the tenth day of the month Addaru.

The eighth year of Esarhaddon: [also Assarhaddon; 673/672.] On the (TEXT BROKEN) [This means that the scribe had no access to a correct copy.] day of the month Tebetu Subria was captured and sacked. In the month Kislimu its booty entered Uruk. On the fifth day of the month Addaru the king's wife died.

The tenth year: [671/670.] In the month Nisannu the army of Assyria marched to Egypt (TEXT BROKEN) On the third, sixteenth and eighteenth days of the month Du'uzu - three times - there was a massacre in Egypt. It was sacked and its gods were abducted. On the twenty-second day Memphis, the royal city, was captured and abandoned by its king* [Taharqo]. The king's son and brother were taken prisoner. The city was sacked, its inhabitants plundered, and its booty carried off

[* Meaning Taharka, also spelled Taharqa, who ruled from 690 to 664 BC. He was the qore (king) of the Kingdom of Kush in present day Sudan whose capital was Napata and Meroë but also the pharaoh of the 25th Dynasty of Egypt. He was one of the "Ethiopian (Sudanese) Pharaohs" who ruled over Egypt for nearly a century. Other variants of Taharka: Egyptian: t-h-rw-k, Neo-Assyrian: Jon the Rassam cylinder] Tar-qu-u, Hebrew Aramaic: Tirhaqa, Manetho's Tarakos, Strabo's Tearco.]

The eleventh year: [670/669.] In Assyria the king put his numerous officers to the sword. The twelfth year: [669/668.] The king of Assyria marched to Egypt but became ill on the way and went to his destiny on the tenth day of the month Arahsamna. For twelve years Esarhaddon ruled Assyria. Samas-suma-ukin and Assurbanipal, his two sons, ascended the throne in Babylon and Assyria respectively.

The accession year of Samas-suma-ukin: [668/667.] In the month Ajaru Bel and the gods of Akkad went out from Assur and on the fourteenth/twenty-fourth of the month Ajaru they entered Babylon. In that same year Kirbitu was taken and its king captured.

[iv.38] On the twentieth day of the month Tebetu, Bel-etir, judge of Babylon, was taken prisoner and executed. The first edition, written according to the pattern tablet, checked and collated.

[Colophon:] Tablet of Ana-Bel-eris, son of Liblutu, descendant of Ur-Nanna. Written by Ea-nadin, son of Ana-Bel-eris, descendant of Ur-Nanna. Babylon, the N+6th [day of the month ...], the twenty-second year of Darius, king of Babylon and all lands.

ESARHADDON CHRONICLE (ABC 14)

Tablet, BM 25091 (98-2-16, 145)
Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles, 1975
Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles, 2004)
Translation: A.K. Grayson, 1975,
Jean-Jacques Glassner, 2004
Estimated Range of Dating: 670-650 B.C.

(The Chronicle Concerning the Reign of Esarhaddon (ABC 14) is one of the historiographical texts about ancient Assyria. It deals with the wars of king Esarhaddon (also: Assarhaddon; 680-669 BC) and the accessions of his sons Assurbanipal in Assyria and Samas-suma-ukin in Babylonia.

This chronicle is preserved on a tablet, BM 25091 (98-2-16, 145), which is 50 mm wide and 76 mm long. At one time the tablet was broken into two fragments. There are several lacunae in the table and the top portion is entirely missing, but can be restored from parallel texts.)

Text:

The first year of the reign of Esarhaddon, [680/679 BC.] Nabu-zer-kitti-lisir, governor of the Sealand, having come upstream, set up camp before Ur but did not take the city. He fled before the officers of Assyria and reached Elam. In Elam] the king of Elam [captured and executed him. Esarhaddon named his brother Na'id-Marduk governor of the Sealand. In the month Ululu the Great and the gods of Der entered Der; Humhumya and Simalya entered Sippar. In the month Tasritu the forecourt [...] in the month...]

the forecourt [...] in the mont[h...]

The second year: [679/678 BC.] the major-domo conscripted troops in Akkad. In that same year Arza was captured and sacked. The people were ransomed, the king and his son were taken prisoner. There was a slaughter in Bussua and there was a slaughter of the Cimmerians in Subuhnu.[Other sources refer to Cimmerians in Hubusnu.]

The third year: [678/677.] [...]-ahhe-sullum, governor of Nippur, and Samas-ibni, the Dakkurean were transported to Assyria and executed in Assyria.

The fourth year: [677/676.] Sidon was captured and sacked. In that same year the major-domo conscripted troops in Akkad.

The fifth year: [676/675.] On the second day of the month Tasritu, the army of Assyria captured Bazza. In the month Tasritu the head of the king of Sidon was cut off and conveyed to Assyria

The sixth year: [675/674.] The army of Assyria marched to Milidu and encamped against Mugallu. On the fifth day of the month Ululu, Humban-haltas, king of Elam, without becoming ill and still appearing healthy, died in his palace. For six years, Humban-haltas, ruled Elam. Urtak, his brother, ascended the throne in Elam. Suma-iddina, the governor of Nippur, and Kudurru, the Dakkurean, were executed.

The seventh year: [674/673.] On the eighth day of the month Addaru the army of Assyria marched to Samele. In that same year Istar of Agade and the gods of Agade left Elam and entered Agade on the tenth day of the month Addaru.

The eighth year: [673/672.] On the sixth day of the month Addaru the king's wife died. On the eighteenth day of the month Addaru the army of Assyria captured Subria and sacked it.

The tenth year: [671/670.] In the month Nisannu the army of Assyria marched to Egypt. On the third day of the month Tasritu there was a massacre in Egypt.

The eleventh year: [670/669.] In Assyria the king put numerous officers to the sword.

The twelfth year: [669/668.] The king of Assyria marched to Egypt but became ill on the way and died on the tenth day of the month Arahsamna. For twelve years Esarhaddon ruled Assyria. For eight years under Sennacherib, for twelve years under Esarhaddon, twenty years altogether, Bel stayed in Assur and the Akitu festival did not take place. Nabu did not come from Borsippa for the procession of Bel. In the month Kislimu Assurbanipal, Esarhaddon's son, ascended the throne in Assyria.

The accession year of Samas-suma-ukin: [The brother of Assurbanipal; the year is 668/667.] In the month Ajaru Bel and the gods of Akkad went out from Assur and on the twenty-fifth [Lines 34-40 are identical to ABC 16.] day of the month Ajaru, they entered Babylon. Nabu and the gods of Borsippa went to Babylon. In that same year Kirbitum was taken and its king was captured. On the twentieth day of the month Tebetu, Bel-etir, the judge of Babylon was taken prisoner and executed.

The first year of Samas-suma-ukin: [667/666.] [...] to [...] Taharqo, king of E[gypt, ...] Eg[ypt...] Necho, king of Eg[ypt...]

The second year: [666/665.] [...] [Lacuna]
[Left edge] Combat. Combat. [The meaning of these words are unclear.]

JERUSALEM CHRONICLE (ABC 5) The Early Years of Nebuchadnezzar II Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Chronicle Concerning the Early Years of Nebuchadnezzar II (ABC 5) is one of the historiographical texts from ancient Babylonia. The Chronicle Concerning the Early Years of Nebuchadnezzar II (ABC 5) contains plenty of interesting information, especially about Nebuchadnezzar's accession to the throne, his campaigns against the Egyptian king Necho II, an Elamite intervention, and a revolt in Babylonia itself. However, the reference to the capture of Jerusalem in 597 BC has attracted most attention, which explains the name "Jerusalem Chronicle".

The story starts where ABC 4 ends: during the wars after the sack of Nineveh in 612 and the collapse of the Assyria Empire. The Egyptian king Necho II tried to conquer Assyria's western provinces, which are sometimes called "Hatti" in this chronicle. Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar claimed those lands for themselves. During these campaigns, Jerusalem was attacked and its king, Jehoiachin, deported. The date, Addaru in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar, is our February/March 597. It also mentioned in Jeremiah 52.28 and it contradicts the date in 2 Kings 24.12 (the eighth year).

Jerusalem would, of course, be captured again ten years later, an event that was certainly mentioned in the lost sequel of this chronicle, which must also have contained a series of references to the protracted sieve of Tyre.

For a very brief introduction to the literary genre of chronicles, go here. The translation on this webpage was adapted from A.K. Grayson, Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles (1975) and Jean-Jacques Glassner, Mesopotamian Chronicles (Atlanta, 2004).)

ORVERSE

In the twenty-first year [605/604] the king of Akkad [Nabopolassar] stayed in his own land, Nebuchadnezzar his eldest son, the crown-prince, the Babylonian army and took command of his troops; he marched to Karchemis which is on the bank of the Euphrates, and crossed the river to go against the Egyptian army which lay in Karchemis. They fought with each other and the Egyptian army withdrew before him. accomplished their defeat and beat them to non-existence. As for the rest of the Egyptian army which had escaped from the defeat so quickly that no weapon had reached them, in the district of Hamath the Babylonian troops overtook and defeated them so that not a single man escaped to his own country.

At that time Nebuchadnezzar conquered the whole area of Hamath. For twenty-one years Nabopolassar had been king of Babylon, when on 8 Abu [15 August 605.] he went to his destiny; in the month of Ululu [September.] Nebuchadnezzar returned to Babylon and on 1 Ululu [7 September 605.] he sat on the royal throne in Babylon. In the accession year Nebuchadnezzar went back again to the Hatti-land and until the month of Sabatu [Early 604.] marched unopposed through the Hatti-land; in the month of Sabatu he took the heavy tribute of the Hatti-territory to Babylon.

In the month of Nisannu [Spring 604.] he took the hands of Bel and the son of Bel and celebrated the Akitu Festival. In the first year of Nebuchadnezzar [604/603] in the month of Simanu [Late Spring.] he mustered his army and went to the Hatti-territory, he marched about unopposed in the Hatti-territory until the month of Kislimu. [End 604.] All the kings of the Hatti-land came before him and he received their heavy tribute. He marched to the city of Askelon and captured it in the month of Kislimu. [End 604.] He captured its king and plundered it and carried off spoil from it. He turned the city into a mound and heaps of ruins and then in the month of Sabatu [Early 603.] he marched back to Babylon.

In the second year [603/602] in the month of Ajaru [Spring 603.] the king of Akkad gathered together a powerful army and marched to the land of Hatti. he threw down, great siege-towers he [...] from the month of Ajaru until the mon[th of ...] he marched about unopposed in the land of Hatti. [Four lines missing]

REVERSE

[Several lines missing]

In the third year [602/601] the king of Akkad left and in the month of [...] on the thirteenth day, [the king's brother] Nabu-suma-lisir [...] The king of Akkad mustered his troops and marched to the Hatti-land, and brought back much spoils from the Hatti-land into Akkad.

In the fourth year [601/600] the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to the Hatti-land. In the Hatti-land they marched unopposed. In the month of Kislimu [End 601.] he took the lead of his army and marched to Egypt. The king of Egypt heard it and mustered his army. In open battle they smote the breast of each other and inflicted great havoc on each other. The king of Akkad turned back with his troops and returned to Babylon. [Apparently, Nebuchadnezzar suffered a defeat: in the next line, he reorganizes his army.]

In the fifth year [600/599] the king of Akkad stayed in his own land and gathered together his chariots and horses in great numbers.

In the sixth year [599/598] in the month of Kislimu [End 599.] the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to the Hatti-land. From the Hatti-land he sent out his companies, and scouring the desert they took much plunder from the Arabs, [Probably nomads in what is now Jordan.] their possessions, animals and gods. In the month of Addaru [Spring 598.] the king returned to his own land.

In the seventh year [598/597], the month of Kislimu, the king of Akkad mustered his troops, marched to the Hatti-land, and besieged the city of Judah and on the second day of the month of Addaru [February/March 597.] he seized the city and captured the king.note]Jehoiachin; cf. Jeremiah 52.28-30; 2 Kings 24.8-17.] He appointed there a king of his own choice,note]"Jehoiachin's uncle Mattaniah became ling of Judah and changed his name to Zedekiah": 2 Kings 24.17.] received its heavy tribute and sent to Babylon.

In the eight year [597/596], the month of Tebetu [Winter 597/596.] the king of Akkad marched to the Hatti-land as far as Karchemis [.....] in the month of Sabatu [January / February 596.] the king returned to his own land. [Apparently a failed campaign. Perhaps Elam had mobilised, as we will see in the next few lines.]

In the ninth year [596/595], the month of [...] the king of Akkad and his troops marched along the bank of the Tigris [...] the king of Elam [...] the king of Akkad [...] [The name of a city name is presumed.] which is on the bank of the Tigris he pitched his camp. While there was still a distance of one day's march between them, king of Elam was afraid and, panic falling on him, he returned to his own land.

In the tenth year [595/594] the king of Akkad was in his own land; from the month of Kislimu to the month of Tebetu there was rebellion in Akkad. [From about November 595 to January 594.] With arms he slew many of his own army. His own hand captured his enemy.

In the month of [...], [Sabatu or Addaru, Spring 594.] he marched to the Hatti-land, where kings and [...]-officials came before him and he received their heavy tribute and then returned to Babylon.

In the eleventh year [594/593] in the month of Kislimu,note[End 594.] the king of Akkad mustered his troops and marched to the Hatti-land.

NABONIDUS CYLINDER FROM SIPPAR

British Museum in London Estimated Range of Dating: 550-540 B.C

(The Nabonidus Cylinder from Sippar is the foundation text in which king Nabonidus of Babylonia (r.556-539) describes how he repaired three temples in Harran and Sippar.

In the Nabonidus Cylinder from Sippar, a foundation text buried in the foundation of a building, Babylonian king Nabonidus (r. 556-539) describes how he carefully - after checking older foundation texts - repaired three temples in Harran and Sippar. One copy of this cylinder was excavated in Babylon, in the royal palace, and is now in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin. Another copy, shown to the right, is in the British Museum in London. The text was written (in 3 columns) after Nabonidus' return from Arabia in his thirteenth regnal year, but before war broke out with the Persian king Cyrus, who is presented as an instrument of the god Marduk.

The Nabonidus Cylinder contains echoes from earlier foundation texts, and develops the same themes as later ones, like the better-known Cyrus Cylinder, which is only a couple of years younger: a lengthy titulary, a story about an angry god who has abandoned his shrine, is reconciled with his people, orders a king to restore the temple, and a king who piously increases the daily offerings. Prayers are also included; we hear that the gods return to their abodes; and the line that the gods are pleased with their dwellings is repeated. The translation of the Nabonidus Cylinder was made by Paul-Alain Beaulieu, who is also the author of The Reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon 556-539 B.C. (1989).)

COLUMN 1

I, Nabonidus, the great king, the strong king, the king of the universe, the king of Babylon, the king of the four corners, the caretaker of Esagila and Ezida, for whom Sin and Ningal in his mother's womb decreed a royal fate as his destiny, the son of Nabu-balâssi-iqbi, the wise prince, the worshiper of the great gods, I:

Ehulhul, the temple of Sin in Harran, where since days of yore Sin, the great lord, had established his favourite residence - his great heart became angry against that city and temple and he aroused the Mede, destroyed the temple and turned it into ruin - in my legitimate reign Bel and the great lord, [At this point, the Berlin text of the cylinder has the words "Sin and the great lord", in which the reader is supposed to know that Marduk is the great lord; the London text has "Bel and the great lord", in which the great lord

refers to Sin. (Bel is another name for Marduk.) This probably expresses Nabonidus' attempt to assimilate both gods.] for the love of my kingship, became reconciled with that city and temple and showed compassion.

In the beginning of my everlasting reign they sent me a dream. Marduk, the great lord, and Sin, the luminary of heaven and the netherworld, stood together. Marduk spoke with me: "Nabonidus, king of Babylon, carry bricks on your riding horse, rebuild Ehulhul and cause Sin, the great lord, to establish his residence in its midst."

Reverently, I spoke to the Enlil of the gods, Marduk: "That temple which you ordered me to build, the Mede surrounds it and his might is excessive."

But Marduk spoke with me: "The Mede whom you mentioned, he, his country and the kings who march at his side will be no more."

At the beginning of the third year, [Summer 553.] they aroused him, Cyrus, the king of Ansan, his second in rank.note[The exact significance of this line is unknown, but it is clear that Cyrus is presented as instrument of the will of the gods. He also presented himself in this fashion in the Cyrus Cylinder, and the prophet Isaiah (45.1) also presents the Persian king in this way.] He scattered the vast Median hordes with his small army. He captured Astyages, the king of the Medes, and took him to his country as captive. Such was the word of the great lord Marduk and of Sin, the luminary of heaven and the netherworld, whose command is not revoked. I feared their august command, I became troubled, I was worried and my face showed signs of anxiety. I was not neglectful, nor remiss, nor careless.

For rebuilding Ehulhul, the temple of Sin, my lords, who marches at my side, which is in Harran, which Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, a prince who proceeded me, had rebuilt, I mustered my numerous troops, from the country of Gaza on the border of Egypt, near the Upper Sea [The Mediterranean.] on the other side of the the Euphrates, to the Lower Sea [The Persian Gulf.], the kings, princes, governors and my numerous troops which Sin, Samas and Istar - my lords - had entrusted to me. And in a propitious month, on an auspicious day, which Samas and Adad revealed to me by means of divination, by the wisdom of Ea and Asalluhi, with the craft of the exorcist, according to the art of Kulla, the lord of foundations and brickwork, upon beads of silver and gold, choice gems, logs of resinous woods, aromatic herbs and cuts of cedar wood, in joy and gladness, on the foundation deposit of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, who had found the foundation of Salmaneser [III], the son of Assurnasirpal [II], I cleared its foundations and laid its brickwork.

I mixed its mortar with beer, wine, oil and honey and anointed its excavation ramps with it. More than the kings my fathers- had done, I strengthened its building and perfected its work. That temple from its foundation to its parapet I built anew and I completed its work. Beams of lofty cedar trees, a product of Lebanon, I set above it. Doors of cedar wood, whose scent is pleasing, I affixed at its gates. With gold and silver glaze I coated its wall and made it shine like the sun. I set up in its chapel a 'wild bull' of shining silver alloy, fiercely attacking my foes. At the Gate of Sunrise I set up two "long haired heroes" coated with silver, destroyers of enemies, one to the left, one to the right. I led Sin, Ningal, Nusku, and Sadarnunna - my lords - in procession from Babylon, my royal city, and in joy and gladness I caused them to dwell in its midst, a dwelling of enjoyment. I performed in their presence a pure sacrifice of glorification, presented my gifts, and filled Ehulhul with the finest products, and I made the city of Harran, in its totality, as brilliant as moonlight.

COLUMN 2

O Sin, king of the gods of heaven and the netherworld, without whom no city or country can be founded, nor be restored, when you enter Ehulhul, the dwelling of your plentitude, may good recommendations for that city and that temple be set on your lips. May the gods who dwell in heaven and the netherworld constantly praise the temple of Sin, the father, their creator, As for me, Nabonidus king of Babylon, who completed that temple, may Sin, the king of the gods of heaven and the netherworld, joyfully cast his favourable look upon me and every month, in rising and setting, make my ominous signs favourable. May he lengthen my days, extend my years, make my reign firm, conquer my enemies, annihilate those hostile to me, destroy my foes. May Ningal, the mother of the great gods, speak favourably before Sin, her beloved, on my behalf. May Samas and Istar, his shining offspring, recommend me favourably to Sin, the father, their creator. May Nusku, the august vizier, hear my prayer and intercede

The inscription written in the name of of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, I found and did not alter. I anointed it with oil, performed a sacrifice, placed it with my own inscription, and returned it to its place.

For Samas, the judge of heaven and the netherworld, concerning Ebabbar ["shining house"], his temple which is in Sippar, which Nebuchadnezzar, a former king had rebuilt and

whose old foundation deposit he had looked for but not found -vet he rebuilt that temple and after forty-five years the walls of that temple had sagged- I became troubled, I became fearful, I was worried and my face showed signs of anxiety.

While I led Samas out of its midst and caused him to dwell in another sanctuary, I removed the debris of that temple, looked for its old foundation deposit, dug to a depth of eighteen cubits into the ground and then Samas, the great lord, revealed to me the original foundations of Ebabbar, the temple which is his favourite dwelling, by disclosing the foundation deposit of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, which no king among my predecessors had found in three thousand and two hundred years. [Naram-Sin was Sargon's grandson, and his reign lasted, according to the Middle Chronology, from 2255 to 2218, so Nabonidus' estimate of the time separating him from his predecessor is about twice the real time.]

In the month Tasritu, [September/October.] in a propitious month, on an auspicious day, which Samas and Adad had revealed to me by means of divination, upon beds of silver and gold, choice gems, logs of resinous woods, aromatic herbs, and cuts of cedar wood, in joy and gladness, on the foundation deposit of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, not a finger's breadth too wide or too narrow, I laid its brick work. Five thousand massive beams of cedar wood I set up for its roofing. Lofty doors of cedar wood, thresholds and pivots I affixed at its gates. Ebabbar, together with E-kun-ankuga ["pure stairway to heaven"], its ziggurat, I built anew and completed its work. I led Samas, my lord, in procession and, in joy and gladness, I caused him to dwell in the midst of his favourite dwelling.

COLUMN 3

The inscription in the name of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, I found and did not alter. I anointed it with oil, made offerings, placed it with my own inscription and returned it to its original place.

O Samas, great lord of heaven and the netherworld, light of the gods - your fathers - offspring of Sin and Ningal, when you enter Ebabbar your beloved temple, when you take up residence in your eternal dais, look joyfully upon me, Nabonidus, king of Babylon, the prince your caretaker, the one who pleases you and built your august chapel, and upon my good deeds, and every day at sunrise and sunset, in the heavens and on the earth, make my omens favourable, accept my supplications and receive my prayers. With the scepter and the legitimate staff which placed in my hands may I rule forever.

For Anunity - the lady of warfare, who carries the bow and the quiver, who fulfills the command of Enlil her father, who annihilates the enemy, who destroys the evil one, who precedes the gods, who, at sunrise and sunset, causes my ominous signs to be favourable - I excavated, surveyed and inspected the old foundations of Eulmas, her temple which is in Sippar-Anunitu, which for eight hundred years, [Sagarakti-Surias ruled from 1246 to 1233; Nabonidus' estimate of the period separating his own age from that of Sagarakti-Surias is too high.] since the time of Sagarakti-Surias, king of Babylon, son of Kudur-Enlil, and on the foundation deposit of Sagarakti-Surias, son of Kudur Enlil, I cleared its foundations and laid its brickwork. I built that temple anew and completed its work. Anunitu, the lady of warfare, who fulfills the command of Enlil her father, who annihilates the enemy, who destroys the evil one, who precedes the gods, I caused her to establish her residence. The regular offerings and the other offerings I increased over what they were and I established for her.

As for you, O Anunitu, great lady, when you joyfully enter that temple, look joyfully upon my good deeds and every month. at sunrise and sunset, petition Sin, your father, your begetter, for favours on my behalf.

Whoever you are whom Sin and Samas will call to kingship, and in whose reign that temple will fall into disrepair and who build it anew, may he he find the inscription written in my name and not alter it. May he anoint it with oil, perform a sacrifice, place it with the inscription written in his own name and return it to its original place. May Samas and Anunitu hear his supplication, receive his utterance, march at his side, annihilate his enemy and daily speak good recommendations on his behalf to Sin, the father, their creator.

ALEXANDER CHRONICLE (BCHP 1)

Source: A.K. Grayson, 1975 Estimated Range of Dating:

The Chronicle concerning Alexander the Great ("Alexander Chronicle"; ABC 8; BCHP 1) is one of the Mesopotamian chronicles written in ancient Babylonia in the Hellenistic Period It is very hard to understand but clearly mentions several events from the reign of Alexander the Great.

The Babylonian Alexander Chronicle (BCHP 1; a.k.a. ABC 8, Chronicle 8) is one of the Mesopotamian chronicles written in ancient Babylonia in the Hellenistic Period. It deals with events from the reigns of the Persian king Darius III Codomannus and his Macedonian successor Alexander the Great.

The cuneiform tablet (BM 36304) is in the British Museum and was first published by A.K. Grayson in 1975 in a book called Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles. On this webpage, a new reading is proposed; the official publication will be in I.L. Finkel, R.J. van der Spek, R. Pirngruber, Babylonian Chronographic Texts from the Hellenistic Period (2020; = BCHP: Writings of the Ancient World).

[Line 1 + 2 gone]

[3] [Month 4 [Month 4, Du'uzu, suits the date given by Lucius Flavius Arrianus for the death of Darius, Hecatambaeon.] (July): Darius the king, from] his throne they removed him. Be[ssus]

[4] [sat on the throne and Artaxerxes] as his name they named him, [Bessus is immediately called Artaxerxes, and not after several weeks, as Arrian says.] and Alexander and his

[5] [pursued Bessus the rebel king. Alexander with] his few

troops with the troops [of Bessus made battle.]
[6] [Bessus] killed [Darius the king]. The Hanaean troops, his troops, which [...]

[7] [... from Babylon to] Darius, the king, had gone, [were released.]

[8] [Month 5, day 15] Kidinnu was killed by the sword. In the month 6 (September), on the [nth] day [X happened]

[9] [Month 7 (October): The king was in] the land of Ú-zuia-a-nu, a city of the land of Gutium. [Ú-zu-ia-a-nu may or may not be identical to Susia, modern Tus, north of Mashad.] [10] [.....]

[11] [Month 8 (November): From] the palace of Babylon they brought out their goods

[12] [..... for] the making of the xx [......]

[13] [.....] for the performance of the festival of Bel to the [Babylon]ians they gave.

[14] [Month 9 (25 Nov - 24 Dec):]-Bel, his son, to the office of satrap

[15] [he appointed] evil to the king thet plotted.note[This may refer to the official version of the execution of Philotas and Parmenion.1

This page was created in 2004; last modified on 4 October

DIADOCHI CHRONICLE (BCHP 3) Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Babylonian Diadochi Chronicle (BCHP 3; a.k.a. ABC 10, Chronicle 10) is one of the Mesopotamian chronicles written in ancient Babylonia in the Hellenistic Period. It deals with the history of the Diadochi (the successors of Alexander the Great)

The Babylonian Diadochi Chronicle (BCHP 3: a k.a. ABC 10. Chronicle 10) is one of the Mesopotamian chronicles written in ancient Babylonia, dealing with the history of the Diadochi (the successors of Alexander the Great). To be more precise, the first column deals with the First Diadoch War, while the fourth column documents the Babylonian War between the generals Seleucus and Antigonus Monophthalmus.

On this webpage, a new reading is proposed; the official publication will be in I.L. Finkel, R.J. van der Spek, R. Pirngruber, Babylonian Chronographic Texts from the Hellenistic Period (2020; = BCHP; Writings of the Ancient World).)

Description of the tablet

The tablet as preserved consists of two fragments, which were edited as separate fragments in the previous publications. Irving Finkel, however, found out that the fragments join. The upper part (BM 36313) is almost completely destroyed, probably by a spade when the tablet was dug up. The upper edge of it, however, is preserved, so that we have an idea about the length of the tablet and the number of lines. The lower part (BM 34660) is inscribed on both sides.

The total length of the tablet as we have it is 17 cm, the upper fragment ca. 7.5 cm, the lower part 9.5 cm. The width is about 6 to 6.5 cm. The upper edge is inscribed with the last lines of the reverse. The thickness of the tablet at the left side is 2 cm, at the right side 3.8 cm. The thickness only increases, so that at least the right half of the tablet is lost, but probably

Probably two thirds to three fourths of the tablet are lost. Cornelia Wunsch, who studied the tablet intensively, concluded that it is most likely that the tablet was a fourcolumned document. In two lines we are able to reconstruct the entire content: rev. 14' and 32'. So we know that the lines of the columns consisted of approximately 28-29 signs (single vertical wedges, being a personal marker or the sign for ana = "to", not included).

At the lower side of the tablet is not much lost, in view of the curvature, which returns to nearly the thickness of the upper edge. Since there are traces on the very end of the tablet, which seems to be the beginning of the edge, line 41' might well he the last line of the obverse.

I suggest a new numbering of the lines, which takes the traces of the upper part into account and gives a better idea of the size of the original text. The line numbering of Grayson's edition is added between brackets.)

OBVERSE, COLUMN 1

reference to Seleucus.] [was appointed and on the 20th day the

Egypt [This line almost certainly reports the campaign of Perdiccas, the highest representative of king Philip Arrhidaeus, against Ptolemy, satrap of Egypt.] and the land [..........] The troops of the king were slaughtered.

Month 8, day 10 (14 November 320) [.. satrap of Akkad entered Babylon. [Seleucus arrived in April. The Esagila, the temple of the Babylonian supreme god Marduk, was very old, and Alexander the Great had promised to rebuild it. Seleucus and his son Antiochus continued the project.] That month, debris [of Esagila was (not?) removed.]

Year 5 of Philip (319/318), unknown month. The king left Antigonus in charge (...) and he went to the land Macedonia and did not return. [After the death of Perdiccas, Antipater had divided the empire (settlement of Triparadisus, 320). He had gone back to Macedonia, taken king Philip with him. At home, Antipater died of natural causes, late in 319.] In a later Akkad,] Year 6 of Phi(lip = 318/317), month 6: (15 September – 14

October 318). The satrap of Akkad a levy of silver [for] and all the troops of Akkad conducted. Silver upon interrogation they gave; [(...) he destined it for the troops of] the land of Akkad. The gates of Tabi-supursu, the wall of Borsippa, [he repaired / destroyed / opened] That year Philip was present in Macedonia [..] Perhaps the lacuna contained the remark that a new regent for the king was appointed, Cassander.]
Year 7 of Philip (317/316), month 7 (3 – 31 October 317).

The troops of the king, which in order to make a strong guard entered the palace, but the satrap of Akkad by doing battle captured the palace of Babylon from them and the [x]-person(s) [.....] the satrap of Akkad dest[royed] the fence of reed.[....] The Hanaeans of the king in order to make a strong guard between [........] Later Antigonus [.....ed] the satrap [of Akkad (...)]

Year 8 of Philip (316/315), month 4 (25 June – 24 July 316) mentioned in this chronicle), but since there was no successor, his regnal years were still used to date documents. The badly damaged information relating to this year and the preceding one must refer to Antigonus' war against Eumenes and Seleucus' escape from Babylon.] [.....] who (was) in the palace of the king, which [.......] [..........]s people

[Lacuna of 0-4 lines.]

OBVERSE, COLUMN 2 [Lost] REVERSE, COLUMN 3 [Lost]

REVERSE, COLUMN 4

[Lacuna 4-8 lines]

[Year 7 of Antigonus, the General (311/10)] [.....] x x [.......] the east bank and the west bank [..........Month 1/2] Seleu]cus spoke as follows: [Upon his arrival in Babylon.] "Year 7 of Antigonus the general as year 6 of Alexander, son of Alexander (the Great) and Seleucus the general you (pl.) will count."

[Alexander IV was the son of Alexander III (the Great). His mother was Roxane (from Sogdiana which was close to Kashgar, the Chinese sphere of influence), his regent was Cassander. At the beginning of this year, the boy king was eleven years old. This line means that Seleucus ordered the scribes of Babylon to date letters and other texts to the regnal years of Alexander IV and Seleucus, as supreme commander; they were no longer to date to Alexander and Antigonus.]

Month Simanu (3 = 31 May – 29 June 311) Seleucus [.....]ed the satammu of Emeslam [......] He did not capture the palace. That month, 30 talents of silver,

Month Abu (5 = 29 July – 27 Aug.). Seleucus, in order to capture the palace, to [X went, the defenses with water/like a deluge] he levelled and he did not dam the Euphrates. To [x he left. Patrocles as general] within it he entrusted. Month Ululu (VI = 28 Aug. - 25 Sep.), Seleucus from Babylon to [........] which is on the Tigris went up. [Seleucus had recovered Babylon in May 311 and was attacked by the satrap of Media, Nicanor; however, Nicanor was defeated near the Tigris.] In order to make a sortie to Persis he crossed the river and he [........]

and he [......]

In the month Arahsamna (8 = 26 October – 24 November 311) there was goodwill and ... in respect to the enemies [......] The troops of the land of Gutium and the troops of the king showed gratitude to the satrap of Akkad. That year, debris of Esagila was not removed*.

[* The Esagila or Esangil (Sumerian: E-sag-il'la, "temple whose top is lofty") was a temple dedicated to Marduk, the protector god of Babylon. It lay south of the Ziggurat Etemenanki. The Esagila complex, completed in its final form by Nebuchadnezzar II (604-562 BC) encasing earlier cores, was the center of Babylon. It comprised a large court (ca. 40×70 metres), containing a smaller court (ca. 25×40 metres), and finally the central shrine, consisting of an anteroom and the inner sanctum which contained the statues of Marduk and his consort Sarpanit. According to Herodotus. Xerxes had a statue removed from the Esagila when he flooded Babylon in 482 BC, desecrated the Esagila and sacked the city. Alexander the Great ordered restorations, and the temple continued to be maintained throughout the 2nd century BC, as one of the last strongholds of Babylonian culture, such as literacy in the cuneiform script, but as Babylon was gradually abandoned under the Parthian Empire, the temple fell into decay in the 1st century BC. Under the enormous heap of debris that lay over it, Esagila was rediscovered by Robert Koldewey in November 1900, but it did not begin to be seriously examined until 1910.]

Year 7 of Alexander, the king, son of Alexander (the Great) and [Seleucus, the general, (310/309). Month Abu (5 = 17 August - 15 September 310). The troops of Antigonus did battle with the troops of Seleucus]

[What now follows is the war between Antigonus and Seleucus, the Babylonian War. It seems that Antigonus captured the city, but was expelled by Seleucus. The text leaves one with the impression that Antigonus looted temples; this is more or less confirmed by the Astronomical diaries, which mention "panic in the land" and "battle in the city". Antigonus also looted the temples and this was the reason why the Babylonians sided with Seleucus, who had, after all, restored temples and treated the Babylonians kindly.]

[From] the month \hat{A} bu until the month Tebetu (10 = 12 January — 10 February 309) [in the surrounding area of Babylon] they did battle with each other. [In the month Tebetu, on the 8th day] [....] $x \times [...]$ Antigonus broke in (sg) and to $x \times [...]$ between Esagila and Etur[kalamma] [....] Antigonus with numerous troops [....] with him entered (sg).

From the 8th day of the month Tebetu (10 = 19 January 309) Antigonus attacked, but he did not capture the [........] of the bit hare. In the month Sabatu (11 = 30 January – 28 February 309), day [n, he That month] there was weeping and mourning in the land. The south wind [blew? Antigonus] from Babylon went out. He plundered city and countryside. The property [of] he took away. Month 12.] day 2 (2 March 309), he went down to Cuthah and he plundered [.......] the people retreated. [He set] fire to the storehouse of Nergal. [.......]

[A]rchelaos [he appointed] to the office of satrap [of Akkad;] [in the surrounding] area of Babylon he entrusted him. That same year, barley: 6 litres*; dates [n litres Barley and dates] they requisitioned [illeg]ally. That year, numerous houses in the district [of were destroyed. The property of] [from B]abylon they took out. Debris of Esagil was removed].

[* Barley: 6 liters means: one could buy 6 litres barley for one shekel. That is very expensive. The "ideal" price was 180 liters for a shekel. So 6 liters only is a very high price indeed, and these high prices are also recorded in the Astronomical diaries of this period. Alexander and the early Successors did not bring the blessings of hellenism, but war, plunder, devastations, inflation, and the use of torture in court interrogations.]

[.....] the Babylonians, half of them [......]
[.......] the Babylonians, half of them [......]
[......] the king,
to the [Babylon]ians [........] [Lower edge.2] [.........]

ANTIOCHUS, BACTRIA, AND INDIA CHRONICLE (BCHP 7)

Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Babylonian Chronicle concerning Antiochus, Bactria, and India ("Antiochus and India chronicle"; BCHP 7 or ABC 13A) is a chronicle written in ancient Babylonia in the Hellenistic Period. It mentions a Seleucid crown prince, probably the future king Antiochus I Soter ("the Saviour"), ordering repairs in Babylon and preparing for war.

The Babylonian Chronicle concerning Antiochus, Bactria, and India ("Antiochus and India chronicle"; BCHP 7 or ABC 13A) is one of the Mesopotamian chronicles written in ancient Babylonia in the Hellenistic Period. It mentions a Seleucid crown prince, probably the future king Antiochus I Soter, ordering repairs in Babylon and preparing for war. The cuneiform tablets (BM 32310 [76-11-17, 2039] + 32398 [\$\frac{1}{7}6-11-17, 2131] + 32384) are in the British Museum.

Here, a new reading is proposed by Irwing Finkel, R.J. van der Spek, R. Pirngruber, in Babylonian Chronographic Texts from the Hellenistic Period (2020; = BCHP; Writings of the Ancient World).

Description of the Tablet

The tablet has lost too many pieces, so that every reconstruction must remain provisional. The fragments as preserved constitute the upper right part of the original tablet. Not much seems to be lost from the right part, but a considerable part, possibly two thirds, of the left part is lost. The textual remnants of the obverse measure 8 cm. height 6 cm. width. The right edge is 2.2 cm. thick, the left part 4 cm, the upper edge 2.5 cm., the lower part 4 cm.

The edition of Grayson, ABC 13A, is based on BM 32310 only. Irving Finkel has now joined the other fragments.

The tablet has the same crude handwriting as the other tablets concerning the Crown Prince (i.e., the Antiochus and Sin and Juniper Garden Chronicles).

Date

The date of the tablet is difficult to recover, but there are some clues. A king Seleucus is mentioned, and a certain Antiochus. That makes the time of Antiochus, the Crown Prince, a suitable option. In addition, the crude hand writing of the scribe is very similar to the other tablets dating to Antiochus, the Crown Prince. Finally, the word "Greek" is written lift-man-/na-a-a (rev. 5"), an idiosyncratic spelling, which also occurs in other documents of this period. Hence, it is likely that this tablet dates to the period.

General Remarks

Though details are not clear, the document seems to record repair work on the Esagila, which was indeed a concern of Antiochus I (cf. Antiochus and Sin chronicle [BCHP 5] and Ruin of Esagila chronicle [BCHP 6]). The fact that Seleucus is in Syria and that Bactria and India are mentioned as well, make it sure that the tablet postdates Seleucus' return from India ca. 302 BCE. We know that Antiochus took part in the Battle of Ipsus in 301. The chronicle may relate these events, but it is not at all certain. Another option would be the battle of Corupedium (281 BC), but Antiochus was not present there. He ruled the Eastern satrapies on behalf of his father.

Finally, the First Syrian War comes to mind (ca. 274 BC). In that period Antiochus was king, and the Astronomical Diaries report that Antiochus went from Sardes to Ebir Nari in order to fight against the troops of Egypt. On 24 Addaru 38 SE (26 March 273) the satrap of Babylonia brought out much silver, cloth, goods, and utensils from Babylon and Seleucia, the royal city, and twenty elephants, which the satrap of Bactria had sent to the king, to Ebir Nari, to (ana muthi) the king."

If we have to date our chronicle in this period, we must assume that ... |Si LUGAL in obv.13' is not Seleucus, so that the si must be the end of some Akkadian word, or the end of a name. Royal names ending in si, relevant for this period, are difficult to find. In the Diadochi Chronicle Pi-lip-i-si (obv. 26=7') and Pi-il-i-si (obv. 33=14') are preserved for Philip III Arridaeus.

Antiochus and Seleucus are never spelled with -si. If a Ptolemy was intended, we should expect "king of Egypt", rather than "king". In no Akkadian text the name Ptolemy is completely preserved. The fact remains that the chronicle's script is similar to the other documents that belong to the period of Antiochus as crown prince.)

OBVERSE

[.. .. .] aforementioned [......] the]s of Esagila..] which/of the satrap of Akkad [..] the

son? of the king immediately in order to inspect [......] of Ezida in the repair work of. ...] $x \times [.....]$ of which the Urukaean to/against [.....] the satrap of] Akkad the order of the king to] the Babylonians [.....]s the making of $x \in \mathbb{R}$ the request of the (son of the) king [...... $x \in \mathbb{R}$. That month,] day 20th, [.....], for the making of a wooden cabinet the ...]s, who are in Babylon, to a certain Hanaean $x \times [....]$ Seleucus), the king, in Transeuphratene with [...] $x \times [.....]$ Belephants* from Bactria and India [...] $x \times [.....]$ [Elephants from Bactria and India.] [....] killed (or: defeated) and he is destroying $x \in \mathbb{R}$]

[* Seleucus had obtained 500 elephants from Sandrocottus (Chandragupta Maurya), king of Magadha, in about 303 BC (Strabo of Amasia, Geography 15.2.9). These elephants (480 surviving) were used in the battle of Ipsus in Asia Minor (Diodorus of Sicily, Word History 20.113.4), which terminated the Fourth Diadoch War (307-301), in which the coalition of Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander and Lysimachus defeated the troops of Antigonus Monophthalmus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes. Antigonus died on the battle field. The phrase may refer to preparations for this battle in Syria.]

REVERSE

[.....] aforementioned [.....] an offering in the [Greek] fashion [.....] of? the king the troop[s.....] the Greek [......] x [.....] afterwards the king se[nt] [....] to the camp [.....]

[Rev.7'] the ...]s returned. Day 23th. Gold x [.....] x x x [....] in its place in the Juniper garden [.....] x he took. Month (the troops of) PN with? the troops of Antiochus did battle x-lagim his troops [.....] they established, by the sword [they (were)] killed (or: defeated)

ANTIOCHUS CYLINDER

Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Cylinder of Antiochus I Soter from the Ezida Temple in Borsippa is one of the Mesopotamian chronicles written in ancient Babylonia in the Hellenistic Period. It describes how the Seleucid crown prince Antiochus, the son of king Seleucus Nicator, rebuilt the Ezida Temple and prays for divine protection. For a very brief introduction to the literary genre of chronicles, go here.

The Antiochus Cylinder describes how the Seleucid crown prince Antiochus, the son of king Seleucus Nicator, rebuilt the Ezida Temple in Borsippa and prays for divine protection. The cuneiform text itself (BM 36277) is now in the British Museum.

On this webpage, a new reading is proposed; the official publication will be in I.L. Finkel, R.J. van der Spek, R. Pirngruber, Babylonian Chronographic Texts from the Hellenistic Period (2020; = BCHP; Writings of the Ancient World).

Description of the Cylinder

The document is a barrel-shaped clay cylinder, which had been buried in the foundations of the Ezida Temple in Borsippa. This form of foundation document is found in considerable quantities since the second millennium BC. The script of this cylinder is deliberately archaising. It is inscribed in archaic ceremonial Babylonian cuneiform script that was used in the well-known Codex of Hammurabi and adopted in a number of royal inscriptions of Neo-Babylonian kings, esp. Nabopolassar, but also Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus. The script is quite different from the cuneiform script that was used for chronicles, diaries, rituals, scientific and administrative texts.

The Antiochus cylinder is the latest one extant. Another late example is the Cyrus Cylinder, commemorating Cyrus' capture of Babylon in 539 BC. This cylinder, however, was written in normal Neo-Babylonian script.

The Antiochus Cylinder was found by Hormuzd Rassam in 1880 in Ezida, the temple of the god Nabu in Borsippa, in what must have been its original position "encased in some kiln-burnt bricks covered over with bitumen," in the "doorway" of Koldewey's Room A1: probably this was built into the eastern section of the wall between A1 and Court A, since the men of Daud Thoma, the chief foreman, seem to have destroyed much of the brickwork at this point. Rassam mistakenly records this as a cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar II.

General Commentary

Antiochus I Soter ("the Saviour;" c.324-261 BC) was the eldest son of Seleucus I Nicator and the Bactrian princess Apame. He became co-ruler with his father in 294 and at the same time married his father's second wife, Stratonice I (daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom his father had married in 298).

The last record of Seleucus as sole king is MLC 2654 [Doty 1977: 41.] on 9.II.17 SE = 13 May 295; the first tablet dated to both Seleucus and Antiochus is BM 109941 I. VIII. 18 SE = 18 November 294. [Oelsner 1986, 271.] The name of the queen is preserved in the Antiochus cylinder as Astartanikku

(As-ta-ar-ta-ni-ik-ku, ii 26), perhaps a word play on Astarte. The news of her death in Sardes is recorded in Astronomical Diary no. -253 A110; A23 (As-ta-rat-ni-qé-e), Sep/Oct 254.

Antiochus was put in charge of the so-called upper satrapies, including Mesopotamia and Babylonia. Thanks to the Babylonian chronicles we have a great deal of information about his actions in Babylon. He probably lived for a considerable time in the palace in Babylon, while the new royal city Seleucia on the Tigris was being built. Antiochus is called "crown prince" in the Antiochus and Sin Chronicle, [(ABC 11 = BCHP 5; DUMU LUGAL să É US-tum, mar sarri sa bit riduti.] settling Macedonians from Babylon in Seleucia and making offerings in two temples of Sin (Egisnugal and Enitenna). The Ruin of the Esagila Chronicle (BCHP 6) is illuminating for Antiochus' interest in the rebuilding of Esagila. He used elephants and wagons for the clearing of the site of Esagila, apparently the temple tower Etemenanki (cf. Van der Spek 2005a). The Antiochus, Bactria, and India Chronicle (BCHP 7 = ABC 13A) and the Juniper Garden Chronicle (BCHP 8) probably also date to this period.

King Seleucus meanwhile turned his attention to the west. In 281 he defeated Lysimachus, king of Thrace and western parts of Asia Minor, at Corupedium in Asia Minor, so that he acquired the greater part of this region. But Seleucus apparently wanted more: he took the opportunity to try to return to his homeland, perhaps because he was homesick. [So Memnon 12.1 FGrH 434, F. 8.1; cf. End of Seleucus I Chronicle [= BCHP 9]: r. 3': Seleucus went ana KUR Ma-akka-du-nu KUR-sú, "to Macedonia, his land".] He crossed the Hellespont, but was murdered by Ptolemy Keraunos, the son of King Ptolemy I Soter of Egypt, who, when in disgrace, had sought refuge with Seleucus. The last months of Seleucus are treated in the End of Seleucus Chronicle (ABC 12 = BCHP 9). The murder is also mentioned in the Babylonian King List of the Hellenistic Period [BM 35603: 9; RIA VI 98f, Del Monte 1997, 208.] "in the land of Hani" in month VI of year 31 SE (26 August-24 September 281).

Antiochus' first great exploit as sole king (r. 281-261) was his defeat of the Galatians, who had invaded Asia Minor, in the 'Battle of the Elephants' (275) and penned them in beyond the Halys (Galatia). 274-271 he fought the First Syrian War with Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283-246), partly described in an Astronomical Diary. [Sachs/Hunger 1988, no. -273B r. 29'-39', upper edge 1-4. The diary mentions how troops were levied and resources gathered in Babylonia, elephants moved from Bactria through the province; so much silver was collected that exchanges were paid in Greek bronze coins. Citizens of Babylon were summoned to Seleucia on the Tigris to receive orders concerning taxation and land policy. This information has been linked with the later classical report citizens of Babylon were deported Seleucia, note[Pausanias, Guide to Greece 1.16.3, referring to Seleucus.] but the new readings of Sachs and Hunger have made this interpretation untenable. [Van der Spek 1993, 97-98.] Land that was given to the Babylonians in Antiochus first year was now confiscated again or made subject to royal taxation.note[See the discussion in Aperghis 2004, 109-110.]

The end of the war is only tentatively dated at 271 BC by Édouard Will. [Will 1979: 146f.] In 271/270 BC (SEB 41) the king was encamped in Syria.note[Astronomical Diary I 354/353, no. -270 r. 18.] Not much is known about the end of Antiochus' reign. In 268 BC he was in Babylon, as this cylinder testifies.)

INTRODUCTION

Antiochus, the great king, the mighty king, king of the world, king of Babylon, king of (all) countries, caretaker of Esagila and Ezida, foremost son of Seleucus, the king, the Macedonian, king of Babylon, am I.

ANTIOCHUS REBUILDS EZIDA

When I desired to build Esagila and Ezida, the (first) bricks of Esagila and Ezida in the land of Hatti with my pure hand(s) I moulded with fine quality oil and for the laying of the doundation of Esagila and Ezida I transported them. In the month of Addaru, on the 20th day, of year 43, [In the Seleucid Era, i.e., 27 March 268 BCE.] I laid the foundation of Ezida, the true temple, the temple of Nabu, which is in Borsipna

ANTIOCHUS' PRAYER

O Nabu, lofty son, the wise one of the gods, the proud one, who is eminently worthy19 of praise, firstborn son of Marduk, offspring of Erua the queen, who creates offspring, regard me joyfully and, at your lofty command which is unchanging, may the overthrow of the country of my enemy, [Note that "country" and "enemy" (twice) are expressed in the singular form. Hence a specific enemy may have been intended. We know that Antiochus was encamped in Syria in 270/1 BC, possibly still because of the First Syrian war with Ptolemaic Egypt (Astronomical Diary I 354/3, no. -270 r. 18). We also know that Antiochus was in Syria when he made the first stone for Ezida (this cylinder i.10). We suspect that this

prayer to Nabu was first of all a prayer for a victory over Ptolemaic Egypt. The fact that the first brick was laid by Antiochus only in 268 BC need not alter this supposition.] the achievement of my triumphs, the predominance over the enemy through victory, kingship of justice, a reign of prosperity, years of happiness, (and) the full enjoyment of very old age be the gift for the kingship of Antiochus and king Seleucus, his son, for ever. O Son of the Prince (Marduk), Nabu, son of Esagila, first-born son of Marduk, offspring of queen Erua: at your entry into Ezida, the true house, the house of your Anu-ship, the dwelling of your heart's desire, with rejoicing and jubilation, may - at your true command, which cannot be annulled - my days be long, my years many, may my throne be secure, my reign long-lasting, on your sublime writing board which sets the boundary of heaven and earth. May my good (fate) constantly be established in your pure mouth, may my hands conquer the countries from sunrise o sunset that I might inventory their tribute

[ii.20] and bring it to make perfect Esagila and Ezida. O Nabu, foremost son, when you enter Ezida, the true house, may good (fate) for Antiochus, king of (all) countries,

[ii.25] king Seleucus, his son, (and) Stratonice, his consort, the queen, may their good (fate), be established by your command (lit: in/by your mouth).

URUK KING LIST, KINGLIST 5

Estimated Range of Dating:

(The Uruk King List (also known as "King List 5" and ANET3 566) is an important historiographical document from ancient Babylonia. It mentions the length of the reigns of several kings, beginning with Kandalanu (r. 647-627) and continuing to the Seleucid king Seleucus II Callinicus (r. 246-226/225). Together the Babylonian King List of the Greek Period, the Uruk King Isis is a useful text for those who are reconstructing the chronology of Babylonia in the late fourth to mid-second centuries.

Unless it was stolen when the museum was looted in April 2003, the cuneiform tablet (IM 65066) is in the Bagdad Museum. In the Grand Bible, you will find a slightly adapted transcription by A.K. Grayson, from the Reallexikon der Assyriologie, s.v. "Königslisten und Chroniken".

Chronological notes have been added; the right-hand column is a modern approximation of regnal dates.

Description of the tablet

This list of kings of Babylonia and their regnal years, which appears on a fragment from the middle of a small tablet found at Uruk, covers in its preserved portion the period (obverse) from Kandalanu (r.647-627 BC) to Darius I (522-486 BC) and from (reverse) Darius III (r.335-331 BC) to Seleucus II (r.246-226/225 BC). The script is late Babylonian and the tablet was obviously inscribed some time after the reign of Seleucus II)

Text:

OBVERSE

- 1. mu* 21; Assur-bani-apli (ruled 21 years; Assurbanipal); |* "mu" means "ruled." The reconstruction of lines 1-2 was proposed by R. Borger. Assurbanipal was king of Assyria in 668-631, and appointed his brothers Samas-suma-ukin and Kandalanu as kings of Babylonia.]; 668-631 BC.
- 2. sa-nis; Samas-suma-ukin (ruled at the same time; Samas-suma-ukin); 667-648 BC.
- 3. mu 21; Kan-da-la-an (ruled 21 years; Kandalanu); 647-627 BC.
- 4. mu 1; Sin-sumu-lisir (ruled 1 year; Sin-sumlisir) [Sin-sumlisir and Sin-sar-iskun acted together as some sort of Assyrian governors.]; 626 BC.
- 5. mu 1; Sin-sarra-is-ku-un (ruled 1 year; Sin-sar-iskun); 626 BC.
- 6. mu 21; Nabu-apla-usur (ruled 21 years; Nabopolassar); 626-605 BC [According to the Babylonian chronicle known as ABC 2, the Babylonian general Nabopolassar was recognised as king on 23 November 626.].
- 7. mu 43; Nabu-kudduri-usur (ruled 43 years; Nebuchadnezzar II); 604-562 BC.
- 8. mu 2; Amil-Marduk (ruled 2 years; Amel-Marduk); 561-560 BC.
- 9. mu 3; 8 iti; Nergal-sarra-usur (ruled 3 years, 8 months; Neriglissar); $559-556\,\mathrm{BC}.$
- 10. [...] 3 iti; La-ba-si-Marduk (ruled 3 months [at the end of 556]; The tablet leaves space for something like "mu 1."); (Labasi-Marduk); 556 BC.
- 11. mu 17; Nabu-na'id (ruled 17 years; Nabonidus); 555-539 BC.
- 12. mu []; Kur-as (ruled c. 9 years; Cyrus the Great); 539-530 BC.
- 13. mu []; Kambu-zi-i (ruled c. 8 years; Cambyses II); 530-522 BC
- 14. mu []; Daria-mus (ruled c. 64 years; Darius the Great); 522-486 BC.

REVERSE

- 1. sá mu sá-nu-ú; Nidin-Bel; (ruled unknown time; [2nd name] Nidin-Bel [The Uruk King List is the only evidence that the reign of the Achaemenid king Darius III Codomannus was preceded by a ruler named Nidin-Bel. A scribal error is likely, but it must be noted that the chaotic transition from Artaxerxes III Ochus to Darius III leaves sufficient room for a short-lived Babylonian rebellion: in Egypt, a native ruler named Khababash revolted, in the far west, the Yaunâ were restless, and according to the Dynastic prophecy even Darius started his career as a rebel satrap.); 336 BC.
- 2. mu 5; Da-ra-a-mus (ruled 5 years; Darius III Codomannus); 336-331 BC.
- 3. mu 7; A-lik-sa-an-dar (ruled 7 years; Alexander the Great); 331-323 BC.
- 4. mu 6; Pi-il-ip-su (ruled 6 years; Philip III Arridaeus); 323-317 BC.
- 5. mu 6; At-tu-gu-un (ruled 6 years; Antigonus the One-eyed); $317\text{-}311\,\mathrm{BC}.$
- 6. mu 31; Si-lu-ku (ruled 31 years; Seleucus I Nicator; (Nikator, Greek: "the Conqueror")); 311-281 BC.
 7. mu 22 [Twenty-two years is probably a scribal error.];
- An-ti-'u-ku-su (ruled 22 years; Antiochus I Soter; "the Saviour"); 281-261 BC.
- 8. mu 15; An-ti-'u-ku-su (ruled 15 years; Antiochus II Theos; "the God"); 261-246 BC.
- 9. [mu 20] [not readable]; Si-lu-ku (c. 20 years; Seleucus II Callinicus); 246-225 BC.

MANDAEAN SCRIPTURE

(Mandaeism or Mandaeanism (from Mandaic: Mandaiuta, "having knowledge") is a monotheistic religion still surviving in Iraq and Khuzistan (southwest Iran). Originally, Mandaeism was practiced mainly in the countries around the lower Euphrates and Tigris and the rivers that surround the Shatt-al-Arab waterway. Today, this area belongs to Iraq and Khuzestan Province in Iran. Because they were persecuted in that area, many Mandaeans have left that area and now live abroad. This is commonly called diaspora. Most left for Europe, Australia and North America. The religion is usually treated as a Gnostic sect; it resembles Manichaeism in some respects. The religion has a strong dualistic world view. Mandaeans, think highly of Adam, Abel, Seth, Enosh, Noah, Shem, Aram and especially John the Baptist.

Mandaeanism is the oldest surviving Gnostic religion originating somewhere in the first century AD. Some scholars, emphasising the Babylonian elements in Mandaean magical texts, use of the Iranian calendar, and the incorporation of several Iranian words into the Mandaic language, argue that Mandaeanism originated in the area of southwestern Mesopotamia in early Christian or even pre-Christian times. Others argue for a Syro-Palestinian origin, basing their case on the quasi-historical Mandaean document, the Haran Gawaita, which narrates the exodus from Palestine to Mesopotamia in the 1st century AD of a group called Nazoreans (which is just another name for Ebionites and Essenes). And so it is not really a surprise that Mandaeans have certain affinities to Judaism The familiarity of Mandaeans with Old Testament writings; parallels to Jewish ethics, particularly the high value placed on marriage and procreation; concern for cultic purity; and the use of Hebrew angelology speak for themselves.

Like other dualistic systems, Mandaeanism stresses salvation of the soul through esoteric knowledge (gnosis) of its divine origin. In its cosmological superstructure, evil Archons (rulers) obstruct the ascent of the soul through the heavenly spheres to reunion with the supreme deity. Unlike many Gnostic systems, however, Mandaeanism strongly supports marriage and forbids sexual license. The Mandaeans also developed an elaborate cultic ritual, particularly for baptism, which was not characteristic of any other known Gnostic sect but for Judaism and Zoroastrianism.

Mandaean Beliefs

Mandeism is the religion of the Mandaean people. It is based on a common history and heritage. There is no fixed set of religious creeds and doctrines. A basic guide to Mandaean theology does not exist. The corpus of Mandaean literature is quite large. It also covers topics such as eschatology, the knowledge of God, and the afterlife. It only does this in an unsystematic manner. Apart from the priests, very few people know it. The basic beliefs of the Mandaeans can be characterised by a dozen features, of which one or the other may also appears in other religions or gnostic sects:

- 1. There is a supreme entity without form. It expressed itself by creating a number of spiritual, etheric, and material worlds and beings. There is a Creator which came from it, and produced all these worlds and beings. The cosmos is created by Archetypal Man, who produces it resembling to his own shape.
- 2. Dualism: a cosmic Father and Mother, Light and Darkness, Right and Left, syzygy in cosmic and microcosmic form.
- 3. As a feature of this dualism, counter-types, a world of ideas.
- 4. The soul is portrayed as an exile, a captive: her home and origin is the supreme Entity to which she eventually returns.
- 5. Planets and stars influence fate and human beings, and are also places of detention after death.6. A saviour spirit or saviour spirits which assist the soul on
- her journey through life and after it to 'worlds of light'.
- 7. A cult-language of symbol and metaphor. Ideas and qualities are personified.
- 8. 'Mysteries', i.e. sacraments to help and purify the soul, to ensure her rebirth into a spiritual body, and her ascent from the world of matter. These are often adaptations of existing seasonal and traditional rites to which an esoteric interpretation is attached. In the case of the Nasoreans this interpretation is based on the Creation story (see 1 and 2), especially on the Divine Man, Adam, as crowned and anointed King-priest.
- 9. Great secrecy is enjoined upon initiates; full explanation of 1, 2, and 8 is reserved for those considered able to understand and preserve the gnosis.
- 10. There is a strict division between Mandaean laity and the priests. Those amongst the community who possess secret knowledge are called Nasuraiia Nazoreans. At the same time the ignorant or semi-ignorant laity are called 'Mandaeans', Mandaiia 'gnostics'. When a man becomes a priest he leaves 'Mandaeanism' and enters tarmiduta, 'priesthood'. Even then he has not attained to true enlightenment, for this, called 'Nasiruta', is reserved for a very few. Those possessed of its

secrets may call themselves Nazoreans, and 'Nazorean' today indicates not only one who observes strictly all rules of ritual purity, but one who understands the secret doctrine.

- 11. Mandaeans believe in marriage and procreation, and in the importance of leading an ethical and moral lifestyle in this world. They put a high priority on family life. Consequently, Mandaeans do not practice celibacy or asceticism. Mandaeans will, however, abstain from strong drink and red meat. They look forward to a future liberated from the influence of the Torah, which they consider to be evil in origin. While they agree with other gnostic sects that the world is a prison governed by the planetary archons, they do not view it as a cruel and inhospitable one.
- 12. Mandaeans have several prophets, Iahia or Iuhana "John the Baptiser" has a special status, higher than his role in Christianity and Islam. Mandaeans do not consider John to be the founder of their religion. They only worship him as one of their greatest teachers. They trace their beliefs back to Adam. Mandaeans maintain that Jesus was a meshiha kadaba "a false messiah" who changed the teachings given to him by John. This knowledge might go back to the fact that the Ebionites (the Jewish Christians around James the brother of Jesus) knew that Saul of Tarsos (Paul the Apostle) had created his own version of Christianity. This also means that Mandaeanism grew out of the Ebionites and Zoroastrians. Later, this knowledge was suppressed by the Pauline Christians. Likewise, the Mandaeans believe that Abraham, Moses, and Muhammad were false prophets, but recognise other prophetic figures from the monotheistic traditions, such as Adam, his sons Hibil (Abel) and Sitil (Seth), and his grandson Anus (Enosh), as well as Nuh (Noah), his son Sam (Shem) and his son Ram (Aram). The latter three they consider to be their direct ancestors.

Related Groups

According to the Fihrist of ibn al-Nadim, Mani, the bunder of Manichaeism, was brought up within the Elkasaites (Elcesaites or Elchasaite) sect. The Elkasaites were a Christian baptismal sect which may have been related to the Mandaeans. The members of this sect wore white and performed baptisms like the Mandaeans. They lived in east Judea and northern Mesopotamia. According to the Harran Gawaita legend, the Mandaeans migrated to southern Mesopotamia from there. Mani later left the Elkasaites to start his own religion. Mandaean scholar Säve-Söderberg showed that Mani's Psalms of Thomas were closely related to Mandaean texts. This would imply that Mani had access to Mandaean religious literature. Other groups which have been identified with the Mandaeans include the "Nasoraeans", described by Epiphanius, and the Dositheans, mentioned by Theodore Bar Kōni in his Scholion. Ibn al-Nadim also mentions a group called the Mughtasila, "the self-ablutionists," who may be identified with one or the other of these groups. The members of this sect, like the Mandaeans, wore white and performed baptisms

Mandaean Religious Texts

The Mandaeans have many religious texts. Among the more important extant Mandaean writings are: the Rba Ginza (speak: Genza Rabba), a cosmological treatise; the Book of John the Baptiser (describing the activities of John the Baptis); the Book of the Zodiac, a collection of magical and astrological texts; and the Baptism of Hibil Ziwa, describing the purification of the heavenly saviour of the Mandaeans.

The Ginza Rba "The Great Treasury" or Sidra Rba "The Great Book", and formerly the Codex Nazaraeus, is the longest of the many holy scriptures of Mandaeism. It is also occasionally referred to as The Book of Adam. The Ginza is a collection of history, theology, and prayers. The Ginza Rba is divided into two halves — the Genza Smala or "Left Ginza" and the Genza Yemina or "Right Ginza". Before the printing press was invented, people copied texts by hand. The people doing this were called scribes. Each person's handwriting is special in certain ways. This was the same with scribes. A scribe might join two letters in a certain way, or he might do the dots on those letters that have them in a special way. Jorunn J. Buckley looked at these special marks the copyists left in the Left Ginza. That way he was able to show that the copying of that text goes back to the to the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD. These special marks show that the Mandaeans existed during the late Arsacid period at the very latest. A legend called Haran Gawaita (Harran Gaweta) also strengthens this. According to this legend, the Mandaeans (at that time known as Ebionites) left Palestine after the destruction of Jerusalem in the 1st century AD and settled inside the Arsacid empire. Although the Ginza continued to evolve under the rule of the Sassanids and the Islamic empires, few textual traditions can lay claim to such extensive continuity

Other important books include the Qolasta, the "Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans," which was translated by E.S. Drower. One of the most important works of Mandaean scripture is the Drasa d-lahia "the Book of John the Baptist". This book is accessible to both laymen and initiates. There are

also many other religious texts such as ritual commentaries, which are generally only consulted by the members of the priesthood. The language in which the Mandaean religious interature was originally written is known as Mandaic, and is an Aramaic dialect. It is written in a cursive variant of the Parthian chancellory script. The majority of Mandaean lay people do not speak this language. Some members of the Mandaean community in Iran (about 300-500 out of a total of ca. 5000 Iranian Mandaeans) continue to speak Neo-Mandaic, a modern version of this language.

Persecution

Mandaeans were target of Pauline Christians but their deadliest enemy has been Islam since Koran, Sira, and Hadith prescribe "kill the Kafir (non-Muslims) where ever you find them . . . cut off their limbs from opposite sides und crucify them." (See: Grand Bible, Section Islam, pp. 4353) Tyrants like Timur took that literally and killed hundreds of thousands of Mandaeans (as well as Manichaeans, Zoroastrians, Jews, Christians, Hindus, and Buddhists). For this reason, the Mandaeans (like the Zoroastrians) have remained separate and intensely private—what has been reported of them and their religion has come primarily from outsiders, particularly from the Orientalists J. Heinrich Petermann, Nicholas Siouffi, and Lady Ethel Drower. In modern times, under Saddam Hussein, the Mandeans were recognised as a religious minority. Many of them are craftspeople, like smiths or traders of gold and silver. These people belonged to the middle classes. Since the change of government in Iraq, Muslims have harassed them. There are also reports of attacks on women who refuse to veil themselves. Most Iraqi Mandaeans have fled as a result, and the Mandaean community in Iraq faces extinction.

There were over 60,000 Mandaeans in Iraq in the early 1990s. In 2007, only about 5,000 to 7,000 remain there; over 80% of Iraqi Mandaeans were refugees in Syria and Jordan. This is a result of the Iraq War. There are small Mandaean populations in Australia (c. 3,500 as of 2006), Canada, the USA (c. 1,500), the UK (c. 1,000) and Sweden (c. 5,000). In Iran, Mandeans are prohibited from fully participating in civil life because of Gozinesh Law. In Iran, the Gozinesh Law (passed in 1985) has the effect of prohibiting a number of religious and ethnic minorities from fully participating in civil life. This law and other gozinesh provisions make access to employment, education, and a range of other areas conditional upon a rigorous ideological screening, the principal prerequisite for which is devotion to the tenets of Islam. These laws are regularly applied to discriminate against religious and ethnic groups that are not officially recognised, such as the Mandaeans, Ahl-e Haq, and followers of the Bahá'í Faith. The western countries, the lovers of human rights, stayed silent when Mandaeans, Yazidis, and Eastern Christians were raped and slaughtered by ISIS, until President Donald Trump commanded his US-troops to make an end of this havoc)

THE GNOSTIC BOOK OF JOHN THE BAPTISER

Selection; and Passages Slavonic Josephus' Account which are not part of the Greek Josephus' Account Translation: George Robert Stowe Mead, 1924 Estimated Range of Dating: 1st - 5th centuries A.D.

MANDAEAN JOHN CHAPTER 1 IN THE BEGINNING (§ 13).

(That the Mandaean religion preserves echoes of a wealth of ancient mythical elements found in Iranian, Babylonian and Semitic traditions is evident on all hands. A process of syncretism had presumably gone on for generations before an impulse from within caused the blending to assume a distinctively Mandaean form; and when this emerged, the preservation of the memory of the process had no interest for the faith and fell back into the depths of the subconscious. At any-rate the writers or recorders of the tractates throughout seem honestly persuaded of the complete independence of their tradition from every other form of religion. They are for ever proclaiming the blessings of loyalty to what they claim to be the original, the one and only, revelation of Truth vouchsafed to the world throughout the ages, and declaring that continued spiritual contact with instructors from on high who mediated this divine wisdom, was still possible. They certainly do not give one the idea of being intellectualists consciously at work on a syncretic synthesis of prior material; on the contrary they seem to live and move in a milieu of prophetical outpourings and to have been extremely sensitive to psychical impressions. Inspirational discourses and intuitive interpretations of prophetical utterances seem to have been their delight. The following piece may enable the reader to sense somewhat of the peculiar atmosphere of mystical expectancy in which they sought instruction. The topic is one of the chief points of their questioning—the conflict that arose between the Light and the Darkness in the beginnings and how victory is to be achieved. They were not of course absolute Dualists, for always and everywhere victory lies with Life Everlasting, who transcends not only the Darkness but also the Light.)

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified. To you I say and declare, ye chosen and perfect, ye who dwell in the world: Become not of the Darkness a portion, but lift up your eyes to Light's region. From the Evil unto the Good separate yourselves out; from the sinful evil of the region of Darkness separate yourselves out. Love and instruct one another, that your sin and your guilt be forgiven you. See and hear and get you instructed, that ye may ascend to Light's region victorious.

The good sit there and are in search; and all who are understanding let themselves be instructed. The good speak, take counsel together and say: "Who will come, who tell me, who will set it forth for me, who give me instruction? Who will come, who will tell me whether there was "one" King or "two" in the beginning?" The good speak and let themselves be instructed.

"Two Kings were there, two natures were fashioned—a King of this world and a King from outside of the worlds. The King of this age girt on a sword and put on a crown of Darkness. A crown of Darkness he put on his head, and took a sword in his right hand. A sword he took in his right hand; he stands there and slaughters his sons, and his sons slaughter each other. The King from outside of the worlds set a crown of Light on his head. A crown of Light he set on his head, and took Truth in his right hand. Truth in his right hand he took, and stands there and instructs his sons. He stands there and instructs one another."

"Who will come, who tell me what was before this? When the heaven was not yet outspread and stars were not yet in it figured, when the earth was not yet condensed and into the water no condensation had fallen, when sun and moon came not as yet into this world, how was the soul then?"

"When the soul still sat in the Bowl, she felt neither hunger nor thirst. When the soul still sat in the Bowl, she had no pains and no faults. When the soul still sat in the Bowl, she felt no cold and no heat. When she still sat in the Bowl, the locks on her forehead2 were incurled, and an aether-crown sat on her head. Her eyes were like light-rays, and they gazed on the region of the House of Great Life. Her mouth was of purest perfection, and sang the praise of the King of Light's region.

"From the day when the Wicked began to think, evil pictured itself forth in him. He fell into great wrath and ventured a fight with the Light. The Envoy was sent to tread down the power of the rebels.

"They brought living water and into the muddy water they poured it. They brought light-giving light and into the gloomful darkness they cast it. They brought the delightsome wind and into the frantic wind cast it. They brought the living fire and into the consuming fire cast it. They brought the soul. the pure mind, and into the vain body cast it.

"Out of fire and of water was the one heaven spread out. Out of fire and of water have they made dense the earth on the anvil.4 Out of fire and of water fruits, grapes and trees did arise. Out of fire and of water was imaged the corporeal Adam.

"They fashioned the Envoy and to be head of the generations they sent him. With heavenly voice he called hence into the worlds' disquiet. At the call of the Envoy Adam, who lay there, I awoke. Adam, who lay there, awoke and went forth to meet the Envoy. 'Come in peace, O Envoy, Life's Messenger, who hast come from the House of my Father. How firmly is planted withal dear, beautiful Life in his region! But how meanly for me has a stool been set up and my dark form sits on it lamenting."

"Thereon the Envoy made answer and spake to the corporeal Adam: 'Thy throne has been set up in beauty, O Adam; and 't is thy form sits here lamenting. All2 were mindful of thee for thy good and fashioned and sent me to thee. I am come and will give thee instruction, O Adam, and free thee from this world. Give ear and hearken and get thee instructed, and mount to Light's region victorious."

Adam gave ear and had faith.—Hail to him who gives ear after thee and has faith! Adam received the Truth.—Hail to him who receives the Truth after thee! Adam looked up full of hope and ascended.—Hail to him who ascends after thee!

Give ear and hearken and let yourselves be instructed, ye perfect, and ascend to Light's region victorious.

And praisèd be Life.

PORTENTS AT JOHN'S BIRTH (§ 18).

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorifed. A Child was planted out of the height, a mystery revealed in Jerusalem.2 The priests saw dreams; chill seized on their children. chill seized on Jerusalem.

Early in the morning he went to the temple. He opened his mouth in blasphemy and his lips of lying. He opened his mouth in blasphemy and spake to all of the priests:

"In my vision of the night I beheld, I beheld in my vision. When I lay there, I slept not and rested not, and sleep came not to me by night. I slept not and rested not, and I beheld

that a star appeared and stood over Enishbai. Fire burned in Old Father (Aba Saba) Zakhria;5 three heaven-lights appeared.6 The sun sank and the lights rose. Fire lit up the house of the people (synagogue), smoke rose over the temple. A quaking quaked in the Throne-chariot, 1 so that Earth removed from her seat. A star flew down into Judaea, a star flew down into Jerusalem. The sun appeared by night, and the moon rose by day."

When the priests heard this, they cast dust on their head. Yaqif the priest weeps and Beni-Amin's tears flow. 2 Shilai and Shalbai3 cast dust on their heads. Elizar4 the chief priest opened his mouth and spake unto all of the priests: "Yaqif interprets dreams, but as yet he has no understanding of these. Beni-Amin interprets dreams; is he not a man who discloses your secrets? Tab-Yomin gives us no revelation, though you deem he can give information on all that is and that is not.

Earth groans out of season and is sent a-whirl through the heaven-spheres. Earth2 opens her mouth and speaks to Elizar: "Go to Lilyukh,3 that he may interpret the dreams you have seen," Thereon Elizar opened his mouth and spake unto all of the priests: "Who goes to Lilyukh, that he may interpret the dreams you have seen?" Then wrote they a letter and put it in the hand of Tab-Yomin. Tab-Yomin took the letter and betook himself to Lilyukh, Lilyukh lay on his bed; sleep had not yet flown from him. A quaking came into his heart, shivered his heart and brought it down from its stay, Tab-Yomin drew near to Lilyukh, Tab-Yomin stepped up to Lilyukh, shook him out of his sleep and spake to him: "The priests saw dreams, the above paragraph is repeated verbally down to and the moon rose by day."

When Lilyukh heard this, he cast dust on his head. Naked, Lilyukh rose from his bed and fetched the dream-book. He opens it and reads in it and looks for what stands there written. He opens it and reads therein and interprets the dreams in silence without reading aloud. He writes them in a letter and expounds them on a leaf. In it he says to them: "Woe unto you, all of you priests, for Enishbai shall bear a child. Woe unto you, ye rabbis, for a child shall be born in Jerusalem. Woe unto you, ye teachers and pupils, for Enishbai shall bear a child, woe unto you, Mistress Torah (Law of Moses). for Yohana shall be born in Jerusalem."

Lilyukh writes unto them in the letter and says to them: "The star, that came and stood over Enishbai: A child will be planted out of the height from above; he comes and will be given unto Enishbai. The fire, that burned in Old Father Zakhria: Yohana will be born in Jerusalem."

Tab-Yomin took the letter and in haste made off to Jerusalem. He came and found all the priests sitting in sorrow. He took the letter and laid it in the hand of Elizar. He (E.) opens it and reads it and finds in it wondrous discourses. He opens it and reads it and sees what stands therein written. He reads it in silence and gives them no decision about it. Elizar then took it and laid it in the hand of Old Father Zakhria. He (Z.) opens it and reads it and sees what stands therein written. He reads it in silence and gives no decision about it. Elizar now opened his mouth and spake to Old Father Zakhria: "Old Father, get thee gone from Judaea, lest thou stir up strife in Jerusalem." Old Father then raised his right hand and smote on the head Elizar: "Elizar, thou great house, thou head of all the priests! If thou in thy inner [part] knewest thy mother, thou wouldst not dare come into our synagogue. If thou in thy inner [part] knewest, thou wouldst not dare read the Torah. For thy mother was a wanton. 1 A wanton was she, who did not match with the house of her husband's father. As thy father had not the hundred gold staters for writing her the bill of divorcement, he abandoned her straightway and enquired not for her. Is there a day when I come and look forth,2 and see not Misha bar Amra? Yea, is there a day when I come without praying in your synagogue, that you (pl.) should be false and dishonest and say a word which you have ne'er heard about me? Where is there a dead man who becomes living again, that Enishbai should bear a child? Where is there a blind man who becomes seeing, where is there a lame man for whom his feet walk again, and where is there a mute who learns [to read in] a book, that Enishbai should bear a child? It is two and twenty years to-day that I have seen no wife. Nay. neither through me nor through you will Enishbai bear a

Then all of the priests arose and said to Old Father Zakhria, [they said] in reproach: "Be at rest and keep thy seat, Old Father, and let the calm of the Good (pl.) rest upon thee. Old p. 39 Father, if there were no dreams in Judaea, then would all that Misha has said, be lying. Rather shall thy word and our word be made good, and the dreams we have seen. Yohana will receive Jordan and be called prophet in Jerusalem."

Thereon Old Father removed himself from their midst, and Elizar followed him. Then were seen three lamps (lights) which companied with him (Z.). They (the priests) ran up, caught Old Father by the hem of his robe and said to him: "Old Father, what is 't that goes before thee, and what is 't that follows thee?" Then answered he them: "O Elizar, thou great house, thou head of all of the priests, I know not whom the lights guard which go before me. I know not with whom

the fire goes which follows me. But neither through me nor through you will Enishbai bear a child."

Then all the priests rose and said to Old Father Zakhria, they said in reproach: "Old Father Zakhria, be at peace, firm and decided, for the child will be planted from out of the most high height and be given to thee in thy old age. Yohana will be born, Yohana will receive Jordan and be called prophet in Jerusalem. We will be baptised with his baptising and with his pure sign will we be signed. We will take his bread and drink his drink and with him ascend to Light's region."

All the priests arose and said to Old Father Zakhria, they said in reproach: "Old Father! We will enlighten thee as to thy race! and thy fathers, from whom thou hast come forth. there follows a list of prophets and sages, beginning with Moses, which I omit, as it requires a lengthy commentary for which space here does not serve,—ending with Tab-Yomin and the school-teachers have come forth from thy race. The blessed princes, who are thy forbears, Old Father, all of them have taken no wife and begotten no sons. 2 Yet in their old age3 each of them had a son. They had sons, and they were prophets in Jerusalem. If now out of thee as well a prophet comes forth, thou dost then revive this race again. Yea, Yohana will be born and will be called prophet in Jerusalem."

Then Elizar opened his mouth and said to Old Father: "Old Father! If Yohana receives Jordan, then will I be his servant, be baptised with his baptising and signed with his pure sign. We will take his bread and drink his drink and with him ascend to Light's region." Then Old Father opened his mouth and said unto all of the priests: "If the child comes out of the most high height, what then will you do in Jerusalem?"

They have taken the child out of the basin of Jordan and laid him in the womb of Enishbai.

Life is victorious and victorious is the Man who has come

JOHN'S PROCLAMATION CONCERNING HIMSELF AND HIS ASSUMPTION OF THE PROPHET'S MANTLE (§ 19).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

Yahva proclaims in the nights and says: "Through my Father's discourses I give light and through the praise of the Man, my creator, I have freed my soul from the world and from the works that are hateful and wrong. The Seven5 put question to me, the Dead who have not seen Life, and they say: "In whose strength dost thou stand there, and with whose praise dost thou make proclamation?" Thereon I gave to them answer: "I stand in the strength of my Father and with the praise of the Man, my creator. I have built no house in Judaea, have set up no throne in Jerusalem. I have not loved the wreath of the roses, not commerce with lovely women. I have not loved the defective, I not loved the cup of the drunkards. I have loved no food of the body, and envy has found no place in me. I have not forgotten my night-prayer, not forgotten wondrous Jordan. I have not forgot my baptising, not forgot my pure sign. I have not forgot Sun-day,2 and the Day's evening has not condemned me. I have not forgot Shilmai and Nibdai,3 who dwell in the House of the Mighty. They clear me and let me ascend; they know no fault, no defect is in me."

When Yahya said this, Life rejoiced over him greatly. The Seven sent him their greeting and the Twelve made obeisance before him. They said to him: "Of all these words which thou hast spoken, thou hast not said a single one falsely. Delightful and fair is thy voice, and none is an equal to thee. Fair is thy discourse in thy mouth and precious thy speech, which has been bestowed upon thee. The vesture which First Life did give unto Adam, the Man, 6 the vesture which First Life did give unto Shurbai,1 the Man, the vesture which First Life did give unto Shurbai,1 the Man, the vesture which First Life did give unto Shurbai,1 the Man, the vesture which First Life did give unto Shurbai,1 the Man, the vesture which First Life did give unto Shurbai, 1 the Man, the vesture which First Life did give unto Shurbai, 2—has He given now unto thee. He hath given it thee, O Yahya, that thou mayest ascend, and with thee may those ascend The house of defect3 will be left behind in the desert.4 Everyone who shall be found sinless, will ascend to thee to the Light's region; he who is not found sinless, will be called to account in the guard-houses."5

And Life is victorious.

JOHN'S LIGHT-SHIP (§ 20).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

Yahya proclaims in the nights and says: "In the name of Him who is wondrous and all-surpassing! The Sun sat in his Court (i.e. Corona Borealis, the Northern Crown constellation), and the Moon sat in the Dragon (Draco constellation). The Four Winds (cardinal points) of the House (sky) get them gone on their wings (rotate) and blow not."

The Sun opened his mouth and spake unto Yahya: "Thou hast three head-bands and a crown which equals in worth the whole world. Thou hast a ship of mashkili,3 which sails about here on the Jordan. Thou hast a great vessel which sails about here 'twixt the waters.4 If thou goest to the House of the Great One, remember us in the Great's presence." Thereon Yahya, opened his mouth and spake to the Sun in Jerusalem:

"Thou enquirest about the head-bands, may the Perfect (pl.) watch over thy crown. This mashkill-ship they have carpentered together 5 with glorious splendour. On the vessel that sails 'twixt the waters, the seal of the King has been set. She who in thy house? plays the wanton, goes hence and approaches the dung-house; she seeks to have children from her own proper spouse, and she does not find them. If she then has fulfilled her vow, and she departs, she is unworthy for the House of the Life and will not he alotted to the Light Dwelling.

And praisèd be Life.

JOHN THE ASCETIC (§ 21).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

Yahya proclaims in the nights and speaks: "Stand not I here alone? I go to and fro. Where is a prophet equal to me? Who makes proclamation equal to my proclamations, and who doth discourse with my wondrous voice?"

When Yahya thus spake, the two women weep. Miryai and Enishbai weep, and for both tears flow. They say: "We will go hence, and do thou stay here; see that thou dost not bring us to stumble.—I (M.) will go hence, and do thou stay here; see that thou dost not bring me to stumble.—I (E.) will go hence, and do thou stay here; see that thou dost not fill me with sorrow."

Then Yahya opened his mouth and spake to Enishbai in Jerusalem: "Is there any who could take my place in the height? Is there any who could take my place in the height, so that thou mayest pay for me ransom? If thou canst pay for me ransom, then bring thy jewels and ransom me. If thou canst pay for me ransom, then bring thy pearls and ransom me. If thou canst pay for me ransom, then bring thy gold and ransom me."2

Thereon Enishbai opened her mouth and spake to Yahya in Jerusalem: "Who is thy equal in Judaea, who is thy equal in Jerusalem, that I should look on him and forget thee?' "Who is my equal, who is my equal, that thou shouldst look on him and forget me? Before my voice and the voice of my proclamations the Torah disappeared in Jerusalem. Before the voice of my discourse the readers read no more in Jerusalem. The wantons cease from their lewdness, and the women go not forth to the Hither to me come the brides in their wreaths, and their tears flow down to the earth. The child in the womb of his mother heard my voice and did weep. The merchants trade not in Judaea, and the fishers fish not in Jerusalem.1 The women of Israel dress not in dresses of colour,2 the brides wear no gold and the ladies no jewels. Women and men look no more at their face in a mirror. Before my voice and the voice of my proclamations the water rose up to the pillars.3 Because of my voice and the voice of my proclamations the fish brought to me their greetings. Before my voice and the voice of my proclamations the birds made obeisance and said: "Well for thee, and again well for thee. Yahva, and well for the Man whom thou dost worship, Thou hast set thyself free and won thy release, O Yahya, and left the world empty. The women have not led thee away with their lewdness, and their words have not made thee distracted. Through sweet savours and scents thou hast not forgotten thy Lord from thy mind. Thou has not made thyself drunken with wine and hast done no deeds of impiety. No backsliding has seized on thee in Jerusalem. Thou hast set thyself free and won thy release and set up thy throne for thee in Life's House."

And Life is victorious.

OF JUDGEMENT-DAY (§ 25).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

Yahya proclaims and speaks: "Ye nobles, who lie there, ye ladies, who will not awaken, -ye who lie there, what will you do on the Day of the Judgement? When the soul strips off the body, on Judgement-Day what will you do? O thou distracted, jumbled-up world in ruin! Thy men die, and thy false scriptures are closed. Where is Adam, the First Man, who was here head of the aeon? Where is Hawwa (Eve), his wife, out of whom the world was awakened to life? Where is Shit-il (Seth), son of Adam, out of whom worlds and aeons arose? Where is Ram and Rud, who belonged to the Age of the Sword? Where are Shurbai and Shar-hab-el, who belonged to the Age of the Fire? Where is Shum bar Nu (Shem, son of Noah), who belonged to the Age of the Flood? All have departed and have not returned and taken their seats as Guardians in this world. The Last Day is like a feast-day, for which the worlds and the aeons are waiting. The Planets are like fatted oxen, who stand there for the Day of the Slaughter. The children of this world are like fat rams, who stand in the markets for sale. But as for my friends, who pay homage to Life, their sins and trangressions will be forgiven them.'

And Life is victorious.

THE LETTER OF TRUTH (§ 26).

[The introductory formula and beginning of this piece are missing from the Manuscripts]

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[Yohana is apparently speaking.]

I TAKE no delight in the aeons, I take no delight in all of the worlds, I take no delight in the aeons by the Letter of Truth3 which has come hither.

They took the Letter and put it in the hand of the Jews. These open it, read in it and see that it does not contain what they would, that it does not contain what their soul wills. They took the letter and put it in the hand of Yohana. "Take, Rab Yohana," say they to him, "Truth's Letter, which has come here to thee from thy Father." Yohana opened it and read it and saw in it a wondrous writing. He opened it and read in it and became full of life. 2 "This is," says he, "what I would, and this does my soul will."

Yohana has left his body; his brothers make proclamations, his brothers proclaim unto him on the Mount, on Mount Karmel. They took the Letter and brought it to the Mount, to Mount Karmel. They read out of the Letter to them and explain to them the writing,—to Yaqif and Beni-Amin and Shumel. They assemble on Mount Karmel.

....

[What follows is presumably the beginning of the Letter.] Gnosis of Life8 who is far from the height writes:

"I have come unto thee, O Soul, whom Life has sent into this world. In robes of the Eight9 went I into the world. I went in the vesture of Life and came into the world. The vesture I brought of the Seven, I went as far as the Eight. The vesture of the Seven I took and took hold of the Eight with my hand. I have taken them and I take them, and I will take them and not let them go. I have taken them and hold them fast, and the wicked spirits shall change into good.

"Wherefor do ye weep, generations, wherefor weep ye, O peoples? Wherefor fadeth your splendour? For you have I brought my Image, I betook myself into the world."

And Life is victorious.

JOHN'S INVULNERABILITY (§ 27).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

Yahya proclaims in the nights and speaks: "Is there anyone greater than !? They measure my works; my wage is assayed and my crown, and my praise brings me on high in peace."

Yaqif leaves the house of the people, Beni-Amin leaves the temple, Elizar, the great house, leaves the dome of the priests. The priests spake unto Yahya in Jerusalem: "Yahya, go forth from our city! Before thy voice quaked the house of the people, at the sound of thy proclamations the temple did quake, at the sound of thy discourse quaked the priests' dome." Thereon Yahya answered the priests in Jerusalem: "Bring fire and burn me; bring sword and hew me in pieces." But the priests in Jerusalem answered to Yahya: "Fire does not burn thee, O Yahya, for Life's Name has been uttered o'er thee. A sword does not hew thee in pieces, O Yahya, for Life's Son1 rests here upon thee."

And Life is victorious.

JOHN AND THE BAPTISM OF JESUS (§ 30).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

Yahya proclaims in the nights.—Glory rises over the worlds

Who told Yeshu (Eshu)? Who told Yeshu Messiah, son of Miryam, who told Yeshu, so that he went to the shore of the Jordan and said unto Yahya: "Yahya, baptise me with thy baptising and utter o'er me also the Name thy wont is to utter. If I show myself as thy pupil, I will remember thee then in my writing; I attest not myself as thy pupil, then wipe out my name from thy page."

Thereon Yanya answered Yeshu Messiah in Jerusalem: "Thou hast lied to the Jews and deceived the priests. Thou hast cut off their seed from the men and from the women bearing and being pregnant. The sabbath, which Moses made binding, hast thou relaxed I in Jerusalem. Thou hast lied unto them with horns2 and spread abroad disgrace with the shofar."

Thereon Yeshu Messiah answered Yahya in Jerusalem: "If I have lied to the Jews, may the blazing fire consume me. If I have deceived the priests, a double death will I die. If I have cut off their seed from the men, may I not cross over the End-Sea. If I have cut off from the women birth and being pregnant, then is in sooth a judge raised up before me. If I have relaxed the sabbath, may the blazing fire consume me. If I have lied to the Jews, I will tread on thorns and thistles. If I have spread disgrace abroad with horn-blowing, may my eyes then not light on Abathur. So baptise me then with thy baptising, and utter o'er me the Name thy wont is to utter. If I show myself as thy pupil, I will remember thee then in my writing; if I attest not myself as thy pupil, then wipe out my name from thy page."

Then spake Yahya to Yeshu Messiah in Jerusalem: "A stammerer becomes not a scholar, a blind man writes no letter. A desolate house4 mounts not to the height, and a widow becomes not a virgin. Foul water becomes not tasty, and a stone does not with oil soften."

Thereon Yeshu Messiah made answer to Yahya in Jerusalem: "A stammerer a scholar becomes, a blind man writes a letter. A desolate house mounts unto the height, and a widow becomes a virgin. Foul water becomes tasty, and a stone with oil softens."

Thereon spake Yahya unto Yeshu Messiah in Jerusalem: "If thou givest me illustration for this, thou art really a wise Messiah."

Thereon Yeshu Messiah made answer to Yahya in Jerusaem: "A stammerer a scholar becomes: a child who comes from the bearer, blooms and grows big. Through wages and alms he comes on high; he comes on high through wages and alms, and ascends and beholds the Light's region.

"A blind man who writes a letter: a villain who has become virtuous. He abandoned wantonness and abandoned theft and reached unto faith in almighty Life.

"A desolate house who ascends again to the height: one of position who has become humble. He quitted his palaces and quitted his pride and built a house on the sea [-shore]. A house he built on the sea-shore, and into it opened two doors, so that he might bring in unto him whoever lay down there in misery,—to him he opened the door and took him within to himself. If he would eat, he laid for him a table with Truth, If he would drink, he mixed for him wine-cups with Truth, If he would lie down, he spread a bed for him in Truth. If he would depart, he led him forth on the way of Truth and of faith, and then he ascends and beholds the Light's region.

"A widow who a virgin becomes: a woman who already in youth has been widowed. She kept her shame closed, and sat there till her children were grown. If she passes over, her face does not pale in her husband's 2 presence.

"Foul water that is made tasty: a girl wanton who has got back her honour: she went up a hamlet and she went down a hamlet without taking her veil from her face.

"A stone with oil softens: a heretic who has come down from the mountain. He abandoned magic and sorcery and made confession to almighty Life. He found a fatherless and filled him full and filled full the widow's pockets.

"Therefor baptise me, O Yahya, with thy baptising and utter o'er me the Name thy wont is to utter. If I show myself as thy pupil, I will remember thee in my writing; if I attest not myself as thy pupil, then wipe out my name from thy page. Thou wilt for thy sins be haled to account, and I for my sins will be haled to account."

When Yeshu Messiah said this, there came a Letter out of the House of Abathur: "Yahya, baptise the deceiver in Jordan. Lead him down into the Jordan and baptise him, and lead him up again to the shore, find there set him."

Then Ruhal made herself like to a dove and threw a cross2 over the Jordan. A cross she threw over the Jordan and made its water to change into various colours.3 "O Jordan," she says, "thou sanctifiest me and thou sanctifiest my seven sons."

(Then follows what, from its animadversion on Christian institutions and especially on the use of the crucifix, is plainly a later addition. Ruha is apparently still speaking; she is the Mother of all heresies.) "The River Jordan in which Messiah Paulis was baptised, have I made into a 'trough.' The bread which Messiah Paulis receives, have I made into a 'sacrament.' The drink which Messiah Paulis receives, have I made into a 'supper.' The head-band which Messiah Paulis receives, have I made into a 'priest-hood.' I The staff which Messiah Paulis receives, have I made into a 'dung-stick.'"

[? Gnosis of Life speaks (cp. § 29):]

"Let me warn you, my brothers, let me warn you, my beloved! Let me warn you, my brothers, against the . . . who are like unto the cross. They lay it on the walls; then stand there and bow down to the block. Let me warn you, my brothers, of the god which the carpenter has joinered together. If the carpenter has joinered together the god, who then has joinered together the carpenter?"

Praisèd be Life, and Life is victorious.

(For those who are not familiar with the atmosphere of bitter inner and outer theological strife of the times, it is as well to note that the last two pieces are in the form of haggadic controversy between the followers of John and Jesus respectively.)

JOHN'S MARRIAGE (§ 31).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

YAHYA proclaims in the nights and speaks: "The heavenly wheels and chariots quaked. Sun and Moon weep and the eyes of Ruha shed tears."

He says: "Yahya, thou art like to a scorched mountain, which brings forth no grapes in this world. Thou art like to a dried-up stream, on whose banks no plants are raised. Thou hast become a land without a lord, a house without worth. A false prophet hast thou become, who hast left no one to remember thy name. Who will provide thee with provision, who with victuals, and who will follow to the grave after thee?"

When Yahya heard this, a tear gathered in his eye; a tear in his eye gathered, and he spake: "It would be pleasant to take a wife, and delightul for me to have children. But only if I take no woman,—and then comes sleep, desire for her seizes me and I neglect my night-prayer. If only desire does not wake in me, and I forget my Lord out of my mind. If only desire does not wake in me, and I neglect my prayer every time."

When Yahya said this, there came a Letter from the House of Abathur: "Yahya, take a wife and found a family, and see that thou dost not let this world come to an end. On the night of Monday and on the night of Tuesday go to thy first1 bedding. On the night of Wednesday and on the night of Thursday devote thyself to thy hallowed praying. On the night of Friday and on the night of Saturday go to, thy first bedding. On the night of Sunday and (? yea) on the night of the Day devote thyself to thy hallowed praying. On Sunday, take three and leave three, take three and leave three.2 See that thou dost not let the world come to an end."

Thereon they fashioned for Yahya a wife out of thee, thou Region of the Faithful. From the first conception were Handan and Sharrath born. From the middle conception were Birham and R'himath-Haiye born. From the last conception were Nsab, Sam, Anhar-Ziwa (and Sharrath) born. These three conceptions took place in thee, thou Ruins, Jerusalem.

Yahya opened his mouth and spake to Anhar in Jerusalem: "Instruct thy daughter, that she may not perish; and I will enlighten my sons and teach them, that they may not be hindered." Thereon Anhar opened her mouth and spoke to Yahya in Jerusalem. "I have borne sons in this world," said she to him, "yet have I not given birth to their heart in the world. If they let themselves be instructed, then will they ascend to Light's region; if they let not themselves be instructed, then will the blazing fire consume them."

JOHN ON HIS OWN PASSING (§ 31 CONTINUED).

Yahva opened his mouth and spake to Anhar in Jerusalem: "If I leave the world, tell me, what wilt thou do after me?" "I will not eat and will not drink," she answered him, "until I see thee again."-"A lie hast thou spoken, Anhar, and thy word has come forth in deception. If a day comes and goes, thou eatest and drinkest and forgettest me out of thy mind. I asked thee rather, by Great Life and by the eve of the Day whose name is dear: If I leave the world, tell me, what wilt thou do after me?"—" I will not wash and I will not comb me," says she to him, "until I see thee again."—"Again hast thou spoken a lie and thy word has come forth in deception. If a month comes and a month goes, thou washest and combest thee and forgettest me out of thy mind. Again did I ask thee, Anhar, by the first bed in which we both lie: If I leave my body, tell me, what wilt thou do after me?"-"I will put on no new garments," she answers him, "until I see thee again. Again hast thou spoken a lie, Anhar, and thy word has come forth in deception. If a year comes and a year goes, thou puttest new garments on thee and forgettest me out of thy mind."

"Why dost thou not tell me all, Yahya," says she to him; "and how sorely thou bruisest the whole of my body! If thou dost depart, when wilt thou return, that my eyes may fall upon thine?"—"If a woman in labour descends into Sheol and a bell is hung up for her in the graveyard. If they paint a picture in Sheol, and she then goes forth and they give a feast in the graveyard. If a bride parades round in Sheol, and they celebrate marriage in the graveyard. If the wedding-companions borrow in Sheol, and the paying-back takes place in the graveyard."

Then answered she him: "My lord, how shall it be that a woman in labour . . . "[and so on, repeating the above].
"If thou knowest," he makes answer unto her, "that this

"If thou knowest," he makes answer unto her, "that this does never happen, why dost thou press me with asking: When dost thou return? I go hence and return not. Happy the day when thou dost still see me. If there were a going-away and returning, then would no widow be found in this world. If there were a going-away and returning, then would no fatherless be found in the world. If there were a going-away and returning, then no Nazoraeans would be found in the world."

Thereon Anhar opened her mouth and spake to Yahya in Jerusalem: "I will buy thee for dear gold a brick grave and have a boxing of wood joinered together for thee in the graveyard." But Yahya opened his mouth and spake to Anhar in Jerusalem: "Why wilt thou buy a brick grave for dear gold and have a boxing of wood joinered for me in the graveyard? Art sure that I am returning, that thou dost say: No dust shall fall on him? Instead of buying a brick grave for dear gold, go rather and share out for me bread. Instead of getting a boxing joinered together, go rather and read for me masses for the departed."

Thereon Anhar opened her mouth and spake to Yahya in Jerusalem: "Thou dost go hence and forget me, and I shall be cut off in the Sinners' Dwelling."

[But Yahya answered her:] "If I forget thee, may the Light

[But Yahya answered her:] "If I forget thee, may the Light Dwelling forget me. If I forget thee, may my eyes not fall on Abathur. If I ascend to Life's House, thy wailing will arise in the graveyard." Praisèd be Life, and Life is victorious

JOHN'S BIRTH, UPBRINGING AND FIRST APPEARANCE (§ 32).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

Yahya proclaims in the nights and speaks: "The [heavenly] wheels and chariots quaked. Earth and Heaven weep and the tears of the Clouds flow down."

"My father," says Yahya, "was ninety and nine and my mother eighty and eight years old. Out of the basin of Jordan they2 took me. They bore me up and laid me in the womb of Enishbai. 'Nine months,' said they, 'thou shalt stay in her womb, as do all other children.'3 No wise woman,"4 said he, "brought me into the world in Judaea, and they have not cut up cord in Jerusalem. They made for me no picture of lies, and for me hung up no bell of deceit. I was born from Enishbai in the region of Jerusalem."

The region of Jerusalem quakes and the wall of the priests rocks. Elizar, the great house, stands there and his body trembles. The Jews gather together, come unto Old Father Zakhria and they speak to him: "O Old Father Zakhria, thou art to have a son. Tell us now, what name shall we give him? Shall we give him for name 'Yaqif of Wisdom,' that he may teach the Book in Jerusalem? Or shall we give him for name 'Zatan the Pillar.' so that the Jews may swear by him and commit no deceit?"

When Enishbai heard this, she cried out and she said: "Of all these names which you name, will I not give him one; but the name Yahya-Yohana will I give him, the name which Life's self has given unto him."

When the Jews heard this, they were filled with wicked anger against her and said: "What weapon shall we make ready for [a certain] one2 and his mother, that he be slain by our hand?"

When Anosh, the treasure, heard this be took the child and brought it to Parwan, the white mountain, to Mount Parwan, on which sucklings and little ones on holy drink are reared up.

There I remained until I was two and twenty years old. I learned there the whole of my wisdom and made fully my own the whole of my discourse. They clothed me with vestures of glory and veiled me with cloud-veils. They wound round me a girdle, of living water a girdle, which shone beyond measure and glistened. They set me within a cloud, a cloud of splendour, and in the seventh hour of a Sunday they brought me to the Jerusalem region. Then cried a voice in Judaea, a crying proclaimed in Jerusalem. They call out: "What woman had a son, who then was stolen? What woman has made for him a vow and been heedless about it? What woman had a son, who was stolen? Let her come and see after her son."

Who told Battai, who instructed Battai, who told Battai to go and say to Enishbai: "A youth has come to Judaea, a prophet come to Jerusalem. A youth has come to Judaea; his guardian angel stands by him. His mouth is like thee and his lips like his father, Old Father Zakhria. His eyes are like thee and his brows like his father, Old Father Zakhria. His nose is like thee and his hands like his father, Old Father Zakhria."

When Enishbai heard this, she hurried out veil-less. When Old Father Zakhria saw her thus, he wrote her a bill of divorcement. The Sun down-murmured from heaven and the Moon from its place mid the stars. The Sun opened his mouth and spoke to Old Father Zakhria in Jerusalem: "Old Father Zakhria, thou great dotard (?), who has grown old and lost his wits, like an Arab whom his kismet has forsaken. A youth has come to Judaea, a prophet come to Jerusalem. A youth has come to Judaea; why dost thou send Enishbai away?"

When the youth saw her alone, he set himself free and fell down from the cloud. He set himself free and fell down from the cloud and kissed the mouth of Enishbai. When Anosh, the treasure, saw him do this, he spake unto Yahya in Jerusalem: "Stands it for thee written in thy book, is it declared unto thee on thy page, to kiss her alone, on the mouth?"—Thereon answered Yahya and spake unto Anosh, the treasure, in Jerusalem: "Nine months I abode in her womb, I so long as all other children abide there, without any reluctance on her part; therefore is it no charge against me now to kiss her alone, on the mouth. Nay, hail and again hail to the man who repays father and mother in full. A man who recompenses father and mother, has not his like in the world."

When Yahya said this, Anosh, the treasure, knew that Yahya is wise. Thereon Anosh, the treasure, spake to the Sun in Jerusalem: "Take for me care of the youth, the Man, who is sent by the King. Take for me care of the youth, until we ask for him." Then Anosh, the treasure, spake to the Moon in Jerusalem: "Take for me care of the youth, the Man, who is sent by the King. Take for me care of the youth, until we ask for him."

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

JOHN'S ANSWER TO JESUS CONCERNING THE ANGEL OF DEATH (§ 33).

Yahya proclaims in the nights, Yohana on the Night's evenings.

Yahya proclaims and speaks: "Stand I not alone? Because of my voice the [heavenly] wheels quake and the chariots capsise. The tempest became silent and settled down in the world's deserts. Sun and Moon wail, and Earth and Heaven mourn."

Messiah opened his mouth and spake to Yahya in Jerusalem: "I asked thee, Yahya, by Great Life and by Sunday, whose name is dear. I asked thee Yahya, by the Way, whereby the Men of piety put to the test go without hindrance. Tell me: To what is the shape of Sauriel's I knife like? Tell me: If the soul leaves the body, with what is it clothed, and to what is it like in the vain body? Surely the soul is not possibly like the blood, that it should become heated in the body and come to a stop in it? Surely the soul is not possibly like the wind, that it should fare to the mountains, be lost there and come to a stop? Surely the soul is not possibly like the dew, that it should fall on the fruit and be lost?"

When Messiah said this, Yahya cries aloud; tears come to him without ceasing, and he speaks: "God forbid that the high King of Light should look for lot in deceivers. The soul is not like the blood, that it should become heated in the body and come to a stop, The soul is not like the dew, that it should fall on the fruit and be lost. The soul is not like the wind, that it should fare to the mountains and come to a stop. Firmly developed has the soul been brought into the vain body. If the soul has kept herself perfect, she ascends in a garment of glory.

"Sauriel's knife consists of three flames. When he (S) drives her (the soul) to hasten, so as to bear her away, he lets loose the three flames against her. One he lets loose against her in the evening, the other at cock-crow; the third lets he loose 'gainst her at the coming-forth of the rays. If the fire begins to be fierce, the soul slips out of the feet and the knees. Out of the feet and the knees slips she, and draws nigh to the hips. Thereon leaves she the hips, reaches the heart, and seeks to keep there her ground. Then falls she into the breast, and it squeezes The eyes, the face and the lips of the man twitch, and the tongue twists hither and thither.

"Then Sauriel sits on the eyebrows; he sits and speaks to her: 'Go hence, O Soul! Why dost thou still watch over the body?"—Then says she to him: 'Thou wilt hale me, Sauriel, out of the body. First show me my vesture and clothe me therewith; then hale me out and hence bring me.'—'First bring me thy works and thy wage,' makes he answer to her; 'then will I show thee thy vesture and clothe thee.'—'I knew not, O Sauriel,' says she to him, 'that my time is come, and they then send quickly for me, for doing good works, so that thou mayest bring me my vesture and clothe me therewith.'—
Natheless he made answer unto her: 'Has no one yet died before thee and have they not yet carried forth anyone to the graveyard?'—Thereon she says to him: 'Through the power of him who has died before me, and through the power of him whom they have carried forth to the graveyard.....

"The women who wept ran hither and thither and [the men] who wailed ran hither and thither, as long as the body lay there before them. When the soul leaves the body, four go forth to the graveyard. The women who wept ran hither and thither, the men who wailed ran hither and thither; and they ran hither and thither crying, until they lowered it into the pit. When they had lowered the vain body and covered it over with earth, then the women ceased fram their death-wail. They filled up the pit, and the men went away. In haste left they the body and grave and went away; they took hold of cup and ate bread and forgot the vain body.—Now, an thou wilt, Sauriel, let me stay here still two days. Then will I sell the whole of my goods and share out among my sons, and will take my vesture with me, the robe that ascends to Light's region.'

"Natheless Sauriel returned answer unto her: 'Is there a child that has left the womb of its mother, and that they shall have brought back again into its mother, that I should leave thee in the Wicked Ones' Dwelling, so that thou mayest see after a sharing among thy sons? I will lead thee hence and put the robe of darkness upon thee, for that thou hast not let thyself be warned in this world, and hast not loved thy way to Light's region. Therefore shalt thou be put in ward in the House of the Wicked, till Heaven and Earth pass away."

And praisèd be Life.

MANDAEAN JOHN CHAPTER 2

II.—THE STORY OF THE BREACH WITH JUDAISM. MIRYAI IS EXPELLED FROM JEWRY (§ 34).

In the Name of Great Life, may hallowed Light be glorified. Miryai am I, of the Kings of Babel (Babylon) a daughter, a daughter of Jerasalem's mighty rulers. They have given me birth; the priests brought me up. In the fold of their robe they carried me up into the dark house, into the temple. Adonai laid a charge on my hands and on my two arms: I must scour and cleanse the house that is without firmness. There is naght therein for supporting the poor, naught to revive the tormented souls.

My father went to the house of the people, my mother went to the temple. My father went out and said to me, and my mother went out and charged me: "Miryai, close thy inner

doors and bolt the bar. See that thou goest not forth into the main streets and that the suns of my Lord fall not upon thee."

But I, Miryai, listened not to what my mother did tell me, and hearkened not with the ear to what my father did charge me. I opened the inner doors, and the outer let I stand open. Out went I into the main streets and the suns of my Lord fell upon me. To the house of the people would I not go, but my way bore me unto the temple of the Mandaeans. I went and I found my brothers and sisters, how they stand and carry on proclamations. My brothers carry on proclamations and my sisters throw out explanations. With the voice of their proclamations and with the voice of their explanations I became drowsy and laid me down on the spot. My brothers went forth and did not wake me, and my sisters withdrew and roused me not. But thou, my sister in Truth, dost rouse me from sleep and dost say: "Arise, arise, Miryai, before the day breaks and the cock lets crow his morn-call, before the sun shines and his glory rises over the worlds, before the priests and the priests' sons go forth and sit them down in the shade of the Ruins-Jerusalem, before thy father comes and brings upset upon thee such as thou never hast had.

I, Miryai, keep secret my prayers and utterly secret keep my discourses.

Early, day began to dawn, early the cock let crow his call, early the sun shone and his glory rose over the worlds. The priests and priests' sons went out and sat them down in the shade of the Ruins—Jerusalem. Then came my bodily father and brought on me upset such as I never have had. He spake:

"Where hast come from, thou debauched trough, whom locks and bars cannot keep in? Where hast thou come from? Woe unto thee, thou bitch in heat, who mindest not door-pins and lockings! Where hast thou come from? Woe, woe unto thee, thou bit of coarse stuff that has been patched on my robe!"

"If I am a debauched trough, I will burst thy boltings and bars. If I am a bitch in beat, I will draw back the pins and the lockings. If I am a bit of coarse stuff that has been patched on thy robe, then out of thy robe cut and rip me."

Thereon he cried: "Come you all, look on Miryai, who has left Jewry and gone to make love with her lord. Come, look on Miryai, who has left off coloured raiment and gone to make love with her lord. She forsook gold and silver and went to make love with her lord. She forsook the phylacteries I and went to make love with the man with the head-band."

Then Miryai makes answer unto him: "Far lies it from me to love him whom I have hated. Far lies it from me to hate him whom I have loved. Nay, far from me lies it to hate my Lord, the Life's Gnosis, who is for me in the world a support. A support is he in the world for me and a helper in the Light's region. Dust in the mouth of the Jews, ashes in the mouth of all of the priests! May the dung that is under the feet of the horses, come on the high ones and Jerusalem's mighty rulers."

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man

A VARIANT OF THE ABOVE FROM THE OXFORD MANUSCRIPT.

MIRYAI IS EXPELLED FROM JEWRY (§ 34; Version 2). (L.'s J. B., pp. 123-125).

In the name of Great Life, may hallowed Light be glorified. At the door of the house of the people her mother came upon Miryai. Her mother came upon Miryai and put question to her: "Whence com'st thou, my daughter, Miryai, whose face gathers roses? Roses gathers thy face and of sleep are thy eyes full. Full of sleep are thy eyes, and upon thy forehead lies

Thereon she made answer: "It is two,—three days to-day that my brothers sat down in the house of my Father. In my Father's house sat down my brothers and let wonderful proclamations be heard. Because of the voice and the ringing of the proclamation of the treasures, my brothers, there comes no sleep over my eyes. Sleep comes not over my eyes, nor slumber upon my forehead."

"Hast thou not heard, Miryai, my daughter, what the Jews are saying about thee? The Jews are saying: Thy daughter has fallen in love with a man. She has gotten hate against Jewry and love for Nazoraeanity. Hate has she gotten against the house of the people and love for the door of the temple (sc. of the Manuscript.). Hate has she gotten against the phylacteries and love for the flaunting wreaths. Work does she on Sabbath; on Sunday she keeps her hands still. Miryai has cast aside straightway the Law that the Seven have laid upon us."

As Miryai stands there, she puts dust on her feet, and speaks: "Dust in the mouth of the Jews and ashes in the mouth of all of the priests! May the dung that lies under the horses, come on the elders who are in Jerusalem! I cannot hate him whose love I have won, nor love him 'gainst whom I have gotten hate. Yea, I have won the love of my Lord the Life's Gnosis, and hope that in him a helper will for me arise, a helper and a support from the region of Darkness unto Light's region."

Thou hast won the victory, Gnosis of Life, and helped all thy friends to victory.

And Life is victorious.

THE EXILED COMMUNITY SETTLE ON THE EUPHRATES (\$ 35).

In the Name of Great Life, may hallowed Light be glorified. Miryai am I, a vine, a tree, who stands at the mouth of Euphrates (Frash). The tree's leaves are precious stones, the tree's fruits pearls. The vine-tree's foliage is glory, its shoots precious light. Among the trees its scent it diffuses, and it spreads over all the worlds. The birds of the air scented it; a flock settled down on the tree. A flock on it down-settled, and they would build their nest there. They flutter about in it and settle not down in it firmly. Of its foliage they eat from its inner part they drink wine. They eat what is not to be cast away, and drink what was not wine. I

While the birds sat on the vine, winds and tempests broke loose. They shook the good birdlets awake, they smote 'gainst the tree; on all sides they scattered the leaves of the vine-tree and scared the birds out of their place. Many a bird there was who flew not away, but held on fast with claws and with wings, till the winds and the tempests were over. Many again held not on fast and were hurried away Woe unto those who did not hold fast, but were dashed from the tree and flew off. How fair is the tree of Life and fair the birds who dwell on it!

The winds and the tempests passed and rest came over the

As the birds sit there and chirp and would be a-building their nest, as the birds sit on the vine, an eagle wheeled and flew hither. A white eagle-bird came, looked down and caught sight of the birds. Round wheeled he, sped down on them with his wings, and came and sat on the tree. In converse with him joined the birds, and said to him:

"By thy Life, Eagle! On this tree were we birds without number.—But there broke loose against them the winds, and on the tree came raging tempests. They shook them off from the tree, so that they tore their wings from them nearly. Many a one held fast, whom the winds and tempests could not tear away; but many a one flew off at top speed.—We speak to thee, therefore, O Eagle, we ask thee respecting the birds, because thou art sharp of sight and dost see all in this world: What have the winds and the tempests done with those birds, our brothers? What spyest thou out over them?"

Then made he answer unto them: "You had better not to have known, my brothers, what has become of those birds. Slingshots drove them far from me; their wings broke; torn off were they, broken off; they went hence and relied on the bird-catchers.1 The harrier and hawk wheeled round them, tore pieces out of their flesh and fed on those who were fat. Woe to those who fell prev to the water, 2 if there was no portion for them at the crossing. Well for you, ye birds, who hold fast to this vine [here]; you became a companionship of Miryai, the vine, who stands at the mouth of Euphrates. See and satisfy yourselves, ye birds, that I have come to you. I have come to my brothers to be a support for them in this world. I have come to heal Miryai, come to bring water to the good, beloved plants, to the vines, who stand at the mouth of Euphrates. In a white3 pail I draw water and bring it to my plants. I bear and I hold it on the arms of glory which are my own. I bear and I hold it and give them to drink. Well for him who has drunk of my water. He drinks, finds healing and confirmation, and grows to double his stature. The vines who drank water, brought forth good fruit. Their leaves turned on high and made a brave show. The branches which drank no water, brought forth bitter herbs and worm-wood. Woe to those who have not gone forward upon the Way; woe to those who have not passed on by the way-stone! They hated Life's Treasure-House,4 Miryai, the dear Truth.

"My brothers, hold fast, be a companionship of Miryai. I will look round in the world, let Life's call sound forth and rouse the sleeping and wake them."

The eagle flew off from the tree; he wheeled round and instructed his friends. He speaks to them: "Give ear to me, my brothers! Stay fast and endure persecution. Be a companionship to Miryai. Woe to the Jews, who were a persecution for Miryai! Woe to Elizar, the great house, the pillar that props the temple! Woe to Zatan, the pillar, I who has witnessed lies against Miryai!"

THE JEWS PERSECUTE THE MANDAEANS (§ 35 CONTINUED).

All the Jews gathered together, the teachers, the great and the little; they came [together] and spake of Miryai: "She ran away from the priests, fell in love with a man, and they took hold of each other's hands. Hold of each other's hands they took, went forth and settled at the mouth of Euphrates. We will slay them and make Miryai scorned in Jerusalem. A stake2 will we set up for the man who has ruined Miryai and led her away. There shall be no day in the world when a stranger3 enters Jerusalem."

They split open their fellings and catch the doves in Jerusalem.

THEY BEG THEM TO RETURN (§ 35 CONTINUED).
All the Jews gathered together and followed after Miryai.
They went and found that a throne was set up for Miryai on

the bank of Euphrates. A white stnndard was for her unfurled and a book stood upright on her lap. She reads in the Books of Truth and rouses all worlds from their sleep. She holds in her hand the staff of Life's water; the girdle is bound round her loins. Miryai in humbleness prays and proclaims with wondrous voice. The fishes gather out of the sea, the birds5 from the mouth of Euphrates. They come to hear Miryai's voice, and no more long to lie down to sleep. They breathe in the sweet scent around her and forget the world. When the Jews saw this, they stood up before her. They felt shamed, doubled their fists, smote on the fore-court of their breast and lamented. The mother of Miryai spoke, and tears streamed into her bosom.

"Look on me, Miryai, my daughter," says she unto her; "look on me who am thy mother! My daughter art thou and the daughter of all of the priests. Thy head is the great chief of the temple. Rememberest thou not, Miryai, that the Torah lay on thy lap? Thou didst open it, read therein and knewest what stands in it. The outer keys lay in thy hands, and the inner thou didst put in chains. All the priests and priests' sons came and kissed thy hand. For whom thou wouldst, thou didst open the door; whom thou wouldst not, must turn and go back to his seat. A thousand stand there and two thousand sit there. They submit themselves to thee, as a eunuch-made slave, and they give ear to thy word in Jerusalem. Why didst thou forget thy brothers and thy heart abandon the priests? Lo, the brides weep in Judaea, the women and men in Jerusalem. Their beloved gold have they cast from them, and they give themselves up to wailing and mourning for thee. They say: 'We will make away with our goods, until Miryai returns. Gold forge we (or: Gold gorges us no longer), and cast away fair raiments of silk and bracelets.' They stand on the roofs and look out, that they may see thee again in Jerusalem. For thee they make vows, if thou comest to me and we go hence. My daughter, arise, come back to thy dwelling-place, the city Jerusalem, Come, light up thy lamps, which have been put out from the day when thou withdrewest thyself. Have no longing after this man, who has prisoned thee and taken thee off Leave the man, who is not of thy dwelling-place,1 alone by himself in the world. Let him not say: I have gone and carried off Miryai from her place. Come, teach the children, so that they may learn. Lay the Torah in thy lap and let us hear thy voice as it used to be. From the moment and the day when thou didst detach the dough2 has it been covered up . .

When Miryai heard this from her mother, she laughed and rejoiced in her mind. "It surely could not be the Jews," says she unto her, "the infamous, worthless priests! It surely would not be the Jews who stand there and bow down to a brickgrave! They shall be buried in the Darkness.

"Go, go," says she unto them, "ye fools, ye abortions, ye who were not of the world. I am no woman who is stripped for wantoning; and it is not that I have fallen in love with a man. Stripped am I not for returning to you and for again seeing you, doming of blasphemy. Go, go hence from me, ye who have witnessed falsehood and lying against me. Against me ye witnessed wantonness and thieving, and held me up as ye are yourselves. Blessed be the Man who freed me from my fetters and planted my feet here. No wantonness have I committed with him and attempted no theft in the world. Instead of the witness ye have witnessed against me, there come to me prayer and praise-giving."

As the priests stand there and speak with Miryai at the mouth of Euphrates, there came a pure eagle-bird, whose wings are the fulness of worlds. He flew down on the Jews, dashed at them with his wings, bound them and sank them down unto the water's bottom, deeper down than the foul-smelling mud. He sank them deeper down than the blazing water, that is inside the dark water. He sank their ships down to the blazing water's bottom. He destroyed the temple and laid fire to Jerusalem.

He brought down all upon them and in Jerusalem slew the disciples.

He descended unto her (Miryai), folded before her his wings, settled down by her, narrated and proclaimed to her; and they held out the loved hand of Truth to each other. He embraced her in potent embracing, forced her down and set her on the throne.

"Miryai," he speaks to her, "with favour look upon me, remember me in the Life's presence. I am thy Good Messenger, the Man, who gives ear to thy discourse. I beseech thee for the high Truth, the Truth which the Jordans have chosen."

"O Good Treasure," she makes answer unto him, "Treasure whom Life has sent! Thy glory and thy light has risen upon us, and thy honour is approved in Light's region. Everyone who gives ear to thy voice, will be in the pure region included. In Life's Treasury will he be included and thy rays will rise [over him] twofold. For everyone who gives not ear to thy voice, waking and sleep will be wiped out. Let him belong to the Jews, to the slaves and all of the priests, the sons of the Harlot. I and thou will circle aloft and victorious mount to Light's region."

May Life be our pledge, and Life is victorious.

MANDAEAN JOHN CHAPTER 3

III.—SOME TYPICAL EXTRACTS.

(Under the first two headings readers have been made acquainted with all those pieces from the Mandaean John-Book that can be held to have in any sense a historic intention. To these are now added a few extracts of such specimens of the rest of the contents as do not require a commentary. We will begin with 'The Fisher of Souls' tractate from the John-Book. It seems to me to throw great light on the symbolic phrase of the gospels, indeed to give it a background, and not to be explained in reverse order as the Mandaean expansion of an isolated Christian expression.)

THE FISHER OF SOULS SAGA (§§ 36-39)1.

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified.

A Fisher am I, a Fisher who elect is among fishers. A Fisher am I who among the fishers is chosen, the Head of all catchers of fish. I know the shallows of the waters, the inner and the I fathom; I come to the net-grounds, to the shallows and all fishing-spots, and search the marsh in the dark all over. My boat is not cut off from the others and I shall not be stopped in the night.

I see the fish in (on) the dike. I pressed forward on the way with a that was not of iron. I covered the . . . which was for us an obstruction. Aside did I push the swimmers who hinder Life's way. On my head I set up a in whose shadow the fish sit. The fisher-trident which I have in my hand, is instead a margna select, a staff of pure water, at whose sight tremble the fishers.

I sit in a boat of glory and come into this world (Tibil) of the fleeting. I come to the water's surface; thither to the surface of the water I drew, and I drew to the crossing's surface. I come in a , in slow, steady course. The water by my boat is not ruffled, and no sound of my boat is heard. Before me stands Hibil (Abel), at my side Shitil (Seth) of sweet name is to be seen, close by me, close in front of me, Anosh (Enoch) sits and proclaims.

They say: "O Father, Good Fisher, hallo! O Fisher of loveable name!"

Close by me, close near my boat, I hear the uproar of the fishers, the fishers who eat fish,1 and their stench rushes on me,—the uproar of the fishers and the uproar of their mongers who revile and curse one another. Everyone accuses the other. The buyer says to the fisher: "Take back thy fish! They are stinking already, and no one wants to buy them off of me. Thou makest the catch far out at sea,2 so that loss falls on the buyer."

Thereon speaks the fisher and makes the man, his customer, hear: "A curse on thee, a curse on thy buyers, a curse on thy bell, a curse on thy boat for not filling up. Thou hast brought no salt and sprinkled it over thy fish which thou boughtest, so that the fish of thy boat will not be stinking and thou then canst sell for hard cash. Next, hast thou no meal and no dates brought, no salt . . . hast thou brought. If then thou comest with empty hands, one who is of fair favour has no dealing with thee. Go, go, thou godless fellow, buy not from us to do business with thy fraudulent scales. Thou holdest them down to buy at false weight, [then in selling] keepest them up with thy elbow and gettest ten for five. Now does thy buying flee away, and thy buyer, and is as though it never had been. Thou dost complain of the . . . of men and dost cherish no noble thought."

When the Chief Fisher, the Head of the race of the Living, the highest of all catchers of fish, heard this, he said to him (Anosh / Enoch): "Bring me my , hand me the squbra,1 that I may make a call sound forth into the marsh, that I may warn the fish of the depths and scare away the foul-smelling birds that pursue after my fish. I will catch the great sidma,2 and tear off his wings on the spot. I will take from him and will blow into my squbra. A true squbra is it, so that the water may not mix with pitch."

When the fishers heard the call, their heart fell down from its stay. One calls to the other and speaks to him: "Go into thy inner ground. For there is the call of the Fisher, the Fisher who eats no fish. His voice is not like that of a fisher, his squbra not like our squbra. His voice is not like our voice, his discourse not like to this world."

But the fishers stand there; they seek not shelter in their inner ground. As the fishers stand there and are thinking it over, the Fisher came swiftly upon them; he opened the castnet, divided He cast them bound into the He tied them up with knots. They speak to him: "Free us from our bonds, so that thy fish may not leap up to our boat. We catch not those who name thy Name."

When the fishers thus spake to me, I smote them with a club made of iron. I bound their traders on the shore which lends not I roped them with ropes of bast and broke up their ships I burnt up the whole of their netting and the which holds the nets together. I threw chains round them and hung them up aft on my ship's stern. I made them take an oath, took from them their mystery, in order that they may not catch the good fish,—that they may not steal them from me, stick them on a cane, hang them up, 3 I cut them in pieces and throw them into baskets with laurel and aloe. They

(the fishers) are laid low and cannot rise up. The nets, and they no longer stab the fisher-trident into the Jordan. They do not cut off and stand not in the river-lands and make not their catch in the shallows. They cast not the cast-net therein and take not . . and aloe.

I spake to those who eat the . . . of the fish whose name is eel. They eat the eel and the . . . , which stands upright on its forefeet. They eat the I bound them in the marshes of Deception, and they were caught and were tied up. Water from the Ulai they drink not and know not the way to the Kshash river. I bound them fast in their ships, and threw out my ropes to the good ones. To them I speak: "Draw your boat up here, so that it runs not into the dike."

As the Chief of the fish-catchers thus spake, the fishers made answer unto him and said; "Blessed be thou, a Fisher, and blessed be thy boat and thy bark. How fair is thy cast-net, how fair the yarn that is in it. Fair is thy cord and thy lacing, thou who art not like the fishers of this world. On thy meshes are no shell-fish, and thy trident catches no fish. Whence art thou come hither? Tell us! We will be thy hired servants. We will bake and stir about broth and bring it before thee. Eat, and the crumbs which fall from thy hand,—these will we eat and therewith be filled."

But I made answer unto them: "O ye fishers, who lap up your filth, no fisher am I who fishes for fish, and I was not formed for an eater of filth. A Fisher am I of souls who bear witness to Life. A Poor Fisher am I who calls to the souls. collects them together and gives them instruction. He calls to them and bids them come and gather together unto him. He says unto them: If ye come, ye shall be saved from the foul-smelling birds I will save my friends, bring them on high and in my ship make them stand upright. I will clothe them with vestures of glory and with precious light will enwrap them. I will put a crown of aether upon them and what else for them the Greatness erects on their head. Then sit they on thrones and in precious light do they glisten. I bear them thither and raise them aloft; but ye Seven shall stay here behind. The portion of filth and of filthy doings shall be your portion. On the day when the Light ascends, the Darkness will return to its region. I and my disciples will ascend and behold the Light's region."

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

THE LIGHT-SHIP OF THE FISHER (§ 37).

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified.

A Fisher am I of Great Life, a Fisher am I of the Mighty; a Fisher am I of Great Life, an Envoy whom Life has sent. It (Life) spake unto me: "Go, catch fish who do not eat filth, fish who do not eat water-fennel and reek not of foul-smelling fennel. They do not come nigh to devour bad dates and get caught in the nets of the marsh."

Life knotted for me a noose and built for me a ship that fades not,—a ship whose wings are of glory, that sails along as in flight, and from it the wings will not be torn off. 'Tis a well-furnished ship and sails on in the heart of the heaven. Its ropes are ropes of glory and a rudder of Truth is there to it. Sunday takes hold of the pole, Life's Son seized the rudder. They draw thither to the shekinahs and dispense Light among the treasures. Thrones in them (sc. the shekinahs) they set up, and long drawn out come the Jordans upon them. On the bow are set lamps that in the wildest of tempests are not put out. All ships that sight me, make obeisance submissively to me. Submissively they make me obeisance and come to show their devotion unto me.

In the bows stands the Fisher and delivers wondrous discourses. There are lamps there, whose wicks shift not hither and thither, and a is not by him. He wears no ring of Deception, and with white robes is he clad. He calls to the fish of the sea and speaks to them: "Give heed to yourselves in the world! Beware of the foul-smelling birds who are above you. If you give heed to yourselves my brothers, I will for you be a succour,—a succour and a support out of the regions of Darkness unto Light's region."

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

THE GOOD FISHER REJECTS THE OVERTURES OF THE EVIL ONES

AND OVERWHELMS THEM (§ 38).

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified. The Fisher clad him with vestures of glory, and an axe hung from his shoulder and commotion of mischief, and a bell is not on the handle. I When the fishers caught sight of the Fisher, they came and gathered around him. "Thou art," say they unto him, "a ... Fisher, thou who hast caught no fish of the marsh. Thou hast not seen the in which the fish gather We will make thee familiar with the fishers; be our great partner and take a share as we do. Grant us a share in thy ship, and take thou a share in our ship. A bargain! Take from us as partner and grant us a share in thy ship. Grant us a share, and we will give thee a share in what we possess. Join thy ship with ours and clothe thee in black as we do, so that, if thou holdest thy lantern on high, thou mayst

find something, that the fish may not see thy glory and thy ship may take in fish. If thou dost give ear (to us), thou shalt catch fish, throw them into thy ship and do business. If thou givest no ear to our discourse, thou shalt eat salt; but if thou doest our works, thou shalt eat oil and honey. Thou stirrest a broth, thou fillest a bowl and sharest it with all of the fishers. We appoint thee as head over all of us. The fishers gather together beside thee, the first follow behind thee; they will be thy slaves, and thou takest three shares of what falls to our share. Our father shall be thy servant and we will call ourselves thy bondsmen. Our mother shall sit on thy couch and net nets, she shall be thy maid-servant and knit for thee yarns of all kinds. She shall space out the floats of cedar and put the lead-sinkers into the meshes, meshes which are then more heavy than all of the world. She shall divide the water by means of the yarns, and when the fish run into them they shall be stopped. Then they know not the way that they seek, and have no wit to turn back to their way. Like walls that collapse, they (the nets) come and fall on the good. They do not let the fish rise, nor turn their face to the boulders.1 They make them sink deep under the mud and shut them into They collect them into heaps and shake them out of the There is there a , into which the fish dash and are stopped. On the of the ... wattle-work is set up between two machines. Nets are laid down and . . which are filled with bad dates as bait, which cause them to eat death. Woe to the fish who is blinded by them, whose eve sees not the Light. Wise are the fish who know them. They pass by all of the baits. The others repair thither and . . and the nets will be for them there a lodging. One of a thousand sees it and of two thousand two see it. Its ... is closed, and a bell is hung on its side-door,—a bell that is forged in mischief and catches the whole of the world. There, is the water mingled with fennel the pegs of death. Woe to the fish who fall into them."

When the Fisher heard this, he stamped on the bows of the ship. The Fisher stamped on the ships of the fishers; the fishers lie in the shallows close crowded together, tied up together like bundles of wheat, and cannot rise up. The reeds swish , and the fish of the sea lie over the fishers. They snarl in the marsh and the water rings them round in its circle.

Then shrilling he spake with his voice. He discoursed with his voice sublime and spake to the catchers of fish: "Off from me, ye foul-smelling fishers, ye fishers who mix poison. Begone, begone, catch fish, who eat your own filth. Down with you to your and go to the end of the crossing. I am no Fisher who catches fish, and my fish are tested. They are not caught by the hook with had dates a mess which my fish do not eat. They fall not into the nets that are coloured 1 and turn not to the lamps of the Lie. They sink not down through the mud of the water, and go not after the of Deception. They (the nets) divide not the water , that shall fall on the good. If the fishers cast o'er them the cast-net, they tear asunder the net and set themselves free. There will be no day in this world on which the fishers catch my fish. There will be no day in this world on which the dove loves the ravens. Accursed be ye, ye foul-smelling birds, and accursed your nest, so that it may not be filled. Woe to your father Sirma, whose bed is in the reeds. Woe to thee, hungry Safna, whose wings do not dry in this world.3 Woe to thee, foul-smelling Sagia, thou who seest the fish and sighest for them. He shrieks and cries bitterly, when he strikes for the fish and misses them. Woe to thee, Arbana ..., thou who haulest the fish out of the deeps. Well for him who frees himself from the talons of those who catch fish. Well for him who frees himself from the men who are watchers of this world. Begone, begone with you, ye Planets, be of your own houses a portion. Water does not mix with pitch, and the Light is not reckoned as Darkness. The perfect ones' partner cannot be called your partner. The good one cannot belong to the wicked ones nor the bad to the good. Your ship cannot be tied up with mine, nor your ring be laid on my ring. There, is the head of all of you; count yourselves unto his realm! This your crass father stays stuck in the black water. Your mother, who nets nets and heavy double machines. have I beaten with the staff of (living) water and smashed a hole in her head. I lead on my friends, raise them on high in my ship and guide them past all the tax-gatherers. I guide them through the passage of outrage, the region where the fishes are taken. I make them escape the filth-eaters. But ye will come to an end in your dwellings. I and my friends of the Truth will find a place in Life's shekinah. Into the height will I bear them on thrones surrounded with standards of glory.

The Seven are vanquished and the Stranger-Man stays victorious. The Man of piety put to the test was victorious and helped the whole of his race unto victory.

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

THE FINAL SUBMISSION OF THE EVIL FISHERS (§ 39).

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified.

'Tis the voice of the Pure Fisher who calls and instructs the fish of the sea in the shallows. He speaks to them: "Raise your up, on the surface of the water stand upright;

then will your force be double as great. Guard yourselves from the fishers who catch the fish and beat on the Jordan.1 Shilmai and Nidbai2 curse them, and they depart and settle themselves down behind me a mile off. The fish curse their casting-net in their place."

When the Fisher thus spake, warning all of the fish, when the fishers his voice heard, they came up and gathered around him. They put themselves forward to ask of him questions, and knew not whence he came. "Where wast thou, Fisher," they ask him, "that we heard not thy voice in the marsh? Thy ship is not like our ship, and thy is not Thy ship is not tarred over with pitch, and thou art not like the fishers of this world."

The fishers see him, become scarlet for shame and remain standing in their places. They say to him: "Whence comes it that thou dost fish without finding? Thy ship is not like our ship; it shines by night like the sun. Thy ship is perfected in aether, and wondrous standards are unfurled above it. Our ship sails along in the water, but thy ship between the waters. Our reeds (or rods) grumble at one another and break into pieces. Among them is the fish-trident of wrath, on which and are not. Thy O Fisher, is such that when the fish see it, they take themselves off. We have not yet seen any fishers which are like unto thee. The wind wafts thy ship on, the mast for the fisher and a rudder that gleams in the water-shallows. On thy cast-net is no cord, and they have not laid 1 round it. There are no in it, which are a cunning device against the fish of the Thou keepest thy yarn and hast no clapper and no hatchet. Thy yarn (of the net) fishes not in the water and is not coloured for catching fish."

When the fishers thus spake, the Fisher made answer unto them: "Have done, ye fishers and fishers' sons; off, get you gone from me! Off, go up to your village, the Ruins, Jerusalem. Ask about me of your father, who knows me, ask of your mother, who is my maid-servant. Say to him: There is a Fisher in the boat, in which are four There is a rudder, and it stands there, and a mast . . . and redemptions. They lay waste the land of Jerusalem."

When they heard this from the Fisher and the standard of Jerusalem."

When they heard this from the Fisher who has come hither, and understood, they spake to him: "Have compassion, forbearance and mercy on us and forgive us our sins and transgressions. We are thy slaves, show thyself indulgent towards us. We will look after thy fish that none of them fails. We will be the servants of thy disciples, who name thy Name in Truth. We will continue to look after all who name thy Name."

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious in the Man who has come hither.

Other pieces set forth such figures as those of 'The Heavenly Plough' and of 'The Sowers'; but perhaps the most interesting is the saga of 'The Good Shepherd.' Here again it is difficult to believe that it was derived from Christian sources; it seems to be as independent as the 'Fisher of Souls' figure. The 'discourse' runs as follows:

THE GOOD SHEPHERD (§ 11).

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified.

A Shepherd am I who loves his sheep; sheep and lambs I watch over. Round my neck I carry the sheep; and the sheep from the hamlet stray not. I carry them not to the sea-shore. that they see not the whirl of the water, may not be afraid of the water, and if they are thirsty may not drink of the water. I bear them away from the sea, and water them with the cup of my hand, until they have drunken their fill. I bring them unto the good fold; and they feed by my side. From the mouth of Euphrates, from the mouth of Euphrates the Radiant, things of marvellous goodness I brought them. I brought them myrtle, white sesame brought them and brought them bright standards. I cleansed them and washed them and made them to smell the sweet odour of Life. I put round them a girdle, at sight of which the wolves tremble. No wolf leaps into our fold; and of no fierce lion need they be alarmed. Of the tempest they need not be frightened; and no thief can break in upon us. A thief breaks not into their fold; and of a knife4 they need not be anxious. When my sheep were quietly laid down and my head lay there on the threshold, a rift was rent in the height and thunder did thunder behind me. The clouds seized hold one of another, and unchained were the raging tempests. Rain poured down in sheets and hail that smites elephants low, hail that shatters the mountains. And the tempests unchain themselves in an hour.1 Seas burst forth; they flooded the whole of the world. There, under the water, no one escaped, once he sank from the height as into a gulf. The water swept off everyone who had no wings or no feet. He speeds on, and knows not he speeds; he goes, and knows not he goes. Thereupon I sprang up and I entered the fold to bear my sheep forth from their place. I saw my eyes full. I saw the sea, I saw the fierce-raging tempest, I saw the storm-clouds that send forth no friendly greeting the one to the other. Ten-thousand times ten-thousand dragons are in each single cloud. I weep for my sheep, and my sheep weep for themselves. The little lambs are lamenting who cannot come out of the fold's door.

When then, I entered the house, I mounted up to the highest place in it, and I call to my sheep. To the sheep in my care do I call. I pipe to them; I get them to hear, so that they come unto me. To them I pipe on my pipe, and beat on my tabour, leading them to the water. I call to them: "My little sheep, little sheep, come! Rise up at my call! Come, rise at my call; then will you 'scape the cloud-dragons. Come, come unto me! I am a shepherd whose boat is soon coming. My boat of glory is coming; and I come with it, and bring my sheep and lambs in aboard it. Every one who gives ear to my call and heed gives unto my voice, and who turns his gaze unto me, of him take I hold with my hands and bring him unto me inboard my boat." But every lamb, male and female, that suffered himself to be caught, the water-whirl carried away, the greedy water did swallow. Whoever gave no ear to my call, sank under. To the highest part of the vessel I went. The bows stand up with the bow-post. I say: How woeful am I for my sheep who because of the mud have sunk under. The waterwhirl sank them away from my reach, the swirling whirl of the water. How grieved am I for the rams whose fleece on their sides has dragged them down into the deep. How grieved am I for the lambkins whose bellies have not yet been filled full of milk. Of a thousand, one I recovered; of a whole generation I found again two. Happy is he who stood up in the water, and in whose ears no water has entered. Happy the great rams who have stamped with their feet. Happy is he who has escaped from the Seven and Twelve, the sheep-stealers. Happy is he who has not couched down, has not lain down, has not loved to sleep deeply. Happy is he who in this defective age of Bishlom1 has stayed whole. Happy are they who free themselves from the snares of Ruha (the Mother World-Spirit), from the filth and the shame and the bondage that have no end. My chosen! whoever shall live at the end of this age of Nirig (Mars), for him let his own conscience be a support. He will come and mount up to the Radiant Dwelling, to the region whose sun never sets, and whose light-lamps2 never

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

darken.

THE LOVING SHEPHERDS OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD (§ 12).

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified. A TREASURE calls from without hither and speaks:

"Come, be for me a loving shepherd and watch me a thousand out of ten thousand."—

"So then will I be a loving shepherd for thee and watch thee a thousand out of ten thousand. But how full is the world of vileness and sown full of thorns and of thistles!"—

"Come, be for me a loving shepherd and watch me a thousand out of ten thousand. I will bring thee then sandals of glory, with them canst thou tread down the thorns and the thistles. Earth and heaven decay, but the sandals of glory decay not. Sun and moon decay, but the sandals of glory decay not. The stars and heaven's zodiacal circle decay, but the sandals of glory decay not. The four winds of the world-house decay, but the sandals of glory decay not. Fruits and grapes and trees decay, but the sandals of glory decay not. All that is made and engendered decays, but the sandals of glory decay not. So then be for me a loving shepherd and watch me a thousand out of ten thousand."—

"I will then be a loving shepherd for thee and watch thee a thousand out of ten thousand. But if a lion comes and carries off one, how am I to retrieve him? If a thief come and steals one away, how am I to retrieve him? If one falls into the fire and is burnt, how am I to retrieve him? If one falls into the water and drowns, how am I to retrieve him? If one stays behind in the pen, how am I to retrieve him?"—

"Natheless, come therefore, be for me a loving shepherd and watch me a thousand out of ten thousand. If a lion comes and carries off one, let him go his way and fall a prey to the lion. Let him go his way and fall a prey to the lion, in that he bows himself down to the Sun. If a wolf comes and carries off one let him go his way and fall a prey to the wolf, in that he bows himself down to the Moon. If a thief comes and steals away one, then let him go his way and fall a prev to the thief. Let him go his way and fall a prey to the thief, in that he bows himself down before Nirig (Mars the God of War). If one falls into the fire and is burnt, let him go his way and fall a prey to the fire. Let him go his way and fall a prey to the fire, in that he bows himself down to the fire. If one falls into the mud and stays stuck there, then let him go his way and fall a prey to the mud. Let him go his way and fall a prey to the mud, in that he bows himself down to Messiah. If one falls into the water and drowns, then let him go his way and fall a prey to the sea. Let him go his way and fall a prey to the sea, in that he bows himself down to the seas. If one stays behind in the pen, let him go his way and fall a prey to the pen-demon. Let him go his way and fall prey to the pen-demon, in that he bows himself down to the idols. Come, be for me a loving shepherd and watch me a thousand out of ten thousand.

"So will I then be for thee a loving shepherd and watch thee a thousand out of ten thousand. I will watch a thousand of thousands, yea of ten thousand those who adore him."

"But some of them wander from me. I went up into high mountains and went down into deep valleys. I went and found him where he can crop nothing. Of each single sheep I took hold with my right hand and on the scale did I lay him. A thousand among ten thousand have the right weight."

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

THE TREASURY OF LIFE (§ 57).

(The next piece I have selected, treats of the source of all glory and enlightenment, called the Treasury of Life, that in which all spiritual powers and blessings are stored. The origin of the motive is without doubt the Iranian concept of the hvareno, the divine and kingly glory. In the Mandaean tradition it has become highly developed and is frequently personified as a female greatness. Thus in the Oxford Manuscript F. it is spoken of as "the Mother of all the Kings of the Light, from whom all worlds have come forth, who separated herself from the fervency of the Hidden Mysteries.' Many rôles are assigned to this Light of Life in the complexities of the celestial and cosmic dramas; and in the human stage it shines forth as the glory with which the perfected are vestured and crowned. I have chosen the simplest of the narratives or discourses on the topic. In the still more complex system of the phase of development represented by the Pistis Sophia collection there is no mention of the Treasury of Life, but the Treasury of Light is one of its most important conceptions. The Mandaean tradition conserves the echoes of an earlier phase, for it is indubitably less over-

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified. The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury (Simath-Haiye); the Treasury am I, the Mighty One's Treasury; the Treasury am I, Life's Treasury. A crown was I for the Mighty from everlasting. The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury. Ever did I give light to the treasures and to the shekinahs, and was for adornment to Jordan. For adornment became I to Jordan, who was from everlasting, through whom the treasures give light. Great Life made me limpid and lucent and made me into a vesture. He made me into his vesture, which day in and day out siness measureless praise of the Aether.

The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury. To the King of the Splendour became I a crown. The treasures shine through my glory and praise my form beyond measure.

The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury—I who as adornment settled down on the King of the Splendour, so that he shone in his mind, that he became bright and shining, and his form glittered more than the light-worlds. As it gave light and enlightenment unto the treasures and to the shekinahs even in the Aether, the King laid me as vesture round Nesab the Radiant. I Nesab the Radiant then took me, brought me and laid me as vesture o'er Jordan. As vesture o'er Jordan he laid me, through whom the treasures shine beyond measure.

The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury. The wicked are blind and see not. I call them unto the Light, yet they busy themselves with the Darkness. "O ye wicked," I unto them cry, "ye who sink down in the Darkness, arise and fall not into the deep." I cry unto them; yet the wicked hear not and sink into the great Sea of the Ending. Therefore was Jordan made a bridge for the treasures; a bridge for the treasures became he, while he cut off the wicked and hurled them into the great Sea of the Ending.

The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury. A crown I became for Life's Gnosis (knowledge). He bestowed on me the rulership over the treasures and the shekinahs which are there yonder.

The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury. Of the light-worlds was I the enlightener. Day in and day out they sing praise to Great Life, and through me they mount upward and behold the Light's region.

The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury. A vesture for the light-worlds became I.

The Treasury am I, Life's Treasury. A King for the Nazoraeans (the keepers of the Law of Moses) became I. I became a King for the Nazoraeans, who through my Name find praise and assurance. Praise and assurance they find through my Name, and on my Name they mount up and behold the Light's region. For the Men of purity put to the test-for them their eye became full of Light. Full of Light was their eye, and in their heart Life's Gnosis took seat. Whoever of me, Life's Treasury, makes his investment, loves not gold and silver, loves not gold and possessions, loves not food of the body, and envy with him has no place. Envy found with him no place, and he did not forget his night-prayer. He forgot not the discourses and writings, and he forsook not his Lord's word. He forsook not the prayer of his Father, Life's Gnosis; wherefor into the great End-Sea he falls not. He forgot not Sunday, nor did he neglect the Day's evening. He forgot not the way of Great Life, the way of wages and alms. He will be rapt away in the night-prayer, he will be rapt away in shining vestures which have come from Great Life. Treasures for him fill up what falls short, and what is empty they load for him full. If he bears a pure load, he is counted with the Men of piety put to the test who separate themselves

[from the world] in the Name of Yawar. Life's Treasury rested upon them, to their form it gave light, and for them a way to Great Life's House has been established.

I have called with clear voice and directed hereto the disciples: "The vine who bears fruit, doth ascend; who bears none will here be cut off. Whosoever lets himself be enlightened through me and instructed, ascends and beholds the Light's region; whoever does not let himself be enlightened through me and instructed, is cut off and falls into the great End-Sea."

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither.

EXHORTATIONS (§ 47).

(That the moral instruction given to the Mandaeans is excellent may be seen in almost any piece; but there are distinctive collections of ethical exhortation of which the following is an example.)

FROM the Light-region have I (Life's Gnosis) come forth, from thee, thou glorious dwelling. With vestures of glory have I been clad and a crown of victory on my head has been set. I came and found the Nazoraeans, how they stand on the shore of the Jordan. I set up my throne and sat down, as a father who sits 'midst his sons.

The Good sits there and teaches his sons all truth, in which

My sons! See that you commit no adultery; see that you no theft commit. They who commit adultery and who steal, mount not up to Life's house. They mount not up to Life's house and do not behold Light's region.

My sons! See that you practise no magic and afflict not the soul in the body. The magicians and falsificators are hurled into seething pots and fire is their judge.

My sons! See that ye remove not the boundaries, that the boundary-stone you displace not. The eye of those who remove boundaries looks not on the Light.

My sons! See that you do not abandon the slave to the hands of his master and the slave-girl to the hands of her mistress; abandon not the weak to the strong. [He who acts otherwise] will be fettered in a distant region, in the tax-gatherers' house; his eyes behold only the Darkness and his foot finds no firm ground.

My sons! See that you take not to wife a slave-girl who has not been made free, and thereby bring your sons into the house of a master. For if the slave one day sins, then on the day when his master passes judgement upon him, will the sins which the slave commits, fall on the head of his father.

My sons! See that you are not hinters and that your eyes make no suggestions to women. For the hinters and winkgivers will be assigned to the guard-stations. To the guardstations will they be assigned and be judged with stern justice.

My sons! See that you eat not up interest and interest on interest, else in the dark mountain will you receive judgement.

My sons! See that you pay no homage to the idols, the satans and demons, to the worship of idols and to the lusts of this world; for on the godlings and satans will a stern judgement fall, and they who pray to them will not ascend to Life's house and not look on Light's region.

Give heed to what I have charged you, and let no evidence be given of crime and of lying; on evidence of crime and of lying you will be haled to account 'fore the judge. You will be haled to account 'fore the judge who judges all worlds. He judges each one according to his works and his merit.

My sons! All that is hateful to you, do not to your neighbours; for in the world into which you have come, is a heavy justice and judgement. Heavy justice and judgement is there therein, and every day will minds made secure in it be chosen. For everyone who is laden, mounts upward; but he who is empty is judged here. Woe to the empty, who stands empty there in the house of the collectors of taxes. When he had it in his hand, he gave nothing; there will he search in his pocket and he will find nothing. The wicked and liars will be hurled into the Darkness. They will into the blazing fire cast, into the blazing fire will they cast him into whose ears the call has been made, but he would not give ear. I showed it him unto his eye, but he would not see; I showed it him, but he would not see with his eye.

Life is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come

THE SONG OF THE POOR'S EXALTATION.

(The Mandaeans possess a rich collection of liturgical songs and hymns which Lidzbarski has translated for the first time in his excellent edition of them (Mandäische Liturgien, Berlin, 1920). From these 236 hymns we choose one of the most typical as a specimen, and as perhaps of more than ordinary interest to the general reader who may have puzzled over the unqualified beatitude "Blessed are the poor." It is taken from the Oxford Collection (Bk. I., No. lvi.) and may be entitled:)

In the Name of Great Life may hallowed Light be glorified. A Poor Man am I, who comes out of the celestial Fruits, a Stranger to the world, who comes out of the Distance. A Poor man am I, to whom Great Life gave ear

a Stranger to this world, whom the Light-treasures made world-strange

They brought me out of the abode of the good ones; ah me! in the wicked ones' dwelling they made me to dwell. Ah me! they made me to dwell in the wicked ones' dwelling, which is filled full of nothing but evil.

It is filled full of nothing but evil, filled full of the fire which consumes.

I would not and will not

dwell in the dwelling of naughtness.

With my power and with my enlightening I dwelt in the dwelling of naughtness.

With my enlightening and my praise-giving

I kept myself stranger to this world. I stood among them

as a child who has not a father,

As a child who has not a father,

as a fruit who has not a tender. I hear the voice of the Seven,

who whisper in secret and say:

"Whence is this Stranger man. whose discourse is not like to our discourse?

I listened not to their discourse;

then were they full of wicked anger against me.

Life, who gave ear to my call,

a Messenger sent forth to meet me.

He sent me a gentle Treasure,

an armoured, well-armoured Man. With his pure voice he makes proclamation.

as the Treasures make in the House of Perfection.

"Poor one, from anguish and fear be thou free! Say not: I stand here alone.

For thy sake, O Poor,

this firmament was outspread.

Was this firmament spread out,

and stars were pictured upon it.

For thy sake, O Poor,

this firm land came into existence,

Came into existence this firm land, the condensing took form, fell into the water.

For thy sake came the sun.

for thy sake the moon was revealed.

For thy sake, O Poor, came the Seven, and the Twelve are hither discended.

Thou Poor one! On thy right rests glory,

on thy left rest light-lamps. Hold steadfast in thy security,

until thy measure has been completed.

When thy measure has been completed, I will myself come to thee.

I will bring thee vestures of glory,

so that the worlds will long for them, desireful.

I will bring the a pure, excellent head-dress, abundant in infinite light

I will set thee free from the wicked,

from the sinners will I deliver thee.

I will make thee dwell in thy shekinah

free thee into the region unsullied."

I hear the voice of the Seven,

who whisper in secret and speak:

"Blessed is he who is to the Poor one a father, who is unto the Fruit a tender.

Hail to him whom Great Life knows,

woe to him whom Great Life knows not.'

Hail to him whom Great Life knew

who has kept himself stranger to this world,

The world of the defect, in which the Planets are seated.

They sit on thrones of rebellion

and drill their works with the scourge.

For gold and for silver are they disquiet,

and strife they cast into the world.

Disguiet are they and therein cast strife; therefore will they go hence and seethe in the fire.

The wicked shall seethe, and their pomp

shall vanish and come to an end.

But I with my offspring and kindred shall ascend and see the Light's region,

The region whose sun never sets,

and whose light-lamps never darken. That region, the state of the Blessed.

whereto your souls are called and invited.

And so are our good brothers' souls, and the souls of our faithful sisters.

Life is exalted and is victorious, and victorious is the Man who has come hither

MANDAEAN BOOK OF JOHN PART 4 III. THE SLAVONIC JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT OF THE BAPTIST AND JESUS

(The Slavonic version of Josephus' History of the Jewish War, extant in some fifteen Russian Manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was first brought to light in recent times by A. N. Popov, the discoverer of the Slavonic Book of Enoch, who in 1866 called attention to passages contained in this version, but unattested elsewhere, relating to John the Baptist and Jesus Christ. Popov published the Slavonic text of parts of these passages. The earliest surviving manuscript of the Slavonic Josephus dates to 1463. The translation itself, however, is at least a century older than that. Some scholars have associated it with the very first Slavic school of translators active in the ninth and tenth centuries. Others have associated it with the Jewish community of Lvov in the fourteenth century. Virtually any date between those two extremes is possible.

Josephus wrote all of his surviving works after his establishment in Rome (c. 71 AD) under the patronage of Emperor Flavius Vespasianus. As is common with ancient texts, however, there are no surviving extant manuscripts of Josephus' works that can be dated before the 11th century, and the oldest of these are all Greek minuscules, copied by Christian monks. (Jews did not preserve the writings of Josephus because they considered him to be a traitor.) Of the about 120 extant Greek manuscripts of Josephus, 33 predate the 14th century. Grigorije Vasilije (1550 - after 1591) was a Serbian Orthodox monk-scribe who translated the The Jewish War by Josephus from Old Church Slavonic (Old Russian) to Serbian in the sixteenth century. All predate the first English translation of Josephus's writings based on the Latin text

made in 1602 by Thomas Lodge.)
The Slavonic Josephus is an Old East Slavic translation of Flavius Josephus' History of the Jewish War which contains numerous interpolations (additions by other authors) and omissions that set it apart from all other known versions of Josephus' History. The authenticity of the interpolations was a major subject of controversy in the 20th century, but the latest scholarship has rejected them.

The references to Jesus by Josephus found in Book 18 and Book 20 of the Antiquities of the Jews do not appear in any other versions of Josephus' The Jewish War except for a Slavonic version of the Testimonium Flavianum (at times called Testimonium Slavonium). In The Antiquities of the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus there are three passages of outstanding importance for Christian readers, seeing that they are the only external witnesses to Christianity from the first century. The (first) passage on JOHN THE BAPTIST is well-nigh universally accepted as affording no grounds for reasonable scepticism, and as therefore providing a most valuable external proof that John was a historical character. The (second passage, the) account of JESUS, on the other hand, has been called into most serious question by the vast majority of liberal scholars, and by very many conservatives, on numerous grounds, and chiefly because the writer unequivocally affirms that Jesus was the Messiah,-a statement which no Jew could have made. The third is a reference to JAMES, the brother of Jesus 'called' or 'said to be Messiah'—a hesitation which may fairly be ascribed to Josephus himself. Many then who reject the Jesus-passage as indubitably spurious, accept the James-reference as free from reasonable suspicion, and thus obtain a brief but valuable external first-century evidence for earliest Christianity.

It is agreed that these pieces were not originally composed in Slavonic and interpolated into the translation. Not only is the style foreign to correct Slavonic idiom, but the peculiar nature of the contents is so alien to Slavonic mentality, that to suppose so late a writer as a Slavonic translator, who could at the very earliest be assigned only to the 10th century, is out of the question. They are indubitably translations, and moreover clearly rendered from Greek. This is shown not only by the construction of the sentences in general, but also by the clumsiness and uncertainty of the translator in his rendering of particles and conjunctions; moreover the Greek original for the veil or curtain of the temple (katapetasma) is retained. These eight pieces were excerpted from the rest of the text and first made accessible for the general world of scholarship, in German translation, by A. Berendts, in 1906.

The consensus of learned opinion from the start has been entirely unfavourable to their authenticity. That is to say, no one has so far ventured to claim them for Josephus himself. They were immediately and almost unanimously dismissed as transparent Christian forgeries, and that too of a late date and of no sort of historic value of any kind. Here and there, however, were signs of some hesitation in endorsing so wholesale and precise a verdict; for a few, the matter seemed not so simple as it appeared at first sight. The first caveat was entered and the subject brought into a new perspective by R. Seeberg in a somewhat popular but highly suggestive treatment, which he boldly entitled 'A New Source for the Earliest History of Christianity.' Though Seeberg's reputation as a specialist on questions of origins forbade the rejection of

his view as that of an irresponsible eccentric. This task, however, was speedily undertaken by Johannes Frey, of the University of Dorpat. In 1908 Frey produced a substantial volume, in which he treated the material to an acute analysis and with minute elaboration, and in other respects showed a remarkable grasp of all the puzzling complexities of a whole series of problems which an intensive scrutiny of the passages brought out. In the first place Frey called attention to the fact that the general characteristics of these pieces were very different from those of all other ancient Christian forgeries known to us. Seeberg thinks that Christian manipulation must be admitted in three or four places; but Frey tries to show that he is here mistaken. The solution to that problem is a surprising one. Right from the start, there were two slightly different versions in circulation.

Flavius Josephus composed his JEWISH WAR first in Aramaic and brought it in circulation among the Jews of Palestine and Babylonia, doubtless to convince them of the futility of resisting the might of the Roman arms. Of this original edition, however, no trace has so far been discovered. The work known to us is in Greek. It is not a translation so much as a re-composition very carefully prepared on the models of Greek history; and in this Josephus sought the help of Greek stylists. It reads indeed like an original composition; whatever the Aramaic contained, the work as it now stands has been clearly adapted to suit the mentality of the wider public of the Greco-Roman world and the literary circles of the day to whom it was presented. This Roman edition in Greek was composed between 75 and 76 A.D. It is of course not impossible to suppose that in the Aramaic there may have been reference to the peaceful John- and Jesus-movements. There is a ligh likelihood that the Aramaic edition, on which the Slavonic version is based, has been published in the warridden Holy Land before 74 A.D. In other words, the Slavonic version is based on the older original.)

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT, PASSAGE 1 (I.) JOHN'S PROCLAMATION AND HIS REBUKE OF THE AUTHORITIES.

(Follows on B. J. II. vii. 2.)

- 1 Now at that time a man went about among the Jews in strange garments; for he had put pelts on his body everywhere where it was not covered with his own hair;
 - 2 indeed to look at he was like a wild man.
- 3 He came to the Jews and summoned them to freedom saying: "God hath sent me, that I may show you the way of the Law, wherein ye may free yourselves from many holders of power.
- 4 And there will be no mortal ruling over you, only the Highest who hath sent me.
- And when the people had heard this, they were joyful. And there went after him all Judaea, that lies in the region round Jerusalem
- 6 And he did nothing else to them save that he plunged them into the stream of the Jordan and dismissed them instructing them that they should cease from evil works, and promising that there would then be given them a ruler who would set them free and subject to them all that is not in submission; but no one of whom we speak, would himself be subjected.

7 Some reviled, but others got faith.

- 8 And when he had been brought to Archelaus and the doctors of the Law had assembled, they asked him who he is and where he has been until then.
- 9 And to this he made answer and spake: "I am pure; for the Spirit of God hath led me on, and I live on cane and roots and tree-food.
- 10 But when they threatened to put him to torture if he would not cease from those words and deeds, he nevertheless said: "It is meet for you rather to cease from your heinous works and cleave unto the Lord your God."
- 11 And there rose up in anger Simon, an Essaean by extraction, a scribe, and he spake: "We read every day the divine books
- 12 But thou, only now come from the forest like a wild animal.—thou darest in sooth to teach us and to mislead the people with thy reprobate words.
- 13 And he rushed forward to do him bodily violence.
- 14 But he, rebuking them, spake: "I will not disclose to you the mystery which dwelleth in you, for ye have not desired it.
- 15 Thereby an untold calamity is come upon you, and because of vourselves.
- 16 And when he had thus spoken, he went forth to the other side of the Jordan; and while no one durst rebuke him, that one did what he had done also heretofore.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT, PASSAGE 2 (IL) HIS INTERPRETATION OF PHILIP'S DREAM (Follows on B. J. II. ix. 1.)

- 1 While Philip was still in possession of his dominion, he saw a dream, -how an eagle tore out both his eyes.
- 2 And he summoned all his wise men.
- 3 But when each interpreted the dream differently, there came to him suddenly, without being summoned, that man of

whom we have previously written, that he went about in skins of animals and cleansed the people in the waters of the Jordan. 4 And he spake: "Give ear to the word of the Lord,—the

- dream which thou hast seen. 5 The eagle—that is thy venality; because that bird is
- violent and rapacious. 6 And that sin will take away thy eyes which are thy
- dominion and thy wife.' 7 And when he had thus spoken, Philip died before evening and his dominion was given to Agrippa.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT, PASSAGE 3 (III.) HIS PERSISTENT REBUKING OF AGRIPPA AND HIS EXECUTION

(Follows immediately on the preceding.)

- 1 And Herod, his brother, took his wife Herodias.
- 2 And because of her all the doctors of the Law abhorred him, but durst not accuse him before his face.
- 3 But only that one whom they called a wild man, came to him in anger and spake: "Why hast thou taken the wife of thy brother?
- 4 As thy brother hath died a death void of pity, thou too wilt be reaped off by the heavenly sickle.
- 5 God's decree will not be silenced, but will destroy thee through evil affliction in foreign lands
- 6 For thou dost not raise up seed for thy brother, but gratifiest thy fleshly lust and committest adultery, seeing that four children of him are alive.'
- 7 Now when Herod heard this, he was filled with wrath and commanded that they should beat him and drive him away.
- 8 But he accused Herod incessantly wherever he found him, and right up to the time when he (H.) put him under arrest and gave orders to slav him.
- 9 Now his disposition (or character) was extraordinary and his mode of life not that of a man; indeed just like a bodiless spirit, thus did this one too continue.
- 10 His lips knew no bread; not even at Passover (Easter) did be taste unleavened bread, saying that, in remembrance of God who had freed the people from slavery, it was given for eating in the flight, for the way was in haste. To wine and intoxicating drink he let himself not even draw near. And every animal he abhorred as food, and every wrong he rebuked, and tree-produce served him for use.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT, PASSAGE 4 (IV.) THE MINISTRY, TRIAL AND CRUCIFIXION OF IESUS

(Follows on B. I. II. ix. 3.)

- 1 At that time also a man came forward.—if even it is fitting to call him a man simply.
- 2 His nature as well as his form were a man's; but his showing forth was more than that of a man.
- 3 His works, that is to say, were godly, and he wrought wonder-deeds amazing and full of power.
- 4 Therefore it is not possible for me to call him a man
- 5 But again, looking at the existence he shared with all, I would also not call him an angel.
- 6 And all that he wrought through some kind of invisible power, he wrought by word and command.
- 7 Some said of him, that our first Lawgiver has risen from the dead and shows forth many cures and arts. 8. But others supposed less definitely that he is sent by God.
- 9 Now he opposed himself in much to the Law and did not observe the Sabbath according to ancestral custom.
- 10 Yet, on the other hand, he did nothing reprehensible nor any crime; but by word solely he effected everything.
- 11 And many from the folk followed him and received his teachings
- 12 And many souls became wavering, supposing that thereby the Jewish tribes would set themselves free from the Roman hands.
- 13 Now it was his custom often to stop on the Mount of Olives facing the city.
 - 14 And there also he avouched his cures to the people.
- 15 And there gathered themselves to him of servants a hundred and fifty, but of the folk a multitude.
- 16 But when they saw his power, that he accomplished everything that he would by word, they urged him that he should enter the city and cut down the Roman soldiers and Pilate and rule over us.

17 But that one scorned it.

- 18 And thereafter, when knowledge of it came to the Jewish leaders, they gathered together with the High-priest and spake: "We are powerless and weak to withstand the Romans.
- 19 But as withal the bow is bent, we will go and tell Pilate what we have heard, and we will be without distress, lest if he hear it from others, we be robbed of our substance and ourselves be put to the sword and our children ruined."
- 20 And they went and told it to Pilate.
- 21 And he sent and had many of the people cut down.
- 22 And he had that wonder-doer brought up. And when he had instituted a trial concerning him, he perceived that he is a

doer of good, but not an evildoer, nor a revolutionary, nor one who aimed at power, and set him free.

- 23 He had, you should know, healed his dying wife.
- 24 And he went to his accustomed place and wrought his accustomed works.
- 25 And as again more folk gathered themselves together round him, then did he win glory through his works more than all.
- 26 The teachers of the Law were therefore envenomed with envy and gave thirty talents to Pilate, in order that he should put him to death.
- 27 And he, after he had taken the money, gave them consent that they should themselves carry out their purpose.
- 28 And they took him and crucified him according to the ancestral law.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT, PASSAGE 5 (V.) THE TREATMENT OF THE FIRST CHRISTIANS

(Follows on B. J. II. xi. 6, after the notice on the death of Agrippa.)

- 1 Again Claudius sent his authorities to those states-Cuspius Fadus and Tiberius Alexander, both of whom kept the people in peace, not allowing them to depart in anything from the pure laws.
- 2 But if anyone diverged from the word of the Law, plaint was brought before the teachers of the Law.
- 3 Often they expelled him and sent him to the Emperor's presence.
- 4 And at the time of these two many had been discovered as servants of the previously described wonder-doer; and as they spake to the people about their teacher,—that he is living, although he is dead, and that he will free you from your servitude,-many from the folk gave ear to the above-named and took upon themselves their precept,-
- 5 not because of their reputation; they were indeed of the humbler sort some just cobblers, others sandal-makers, others artisans.
- 6 And [yet] as marvellous signs they accomplished in truth what they would.
- 7 But when those noble governors saw the misleading of the people, they deliberated with the scribes to seize and put them to death, for fear lest the little be not little if it have ended in the great.
- 8 But they shrank back and were alarmed over the signs, saying: "In the plain course such wonders do not occur.
- 9 But if they do not issue from the counsel of God, they will quickly be convicted.'
- 10 And they gave them (the Christians) authority to act as they would.
- 11 But afterwards, becoming pestered by them, they had them sent away, some to the Emperor, but others to Antioch, others again to distant lands,—for the testing of the matter.
- 12 But Claudius removed the two governors, and sent Cumanus

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT, PASSAGE 6 (VI.) THE TRILINGUAL INSCRIPTION CONCERNING JESUS.

(Inserted in B. J. V. v. 2.)

At it (the barrier of the Temple) were columns . . . and on these inscriptions in Greek and Roman and Jewish characters. publishing the law of purity and proclaiming that no foreigner should enter the inner court; for they called it the Holy Place to which one had to ascend by fourteen steps, and whose upper part was built in a square.

And over these tablets with inscriptions hung a fourth tablet with inscription in these three characters, to the effect: Jesus has not reigned as king; he has been crucified by the Jews, because he proclaimed the destruction of the city and the laving waste of the temple.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT, PASSAGE 7 (VII.) PORTENTS AT THE DEATH OF JESUS AND RUMOURS OF HIS RESURRECTION.

(Follows on B. J. V. v. 4, at the end of the description of the Temple-curtain.)

- 1 This curtain (katapetasma) was prior to this generation entire, because the people were pious; but now it was lamentable to look at. 2. It had, you should know, been suddenly rent from the top to the ground, when they delivered over to death through bribery the doer of good, the manyea, him who through his doing was no man.

 3 And of many other signs they tell which came to pass at
- that time.
- 4 And it was said that after he was put to death, yea after burial in the grave, he was not found.
- 5 Some then assert that he is risen; but others, that he has been stolen by his friends, 6, I, however, do not know which speak more correctly.
- 7 For a dead man cannot rise of himself—though possibly with the help of another righteous man; unless he will be an angel or another of the heavenly authorities, or God himself appears as a man and accomplishes what he will, -both walks

with men and falls, and lies down and rises up, as it is according to his will.

8 But others said that it was not possible to steal him, because they had put guards all round his grave,—thirty Romans, but a thousand Jews.

9 Such is narrated as to that curtain (Greek: katapetasma). Moreover as to the cause of its tearing there are various statements.

FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS' ACCOUNT, PASSAGE 8 (VIII.) A PROPHECY CONCERNING JESUS.

The translator G.R.S. Mead. does not present a translation for the Part 8. Instead, we find a lengthy analysis which we produce here:

(In B. J. VI. v. 4, where in our texts the prophecy of the world-ruler is referred to Vespasian solely.)

Some indeed by this understood Herod, but others the crucified wonder-doer Jesus, others again [Emperor Flavius] Vespasian[us].

In conclusion a few very general remarks may be added calling attention to the most salient points.

In the John-pieces (I.-III.) there is nothing sufficiently distinctive to show any literary dependence on the New Testament accounts. On the contrary, there are entire novelties and wide divergences. In the first place the strong political colouring given by the writer to the proclamation of the prophet is quite out of keeping with anything to be found in the Christian presentation. But the most striking difference is the protracted period assigned to John's activity. 'At that time' means during the ethnarchy of Archelaus. Now Herod the Great died in 4 B.C., and Archelaus, who succeeded him, was deposed in 6 A.D. It is quite inconceivable that any Christian writer who had the gospel-story before him, could have made what would be so astounding a statement to Christian ears.—one that would at once appear to the most moderately instructed as an egregious blunder. Surely the last thing an intelligent forger would desire to do would be to give occasion to his readers to call the canonical narrative into question concerning so prominent a feature as John's almost equal age with Jesus, and so practically invite them to dismiss all the graphic details of the birth-stories as fictitious?—unless it be that he wrote before these stories were in circulation. No one short of a lunatic would concoct 'evidence' against his own side. The writer must therefore have moved in circles who would see no difficulty in assigning to John a public activity of at least 30 years; for he tells us that John survived the death of Philip, which took place somewhere between 33 and 36 A.D.

The cross-examination of John by the authorities and the incident of Simon the Essene are also arresting novelties; but there is nothing improbable in them. The introduction of the name Essene does not in any way depend on Christian tradition; for the surprising fact is that, though there are close parallels between some of the doctrines of the Essenes and gospel-ethics, and between some of their practices and the regulations, for instance, laid down for the mission of the apostles and the communal observances of the earliest Christian communities, the New Testament writers never mention the name. The wording of the refusal of John at the end of his rebuke to disclose a certain mystery to his official opponents has led some to the supposition that this is a cryptic reference to Jesus,—meaning 'the mystery dwelling among you.' That of course would be impossible at so early a date as prior to A.D. 6. But surely, quite apart from this, a Christian apologist would have been at pains to bring out clearly so essential a feature as John's acknowledgment of the Messiahship of Jesus, and not go out of his way to disguise it? It is a curious and thought-provoking phrase. It may refer to the 'kingdom,' to the indwelling rule and law of God, that is brought to consciousness in the hearts of the repentant; or it may possibly be that John had some inner mystical doctrine to reveal, for we have to remember that the Mandæan or Gnostic John-tradition, which has come down to our own days, has ever laid the greatest stress on the mystical element in the teaching of the Baptiser.

The interpretation of the dream of Philip, like the stress laid upon John's strange appearance and dress and his extraordinary mode of life, is just such a detail as would strike the imagination and linger in the memory of the people. What more likely and in keeping with precedent than that a prophet should interpret the dream of the king? But here we have, not only a novelty for readers of the gospel-account, but also a contradiction with Josephus himself. The unfavourable character given to Philip, the stress laid on his 'venality,' is in complete contrast with the reputation given him by Josephus in his Antiquities (XVIII. iv. 6), where he is praised for the mild and peaceable disposition he displayed in his government, and for the personal interest he took in the administration of justice. Now the Antiquities was completed in 93/94 A.D. Had then our writer known it, he would not presumably have made Josephus contradict himself so egregiously. This raises the question as to the possibility of his having written before the Antiquities got into wide circulation.

Piece III. in some respects agrees with and in others differs from the synoptic account of the marriage of Herod Antipas. tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, with the wife (Slav. Jos. widow) of his brother Philip. But Josephus himself in his Antiquities (XVIII. v. 1 and 4) tells the story quite differently from both. There we read that Herodias was married first of all to Herod Boëthus, and that the wife of Philip was Salome, the daughter of this union; so that Philip was son-in-law of Herodias. Herod Antipas, says Josephus, was the second husband of Herodias, and the marriage took place while the first husband, Boëthus, was still alive. Josephus, moreover, says that Philip died childless; while our author avers that he left four children surviving him. Moreover Josephus in the famous passage concerning John in the Antiquities (XVIII. v. 2) knows nothing of John's execution being due to so personal a cause as is depicted both by the gospels and our author, though very differently; it is in the Antiquities ascribed solely to Antipas' apprehension of the political consequences of the John-movement. Our author is then clearly ignorant of both the Antiquities-account and also of the most characteristic feature of the gospel-narrative, the graphic story of the dancing of the daughter of Herodias. Everything therefore goes to show that he is drawing on some other traditional

Finally, as the climax to John's extraordinary scruples about food, it is asserted that he would not touch unleavened bread even at Passover-time,—an absolutely obligatory observance in Jewry. Moreover he is made to give an exegetical justification for his abstention. This is the distinctive touch of a Jewish hand; it is exceedingly unlikely that it would ever have occurred to a late Christian.

As to the John-pieces then we seem to be moving in a thoroughly Jewish atmosphere, and there is nothing characteristically Christian about them.

The Jesus-pieces (IV. and VI. to VIII.) are naturally the most arresting and form the main crux of the whole matter. It seems to be generally held that all the eight pieces are by the same hand. They may be said to have in general the same terms of expression, to breathe the same spirit and present similar characteristics. In the main Jesus-pieces the author makes a show of trying to get at a reasonable point of view; but he hesitates in his judgement and frankly confesses his inability to make up his mind. He is convinced that the more generally credible events themselves are historic; but as to the sheerly miraculous elements he is content to set them forth as rumours giving rise to absolutely contradictory opinions. So non-committal and rationalistic a proceeding is quite foreign to the mentality of a convinced Christian. This attitude of reserve and the very striking divergences of the writer from the gospel-accounts are in the sharpest possible distinction to the perspective and procedure of the compilers of such apocryphal documents as the Acts of Pilate and The Gospel of Peter. In the latter the literary dependence on the gospels is manifest on all hands; what is added is in no way contradictory, but adduced solely to exalt the greatness of Jesus and heighten the impression of the miraculous element.

If piece IV. is carefully and critically compared with the famous spurious passage concerning Jesus in our text of the Antiquities (XVIII. iii. 3), it will at once be seen that if there is any possible question of dependence between them, it is not on the side of our author. Even among the opinions he cites, there is no hint of Messiahship. When he says that some "supposed that he had been sent by God," it means no more than what he makes John assert of himself,—namely, that he was a prophet. It seems to me moreover highly improbable that any late Christian could have referred to his Lord, the one and only Son p. 115 of God, as 'that wonder-doer' or the 'crucified wonder-doer Jesus.'

The divergences from the gospel-account of the Jesus-story are so striking that they need not be dwelt on. To every instructed Christian the gospel-narratives are presumably so familiar in all their details, that the contradictions with our author's account will present themselves automatically. Nevertheless the more one meditates on the account in piece IV. of the typical external acts of the ministry and the intrigues of the Jewish authorities to compass the death of Jesus, the more does it seem within its own measures not to be inconsistent; in fact it hangs very well together from an outside point of view. That view is in no way due to a manipulation of gospel-information; it is based on very different data, and has all the appearance of an honest attempt to piece together and interpret floating traditions and conjectures reflected from days contemporaneous perchance with the attempts of the 'many' to set forth the events, as the introduction to the Lukan gospel informs us.

The phrase 'servants' as applied to the disciples, it may be noted, is a thoroughly Jewish conception; it was used by the Rabbis to emphasise the relationship between pupils and teacher. The precise figure 150 may be a round number; otherwise it depends on a tradition for which the 12 and the 70 were of no importance.

The final sentence, which avers, not only that the Jewish authorities themselves crucified Jesus, but that this was in accordance with the Law, is so astonishing in the latter respect that it has been set down to a gross blunder of the Slavonic translator from the Greek original, which may have read 'contrary to the Law'—κυτὸ with the genitive and not the accusative. This seems a reasonable supposition; though we must remember that Jewish rulers in Maccabæan days did crucify their political opponents.

The trilingual inscription statement (VI.) is a wild piece of fanciful combination. The writer has heard of an inscription connected with the execution of Jesus; indeed it was required by law that the formal charge should be placarded in all cases of capital punishment. Moreover he has heard that this particular notice was set forth in three languages; and he also has heard that there were trilingual inscriptions outside the inner court of the Temple. In combining the two he departs so far from his general sobriety that we might almost think the passage was by another hand; but this is otherwise not probable. The first charge against Jesus was that he had excited the people to revolt; of this he was acquitted by Pilate. The authorities had then to give some other excuse: Jesus was executed not because of any Messianistic agitation, but because he prophesied disaster to the temple and the holy city. Some excuse had to be found that would placate the people.

In piece VII. the rending of the veil and the reference to many other portents seem to depend on characteristically Christian tradition; but it need not be supposed that this tradition was in the fixed gospel-form in which we now have it. The phrase 'prior to this generation' is intended to mean some 30/40 years before Josephus wrote his History (75-79 A.D.). It is interesting to note that at that time similar portents were in the air; for Jewish tradition (the Talmūds and Josephus himself, B.J. VI. v. 3) makes mention of a mysterious spontaneous opening of the heavy iron templedoors 40 years before the destruction of Jerusalem) and the Gospel of the Hebrews refers to a similarly mysterious breach in the iron threshold of the same doors. There were widespread legends of portents current in the folk-memory. Our author then goes on to treat of the rumours and contradictory statements about the resurrection; and here, as before, he ruminates on possibilities, giving the conjectural pros and cons, but declining to commit himself on the side of the most vital belief of Christendom.

Piece V., concerning the early Christians, is equally as far from literary dependence on the canonical Acts as are the Jesus-pieces on the Gospels. There are wide divergences; and the whole produces an impression of utter ignorance of the detailed, methodical setting-forth of the thirty years of history contained in the Acts. Isolated facts, such as Paul's being sent to Caesar at Rome, are absurdly generalized on the one hand, and on the other the events of decades are crammed into the narrow time-frame of some four years, the period of office of the two governors mentioned (44-48 A.D.). The phrase "But if they do not issue from the counsel of God, they will quickly be convicted" is thought by some to indicate literary dependence on a similar saying in the Acts. But the latter famous utterance, ascribed to Gamaliel (prior to 7 A.D.), is worded so very differently that, if any connection between them can be supposed, it may well be ascribed in both cases to the uncertain echoing in the popular mind of a wellknown Rabbinical pronouncement.

In conclusion, then, it may be said that the hope of extracting anything of value out of these astonishing and puzzling interpolations depends on establishing p. 118 the reasonableness of the hypothesis, that they are based on echoes of popular traditions still floating about in the Jewish environment of Christianity in, say, the last third of the first century. There is, I think, much that goes to show the likelihood of this supposal, or at least to deter us from summarily dismissing it. But even if we are persuaded to this extent, we are confronted with the still more difficult task of imagining a satisfactory conjecture as to the status and motive of the writer.

If we hold him to have been a Jew, as the above analysis seems to require, what plausible motive can we ascribe to him for interpolating the matter into the text of Josephus? Was he a disinterested lover of history who thought that Josephus had fallen short of historical impartiality by neglecting to mention two such remarkable personages as John and Jesus and two such important movements as those associated with their names, and desired to amend the historian in this respect in days when copyright had not yet been dreamed of? Or may we assume that a pupil of Josephus would think himself entitled to amend the narrative?

If, on the contrary, he was a Christian, the interest in filling the gaps would be easily understandable, had he based himself on canonical tradition. But the divergences from and flat contradictions of that tradition are so extraordinary, that one is all the time kept asking in astonishment: What sort of a Christian could this man ever have been?

To have succeeded in producing such an impression designedly argues the procedure of a mind of such extraordinary subtlety and psychological dexterity that it is too uncanny for credence. Any deliberate attempt of this kind would surely have betrayed itself in some way; but as a matter of fact there is no indication of subtle manipulation of gospel-

data anywhere. It is not only very difficult but entirely out of the question to think that any late Christian forger could have thus deliberately challenged the firmly established canonical tradition on so many points. Therefore if the writer were a Christian, he must have been a first-century man; that is to say he wrote before the Greek canonical gospels were in general circulation or at any rate before they had penetrated to his environment.

There remains only one other possible conjecture—from which everybody has so far instinctively shrunk: Can the writer after all have been Josephus himself? But if so, why does he contradict himself so flatly,—to say nothing of the difficulty of conjecturing his motive for cutting out the passages?

It thus appears that, whatever hypothesis of authorship we make—whether Christian, Jew or Josephus, we are left floundering in a welter of inconsistencies; all that can be said is that the Jew alternative is the least improbable.

And there we must leave this ballling problem, in the hope that our readers will at any rate be interested in having it brought to their notice; for in any case these passages must be considered striking curiosities, even perhaps the greatest to be found, in the ancient literature that is generally classed under the caption—'Christian forgeries.'

THE HARAN GAWAITHA

The Haran Gawaita and the Baptism of Hibil-Ziwa: Source: Mandaic Text E. S. Drower Original text language: Mandaic-Aramaic Translation: Ethel Stefana Drower, 1953 Estimated range of dating: 300-500 AD.

(The Haran Gawaita (Mandaic "Inner Haran") is a Mandaean text (in the Mandaic-Aramaic language) which purports to tell the history of the Mandaeans and their arrival in Iraq as "Nazoreans" from Jerusalem.

Haran or Aran is the name of a man in the Book of Genesis in the Hebrew Bible. He died in Ur of Chaldees (Ur Kasdim), was a son of Terah, and brother of Abraham. Through his son Lot, Haran was the ancestor of the Moabites and Ammonites, and through his daughter Milcah he was ancestral to the Aramaeans. Terah, a descendant of Shem son of Noah, was the father of Abraham, Nahor, and Haran. Their home's location ur of the Chaldees 'before his father Terah', his family travelled towards Canaan, the promised land. However, Terah stopped at Charan (or Haran) and settled there, as did Nahor and Milcah, whereas Lot accompanied Abraham and others onwards to Canaan.

The Mandaeans claim to be decendants of Nazoreans (the keepers of Moses' Laws), who were closely connected to Ebionites and other groups around Jesus' family of which John the Baptist also was a member. To put it bluntly, Mandaeans just like Muslims, believe that Roman Christianity was based on lies in order to bring the original Christian movement away from its Jewish origin (which is probably true). They rather wanted to obey Moses' Laws and the teachings of John the Baptist whom the consider the true messiah or prophet.

According to the Haran Gawaita, John the Baptist was baptised, initiated, and educated by the patron of the Nasirutha ("secret knowledge"), Anush or Anush-Uthra, the myterious high priest of the sect. John's name may have been inserted at a later date (as it appears as Yahia, which is Arabic, not Aramaic!). Drower also asserts that the Church Fathers Hippolytus and Eusebius describe Simon Magus, the Samaritan sorcerer of biblical fame (Acts 8:9ff), as a Nasoraean and a disciple of John the Baptist. The author of the pseudo-Clementine Homilies (Bk. II, xxiii-xxiv), also describes Simon Magus as a disciple of John the Baptist and a Nasoraean. The Homilies also state that the immediate successor to John was another Samaritan named Dositheus, elected as leader because Simon happened to be in Egypt at the time of the martyrdom of John the Baptist. Homily (Bk II. xxiv) recounts that when Simon returned from Egypt, the two quarreled. Simon's authority was proved by miracles and Dositheus ceded his position as head of the sect and became Simon's pupil.

As a result of efforts to bring the sect back into the folds of Judaism, Mandaeans also disparaged the Christian books as fiction, regarding Jesus as the literary invention (msiha kdaba fiction, regarding Jesus as the literary invention (msiha kdaba rifalse prophet") of Paul of Tarsus, but eventually they emerged towards the end of the 1st century as the Mandaeans although others actually managed to shape the anti-Torah development of Pauline Christianities like Marcionism. The term mandai is an Aramaic equivalent of the Greek gnosis ("knowledge"). Besides the Mandaeans, they have been frequently been connected with groups known as Naaseni, Naasenians, Naassenes. Many of the original "Nazoraeans became Christians. In Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic (nasrani) and Hebrew (notzrim) the terms for Nazarenes simply mean Christians today.)

Text

(Note: Lacuna or breaks in the texts are indicated by an ellipsis, 3 or more dots).

My Lord be praised. In the name of the Great Life, healing, vindication, health, soundness, speaking and hearing, joy of heart and forgiving of sins be there for me, Zakia Zihrun son of S'adia, and for my offspring and brothers (and sisters), and for my parents, in the strength of Yawar Ziwa and Simat-Hiial. Finis.

. . . and Haran Gawaita receiveth him and that city in which there were Nasoraeans, because there was no road for the Jewish rulers. Over them was King Ardban (Artabanus; History knows five kings of Parthia / Persia with this name. The Artabanus contemporary with Jesus was Artabanus III., but the passage above might well refer to an earlier Artabanus.). And sixty thousand Nasoraeans abandoned the Sign of the Seven and entered the Median hills (the Median Plateau, eastern Iraq), a place where we were free from domination by all other races. And they built cult-huts (bimandia = small chapel or shrine) and abode in the Call of the Life and in the strength of the high King of Light until they came to their end. And they loved the Lord, that is, Adonai, until in the House of Israel there was created something which was not placed in the womb of Mary, a daughter of Moses. It was hidden in her womb for nine months and bewitched her until the nine months were fulfilled and she was in labour and brought forth a messiah.

... and he (Jesus) called the people to himself and spoke of his death and took away some of mysteries of the sacred Meal and abstained from the Food. And he took to himself a people and was called by the name of the False Messiah. And he perverted them all and made them like himself who perverted words of life and changed them into darkness and even perverted those accounted Mine. And he overturned all the rites. And he and his brother dwell on Mount Sinai, and he joineth all races to him, and perverteth and joineth to himself a people, and they are called Christians.

... and from Nisrat (Nazareth), a city of the Jews, which is called the city of Qum (W of Hamadan and 80 km NNW of Kashan)...

... because it is a shrine; for Mercury founded a community in Qum, and Saturn founded a community in Sinai Jews were / had settled in the Arab region which is called Basra, which is also called Sufat-Zaba (Suf Zaba = "River of Reeds" or "River of the End", today Shat-al-Arab, which is the stream formed by the Tigris and Euphrates after they have joined at Ourna). . .

... one. The First Life conceived a plan for gaining a grasp in order to destroy the mysteries of Adonai from the seas and to destroy the plot of Ruha and Adonai which came (emanated) from the House of Ruha; to ruin the scheme of Ruha before the presence of the great Father of Glory and to propagate the mysteries of the Great Life. . . .

... in Tmari, the pure Jordan, and bore witness to the Truth. And in the great Jordan a pure seed was formed... and came and was sown in the womb of 'Nisbai, so that from it a child might come into being, a prophet of the great Father of Glory, praised be His name! in order to destroy the building of Ruha and Adonai.

... in the House which Ruha and her seven sons built I surrounded all the district

... Madai, which Ruha (personification of human lust. She is sometimes called Ruha-d-Qudrja = Holy-Spirit), and her seven sons (planets) could not reach because on it (were people who belonged?) to Hibil-Ziwa...

... of the Life, and to propagate a race in the House which Ruha and her seven sons built, so that she should not have dominion ... in the midst of the worlds, and he shall be called Yahia-Yuhana, the prophet of Kusta, the apostle ... who dwelt at the city of Jerusalem; a healer whose medicine was Water of Life, a healer that healeth... (evil spirits for they became disbelievers) which go forth from Ruha and Adonai to destroy the physical body.

... Then... when the boy was born Anush-Uthra came by command of the great Father of Glory and they came before Hibil-Ziwa by command of the great Father of Glory and travelled over deserts towards Mount Sinai and proceeded... towards a community called Ruha's that is situated near the place where the Ark was built ... and she will be a deliverer midwife to the child... into Parwan, the white mountain, an earthly place. And in that place the fruit and sky are large. There ... groweth the Tree which nourisheth infants . And they took back Sufnai the lilith to a place so that when they should perform a living baptism to purify the child, the apostle of Kusta, Yahia-Yuhana ...

... And they did not alter the order or commands which emanated from the presence of the great Father of Glory ... Sufnai the lilith took him the child before the eyes of his mother fell upon him ... at the order of Anush-Uthra. And they mounted up towards Parwan, the white mountain ... a place where fruit and sky are large. There they set down Yahia near the Tree which nourisheth nurslings... Then Sufnai the lilith returned to her place. When thirty days had passed, Hibil-Ziwa came at the command of the great first Father of

Glory, and he came to the Median hill-country and sent Anush-Uthra to Bihram, son of Uthras and to the Median mountains. And they took Bihram from the Median hills and went . . . to Parwan and performed baptism and baptised the child beside the Tree that nourisheth nurslings. And when he was seven years old, Anush-Uthra came and wrote for him the A. Ba, Ga, Da.

. . . and, until he was twenty-two years old, he taught him about all nasirutha . '

. . . then, at the command of the great Father of Glory he set the crown on him and seated him beside himself, until they came to the city of Jerusalem amongst the community which Ruha founded... all belonged to her and to her seven sons except those from the Median hills, Aharan . . .

... Hibil-Ziwa, of the Median hills, upon which they wandered from mountain to mountain... mountain to the city of the Nasoraeans is a distance of six thousand parasangs; it is called the enclave of Hibil-Ziwa... Then Yahia-Yuhana took the jordan and the medicine Water of Life... and he cleansed lepers, opened the eyes of the blind and lifted the broken maimed to walk on their feet... by the strength of the lofty King of Light - praised be his Name! - and gave speech and hearing to all who sought him. And he was called in the world "envoy of the High King of Light" - praised be his Name! - even at the very abode and building of Ruha and Adonai and her seven sons.

And he taught disciples and proclaimed the Call of the Life in the fallen House (Temple or Dynasty). Forty-two years he dwelt therein, and then his Transplanter looked upon him and he arose with his Transplanter, praised be his name! . . . and a time arrived, sixty years after Yahia-Yuhana had departed the body . . . the Jews, just as their former strength (returned?) to Ruha and Adonai, who became arrogant . . . Hence, after sixty years, Ruha and Adonai planned to erect . . . the fallen House (Temple or Dynasty) and spoke to Moses the prophet and the children of Israel who had built the House (Temple or Dynasty)... Then they raised an idle cry against the tribes of Anush-Uthra, the Head of the Age, and shed their blood so that not a man of the disciples and Nazoraeans were left . . Then the Jordan and its tributaries shrank back and mounted the dry land beside it. And the light of the banners of Abatur and Anuss-Uthra was quenched . . . Then Ruha scattered the Jews . . . who is called 'of the House of the Seven', and then Adonai sent a staff . . . And he spoke over it and struck Suf-Zaba and the waters that abide in Suf-Zaba were divided like the two mountains of a gorge and there was a road. And Ruha brought those (Jews) over Suf-Zaba. And she built for them, and pressed out for them clay brick that is sacred, and constructed a budding and they set up for it column after column of falsehood, and raised up each fallen column . . . and Darkness was formed therefrom, and they settled therein the Jews, who sinned and caused havoc . . . The new Jerusalem had three walls, of which each was removed from its fellow, and he teacheth about them... And Ruha surrounded the latter Jerusalem of the Jews with these walls and then . . . Ruha . . the Jews, and they could not remove the walls from them

Then Anush-Uthra mounted up to his fathers and said to them, to his fathers: "Thou didst bring the Jews and Ruha over Suf-Zaba and she (Ruha) has built a building and has surrounded it by seven walls so that I am unable to aid their armies. What have ye ordered about us"? . . . (In this wise) did Anush-Uthra speak with his fathers, and told them how it had happened. Then there came and arose the great Father of Glory together with his mild son Hibil . . . and they acted, and then Hibil came . . . towards Anush-Uthra and said to him: "Go down into Media and take seven shafts, that is seven darts, and go and pronounce (magic) words over them. And take with thee seven guards from Mount Parwan and take for them bows and they shall speak over them seven magic words, and they will crumble the sacred brick in the House of Ruha; for at every place where those arrows fall fire will break out and will devour it, rising into the sky and eat into the ground for twelve nasks by virtue of those pure and important spells. And the rule of Ruha and her seven sons and of the Jews will be brought to nought from now until the end of the world".

Thereupon Anush-Uthra changed nothing of that which they commanded him (to do), and Hibil-Ziwa came and burnt and destroyed Jerusalem and made it like heaps of ruins. And he went to Baghdad and killed there all the cohens and took away government from them and pounded to dust every city in which there were Jews. Moreover for the eight hundred years that their government was in Baghdad they exercised an autonomy amongst themselves - four hundred rulers - for the duration of a Jewish autonomy in Baghdad was eight hundred years; four hundred rulers from the Jews (Jewish community) wielded kingly office. Thus the House of the Jews came to naught and met its end, and the Host of darkness became powerless.

Those seven guards, who were of the Chosen Elect, summoned by Anush-Uthra at the word and command of Hibil-Ziwa, came as the great Father of Glory had commanded. And one of them was Zazai son of Hibil-Uthra . Him Anush-Uthra installed in the city of Baghdad. And Anus'-'Uthra installed one whose name was Papa son of Guda

upon the great Tigris and at the mouth of the UIai (Karun river). And one, named Anus' son of Nat'ar-Hija. Anus'-'Uthra installed at its source. Anush-S'aiar son of Njab (he installed) on the Euphrates, and one whose name was Brik-Yawar son of Bihdad he placed at Pumbit (Pumbdita) a territory situated at the end of Sura. And one, whose name was Njab son of Bihram, he placed on the mountain(s) of Glazlak, and one whose name was Ska-Manda he set at the extremity of the mountain of the Water- springs situated at the tail-end of the Parwan range at the place from which those seven kings went forth and dispersed, (namely, those Seven guards) who came with Anus'-'Uthra to conquer Darkness and to bring the plot of Ruha to nought. And they annihilated the rulers of the Jews and made them as if they had never existed. And Anush-Uthra placed them (the Seven viceroys) at the seven corners of the House, upon the seven horns of the worlds, in order to crush the power of Darkness and to establish the Call of the Life and to make void the rebellious outcry.

When Anus'-'Uthra had done that by order of Hibil-Ziwa whom the great Father of Glory commanded, Anush-Uthra went to the T'ura d Madai (Median mountains), called Haran Gawaita, and brought Bhira son of S'itil, a descendant of Artabanus king of the Nasoraeans and set him up in Baghdad (Babylon) and installed him in sovereign power as its sovereign. And in his company there were sixty Nasoraeans, and the Nasoraeans in Baghdad (Babylonia) multiplied and became many. Some of the tribe of Bhira son of S'itil, Nazoraeans, came with him until there were four hundred mas'knia in Baghdad.

And it was revealed to me and to all of them in this book and they acted upon this reliable baser acting according to this its light and removing nothing from this writing of great revelation that was given to Adam the first man and to his descendants (and to) all who bear witness unto this light and illumination until worlds' end. Nought shall pass away from the Word of the great Father of Glory, praised be his name! Then the said Zazai, one of the righteous elect, rose to the firmament and abode with Yurbas sixty-two days, and ascended to his fathers; but those other six chosen righteous ones sent forth their descendants into the world. And in the earthly world there are some of the children (descendants) of disciples whom Yahia-Yuhana taught, and amongst the Nazoraeans some from the first planting of kings from the beginning, middle and end; yea there are some amongst the Nasoraeans at the latter end of the age, for they go forth that ye may be filled, and Nasoraeans of the end of the age are amongst their descendants. But from the Root of those disciples of Yahia-Yuhana there come forth also people of no degree', for, when they speak of "descendants of kings of Bagh- dad, of the kingdom in Baghdad", they forget that two hundred and eighty years have passed since some of the sons of those disciples of Yahia-Yuhana went forth, so that Ruha cometh and confuseth them and twisteth words and perverteth seals and changeth phrases and prayers by agency of descendants of those disciples, that is, those disciples that were propagated from Jewish seed. For the Son of the Pure Drop, the Mystery, (was of) the Jews, Jerusalem of the Jews. Ruha caused them to obey the mysteries of the body, and so they fell away from purity (or the pure doctrine)

I will tell you, O ye priests who live in the Arab age, of that which occurred) before the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, went out and prophesied as a prophet in the world so that they performed circumcision like Jews and changed sayings - for he is the most degraded of false prophets. Mars accompanieth him because he is the Seal of prophets of the Lie, although the Messiah will appear after him at the end of the age! I will inform you, Nasoraeans, that before the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, emerged and was called prophet in the world and Mars descended with him, he drew the sword and converted people to himself by the sword. About eighty-six years before the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, Adonai sent S'urbis'-Ruha who is his spouse, to the city of T'ib, called locally the City of As'ganda because of all that was done during his rule in Baghdad. For As'ganda dwelt in T'ib; it was his native place; and it was called "the city of S'ganda" also because in it there were Nasoraeans and ris'amia ethnarchs". And there was one ris'ama called Oigil.

And Adonai sent S'urbis'-Ruha into this world and said to her: "Go, appear to Qiqil of the Nasoraeans disguised as Hibil-Ziwa, so as to take his judgement away from him. And distort the words by which the structure of their faith is defined. When thou hast done this, the whole nation of the Nasoraeans will turn to us". And Ruha-S'urbis', wife of Adonai, went and dwelt upon entered into Qiqil of the Nasoraeans and disguised herself as Hibil-Ziwa - and there is none lovelier than Hibil-Ziwa whom the Soul acknowledge! And She taketh away the judgement of Qiqil and instructeth him and saith to him: "I, Hibil-Ziwa, have brought parchment and reed-pen, so write a Root of Life and a Saying and a Mystery, and disseminate them send them forth and act in accordance with them. For the Life hath sent me and I have come to thee".

Thereupon Qiqil brought parchment and reed-pen and wrote and distributed (doctrine emanating) from Ruha. whilst his understanding was reft from him. So schism ensued amongst the Nasoraeans and candidates for priesthood as result of those writings which he had written. Then She removed herself from his presence, and Qiqil's mind and understanding returned and he recanted his words and revoked phylaeteries scrolls of her construction and that which had been taught to him by Ruha, yea, every writing that he had by him of those writings dictated by Ruha, he burnt in the fire. And he sent to the Nasoraeans and candidates for priesthood saying: "Bring the writings which I give gave you; burn them with fire, for she (Ruha) deluded me when I knew not from whom she came". And he took away his writing from such Nazoraeans as practised the orthodox faith. and they gave it to him and he burnt it in the fire. But all those who were of the Root of the Jews did not bring it back nor give it to Qiqil, and some of those writings remained with

And Hibil-Ziwa hath delivered this saying and warning to Nasoraeans who exist at the end of the last age: " Beware, and again beware! Act only (in accordance) with this writing of the Great Revelation . The (Mandaean) Root (Church) shall be steadfast, shall testify, shall act and not neglect this pure warning, and so will ascend to the presence of the Father . But any man who doth not testify to this Way or lay hold of it, seeketh darkness and will fall. O ye Nasoraeans that shall exist at the end of the last age, I exhort you, be firm and act according to this book - its name is the Great Revelation. For at that time peoples, nations and tongues will multiply, and every individual will seek his own gain. And books and religious treatises of Ruha and Adonai's making will be many, and through them souls will sink down to the Darkness' Thus, before the appearance of the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, the Christian, Idumaean, Jewish, Hurdabaean and Dilbilaean peoples became many. The peoples were divided and languages became numerous; even the languages of Nazoraeans multiplied. This; and then sovereignty was taken from the descendants of King Artabanus, and (they were driven) from Baghdad; the Hardbaeans (Persian Sassanids) taking over the kingdom. Nevertheless there remained one hundred and seventy banners and bimandiaia in Baghdad.

And so a Hardabaean (Sasanian) dynasty ruled for three hundred and sixty years, and then the Son of Slaughter, the Arab, set up as king, went forth and took a people to himself and performed circumcision. Even then, after this had happened and these events had taken place, sixty banners still remained and pertained to me in Baghdad. Then he took the sword and put to the sword from the city of Damascus unto Bit Dubar, which is called Bdin. He governed it all and ruled over the lord of the hill-country of the Persians who are called Hardbaeans and took away sovereignty from them.

Then, when this had taken place, in time there came one Anush, called the son of Danqa, from the uplands of the Arsaiia [from (to?) the city of Baghdad bis'us' kings of the planting of Artabanus, and brought in his own, belonging to Muhammad son of Abdallah son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, when he was seven hundred years old. And he took him from his city to Suf-Zaba which is called Basrah, and showed him the hill-country of the Persians unto the city of Baghdad. And Anush-Uthra instructed the Son-of-Slaughter, as he had instructed Anush-son-of Danga, about this Book compiled by his fathers, upon which all kings of the Nasoraeans stood firm. And a list of kings is in this book, which teacheth (or chronicleth) from Adam, king of the world, unto King Artabanus, yea even unto Anush-son-of-Danqa, who were all of the Chosen Root. Then he told him about the king of the Ardubaiia (Sasanians); about aII he sought to do and of his connection with the children of the great Nation of Life, in order that they (the Muslims) should not harm the Nasoraeans who lived in the era of his government. Thus did Anus'-son-of-Danqa explain and speak so that, through the power of the lofty King of Light - praised be his name! - it was not permitted to the Son-of-Slaughter, the Arab, to harm the congregation of souls, owing to the protection afforded by these explanations of the Great Revelation - praised be its name! And, concerning that which I found in these commentaries on the Great Revelation, I found not its equal amongst all the treatises and mis'rria and miscellanies about the Great Life which were in libraries and in my possession. I went round to all the Nazoraean ris-amia that there were: I saw many scripts, writings of research and manuscripts of the Great Revelation, but saw not the like of this well-established Source. For it is reliable, existing from ancient times and eternally, from the beginning of the eighth world unto worlds' end. These are writings which teach orthodox procedure, that are all clarity. Instruction about the beginnings of all light and the end of all darkness is found in these writings of the Great Revelation and not found in any other books. That which is taught in this book and Road of the Righteous hath been bestowed upon the righteous unto worlds' end; this Road of the Righteous hath been bestowed upon every son of the True Root, upon every son of the Pure Drop who, when listening to the words and teachings of this

writing of the righteous, witnesseth publicly thereto, and his mind testifieth thereto and is enlightened. But when a foolish person heareth these trustworthy words his mind groweth dark and he doth not appreciate them, nor can such a person discern that they are pure sayings. And their colours die away from his mind like as a burgeoning plant fadeth and the root from which it appeared".

Hibil-Ziwa expounded these interpretations and revealed and declared: "Any Nazoraean man in whose library these explanations are found should beware lest he reveal in the presence of foolish persons mysteries penetrated and revealed by deeply thinking theologians; because he that revealeth anything that is weighty in this writing book in the presence of foolish and ill-conditioned Uthras who would bring pure words into contempt, layeth up for himself sixty causes of stumbling and sixty sins. (But he that is silent before foolish persons concerning such interpretations) sixty offences and sixty sins shall be forgiven him and Abathur win grasp (his hand) in honourable kus'ta.

Then Hibil-Ziwa - praised be his name! - taught that every man who concealeth (the Great Reuelation?) it but observeth it, when his measure is full he will rise up without sin and (moreover) will loose and take with him sixty souls who are bound. And he will rise up towards his fathers and his Father will take his hand in honourable kust'a and he will be acclaimed as one in a thousand like Abathur Rama. And he will behold the great Countenance of Glory and will take His hand in honourable kus'ta and will be set at the King's right hand. For he whose mind testifieth to these teachings about orthodox procedures belongeth to the portion of the lofty and great King of Light, and hell-beasts and purgatory demons have no power over him".

And then Hibil-Ziwa - praised be his name! - taught Nazoraeans about the end of the last age. For evil will increase and pollutions will be many and abound in the world, since it is decreed that wickedness will increase and pollutions multiply greatly in the world; because it is destined in that age. So that of a great shekel of gold but half-a-draehma's weight will rise up to the Light; everything will sink down into Darkness. In that period and epoch - from the rule of the Arab Son-of-Slaughter unto the end of the worlds - persecution and tribulation will increase for Nasoraeans; purity will decrease and pollutions, adultery, theft and fraud will increase.

And men will be polluted and during that period man will drink the blood of fellow-man. All that is fair will disappear but, amongst Nasoraeans, he that is steadfast in and holdeth to these teachings and this great revelation will rise up by the path of believers and will behold the great Countenance of Glory. Hibil-Ziwa taught concerning this age - that is, the age of the Arab Law - that it must needs occupy its destined span, for the Law is constituted of four mysteries; part therein is of the Light, and part therein wholly Root of Darkness. And it endureth for two kings. To it was imparted a kind of order. It is formed from four natural humours: the Root of Darkness is composed of and arrayed in blood, gall, wind, and mucus.

But the habiliments of the soul are formed of mystery, light and the jordan; the soul is formed by proper observance of the three mysteries, by purification of the four natural humours is the soul's vestment formed. For this is the eighth world, and it will turn from this habiliment, this garment in which it dwelleth; it will not tarry therein.

During this Arab age every evil creature multiplieth like evil weeds that grow apace, and peoples, nations and languages disperse and become measureless and numberless, like the Darkness that came into being with abundance.

Hibil-Ziwa taught that "At the latter end of the world, when the Arab, the Son-of-Slaughter, hath completed his allotted four thousand years, it will come to pass that the false Messiah, son of Miriam, will succeed him, and that he will come and will show forth signs (wonders) in the world until the birds and the fish from sea and rivers open their mouths and bless him and give testimony, until even the clay and mudbrick in a building bear witness to him, and until four-legged creatures open their mouths and testify to him".

And Hibil-Ziwa explained further: "But you, O Nasoraeans, and righteous elect men, testify not to him, for he is a false Messiah that walketh by fraud and sorcery. He is Mercury, who attracteth attention and doth whatsoever he wisheth and his mind is filled with sorcery and frauds. I declare to you, ye chosen righteous ones and ye perfect ones that that are stedfast, abide by this pure line of separation and alter no word or command of the great Father of Glory, that He may take you by the hand, watch over you and deliver you out of the hands of the children of Krun".

Hibil-Ziwa taught: "When the Messiah hath returned, ascending to the sky - and his reign will last six thousand years - he will ascend and assume his first body. From that epoch until worlds' end, wickedness will depart from the world; that which issued from the earth will enter the earth and that which descended from the sky will return and enter the sky. And there will be righteous people in the world, and no man will covet his neighbour's goods. And people's senses

will return to them and they will not perform circumcision; they will be converted and Nasoraeans will increase in the world. The eye of envy will be lifted from them and the sword will depart from the world. It will be as if the sword brought by the Son of Darkness, he whose sword was of the world of Satan, had never been in the world. And with it goeth a force which he possessed not in the world; until Mars came and set up his sign and bound him thereto by oath.

'Yea, there will be righteous people and government will revert to sons of the Great Family of Life, and they will be diligent and have the ascendance. But kings bring accusation against the age, just as the Root of Nasoraeans reprove it, for, before all (else) they cared for agriculture and gladdened the king. And people will be converted, and there will be righteous people and righteousness will increase. And fifty thousand years will pass in calm ease without disturbance, and all will keep to one word (or Speak one language), and there will be no hatred, envy or dissension amongst them, and illwill shall be removed from the minds of all peoples, nations and tongues".

Hibil-Ziwa explained further: "When these portents occur and the time hath come, those fifty thousand years I will be my allotted portion, mine, Yawar-Ziwa's, because the first age was the age of Anush-Uthra and its consummation (or "development") was bestowed upon me, Hibil-Yawar-Ziwa.

"Then the latter part of the age and the decadence and end of the world will be given to Mamit the Least-of-her-Brethren;

(her portion) followeth my portion, Hibil-Yawar-Ziwa's.
"Thus the latter end of the age and the decadence and final end of the world is given to Mamit daughter of Qin, the mother of the Seven what occupied seven portions, and the eighth was given to Amamit as hers, for her own. And, as the utter end of light meaneth the beginning of total darkness, so the portion of Qin, the decadence of the Arab age and the end of the eighth world (succeeded mine)"

Hibil-Ziwa - praised be his name! - taught concerning the Word, that is the Great Mystery: "This writing, that is the Diwan of the Great Revelation from the beginning of worlds of light unto the end of the eighth world, this Road of the Righteous shall not fail, because it is concerneth the portion of Father-Life, the Ancient, the First - praised be His name!

'Let every man of the Nazoraeans and Mandaeans who may be living in the eighth world be steadfast and bear testimony and act according to this reliable basis, and with a sincere heart and believing lips be of my allotted portion, mine the High King of fight, so that thereby Habs'aba (Sunday) may be his deliverer, and save him from the children of Krun; and I will set him at my right hand. But any Nazoraean or Mandaean that is of the True Root, yet doth not bear testimony to this Road of the Righteous but testifieth according to the Way of Ruha, their words have I rejected. (Such a one) will not be my allotted portion but will belong to Ruha and the Messiah. Habs'aba will not be his helper, and he will not be delivered out of the hands of the sons of Krun".

These doctrines were imparted by Hibil-Ziwa to the sons of the great Family of Life. And he enlighteneth their minds and instructed their intelligence about the King of Light - praised be His name!

And this is a copy of the Diwan d Gadana Rabtia. Finis.

This is the Diwan of Great Revelation called the Haran Gawaita which I copied for myself for the third time. I am poor, striving and childlike, a slave that is all sin, (unworthy to) kiss the shoes on the feet of Nazoraeans, dust beneath the feet of the pious and least amongst my fellow ganziwi. I am Zakia-Zihrun son of Rabbi Ram, son of Rabbi Yahia-Yuhana, son of Rabbi Ram son of Yahia-Baktiar son of Rabbi Adam-Mhatam son of Rabbi Bihram-Br-Hiia son of Rabbi Adam-Zalcia son of Rabbi Br-Hiia, family name Kuhailia. I copied from my own copy a third time. I am Zakia-Zihrun son of Rabbi Ram son of Rabbi Yahia-Yuhana son of Rabbi . . . family name Kuhailia . . . from a copy of a Diwam belonging the great, lofty and respected one, a reliable priest, Rabbi Mhatam son of Yahia-Bayan son of Yuhana-Shadan son of Zakria-Br-Hibil son of Zakria, known aa Dihdaria, and his family name Sabur. And he had no copy but this. And Life is victorious. Finis.

Thus is venerated Diwan, Explanations and Great Revelation called the Haran Gawaita was set in order and mmpleted on Friday the twenty-sixth of the Month of Second Sowing, which is Nisan (in the sign of) the Ram, the year of Friday in the year one thousand, and eighty-eight of Arab chronology - may the (world) founder, upon them, and Manda-d-Hiia make impotent their raging against the great Congregation of Souls! It was copied in the city of Shustar by the waters of the Duganda and in the court of the respected craftsman Nairuz son of Hadat, his name' being Yahia son of Bihram son of Adam son of Yuhana-Shadan son of Zakria br-Hibil son of Zakria son of Zihrun, known as Dihdaria, his family name being Sabur - may Manda-d-Hiia forgive him his sins! So these venerated Diwans were assembled from beginning to end with care, knowledge and meticulous research. And my co-editor was my elder brother, a reliable and skilful priest, Rabbi Yahia-Yuhana son of Rabbi Ram, (his) family name being Kuhailia.

Manda-a-Hiia forgive him his sins!

(Here the text of D.C. 36 breaks off. An autobiographical note added about 168 years later concludes the manuscript. It describes an outbreak of cholera which carried off the entire Mandaean priesthood, and the uncanonical methods resorted to in order that a, few literate members of priestly families could be ordained as priests).

D.C. 9, (copied by the same priest who mote the autobiographical appendix added to D.C. 36) ends:

"This is the Diwan of Great Revelation called Haran Gawaita which I, poor and lowly (etc.) Ram Zihrun son of Rabbi Sam-Bihram (etc. etc.) copied from two diwans . .

One of the two was a copy of a copy of a copy of the Haran Gawaita of D. C. 36, asd the other is also traced back to D. C. 36 so that it seems likely that by 1088 A.H. only one ancient and imperfect copy had survived.

GINZA RBA - THE GREAT TREASURY

The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans or Sidra Rba. The Great Book of the Mandaeans or The Codex Nazaraeus, or The Book of Adam Original Language: Eastern Aramaic (Mandaic)

Translation: Ethel Stefana Drower, 1953 Estimated Range of Dating: 1st - 3rd centuries

(The Ginza Rba - Canonical Prayerbooks of the Mandaeans. Excerpt from: E.S. Drower, Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans, Leiden: 1959. The Ginza Rba "The Great Treasury" or Sidra Rba "The Great Book", and formerly the Codex Nazaraeus, is the longest of the many holy scriptures of Mandaeism. It is also occasionally referred to as The Book of

Language, dating and authorship

The language used is classical Mandaic, a variety of Eastern Aramaic written in the Mandaic script (Parthian chancellory script), similar to Syriac script. The authorship is unknown, and dating is a matter of debate. Some scholars place it in the 2nd-3rd centuries,[1] while others such as S. F. Dunlap place it in the 1st century.[2]

Structure

The Ginza Rba is divided into two parts - the Right Ginza, containing 18 books, and the Left Ginza, containing 3 books.

The book, still mainly hand written, traditionally contains the Right Ginza on one side, and, when turned upside-down and back to front, contains the Left Ginza, this latter also called "The Book of the Dead." The Right Ginza part of the Ginza Rba contains sections dealing with theology, creation, ethics, historical, and mythical narratives; its six colophons reveal that it was last redacted in the early Islamic Era. The Left Ginza section of Ginza Rba deals with man's soul in the afterlife: its colophon reveals that it was reducted for the last time hundreds of years before the Islamic Era.

Contents

The book is a compilation of various oral teachings and written texts, most predating their editing into the two volumes. It includes literature on a wide variety of topics, including liturgy and hymns, theological texts, didactic texts, as well as both religious and secular poetry.

The Right Ginza

- · Books 1 & 2, prose texts, contain two versions of a very stylized history of creation and of Mandaeism. Book 2 also contains three small appended pieces.
- Book 3 is a reconstructed poem also dealing with creation themes but concentrating more on the origin of evil.
- Book 4 is a small text usually ignored.
- · Book 5 contains five separate prose texts, the first and largest dealing with a journey to the Underworld.
- · Book 6 deals with a "heavenly journey" theme.
- Book 7 consists of John the Baptist's words.
- · Book 8 deals briefly with creation and evil.
- · Book 9 part 1 deals with other religions and the nature of the Godhead; a smaller part 2 deals with the Holy Unique
 - Book 10 deals with the sacrament.
- · Book 11 deals with classical gnostic themes, and is the most difficult to interpret.
- · Book 12, in seven parts, mixes poetry and prose and provides a basic introduction to Mandaean beliefs.
- · Book 13 comprises a short interim conclusion to what seems to be the original version of the Ginza.
- Book 14 a prose text, deals with material from book 3.
- Book 15 is a collection of 21 poems.
- Book 16 contains 10 or 11 mostly shorter poems, many comparatively simple and straightforward.
- Book 17 contains 2 rather obscure but colorful poems.
- · Book 18 is a history-of-the-world plus an apocalypse

The Left Ginza

- Book 1 is a four-part prose text on the salvation process, beginning with the ascension to heaven of Seth, in advance of his father Adam (compare Sethian Gnosticism).
 - · Book 2, poetic, comprises 28 hymns.
- Book 3, poetic, comprises 62 hymns. The last two books, especially the third, seem to have a more rudimentary doctrinal content than found in the Right Ginza.)

GINZA RBA The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans

The Book of Souls (Baptism Liturgy)

My Lord be praised!

In the name of the Great First Other-Worldly Life! From far-off worlds of light that are above all works may there be healing, victory, soundness, speech and a hearing, joy of heart and forgiving of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus through the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hiia!

PRAYER No. 1

In the name of the Life and in the name of Knowledge-of-Life (Manda-d-Hiia) and in the name of that Primal Being who was Eldest and preceded water, radiance, light and glory, the Being who cried with His voice and uttered words. By means of His voice and His words Vines grew and came into being, and the First Life was established in its Abode.

And He spoke and said, "The First Life is anterior to the Second Life by six thousand myriad years and the Second Life anterior to the Third Life by six thousand myriad years and the Third Life more ancient than any 'uthra by six thousand myriad years. And any 'uthra is older than the whole earth and older than the Seven Lords of the House by seven hundred and seventy thousand myriad years. There is that which is

At that time there was no solid earth and no inhabitants in the black waters. From them, from those black waters, Evil was formed and emerged, One from whom a thousand thousand mysteries proceeded and a myriad myriad planets with their own mysteries.

The Seven were wroth with me, were outraged and said, "The man who set out and came towards us hath not bound a circlet about his head!" Then I turned my face toward my Creator who created me, the celestial Lord of Greatness, and I said to Him, "O my Creator who created me, (O) Lord of lofty Greatness! As I went (my ways) the Seven were wroth with me and said. 'The man who went and came towards us hath not bound a circlet about his head!'.

Then that Lord of Lofty Greatness took a circlet of radiance, light and glory and set it on my head; He laid on me His hand of Truth and His great right hand of healings and said to me, "Upon thee shall rest something of the likeness of Sam-Gufna and of Sam-Gufaian and of Sam-Pira-Hiwara. whose radiance gleams and whose appearance beams, for they are holy and believing beings in the Place of Light and in the everlasting Abode.'

And Manda-d-Hiia, the valorous 'uthra, taught, revealed and said "Every Nasoraean man who is righteous and believing, on arising from sleep, must take a white turban symbolising the great mystery of radiance, fight and glory and shall recite this prayer thereon. And he shall twist it round his head and repeat the prayer secretly. It will be his praise in the house of the great Celestial Father. And all persons who behold him will be subdued in his presence: any persecutor, or one who inciteth to wrath, will stand before him in fear, terror and trembling, (their knees) knocking together. And for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus, who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions, there will be forgiving of sins and I shall be pure in all my words. And Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer of the turban].

PRAYER No. 2

Illumined and illuminating is Zihrun, the great Mystery of radiance, light and glory, from whom Manda-d-Hiia emanated and was divulged, and from whose very Self noble sons of the mighty and sublime Life proceeded. He created uthras at his right and his left and installed them in their own shkintas, And they gave out light and were effulgent in their own raiment and gloried in the knowledge that their Father had transplanted them from the House of Life. And it is incumbent on a pupil to honour his Master like his parents, (so) the 'uthras rose on (their ?) thrones of radiance, light and glory and took off the crowns on their heads and placed them on the thrones of radiance, light and glory, saying, "A teacher is superior to parents! Rise, our Father, in praise, and lay on me Thy hand of truth and Thy great right hand of healings! And Life be praised!

[This prayer is the opening prayer of "In the name of that First Being"]

PRAYER No. 3

In the name of the Life!

Life created Yawar-Ziwa, son of Light-of-Life, Hamgai-Ziwa son of Hamgagai-Ziwa. Illumined and illuminating is the Great Mystery of Radiance, Zihrun, a Crown of radiance, light and glory from whom a flow of living water streamed out to the shkintas. For he is the revealer (lit. opener) of radiance and light and displayeth his treasure which emanated from him, to eager 'uthras. All worlds adore and praise the mighty First Life in its Indwellings, and Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer of the turban]

PRAYER No. 4

As the 'uthras stand in their shkintas they adore and praise the Great Place in the Light which is eternal, and praise Manda-d-Hiia and speak with him. When the 'uthras are standing in their shkintas they adore and praise that Tarwan-Nhura. To what shall they dedicate the wreath upon their heads and upon what shall they hang it? They dedicate it to the Tree of Radiance and hang it (thereon).

And Life be praised!

[This is the prayer of dedication of "Life created Yawar-Ziwal

PRAYER No. 5

In the name of the Great Life!

Let there be light, let there be light! Let there be the light of the Great First Life! There shone forth wisdom, vigilance and praise of the First Mana which came from its place. He who twineth the wreath is Yufin-Yufafin: the bringer of the wreath is 'It-'Nsibat-'utria. 'It-Yawar son of 'Nsibat-'utria set on the wreath. He brought it and placed it upon the head of the implanted manamanas. The wreath flames and the leaves of the wreath flame! Before the Mana there is light, behind the Mana glory, and at either side of the Mana radiance, brilliance and purity. And at the four corners of the House and the seven sides of the firmanent silence, bliss and glory prevail (lit. are found). And Life be praised! which was transplanted from guarded (?)

[This is the prayer for the turban. Read it and set it on thy head.]

PRAYER No. 6

A crown of ether-fight shone forth dazzlingly from the House of Life. 'Uthras brought it from the House of Life and the mighty First Life established it in His shkintas. He who setteth it up shall be set up and he who upliftent it shall be raised up into the world of light and he who established it into the enduring Abode. Ye are established and uplifted to the place (in which) righteous (beings) are established.

And life be praised.

[This is the prayer of "loosing", "Let there be Light". These three prayers "In the name of that Primal Being", "Life created Yawar-Ziwa" and "Let there be light" read near thy crown and place it on thy head. And read "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreath and put it on thy head above thy crown. And twine a myrtle-wreath for thy staff and hold it with thy crown. And when thou goest to the jordan read "Answer me, Father, answer me!]

PRAYER No. 7

In the name of the Great Life!

There shall be healing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush! Strengthened and enhanced is the great mystery of radiance, light and glory which resteth on the mouth of the Great Life! for from it came into being and was manifest Knowledge-of-Life (Manda-d-Hiia) who knew and interpreted the thoughts of the First Life, which are wondrous.

And Life be praised!

[Read this prayer and hold thy pandama for thy baptism.]

PRAYER No. 3

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the mighty, first, sublime Life from, worlds of light, the Ineflable above all works! for the ancient Radiance and for the Primal Light, for the Life which emanated from Life and for Truth (Kushta) that was pristine, from the beginning.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for Yukabar-Ziwa who was mighty in his radiance, and came in his light and his glory (as) messenger to the first righteous elect (people). He crossed over the worlds and came and rent the firmament and revealed himself.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for Yuzataq-Gnosis-of-Life, source of Life, who interpreteth silence and giveth hope and taketh the prayers of spirits and souls of righteous and believing men, the virtuous and well pleasing, into the Place of Light and into the Eternal Abode.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the Father of 'uthras, the Ancient, Lofty, Occult and Guarded, the Man who is high (yet) remaineth deep and hidden. He seeth and understandeth that which the worlds and generations do in the worlds of darkness.

Incense that is fragrant, incense, that is fragrant! yea for the dwelling of Life and the planting of 'uthras. Incense that is

fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the dwelling of four beings, sons of Perfection. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea for the Dwelling of Abathur. Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the dwelling of Hibil, Shitil and Anush, sons of a living, brilliant, healthy and steadfast stock, beings not removed by sword, nor burnt by flames of fire, nor drowned in water-floods; whose (very) sandal-straps on their feet are unwetted by water. They sought and found, went to judgement and were vindicated, spoke and were heard. They are complete, lacking in nought; perfect are they and not imperfect. They came from a pure place and go to a pure place.

Incense that is fragrant, incense that is fragrant! yea, for the lives of the men who were our ancestors, of righteous and believing men who rendered up (their souls) and departed from their bodies; and of those who yet live in their bodies. They testified and the door of Sin will be shut to them and the door of light open to them and they will be knit together in the union of Life, in which there is no separation. Pray ye for us from there, and we will pray from here for you! All fruits perish; all sweet odours vanish, (but) the perfume of Life is established for ever and unto world's end upon those who love His name of Truth.

Those souls who descend to the jordan and are baptised shall be without sins, trespasses, follies, mistakes and evil deeds: they will rise and behold the great Place of Light and the Eternal Abode. And praised be the Great Life in light. And Life is victorious.

[This saying, "Incense that is fragrant, yea for the First Life" recite over both incense and sandalwood and put them before thee on the jordan-bank in a new incense-pan. And make a fresh fire on the copper incense-pan -- (these) are aids of all order which ye carried, put (lit. "performed") at the jordan. Then read the baptismal "We acknowledged" "Praises", "Thee, Life,", "I sought to raise eyes" (Prayer 77) and "Raising eyes".]

PRAYER No. 9

Raising my eyes and lifting up my countenance toward the Place which is all portals of radiance, light, glory, beauty, repute and honour and to the Abode which is all beams of light; I adore, laud and praise the Mighty, Strange (otherworldly) life, and the Second Life and the Third Life; and Yufin-Yufafin, Sam-Mana-Smira, and the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all healings. I adore, laud and worship the precious and guarded Place, the secret and guarded manas and the Lord of Greatness from the Secret Place and, from the Hidden Place, the pihta, need(?), truth and faith.

I worship, laud and praise Sam-Smira, the great radiancy of the First Life, son of the Great Primal Life who thought and was manifest, seeking His own: His shecinah resteth on waves of water. The assembly of souls which proceeded from Him, on the Last Day, when they leave their bodies, will rejoice in Him, will embrace Him and will rise up and behold the outer Ether and the everlasting Abode.

I worship, laud and praise the multitudinous Radiancies and great mighty Lights: I worship, laud and praise Piriawis, the great Jordan of the First Life which is all healings. I worship, laud and praise the pure Yushamin who abideth on treasures of the waters and upon mighty celestial wellsprings of light. I adore, laud and praise the life which proceeded from Life and the Truth which existed before, in the Beginning. I worship, laud and praise Yukabar-Ziwa, envoy of the Life and the Word of the first Elect Righteous ones. I worship, laud and praise the Ancient, Supernal, Occult and Guarded Abathur, who is high, hidden and guarded, whose throne is placed at the gate of the House of Life. He sitteth with the scales set before him, weighing deeds and (their) recompense. He seeth and discerneth that which the worlds and generations do. I worship, laud and praise Manda-d-Hiia lord of healings, the being whom the Life summoned and bade him heal the congregation of souls, divesting the congregation of souls of (their) darkness and clothing them with light; raising (them) and showing them that a great restoration of life exists, a place where the spirits and souls of our forefathers sit clothed in radiance and covered with light; showing the great restoration of life which is before them.

I worship, laud and praise Shilmai and Nidbai, the two delegates of Manda-d-Hiia, who rule over the great jordan of Life, for they baptise with the great baptism of Light.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 10

On the day that the Jordan was bestowed upon Sam-Smir, the great pure radiance of the First Life which flowed forth from Him, Bihram and Ram-Rba-Hiia went with him (and?) four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of 'uthras, sons of light*, who descended to the jordan. He baptised them and they rose to the bank. He raised them up and conferred upon them some of the glory and some of the greatness which was (conferred) on himself.

And Life is victorious

[* term in the Dead Sea Scrolls, "sons of light" being righteous Jews, Opposite: "sons of darkness" being non-Jewish invaders.]

PRAYER No. 11

I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa whose shkinta is situate in the world of Outer Ether and in the Enduring Abode. I have worshipped and praised the seven holy and guarded manas which were transplanted from it. I sought in prayer the First Life, and, in the presence of the mighty sublime Life, discovered that which offendeth in myself, (in me), Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush and about what which causeth my friends to offend, and my friends' friends and the friends of the great Family of Life.

And Life is victorious.

[Pray these three prayers, "Raising eyes", "The day that the Jordan was bestowed" and "I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa" on the jordan-bank after "I sought to raise eyes". They are the helpers (aids to) baptism.]

PRAYER No. 12

I am Yur son of Barit (I shone forth). In great effulgence the radiance glowed (with heat?). The tanna dissolved and a shkinta came into being, a shkinta came into existence and was established in the House of Life.

And Life is victorious.

[Read this prayer and grasp thy kanzala (stole). It is the opening prayer for the jordan. Then recite "I went to the jordan"].

PRAYER No. 13

I went to the jordan, but not I alone, (for) Shilmai and Nidbai, my helpers, went with me to the jordan; Hibil and Shitil and Anush went with me to the jordan -- they who baptise with the great baptism of Life. Piriawis-Ziwa and Piriafil-Malaka give free movement to the limbs of my body!

I go down before these souls whom the Life delivereth and saveth, and protecteth these souls from all that is evil and from those who give nothing, but take away; and from those who lend nothing and (yet) are paid back; and from evil spirits which hasted yet did not arrive, and from liliths which fell down and did not arrise.

Their hands fell (powerless) on their knees; their eyes were blinded and unable to see and their ears became deaf and unable to hear. In your names, Shilmai and Nidbai, and through the strength of Hibil, Shitil and Anush, secure, seal and guard these souls who go down to the jordan and will be baptised, by the great seal of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia, the healer, whose strength none can attain. And Life is victorious!

[Recite until thou reachest (the words) "Piriafil, loosen the limbs" (etc.). And descend (into the water) up to a fourth of thy thighs. If thou art baptising a single soul, say "my body, and I go down before this the soul of N." If there are several soul, recite as written (above), and at the place where it said "secure, seal and guard" say "secure, seal and guard this soul of N, and establish it" and then recite thy saying over the staff.]

PRAYER No. 14

In the names of Yusmir the First Vine, from whom Yawar took a staff of water and went to the bank of the jordan, covered, as it were, with radiance and clothed in light. Over it he pronounced secret sayings — these mystic names: "In the name of Yusmir-Yusamir, and of Sani-Mana-Smira; in the name of Hauran-Hauraran by which the first Yawar raised up 'uthras, flourishing Vines of life, in the jordan. By it Hibil raiseth up living souls in the jordan, those worthy of the great Place of Light and of the Everlasting Abode. By it they will be established and raised up in the House of the Mighty Life. It will raise these souls, who go do, vn to the jordan and are baptised: they will behold the Great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

[This saying is for the staff. Recite it over the olivewood staff and stick it into the jordan (-bed), then recite the baptism(-al prayers).]

PRAYER No. 15

Bound is the sea, bound are the two banks of the sea! Bound are the devils and demons, the demon-visitants, haunting spirits, and satanic amulet-spirits. Bound are the three hundred and sixty mysteries that are in the House!

I am secured and sealed, I, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, and these souls who are descending to the jordan and will be sealed by the seal of the Mighty Sublime Life, and by the great MA and the great YA and the great BAZ and by the great AZIZ and by the great AS and by the great ASIN and by the sea (of ?) AS. Bound are (Magian) priests, slaughterers, priests who cut up victims, scorners, those who make evil signs and the seven mysteries which are in the sea. Every demon (exorcised) by name, every evil spirit by his appelation, every amulet-spirit and all idol-demons who raise their heads and show their countenances, lifting themselves in pride against the Sublime Being and directing their evil Eye towards these souls who are going to the jordan, shall be

struck down and smitten by Yaha-Yaha and by Zha-Zha and by angels which where sent and come against them. Flee in fear before them! and before the glory which is mighty upon them. Depart in fear and avaunt! Seven walls of iron have been set around me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, with which Haiashum, the first Kushta, surrounded himself.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 16

I am a perfected gem: into the midst of the worlds and ages am I cast down. I am an iron club, a great rocky crag. Any demon that dasheth himself against me will be shattered and if strike at him he will be dashed to pieces. Any demon which reareth its head, any amulet-imp which setteth its countenance against these souls in malice, overlooking them, will be thrashed and struck by 'Usfar-Manharbiel-'Staqlus, the little child who dwelleth upon pure springs of light, (yea) beaten with the mace of water by which Fire was beaten out and extinguished; (and) by the strength of Mân the Healer and by the strength of elect righteous (men).

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 17

Avaunt! flee in fear all (ye) evil, restricting, wrathful spirits! Flee, begone, be vanquished and brought to nought before the glory and light of Manda-d-Hia! Piriawis-Ziwa and Piriafil-Malaka have set moving the limbs of my body: descend (to the Jordan) before these stedfast, flourishing souls of the living. Shilmai and Nidbai, fly, approach, arrive! Bear ye witness to these souls who are going down to the jordan to be baptised. Ye four 'uthras, sons of light, Rhum-Hai, 'In-Hai, Sum-Hai and Zaniar-Hai, be ye my witnesses on the great day of departure (from the body). Great Jordan of Life, I laud thee and adjure thee by 'Usar-Nhura (Treasure-of-Light), the great solace and support of life, that thou givest no room to evil beings (who are) against these souls who go down into thee. Healing shall be theirs in the name of the Sublime (Strange) Life from worlds (of light). May Life be established in Its indwellings, and Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 18 In the name of the Life!

Piriawis, the great jordan of the First Life, which is all healings, is afire like the glory flaming in the Tanna. When Life was ardent and life burst forth in the great glory which flameth therein, Life arose and founded its shkinta above the Tanna. The radiance waxed ardent, the Tanna dissolved. They opened the waters and Life was established by its own waters). Yur (brilliant light) established Yur: Life was increased in power by its own radiance and by the great glory which flamed in It.

And in the waters Life established living (creatures); above the the waters fruit appeared and a shkinta was founded.

Thee do I invoke, great Jordan of Life, by (in the name of) Treasure-of-Light, the great support and solace of the Life, and by pure Yusamin who dwelleth upon the treasures of the waters and upon wellsprings of light; by Yusmir, the being who united with water; by Adatan and Yadatan who sit at the Gate of Life and seek spirits and souls in the Place of Light; by Silmai and Nidbai who bear witness before the Great Life. Behold these souls who quit destruction for construction, (go) from error to truth and (leave) the abode of fear of the deity of the House (i.e. world) for the great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode!

If he to whom I speak listeneth and he to whom I call is established (in the faith) and is knit into the communion of Life and built into the great fabric of Reality, I will take his hand and be his saviour and guide to the great Place of Light and to the Everlasting Abode. If I speak to him and he hearkeneth not and call to him and he is not uplifted, he will be put to the question. (But) I shall not be put to the question, because of the Word of Truth (Kushta) and its uplifting by Yukabar. And Life is steadfast in its Dwellings, and Life is victorious.

[Then cry] "In the name of Life! Let every man whose strength enableth him and who loveth his soul, come and go down to the jordan and be baptised and receive the Pure Sign; put on robes of radiant light and set a fresh wreath on his head". [Here baptise the souls. And they shall descend behind thee and shall submerge three times. And thy staff shall be (rest) on thy left arm. Dip them with thy right hand, grasp them with thy left and place them between thee and thy staff and dip them under thrice and and sign them thrice with thy right hand. And thy face shall be toward the Gate of Prayer).

When thou hast signed them, say, "N, son of N., thou hast been signed with the Sign of Life and the name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia were pronounced upon thee. Thou hast been baptised with the baptism of the great Bihram, son of the mighty (life). Thy baptism will protect thee and will be efficacious. The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia are pronounced upon thee!"

And give them three palmfuls of water to drink and say to them "Drink! and be healed and be strengthened! The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia have been pronounced

upon thee". Recite "Manda created me" over the myrtlewreaths and place them upon their heads. When placing thy hand on their heads recite these secret names: "The name of the great mystic First Wellspring be pronounced on thee; the name of the great First Palmtree be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Sislam be pronounced on thee; the name of the great 'Zlat be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Yawar be pronounced on thee; the name of Simat-Hiia be pronounced on thee; the name of the great Yukabar be pronounced on thee; the name of the Mana and its Counterpart be pronounced on thee; the name of the Great Mystery and the secret sayings be pronounced on thee; the name of the great first Shaq-Ziwa be pronounced upon thee; the name of Sam-Ziwa-Dakia, the Eldest, Beloved, great First (Being) be pronounced on thee; the name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia be pronounced on thee.

Then reach them (perform with them the rite of) kushta. And he shall go up before thee (on to the bank). Then dip thy phial, fill it with water and give it to whoever standeth on the bank. Then dip thy bowl and recite the hymn "At the waterhead I went forth" and "Blessed art thou, Outer Door", and recite the dedicatory prayer for the jordan.

When thou recitest "Bound is the sea", "I am a perfected gem", "Avaunt, flee in fear", "Piriawis" and all as it is written, speak as written if there are two, three or many souls; but it only one soul say "the soul of N, who descended to the jordan and was baptised and received the pure sign." (And pay close attention to thy baptism.)

PRAYER No. 19

Manda created me, 'uthras set me up, radiance clothed me and light covered me: Haza-zban set the wreath on my head, mine, Adam-Yuhana, son of Mahnush, and on these souls who descend to the jordan and are baptised. Its tendrils shine and its perfume is sweet, for they (the tendrils) wither not nor do they come apart, and its leaves do not fall off.

And Life be praised!

[This is the set prayer for the baptism wreath. Recite it over the myrtle-wreath and place it on the heads of the souls that thou baptisest].

PRAYER No. 20

Blessed art thou, Outer Door, and blessed art thou, Everlasting Abode! Blessed are ye, great beings of radiance and mighty and powerful beings of light. Blessed, lauded and honoured be the 'uthras which dwell on the jordan! Jordan! be gentle towards these souls which have descended into thee! Let healing be theirs by virtue of the Word of Truth and its upliiting by Yukabar-Ziwa.

[This is the dedicatory prayer of the jordan. When thou hast extolled the jordan, if thou baptisest several souls recite as it is written; it only one soul, say "The soul of N. who hath descended into thee" and rise to the bank and recite "I rose up from the Jordan".]

PRAYER No. 21 In the name of the Life! I rose up from the jordan And I met a group of souls, A group of souls I met, who surrounded our father Shitil Saying to him "By thy life, our father Shitil, Go with us to the Jordan.' "If I go with you to the jordan Who will be your witness "Lo, Sun hath risen above us; He will be our witness! "It is not he whom I seek. Not he whom my soul desireth The sun of which ye spake, Riseth early, setteth at dusk The sun of which ye spake, the sun Is vanity and cometh to an end. Sun cometh to an end and becometh vanity And his worshippers come to an end and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,
A group I met of souls
Who surrounded our father Shitil,
Saying to him, "By thy life, our father Shitil,
Go with us to the jordan!"
"If I go with you to the jordan,
Who will be your witness?"
"Lo, Moon who shineth above us,
He will be our witness!"

"It is not he whom I seek,
Not he whom my soul desireth.
The moon, of whom ye spake,
Riseth at dusk and setteth at dawn.
The moon of which ye spake,
the moon is vanity and cometh to an end
And his worshippers come to an end and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan
And a group of souls I met,
A group I met of souls
Who surrounded our father Shitil,
Saying to him, "By thy life, our father Shitil,
Go with us to the jordan!"
"If I go with you to the jordan
Who will be your witness?"

"Lo, there burns a fire.
It will bear witness for us."
"That is not what I seek,
Not that which my soul desireth.
The fire of which ye spake
Once a day needs a firebrand.
The fire of which ye spake Fire, is vanity and cometh to naught
And its worshippers come to naught and are vanity."

I rose up from the jordan And a group of souls I met, I met a group of souls Who surrounded our father Shitil, Saying to him, " By thy life, our father Shitil, Go with us to the jordan!"

"If I go with you to the jordan,
Who will be your witness?
"The jordan and its two banks
Will bear witness for us;
Pihta, kushta and mambuha
Will bear witness for us;
Habshaba, (Sunday) and Kana-d-Zidqa
Will bear witness for us;
The sanctuary in which we worship
Will bear witness for us;
The alms that is in our laps
Will bear witness for us;
And our father who is our head
Will bear witness for us."

"this is that which I seek,
This is that which my soul desireth!
When I rise to the House of Life
And travel to the Everlasting Abode,
When Life questioneth me, (these) witnesses
Will come and will bear witness.
Witnesses of the truth are they,
Sure is all that they say!"
And Life is victorious!
[Recite this prayer after "Thou art blessed, Outer Door."]

PRAYER No. 22

We have acknowledged the name of Life: (believe in) the great celestial Womb, in that which is endless and countless, in Yaluz-Yaluz, in Sbabut, the mighty Will of Life; in Piriawis, fount of living waters; in "He-provided-a-Dwelling" giving His Likeness its dwelling in the House of Life; in the Life Whose Eyes were fixed upon the waters. He arose, gazed and beheld the Nest from which He derived His being.

We believe in Yufin-Yufafin, in Nbat, the first Upsurge and outflow of Life at its inception, in its second (outflow), Sam-Smir; in its third, Bihram son of the Mighty (Life), Yukabar, the Word of Life who came from the House of Life to righteous and believing men.

Any person sprinkled by this oil on which I have pronounced the name of the Mighty Sublime Life and upon whom I have pronounced these mystic names, will have health (healing) abundant in his body; health abundant and not poor. And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 23

In the name of the Great Life!

Precious oil art thou, son of white sesame, son of the Euphrates bank, son of the river -pleasaunce, son of waterpools, son of treasures of light. Upon thee, Oil, Life laid His hand and sent thee to this world which is all birth, to heal, uplift, raise up and ameliorate all pains, diseases, complaints, tumours (and) the seven mysteries that inhabit the body. I praise thee, Oil, and adjure thee, Oil, by the Life, by Mandad-Hiia and by the 'uthras, sons of salvation (and) by this strange being, who is honoured, wondrous and perfect, who summoned chosen elect beings, sons of light, and said to them: "Give me precious oil, son of white sesame, son of the Euphrates-bank, son of the river-meadow, son of water-pools, son of treasures of light.

Anoint, and I will bring you oil: anoint with radiance, fight and glory, the Oil wherewith I anointed and (which) I bestowed, not in the name of a god, not in the name of spirit, not in the name of a messiah nor in the name of a temple-Ishtar. Nay, the oil with which I anointed, (the oil) which I bestowed is at my name, my Sign and (given) as the name and sign of a living, glorious, flourishing and steadfast race. Any

man anointed by this oil will live, be whole and be strengthened: his mouth will assume the nature of Anush. within him he will take on the nature of Anush. >From him the seven dolours of death and the eight afflictions of darkness shall violently depart and be expelled. Demons, devils, shedim, demon visitants, amulet-spirits and liliths will be removed and driven out of him in the presence of that which increased the strength, radiance and light of Knowledge of Life".

And Life be praised!

PRAYER No. 24

In the name of the Life!

Thou wast established, First Life; thou wast in existence before all things. Before Thee no being existed

For He hath fulfilled Himself and hath issued in His strength and His steadfastness and in the radiance and strength which His Father hath bestowed upon Him. For we have not changed that which thou hast commanded us. Thou enlargest our steps and liftest our eyes heavenwards. Thou descendest and givest us dwellings by springs of Life. Thou pourest into us and fillest us with thy wisdom, thy doctrine and thy goodness. Thou showest us the way by which thou camest from the House of Life and we will walk therein with the gait of righteous and believing men, so causing our spirits and souls to dwell in the dwellings of Life, the place where the spirits of our fathers abide, clothed in radiance and covered with light, rejoicing, laughing, dancing, exulting about the glorious splendour resting (upon them) [?].

This is the Oil wherewith he anointed, the radiance, light and glory which Manda-d-Hiia blessed with his pure mouth and best-owed on all who love his name of Truth. From all those who are anointed with this oil every pain, disease, complaint, tumour, curse and physical evil will be removed. They will be freed from fetter and bond, from evil curses, from evil slander, from lying accusation, from the hand of the wicked, from the sword of enemies and from the third tongue which is softer than fat and sharper than a sword. (They will be delivered) from incubi and hobgoblins, from wicked outcry, black magic; from a spoilt wreath, from the male and female biruq and from the second death: they will be driven off and cast out by thy surpassing Name which is all life. It falleth on the dead man and he liveth; on the sick man and he stretcheth (himself); on the blind man and (his eyes) are opened; on the deaf man and wisdom and perception are infused into him. The accused is successful in his lawsuit and the prisoner is freed from prison. The hand of Truth and healing will come from the House of Healings in the name of the Life which emanated from Life and in the name of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia. Every man anointed with this oil will be sinless and blameless in the Place of Life.

And Life is victorious.

[Read these three prayers "We acknowledged the name of Life" "Precious oil art thou", "Thou wast established, First Life", upon the oil and sign the souls thou hast baptised, when they rise up out of the jordan. Say "N. son of N., thou hast been signed with the sign of Life and the name of Life, and the name of Manda-d-Hiia hath been pronounced on thee. Thou hast been baptised with the baptism of Bihram the Great, son of the Mighty (Life). Thy baptism shall protect thee and attain its end. The name of Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia are pronounced on thee." Sign thrice and grasp their right hands in the kushta (rite). Then recite and pass (thy finger) over thine (own) face -- thine own sealing. And then they shall stand up before thee. Recite over the pihta and mambuha and give them pihta that they may eat and mambuha that they may drink and take their right hands in kushta. Then make them sit before thee and read the sealing (prayer) and lay thy hand on their heads.]

PRAYER No. 25

In the name of the Life!

When a jordan of living water (Water of Life) was bestowed on Sam-Smir, the great Radiance of Life, nine hundred and ninety-two thousand myriad 'uthras, sons of light, opened their mouths, praising Manda-d-Hiia. "Praised be Manda-d-Hiia; praised be Yawar-Ziwa; praised be Bihram and Ram; praised be Tarwan-Nhura; praised be Nbat the first great Radiance; praised be Nsab and Anan-Nsab; praised be Sar and Sarwan; praised be that great and mighty Mana; praised be that great Presence of Glory; praised be that whole abode of those at rest; praised be all the ways and paths of the Almighty (Life); praised be all the mighty celestial worlds of Light; praised be all those occult dwellings (shkinata); praised be that Voice, Strength, Word and Command which come from the House of Abathur; praised be Abathur-Rama; praised be the myriad 'uthras who stand in the presence of Abathur; praised be Shilmai and Nidbai the guardian 'uthras of the jordan; praised be our father. Hibil, Shitil and Anush the head of the whole race.

Turn back, thrust back from me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush and from these souls who have descended to the jordan and been baptised, terror, fright, fear of devils and demons, shedim, demon visitants, ghosts, amulet-spirits, liliths, gods, angels, demons of high places and shrines and idol-spirits: (all those) that the seven planets and the lords of the House loose against souls in this world.

Manda-d-Hiia! Lift up thine eyes, (behold) thy devotees, thine offspring and thy priest! Behold us who stand in this place which is all evil things! At the great Door which is all principalities do we stand, amongst the wicked, and dwell amongst sinners. Deliver us from this world which is all sinners and from the sorceries of the children of Adam and Eve. Forgive us that which we have done, and that which we do forgive us. Forgive us, Looser of sins, (our) trespasses, our follies, our stumblings and our mistakes. If thou dost not loose us from our sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings, and mistakes, no man is clean in thy sight Manda-d-Hiia!

Accept, (O) Life, Thy prayer from the Occult and assure (to us) bliss in Thy light in the name of Sharhabiel the great First Radiance. May the words of Sharhabiel the Great First Radiance, be established for all who love his name of Truth. And for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush may darkness be overcome and light set on high.

And Life be praised.

PRAYER No. 26

In the name of the Life!

Bound (together) and sealed are these souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised in the name of the Great Life. They have been baptised with the baptism of Bihram the Great. Their souls have been secured with bonds of righteousness and with the bonds of Zhir, the great light of

And Life be praised!

PRAYER No. 27

In the name of the Life!

We were set up and raised up by 'Usar-Hiia: through 'Usar-Hai and Pta-Hai union with the House of Life came to us: Manda-d-Hiia went to us with radiance that is great and light that is powerful, with our mana, our sign, our way, our jordan and our baptism; with Hauran our vestment; with Hauraran our covering and with Hazazban our wreath.

I call on the mighty, sublime, all-surpassing Life, supreme over all works and I say to It, "Behold, behold, Great Life, us who at Thy name, Life, descended into the jordan and for Thy name's sake, Life, we took our name and our sign from the great Jordan of Life and from the great source of healing, at the word of Truth and (the power) to uplift of Yukablar-

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 28

Bound (together) and sealed are these souls who descended to the jordan and were baptised. By Hauran-Hauraran, the out-thrust of the Great Life: by Its names, by Yufin-Yufafin and Sam-Mana-Smira; by Yusmir, vehicle of the First radiance; and by the being Yukabar, the (well-) equipped 'uthra; seal and guard these souls who descended to the jordan and were baptised, against the deities of the House, lest they gain dominion over them. (Protect them) from their devils and demons so that they shall not go near them nor harm them nor ruin them. Let all pains, diseases, afflictions and tumours be removed from them. Let all evil sicknesses and malignant curses of the body be removed and driven off, so that those who sit before Thee like men attainted shall stand up like clean men. And healing shall be theirs, those souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised.

And Life is victorious.

[Recite these four "sealing" prayers, "When .. was bestowed", "Secured and sealed" ".. By 'Usar-Hiia" and the longer "Secured and sealed" with a loud voice to the souls whom thou hast baptised after thou hast given them pihta and mambuha. If (several) souls, recite as written; if a single soul, say "for this, the soul of N." Then make them stand and recite "Ye are set up and raised up".]

PRAYER No. 29

In the name of the Life!

Ye are set up and raised up into the Place of the Good. Established amongst manas of light are these souls which went down to the jordan and were baptised (and those) of our fathers and teachers and of our brothers and sisters who have departed the body and those who are still in the body. There, in the light shall ve be raised up

And Life is victorious

[Here recite "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul. "]

PRAYER No. 30

In the name of the Life! "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul, The great day on which thou wast raised up?' "He took me down to the jordan, planted me, And took (me) up and stood me upon its bank. He broke and gave me bread (pihta), Blessed the cup and gave me thereof to drink. He placed me between his knees

And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty (Life)

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He passed into the mountain before me: He cried loudly that I might hear. That I might hear he cried loudly, 'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!' 'If I climb the mountain I shall fall; I shall overturn and perish from the world!' I lifted mine eyes to heaven And my soul waited upon the House of Life. I climbed the mountain and fell not. I came (thither) and found the life of my Self.

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul, The great day on which thou wast raised up?" "He took me down to the jordan, planted me, And took me up and stood me upon its bank. He broke and gave me bread, Blessed the cup and gave me thereof to drink. He placed me between his knees And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty (Life). He passed into the fire before me; And cried aloud that I might hear. That I might hear he cried aloud. 'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!' 'If I go into fire I shall burn, I shall scorch and perish from the world!' To heaven I lifted mine eyes And my soul waited upon the House of Life. I went into fire and burned not. I came, and found the life of my Self.

"What did thy Father do for thee, Soul, The great day on which thou wast raised up?" "He took me down to the jordan, planted me, Took me up and stood me upon its bank. He broke and gave me bread, Blessed the cup and gave me thereof to drink. He placed me between his knees And pronounced over me the name of the Mighty (Life). He entered the sea before me; He cried aloud that I might hear. That I might hear he cried aloud. 'If there is strength in thee, Soul, come!' 'If I go into the sea I shall sink, I shall be overturned and perish from the world!' To heaven I lifted mine eyes And my soul waited upon the House of Life. I went into the sea and was not drowned, Leame the life of my Self I found Yea, Life! lo, Life! Life hath triumphed over this world. And Life is victorious.

[This is a baptism hymn. Set up (recite?) the hymns, and where it says "souls" recite as written, but if it is a single soul say " amongst manas of light, the soul of N. son of N. who went down to the jordan and was baptised and received the Pure Sign" and chant "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul" and recite the antiphonal hymn "How lovely are plants which the Jordan (planted)" and "Rightly did my baptiser baptise me", "Shilmai baptised me with his baptism", jordan in which we were baptised", "I rejoice in my priests" and chant other hymns: "Truly do I say to you", "To you I cry, men who have received the Sign, and explain", and "A disciple, a new one, am I who have gone to the jordan-bank".

Then recite the "Blessed and praised" of Shum (Shem) son

of Noah and at the place where it says "a wreath from the Vine Ruaz" (say) "will be set on the heads of these souls who have descended to the jordan, been baptised and received the pure sign and who were called, established and sealed by this baptism, and (on the heads of) our fathers, teachers, and brothers and sisters who have departed the body and those who are yet in the body". Should it be a single soul whom thou hast baptised, say "the soul of N. who went down to the jordan and was baptised" and finish.

And recite "Good is the good for the good" and end. And offer up the Petition and say the Rahmia for the souls thou baptisest. Say " these souls who went down to the jordan and were baptised and received the pure sign." If it was a single soul, say "the soul of N. son of N, who went down to the jordan and received the pure sign." And beware: from the beginning to this point recite all thy baptismal prayers with care, attention and knowledge. And again perform kushta with them and say to them "Kushta make you whole my brother-'uthras! The communion of the living hath been performed in the manner in which 'uthras perform it in their shkintas. Fragrant is your perfume, my brother-'uthras, (for) within ye are full of radiance.

And they shall say "Seek and find, speak and be heard!" and kiss their hands. If the souls be female or if the soul thou baptisest is one (woman), perform the kushta with them and say to them "Kushta heal thee and raise thee up. Thy kushta shall be thy witness and thine alms thy saviour. When they say "Seek and find, speak and be heard" and kiss their hands, then say to them "Your kushta shall be your witness and your alms shall be your saviour. Your prayer and praise will rise and obtain mercy for you. In the name of the Great Life; we have

acted (according to) the goodness of the Great (Life). And we have arranged (all things?) according to Thy loving-kindness from beginning to end. We have called upon the great Jordan of Water of Life and upon the three hundred and sixty jordans in which Hibil-Ziwa was baptised ". And he (H-Z.) said "Warn them, deliver them, save them and protect those souls which went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign from adultery, theft, black magic, from going to temples and worship in temples and from eating temple-food. And eat not of that which was killed by lion or wolf, or of anything disgorged or (found) dead. But immerse yourselves and purify yourselves. Manda-d-Hiia will be your helper, and your baptism will be efficacious." Then pray a prayer and Rahmia for thyself, and say "In the name of the Life! I worship the First Life and praise my lord Manda-d-Hija and that great Presence of Splendour which emanated from Itself". Then recite "The First Life be praised! Truth make you whole! Ye are established and raised up" and transfer thy staff to thy right arm and end (the prayer). Then return it to thy left arm and recite the "Blessed and praised be Life" of Shum son of Noah. And sit and recite "Good is good for the good" and bend thy knee, sit, and pour out at "forgiving of sins" (be there for) "our forefathers" (etc.) "and the souls of Mandaeans, priests, ganzivri, treasurers, chief men and ethnarchs" in the "forgiving of sins". Then rise to thy feet, take the pihta and mambaha and recite the eight pihta prayers for the pihta and the two mambaha prayers for the mambuha. Dip the pihta in the mambuha and recite "The Life spoke and Life opened" for thy pandama and unfasten it. Eat thy pihta and drink thy mambuha and drink the rinsing-water and take a second rinsing and recite "Life is fulfilled" and "The (Great) Life dwelleth on those who love Him" and cast in thine incense at (the words) "Radiance goeth up to its place" and at the place where it says "will forgive those that love his name of Truth" he shall say "those souls who went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign, and Life is victorious". Then throw (water) beneath thy staff, recite "Good is the good for the good" and make the Petition and repeat the Rahmia for thyself. Perform the kushta with the shganda and when he goes down, recite "In radiance that is great am I immersed", slip aside thy pandama and honour thy crown.l

PRAYER No. 31

Radiance goeth up to its place and Light to the Everlasting Abode. On the day that Light ariseth, Darkness returns to its place. The Forgiver of sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes will remit them for those who love his name of Truth, and for those souls who went down to the jordan, were baptised and received the pure sign. Consuming fire will consume thee and thy ministration will be (noted?) in the habitations. The fragrance of life riseth to the House of Life, and we (too) will rise up to the House of Life: we shall be with the victorious 5). It is our support, and our confidence is in life in the Place of Light and in the Everlasting Abode. Life is established and set up in its indwellings, and Life is victorious over all works.

[This is the "loosing" (consecration) of incense for baptism.] [In the name of the Great Life! May my thought, knowledge and understanding be enlightened, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, by means of these (prayers), admonitions and hymns of baptism, which were transcribed from the scroll The Great Wellspring. This is the baptism wherewith Adam the first man was baptised by Hibil-Ziwa when he breathed the pure mana into him and he got up, sneezed and lived.

And Adam questioned, and spoke, "Through the power of Hibil-Ziwa have I attained my end!"

Then Hibil-Ziwa arose, put on the seven vestments, and went to the jordan-bank. When Adam had placed the qauqa (and) fire before Hibil-Ziwa, Hibil-Ziwa twined a wreath for his staff and twined a wreath for Adam, then rose and went to the jordan and recited the prayer "Answer me, my father, answer me, for I have gone to the jordan in the strength of my father Yawar, and in the strength of Manda-d-Hiia a wreath hath been set upon the 'uthras."

Then he arose and recited "In the name of that First Being" for his crown and set it on his head, then recited "Life created Yawar-Ziwa", "Let there be light" and Manda created me" for the myrtle-wreath and set it beside the crown.

And he held the end of his stole and recited "Strengthened and enhanced is the great mystery of radiance, light and glory" over his pandama, folded his pandama over his mouth and recited "incense that is fragrant, yea, for the First Life" and cast incense on the fire. And he recited "We have acknowledged," "Praises", "Thee, Thyself", "I sought to lift mine eyes", "The day that the jordan was bestowed on Sam-Smir", "I have worshipped and praised that Yawar-Ziwa" and "I am Yur son of Barit; in great radiance". And he held his stole and recited "I went to the jordan, but not I alone" up to the place where it says "give free movement to the limbs of my body; I go down," and he went down into the jordan up to a fourth of his thighs. And he recited "In the name of Yusmir, the First Vine" over his staff, and at the place where it saith

"covered with radiance and clothed in light" he cast the myrtle-wreath over the staff and "clothed" it with his stole.

And he recited "Bound is the sea" and traced three circles thrice over in the jordan. And he recited "I am a perfected gem", and "Avaunt, flee in fear" and splashed the water in the jordan at his right, his left and in front of him and recited "Piriawis" as written. Then he chanted a hymn and said to him "Any man who hath strength thereto and who loveth his soul, let him come and go down to the jordan, be baptised, receive the pure sign, put on robes of radiant light and set a fresh wreath on his head."

And Adam descended into the jordan and submerged himself thrice behind him (Hibil-Ziwa), who took him by the right hand transferred him to his left, placed him between himself and his staff, dipped him thrice and signed him thrice in the jordan.

And he gave him three palmfuls of water to drink and recited "Manda created me" over the myrtle-wreath and set it upon his (Adam's) head and pronounced the secret names over him

(Then) he took his hand in kushta over the staff and made him go up before him.

(Then) he took water from the jordan into his phial and recited the hymn "At the waterhead I went forth" and "Blessed art thou, Outer Door", and recited "I rose up from the jordan, and a group (of souls) I met". And he came up out of the jordan and completed it (the hymn). And he took up the oil and recited "We have acknowledged the name of Life", "Precious oil art thou" and "Thou wast established, First Life" over the oil. Then he signed him thrice and made passes over him thrice, and at each signing he laid his hand on his (Adam's) head and repeated those names which he had pronounced over him in the jordan.

And he performed kushta with him. (Then) he took the pihta and recited the eight prayers for the pihta over the pihta and the two prayers for the mambuha over the mambuha. And he gave him the pihta so that he should eat and gave him the mambuha that he might drink, and he drank the rinsing (water).

And he grasped his hand in kushta and seated him before him and recited the "sealing" prayers, "When a jordan of living water and bestowed upon Sam-Smir, the great Radiance of Life", "Bound and sealed", "By 'Usar-Hiia" and the greater (longer) "Bound and sealed", "By 'Usar-Hiia" and upon him and stood and recited "Ye are set up and raised up", "What did thy Father do for thee, Soul?", "How lovely are the plants which the jordan planted and raised up", "Rightly did my baptiser baptise me", "Shilmai baptised me with his baptism and Nidbai", "The jordan in which we were baptise will bear us witness", and "I rejoice in my priests and Nasoraeans who hearken to my converse".

And he chanted the hymns "Truly do I say to you", "To you I cry and explain" and "A new disciple am I who hath come to the jordan bank".

And he read all the hymns and homilies unto their end and recited "Blessed and praised be Life" of Shum son of Noah and "Good is the good for the good". And he recited "In radiance that is great am I immersed" and loosed his kanzala (stole) and "honoured" his crown.

And Life is victorious.]

[Then Hibil-Ziwa gave judgement and said "The Life hath anathematised and Manda-d-Hija hath cried out against and the Great First Word hath pronounced against any man, priest, who performed a baptism without his pandama. He shall be accursed by the Name (Vein) Of the Great Wellspring: Shilmai and Nidbai the guardian 'uthras of the jordan will curse him and the Wellspring and Palmtree will curse him. Yukabar will take away his crown and his seal and hull him back to his natural home, the Place of Darkness. Moreover, before any Nasoraean who retains his pandama whilst performing a baptism, a vein of the Great Wellspring will heap up and all that he doeth will be confirmed. All mischances will avoid him and darkness will roll away from him. His vestments will be kept in our safekeeping. Whilst he is alive in his body the Seven will be powerless to loose fear against him and lofty strength will be sent to him.

When he departeth the body the clouds which precede 'uthras will come towards him and dread of purgatory-demons will be powerless over him (for) he will not pass through the Purgatories.

And Abatur will clothe him in his glory and all the 'uthras will shed their light upon him.

And Life is victorious.

This is the limit (end) of the baptism which came to this world, the (baptism) wherewith Hibil-Ziwa baptised Adam the first man and it was preserved in the ages for the elect righteous, for it was written down in the scroll of the Great Wellspring belonging to Ramuia son of 'Qaimat. And Bavan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote it here and distributed it amongst a hundred Nasoraeans, (copying) it from his own scroll which he copied from the scroll of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat

It was written in the town of Tib and was placed with Haiuna daughter of Yahia, and Bainai son of Zakia.

Those who hold to it, (let them) expound it. (But) he who doth not establish it, let him keep away from it and not approach it.

And Life is victorious.]

Then said Yahia-Adam son of Sam-Saiwia, "When the scroll of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat found in the possession of Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Bainai son of Zakia came into my possession I put it together and arranged it as it was written originally, and removed nothing from it.

And Life is victorious.]

The Masiqta ("The raising up")

i.e. spiritual resurrection or ceremony to aid the ascent of the soul

PRAYER No. 32

In the name of the Great Life may there be healing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush!

Strengthened, enhanced was the great mystery of radiance, light and glory dwelling on the mouth of the First Life, for from It came forth Manda-d-Hiia (Knowledge-of-Life). For he knew and interpreted the thoughts of the First Life and perceived that they are wondrous.

And Life be praised!

[Recite this prayer and hold thy stole for the masiqta.]

PRAYER No. 33

In the name of the Life!

Water of Life art thou! Thou art come from the Place which is life-giving and art poured forth from the House of Life.

(At thy) coming, Water-of-Life, from the House of Life, the good come and refresh themselves, (but) the wicked are discomfited and the children of (this) world abashed and say "Is there (not?) room for us in the Place of Light? For those that seek (ask) of it find, and those who speak of it are heard".

We have sought and found and we have spoken and been heard in thy presence, Manda-d-Hiia, lord of healings. As water when poured out falleth on the earth, so (too) so doth evil fall abased before good. As the water falleth on the earth, so shall their sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes be loosed from those who love the name of Truth (kushta) and from the souls of this masiqta, and from (the souls of) our fathers, teachers, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and those who (still) live in the body And say "Established is Life (or "the living") in Its (their) dwelling".

And Life is victorious.
[This is the mambuha prayer]

PRAYER No. 34

Hail to the First Life before Whom none existed, the Sublime from worlds of light, the Ineffable which is above all works; to the Ancient Radiance and the Great Primal Light, the Life which emanated from Life and the Truth that was of old, from the beginning. Hail the ancient, lofty, esoteric and guarded father of 'uthras. Hail Yuzataq, Gnosis of Life, Source of Life; He who unveileth the silence, giveth hope and keepeth the prayers of the spirits and souls of righteous and believing men into the Place of Light. Hail to the life of sincere and believing men who have come to their end and departed the body, and hail to those who are stiff alive in the body. May the gate of sin be barred to them and the gate of light be open for them. May they be knit together in the communion of Life in which there is no separation.

Pray ye from there for us and we will pray from here for you. All fruits wither: all sweet odours pass away, but not the fragrance of Gnosis of Life, which cometh not to an end nor passeth away for an age of ages and for world without end. May the souls of this masiqta rise up without sin, trespass, folly, stumbling and mistake unto the Place of Light and to the Enduring Abode.

And Life be praised!

[Read this ordinance for the incense and cast it on the fire. Then recite the prayers for the masiqta.]

PRAYER No. 35

In the name of the Life!

I sought to lift my eyes, shoulders and arms towards the Place which is all life, radiance and glory, the place where which is all life, radiance, light and glory; a place where they who seek of it find, those who speak of it are heard and to those who ask of it, it is given them, day by day and hour by hour. This hour I address to thee, my Lord, Manda-d-Hiia, a vital petition, large and not small, for this congregation of people who have bent their knees to the ground and stretched forth their hands to the intermediate and upper (worlds). They have forsaken images, pictures and idols of clay, gods (made) of blocks of wood, and vain rites, and have testified to the name of the great, strange (sublime) Life. To them the gate of sin is closed and for them the gate of life is open. May our request, our prayer and our humble submission rise before the supreme Life which is above all works.

Before thee (in thy sight) all hands are thieving, all lips have lied. Water is in the jordan. Before thee (in thine eyes), Manda-d-Hiia, no man is clean: we are slaves who are all sin, and thou a lord who art all mercy. When thou art with us,

who shall conquer us and if thou justifiest us who will convict us? Judge us not after the fashion of earthly courts of law; despise us not for our follies and associate us not with the false rites practised by the worlds and generations.

The worlds thrust hard at us, but we fell not. Backed by the Truth which is thine own, we have perfect confidence.

Establish life, and wilt thou not establish human beings? Thou hast spoken to us in thy Word and hast commanded us with thy command "Ask on earth and I will supply you with heavenly fruit: ask from below, (from) reed, swamp and mud, and I will supply you from the lofty heavens. Make supplication with the fleshly right hand, and I will bring you (what ye asked) with the right hand of kushta.

The first (generations) sought and found: let those that come after seek, and they will find. Seek and find for yourselves, for your friends, for your friends' friends and for those who love the great Family of Life. Your eyes shall not turn away from me unsatisfied."

Thou art the father of all the 'uthras, the Support which is all light, the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all things. For Thou knowest hearts, understandest minds and searchest out consciences (even) in the nethermost hells of darkness. Like a servant lying prostrate before Thee, our eyes are lifted to Thee, our lips give Thee praise and blessing seven hours of the day and the three watches of the night.

Those who seek of Him find, and to those who ask of Him it will be given. For to him that standeth at a closed door Thou wilt open the closed door. In the Place of Light Thou wilt wipe away and remove from us our sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and wilt cast them into the hells of the earth and the nethermost limbos of darkness. Thou wilt raise us up as sinless and not as guilty, as virtuous and not as vicious before thee. Manda-d-Hiia.

The good behold and are refreshed: the wicked are discomfited and the children of (this) world abashed. And they say "Is there no place for me in the Place of Light, since those who seek therefrom find, and ask thereof and it is given them?"

We beseech thee to let some of thy radiance, thy light and thy glory rest upon us. Thou art the Healer above all means of healing, a Raiser-up above (all) that raiseth up, a Radiance above all radiancies and a light above all lights. For thou openest doors of truth and revealest mysteries and wisdom and showest forth mighty deeds in Jerusalem. Thou confinest demons and devils and frightenest away the gods from their high places. Great is thy name and praised is thy name! Thou art the counterpart of the Life, for thou wast in existence before all. Thou art the Vine, for thou wast in the Ether above heaven and above the earth. When worlds came into being and creations were called forth, thou didst hold in thy grasp the worlds and generations. Thou hast laid down a road for sincere and believing men to the Place of Life. (Though) spirits and souls sit (here) as guilty, (yet) by thy name they shall rise as innocent, (thy name of) Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia. To support the hands of good people, thou wilt be (bring?) healing of life to the souls of this masigta Life is established in its indwellings and Life is victorious.

[This prayer is good for all occasions: (it may be used) on occasion for the Rahmia (daily office), or for the masiqta, or for baptism and for all purificatory rites. For the masiqta, after thou hast recited over the pandamta, "water of prayer" and the ordinance for the incense, pray "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "To Thee", "Lifting eyes" and "I sought to raise my eyes". And prepare the pihta, mambuha and klila (wreath) and set them out for the masiqta. And recite the ordnance for the oil, (placed) in something clean: in a glass or tin cup when washed and cleansed. And recite the masiqta.]

PRAYER No. 36

In the name of the Life!

I worship, laud and praise that great, secret, First Mana who abode for nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand myriads of years alone in his own Abode - for no Companion came to him; (none existed) save that great, secret, First Mana. For he came into existence therein and developed therein.

Then I worship, laud and praise that great, occult, First Drop who emanated from Him. They existed, (but) She abode for four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of years in Her own Abode, alone, for She had no consort.

Then I worship, laud and praise Pirun, that great occult first Vine from whom there emanated eight hundred and eighty eight thousand myriads of 'uthras.

>From Them and from those 'uthras proceeded one 'uthra, whose name is the Great Countenance of Glory who is (at once) less than his brethren and more venerable than his parents. Manda-d-Hiia, the well-prepared 'uthra, divulged and revealed and said "Any Nasoraean man who sitteth to recite "Established is the First Life" and breaketh bread will receive condemnation from the House of Life."

And I am established, in the light of Life and Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 37

I worship, laud, and praise that Occult, great First Cloud of Life, with whom in secret, he broke bread and gave thereof in secret to the Occult Life and to the Mighty First Life.

And Life if victorious

PRAYER No. 38

I have worshipped and praised Yawar-Ziwa, who arose and praised that great mighty Mana at whose right and left hand there stand four hundred and forty-four thousand myriads of 'uthras. A thousand myriads of 'uthras, sons of light, worship and laud the rays of his Radiance.

He arose and broke bread in secret and gave thereof to the sons of men and establisheth his Abode in secret.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 39

I worship, laud and praise that secret saying which Yawar pronounced secretly. He made it known, and divulged and established a Life-ray therein. Radiance and light came and dwelt at his right and glory and resplendence dwelt at his left. And the 'uthras en- treated the Life that they might behold the Likeness of Yawar-Ziwa in their own glory.

Yawar-Ziwa the vigilant 'uthra divulged and revealed and said "Sixty-four sins daily will be forgiven a Nasoraean man who repeats this secret saying, in the Great Place of Life and the Lasting Abode".

And Life is praised.

PRAYER No. 40

I have worshipped and praised 'Usar, who broke bread for the hidden first 'uthras, so that they (find) rest in their hearts.

The holy 'uthras stood in their dwellings and praise the mighty Life in its Dwelling, adorable in Its radiance and wondrous in Its light.

I worshipped and praised that supreme First Vine, for within it is its Sap: its leaves are 'uthras and its tendrils rays of light. 'Uthras sit in its shade. And within the great first Cloud of Light there came into existence, within the Treasure-of-Light there was generated, the Secret Mana.

And Life be praised.

PRAYER No. 41

I worshipped and praised Treasure-of-Light, the great Awaker (yawar) of Life, who broke bread in the Hidden and gave (thereof) to the Mighty First Life in Its Dwelling. I praised the seven mystic precious and preserved manas who derived existence from Their Place and were transplanted from Their Treasure-house. I worshipped and praised the mighty First Life that transported Itself from Its Place, transferred itself from its own Treasurehouse in which it came into existence, was developed, dwelt and was established; and (whereof) It discoursed and wherein It had gloried.

It praiseth and speaketh, "Every Nasoraean who reciteth these secret sayings will seek and find, will speak and be heard seven times daily. And seven sins will be forgiven him in the great Place of Light and Eternal Abode."

And Life be praised!

PRAYER No. 42

I worship, laud and praise that first secret Word which Yawar imparted in secret. He expounded and explained it and established therein that which is living, Rays (of his light). And Yawar said "Enlightenment and praise have come to pass". And Yawar came and his glory rested upon his own shkinta. Radiance and Light came and were established before him: Glory and Enlightenment came and dwelt at his right hand. And the 'uthras ask the Life to behold the appearance of Yawar-Ziwa in their (its?) radiance, and to commend the prayer and praise which they pronounced to Shilmai and Nidbai, the 'uthras who are the two messengers of Manda-d-Hiia

Yawar hath said, "Every Nasoraean who repeateth this secret prayer seven times daily, seven sins a day shall be forgiven him. And Life abideth in its Dwelling".

Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 43

Thou art enduring, First Life before Whom no being had existence, Unearthly One from worlds of light, Supreme Being that art above all works, above the Ancient Radiance and above the First Light; above the life which emanated from Life and above the Truth (kushta) which was of old in the Beginning!

Thou, Manda-d-Hiia, hast established for thy chosen that which thou hast revealed to us from the book Nhur (Be light) and front Pta usra (They revealed treasure from the first treasure and from 'Usar Nhura (Treasure of Light), a solace, a great support of life, that which shineth in light, the light of which enlighteneth.

It (Manda, gnosis) came into being, was revealed, fulfilled and went forth in strength abundant and became mighty by growth of knowledge It increased in radiance and was full of light which proceeded from the Counterpart (?) of Life, a wondrous counterpart!

Thereupon the worlds were ashamed, for none had seen its like, its brilliance or its glory.

Kushta standeth by his friends and Manda-d-Hiia by his chosen ones.

For thou hast chosen (us), host taken us out of the world of hatred, envy and disputes and hast set us firmly on paths of truth and faith, so that we stand and praise the holy and guarded place. And he who partaketh of this bread (pihta), put out (for him) will be sinless in the Place of Light, the Everlasting Abode.

And Life is victorious.

[These are the prayers appointed for the pihta].

PRAYER No. 44

Biriawish, source of living waters, first upsurging that sprang forth, great outburst of the radiance of all-abundant Life! (Be) life for the souls of this masiqta.

[This is the appointed prayer for the mambuha, If there are (several) souls, read as written; if one soul say 'for this the soul of N.']

PRAYER No. 45

Thy name, (O) Life, is excellent: its glory is great, its light abundant, Its goodness came over (or overflowed), inaugurating the First Mystery, life which proceeded from Life and Truth which existed before the beginning. This is a wellspring of life which sprang forth from the Place of Life: we drink thereof, of this Fount of Life which Life transmitted was established in the House of Life, which crossed worlds, came, cleft the heavens and was revealed.

Thou hast shown us that which the eye of man hath not seen, and caused us to hear that which human ear has not heard. Thou hast freed us from death and united us with life, released us from darkness and united us with light, led us out of evil and joined us to good. Thou hast shown us the Way of Life and hast guided our feet into ways of truth and faith so that Life cometh and expelleth darkness and goodness cometh and casteth out evil. (Like) the mingling of wine with water, so may Thy truth, thy righteousness and thy faith be added to those who love Thy name of Truth.

And Life be praised.

[This is the set prayer for the mambuga (sacramental drink). Make the pihta and the mambuhamasiqta, and then make the myrtle wreath.] and place them (ready for) the

PRAYER No. 46

In the Name of Life!

The Light became light, the Light became light! The Light became the light of the First Life. Glory dawned and (there was) praise of the Mana who came from his Place. He came (with) all ether-wreath, with benefits that are from the Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode. Yufin-Yufafin was the weaver of the wreath; she who brought it was 'Nisbat'-Utria (She-planted i.e. was the mother of uthras). And he who set wreath on was 'It-Yawar-Ziwa (There-is- dazzling-Radiance) son of 'Nisbat-'Utria: he brought it and set it on the head of the Mana, planted it (there) so that it was set up (thereon).

The wreath flames and the leaves of the wreath flame. Before the Mana there is radiance, behind the Mana there is light and glory, at either side of the Mana are radiance, brilliance and purity; and at the four corners of the heavens and on the seven sides of the firmament dwell silence, bliss and glory

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 47

Enlightened and enlightening are words of light to the souls of this masiqta. Sure, assured, armed and prepared, resplendent and beauteous (are they) when the wreath with its mysteries is set on the heads of these souls of this ascent (masiqta) to the great gate of Abathur's house. They will open to them the great gate of Abathur's house and will guard them by secret and watchful manas.

And Life be praised!

[These two prayers are said over the myrtle-wreath in the masiqta.]

PRAYER No. 48

In the name of the Life!

Manda-d-Hiia went to the stars. His appearance loosed the bound (souls): he knit (them into?) the communion that is without parting and without limit or number, by his word which issued from him in that place. All the worlds were confounded: the works of the House were destroyed and there was security for sons of the Great Family of Life.

He planted his planting and descended to the earth, (where) the hand of Evil, of the Lord of the House, lay heavy upon them. And when wickedness oppressed them, they beheld his radiance, and some of the celestial fruits appeared to them, the strength and name of the Ineffable One Who is all light was revealed to them and some of His glory was communicated to them and Knowledge of Life (Manda-d-hiia) was revealed to

all who love his name of Truth at the place which is wholly (inhabited by) those convicted of sin. And when they beheld him, the lords of the worlds were con- founded but did not, from their thrones, loose (the bonds of) the captives.

He passed by: the captives were freed. He loosed them from their sins and trespasses: yea, release from their bodies was made possible to them. And (as for) the lords of the House who looked on, their ranks were discomfited and they were unable to reach him. Yea, the name of Abathur was (set) over them and the name of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia was fulfilled and revealed to those who love his name. And his name shall (aid) the souls of this masiqta: it will be his name. And Life is victorious.

[This is the recitation appointed for the masiqta. Read it over pure oil in something (pure ?) and place it before thee and then read the masiqta.]

PRAYER No. 49

In the name of the Strange (Sublime) Life!

This, the glory and light of life, is to bring forth the spirit and soul from the body and to clothe the living soul in a living garment. Yea, she is solaced and liveth, the counterpart of Life, she that emanated from a Dimat of Life, with the Outer Life, with Hauraran and Karkawan-Ziwa, with Treasure-of-Light, the solace and great support of life, with life that emanated from the Life and with the truth which existed of old in the beginning, They live in their shecinahs, and the Great Light (abideth) in its purities.

When any human being departeth from his body, there come towards him seven godlike appearances, and each standeth by his own, And Sauriel the Releaser cometh -- he who releaseth spirit and soul from the body. Up there, with those works, he standeth with the vesture of Yuzataq-Mandad-Hiia which releaseth (the soul). And Hauraran and Karkawan-Ziwa remove from her that in her which is of the body, and she putteth on the dress of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia Garment on garment she putteth on, she arrayeth herself in robe after robe, When she weareth the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia there, she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour resting (upon her) and the glory that accrueth to her

Onward she goeth in the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia, The planets who are in their places were out of coutenance on seeing it: they clenched their fists, beat on the forecourt of their breasts and say "Woe on (us) planets! for they (we) are powerless, but the works of Their hands are victorious!"

And they say "How beautiful is this radiancy, how steadfast this light, how lovely this glory and how wondrous this appearance!" And they ask "who will clothe us with this radiance? Who will cover us with this light and who will shed on us this glory? And what is it that passeth before us in this guise? for it is fair, shining and bright: in this world nothing made can be compared to it!" And they exclaim "How good is Kushta to the good, and Manda-d-Hiia to all his chosen, (those) who stand in their bodies and dedicate themselves to the name of the Life and to becoming (thus)!"

She goeth on in the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia and they let those deeds of hers pass by and (escape) the hands of all the planets.

And on she went and reached Abathur's house of detention, (Abathur), the Ancient, Lofty, Holy and Guarded one. There his scales are set up and spirits and souls are questioned before him as to their names, their signs, their blessing, their baptism and every-thing that is therewith.

The soul of N. hath entered the House of Abathur and hath given her name, her sign, her blessing, her baptism and everything that is therewith!

The souls of our fathers were signed with the sign of Life and the name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia was pronounced over them. They put them in the scales, putting in their deeds and rewards I) and weighed them. And the perfect went in (also), the spirit with the soul, but they took them out (for they were) clean. Radiance issued from the radiance of Abathur and clothed them and they brought light and covered their (therewith).

(Like them) she (the soul) put on garment on garment and robe over robe like the vestments of Abathur. There she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour which resteth (on her) and accrueth to her. And she proceedeth in the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia and went on and reacheth the watchhouse (house of detention) of four beings, sons of perfection, In-Hai, Sum-Hai, Ziv-Hai and Nhur-Hai. Each of these beings clotheth her with his radiance and each covereth her with his light. Garment on garment she putteth on, with garment after garment doth she clothe herself. When she puts on the vesture of the sons of perfection she laugheth, rejoiceth, leapeth for joy, danceth, exulteth and is overjoyed about the glorious splendour, the honour resting on and belonging to her.

She proceeded in the vesture of Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia and went onwards and reached the Waters of Death . The waters covered her, (but) Radiance crossed over- his name abode in his shkinta: honoured and chosen, he created himself - and said "Life, I am Thine, and for Thy name's sake came I forth from the world of Pthahil, from amongst evil plots and from beneath the throne of Abathur the Ancient, so that we tray bring out this soul of N, of this masiqta (so that) she cometh before him".

He is the ray of the great radiance of Life, a being who resteth upon the shkinta, and upon shkinta doth his name rest. He graspeth her with the palm of his right hand and handeth her over to two 'uthras, sons of light, to Adatan and Yadatan, of one gnosis and one mind. And Adatan and Yadatan hand her over to two 'uthras, to 'Usar-Hai and to Pta-Hai who open the Door of Life, plant the plant of Life and establish the first counterpart of the House of Life. They raised her up beside the living they bring her in, in the likeness of Life they support her in the Place where radiance, like light, flameth. And the spirits of N. went and became of the same nature as the soul and was established in the House of Life.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 50

Rightly did the baptist baptise me (in the waters of?) Yaluz-Yaluz for their spring is Hammamulai. My name, Ksasar-Hamamulai is spoken, disseminated, guarded, hidden and pure. They (the waters?) knew the source from which they proceeded: its name was on the sky, its glory on the earth. For upon treasure, in treasure, the Great Life existed and was fulfilled in Its glory.

I sit on a perfected garment and by the great fountainhead of Yukabar-Hiia, beneath a Vine which riseth above me. Praise-of-Life standeth before me. "Who will manifest himself and come and speak to me?" "I am he who is manifest, for I am great". The life that is beneath me is the Vine which riseth above me, Praise-of-Life standeth before me. This is my name and my sign which I received from waves of water and from treasures of radiance and from the great and lofty Mixing-Bowl (?).

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 51

In the name of the Life!

I am baptised in the name of the Strange Life, the Sublime (Being) above all works. I am established in the name of Treasure-of-Light. "I looked upon the Life and the Life looked upon me, and in the Life put I my trust. When this the soul of N. casteth off her bodily garment, she shall put on the dress of life and become a facsimile of the Great Life in light."

Yawar from the House of Life revealed (himself?) and shone forth, establishing his counterpart, transplanting the Great Life in his light. The worlds thrust at us, but we fell not; backed by Thy truth, we have confidence. The first sprout hath burst forth - a ray of the great radiance of Life in its triumphs; Truth (Kusta) and the great Source (kana) of its glary.

And Life be praised!

PRAYER No. 52

Whose son am I? Of the guarded Mana who is Yusmir, the First Great Radiance, son of the great Primal Life, who pondered and went forth seeking His own, that which came from Him. The congregation of souls, on the last day, when departing from their bodies, rejoice in Him, embrace Him and rising up, behold the outer ether and the enduring Abode and praise the Great Life in Its light.

And Life is victorious!

PRAYER No. 53

A letter, union and victory have come to this the soul of N. from the House of Life. Its fastening is water, its wreath is light, its weapon the living word, and its seal the Chosen, the Pure One. Every man who openeth it and readeth therein shall live, be whole, and his name will beset up in the House of Life in the name of the Great Sublime Life. And the First Life is established in Its skinta.

[This is the seal of the masiqta. Up to this point recite the masiqta, and here take the pihta and break off a morsel from one upper fatira and the undermost fatira and bring a portion of the Ba and fold them together. And mingle the "water of prayer" with the wine and recite over them "Yukasar chose her (the soul) who passeth over" and recite "The Life spoke and opened" and part thy pandama and eat thy pihta and drink thy mambuha and recite "The Water of Life burst forth in splendour in its skinta.]

PRAYER No. 54

Yukasar chose her that passeth (crosseth) over; he chose her, called her forth and established her. He clothed her in radiance ineffable and brought light abounding and covered her therewith. He raised her up to the Great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode, and in his own skinta his (the dead man's) soul was assigned (a place) and found rest in his treasure. Living waters (water of Life) from the House of Life burst forth (in splendour) and (like them?) shall shine forth the souls who are called upon, raised up and signed in this

masiqta, (the souls of) our fathers, teachers, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and of those who still live in the body. They shall rise upward on a smooth road and by the path of the perfect, shall behold the Place of Light and the everlasting Abode and be established by Him who opened (revealed) the great first light.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 55

The Great Life spoke and revealed (opened) with His mouth, in His own radiance light and glory. And Life be praised.

This is for the loosing of the pandama. Recite this "Yukasar chose her who passeth over" over the "water of prayer" and wine when they are mingled together. If it is for (several) souls that he has recited read as written, but if for a single soul say "the soul of N., shall be awakened". And say "The Great Life spoke and opened with His mouth" and part thy pandama, eat thy pihta and drink thy mambuha. And recite "The living water shone forth in its place" then rise, and read one prayer alter another until the (prayer) "Yukasar chose her that passeth over" hath been offered up.]

PRAYER No. 56

In the name of the Life!

Living waters shone forth (in splendour) in their skinta. The robes of the good were resplendent in their place. The great Mana was dazzlingly bright in His glory. So (too) shall these living, (brightly) shining, steadfast and vigorous souls shine in splendour in the great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

[This is a prayer of dedication for the "water of prayer"]

PRAYER No. 57

Fragrant incense riseth to its place and Thou, Life, be victorious! The Forgiver of sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes will forgive all those who love his name of Truth (Kusta) (likewise) the soul of N.

And Life is victorious.

[A dedication prayer for the incense]

PRAYER No. 58

In the name of the Life!

Praised be the First Life, praised be the Word of the First Life: praised be that radiance, light and glory; praised be that Light which is boundless and endless and none know when it came into being. Praised be the Lord of Greatness and praised be all the 'uthras that stand to the right and left of the Lord of Greatness and praise the Lord of Greatness. Praised be my father Yawar, praised be all the 'uthras who stand and praise my father Yawar. Praised be that great first Jordan in which the First Life was baptised. Praised be all jordans of living water: praised be the fruits, grapes and trees which stand by them. Praised be all the mighty and lofty worlds of light; praised be all those sanctuaries (shkinata) of the Hidden for in each and every skinta sit a thousand thousand 'uthras, ('uthras) without end, and the myriad myriad sanctuaries that are countless. Praised are those thousand thousand 'uthras without end and the myriad myriad sanctuaries beyond count.

Praised be all those banners of radiance, light and glory unfurled before them which give them light. Praised be the great gate of the House of Abathur; praised be all 'uthras who stand before Abathur and praise him. Praised be the three hundred and sixty scales which are set up before the ancient Abathur; praised be that first great Scales that was set up before Abathur the Ancient. Praised be that great occult Drop from which he proceeded. Praised be all 'uthras who sit upon thrones of rest and recite ordinances and masiqtas and secret prayers. Praised be those recitations, masiqtas, and secret prayers in which the Great (Life) is praised. Praised be those priests who sit with them.

Praised be all mountains of radiance, light and glory; praised be all roads and paths of light.

First Life! Lift up Thine eyes upon these souls called upon, raised up and signed in this masiqta and (the souls of) our father, brothers and sisters who have departed the body, and of those who still tarry in the body. Deliver them, save them and protect them from this world of the wicked and from those watch-houses (purgatories). Let thy mercy, Great First Life, rest upon them. And ye shall say "Life is established in its indwellings".

And Life is victorious.

[This is an offering-up of supplications. It is the dedicatory prayers of the masiqta. Pray "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "Thee, Thyself", "Raising eyes" and "I sought to raise my eyes". If thou recitest for (several) souls read as written, if it is one soul say "Lift thine eyes upon the soul of N"].

PRAYER No. 59

Life is fulfilled in its own glory and the Great Light established by its victories.

[This is the prayer offered up for the pihta].

PRAYER No. 60

The Great Life dwelleth in those that love Him, and His devotees dwell in the Great Place of Light and the Everlasting

[This is the dedicatory prayer for the mambuha.]

PRAYER No. 61

An earthly wreath fadeth, but the wreath of Life is fresh and living. The wreath of an elect righteous man is set and shineth on the heads of those who love the name of Truth (Kusta). The wreath is from the world of light and the robe from the Everlasting Abode. The ether-wreath is set, with its purities, and shineth on the heads of these souls of this masiqta.

And Life is victorious.

[This is the prayer put up for the wreath of a masiqta. If thou recitest for several souls, read as written, but if for a single say "on the head of this soul of N."]

PRAYER No. 62

The worlds glisten (with costly) oil, but Nasoraeans shine with the radiance of Life.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 63

In great radiance am I immersed and in steadfast light am I established. Manda baptised me, Kusta confirmed me. A letter, communication (communion) and purity came to me from the House of Life. Its fastening is water, its wreath is light, its weapon the living word, and its seal the chosen, pure one. Every man who openeth it and readeth therein shall live, shall be whole and his name will be set up in the House of Life, in the name of the great Sublime Life from worlds (of light?).

And Life is victorious

[This is the prayer offered up for the masiqta oil.]

PRAYER No. 64

The Life dwelleth in its own radiance and light. And Life be praised!

[This is the confirmation of the (prayer) "Yukasar chose her who passeth over". Here recite "Ye are set up and raised up" and the masiqta-hymns.]

PRAYER No. 65

Ye are set up and raised up into the Place where the good are established amongst manas of light, the souls called upon and raised up and signed by this masiqta and (the souls of) our fathers, our teachers, our brothers and our sisters who have departed the body, and of those who are(still) living in the body. Your manas shall be set up in the Light and ye will be established in the Light.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 66

In the name of the Life!

I am crowned with a wreath and lay me down

In a dress in which there is no blemish.

No spot is there in the dress,

Nor is there aught missing or lacking in it.

The Life knew about me.

Adam, who slept, awoke;

He grasped me with the palm of his right hand And gave (not?) into my hand a palmbranch.

Light cast me into darkness

But the darkness was filled with light.

The day that light ariseth,

Darkness returneth to its place.

The souls of this masiqta

Approach a cloud of light.
Their journey is to the Place of Light.

And Life be praised.

[This is a masiqta hymn]

PRAYER No. 67

With him, with the Deliverer The souls of this masiqta will ascend. They will behold the Place of Light And the Everlasting Abode.

On their road the Seven will not detain them, Nor will the Judge of the False question them. The Life will count you in His reckoning
And the good will set you up in their midst. To the place to which the good go they will guide you And in the place in which they stand they will set you up; Lamps of radiance are found before you, Beams of light behind you. Kusta will come at your right And Piety will smoothen your path.

For you there will be loosings From here to the Everlasting Abode. For the ferry which ferries over the Elect Will set out towards you and take you across. (Then) from Abathur of the Scales A saviour will come forth towards you. The saviour that cometh towards you Is all radiancy and light from head to foot Like the wreath in his right hand.

And on his two arms is a robe. Bestir yourselves! Put on your robes!

Put on your living wreaths, gird on your girdles In which nothing is awry or blemished.

Above your head there will be fruit, And there, at your time and season Your manas will be set up in the Light.

Your manas in the Light will be set up. (So) rise up, behold the Place of Light! And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 68

Between the Hidden and the Radiance, Between Light and the 'uthras, Between the Hidden and the Radiance Stand those who question the soul, Saying to her "Speak! say, soul, Who constructed thee? who was thy Builder? Who built thee and who was the Being, thy Creator?"

The soul spoke and said --The edified, well-constructed soul spoke --And saith to the Being who questioneth her, Said to him, 'My father, One built me, One constructed me" One was the Being who transplanted me; One of the sons of salvation in his goodness Took (accepted) his lot (duty).

He folded me in a wrapping of radiance, Took (me) and gave me over to Adam. Adam, in his simplicity, whilst he knew not nor understood, Took and cast me into a physical body; Took me and cast me into a physical body That is all sour and bitter fluids and decaying substances. (There) the soul remaineth and waiteth in the hostel of the

Which he had bequeathed her: sitteth and watcheth over it Till its measure and count were accomplished.

When its measure and count were accomplished The Deliverer came to her; To her came the Deliverer Who loosed her and bore her away: (Yea), he who had bound her, who had loosed the soul, Went before her whom he had bound.

Coming behind him, the soul hasted Reached her Deliverer, ran (after) him Who had bound her to her dwelling. The soul and her Deliverer (go): Her course is to the Place of Light, To the place whose sun goeth not down, Nor do its lamps of light grow dim.

To it, and to that place, those souls That are called upon in this masiqta And signed by this sign, are summoned and invited. They shall behold the great Place of Light And the abiding Abode. And Life be praised.

PRAYER No. 69 Bliss and peace there will be On the road which Adam attained: Bliss and peace there shall be On the road which the soul traverseth.
The soul hath loosed her chain and broken her bonds; She hath shed her earthly garment. She turned round, saw it and was revolted She uttered an evil curse on the being Who had clothed her in the body.

She provoked the Framer-of-Bodies, she roused him From the lair in which he lay. She said to him, "Rise up, look, Framer-of-Bodies; The hollow of thy hand is filled with water!" The voice of the Framer-of-Bodies (is heard), Who howleth and weepeth for himself
And saith "Woe is me that the hollow of my hand Is filled with water!" And to her he saith "Go in peace, daughter of the free, whom In the house of evil ones they called handmaiden.

Go in peace, pure pearl that was transported From the treasuries of Life;

Go in peace, fragrant one who imparted Her fragrance to the stinking body. Go in peace, radiant one, who illumined Her dark house. Go in peace, Pure and chosen one, immaculate and spotless!"

Flying, the soul went Until she reached the House of Life: She arrived at the House of Life.

'Uthras went forth towards her, Saying to her "Take and put on thy robe of radiance And set on thy living wreath!

Arise, dwell in the skintas, The place where `uthras abide, conversing; And Life is victorious and triumphant is Manda-d-Hiia And lovers of his name" And Life be praised!

PRAYER No. 70 Blessed and praised be Life Who is filled with compassion for these souls. Praised be thou, my lord, Manda-d-Hiia, For thou raisest up these souls and dost not condemn them.

Praised be thou, pure Yushamin, For thou wilt give them thy helping hand. Be ye praised, Shilmai and Nidbai, For ye will give true witness concerning them. And be ye praised, Hibil, Shitil, and Anush For ye will ransom them from the House-of-Dues And from Abathur of the Scales!

For toward you will go forth a messenger, And the messenger who goeth toward you Is all radiance and light from head to foot. In his right hand a kind of wreath And on both his arms a robe.

Up! put on your robes, set on your living wreaths! Gird on your girdles that are flawless and faultless! Above your heads there will be fruit, And your lamps will hang amongst lamps of light And will shed light.

The Lord of Tolls will not confront you Nor will lying judges put you to the question. They will bring you liberating words From here unto the Everlasting Abode The building that was built for you in the House of Life, Will not come to nought in an age of ages!

And may some of Manda-d-Hiia's radiance and light And the revivifying-breath of Life rest upon us! Blessed is the Voice of Life And praised be the great Beam which is all light. And Life be praised.

And Life be praised.

[After thou hast recited "The Life dwelleth in its own radiance and light", "Ye are set up", "I am crowned with a wreath and lay me down", "With him, with the Deliverer", "Between the Hidden and the Radiance", "Bliss and peace there will be", "My vigilance and my praise giving", "Go in peace, Pure Chosen one", "Well, well is it for thee, soul" and the other hymns, as many as thou art able, then recite the "Blessed and praised is Life" of Shem son of Noah.

If thou readest for (several) souls, read as it is written, but if only for one soul, say "The soul of N." and pay attention, with all watchfulness, clearness of mind and studious attention and recite "Good is the good for the good"; perform Kusta with one another and recite "In great radiance am I immersed".

And pray a prayer for yourselves and make pihta and mambuha for yourselves and eat your pihta and drink your mambuha And offer up the prayer "Good is the good for the good", perform Kusta with one another for yourselves and (then) honour your crowns.]

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 71

In the name of the Life!

Blessed and praised be the Life!

Blessed and praised be the name of Life in the Place of Light! Blessed and praised art thou, my lord, Manda-d-Hiia;

Thou and thy strength, thy radiance, thy light, thy glory and thy help.

Praised art thou, my father Yushamin the Pure, Son of a transplanting of the mighty Life. Praised art thou, Second Life, Life that is from Life. Praised are ye, Shilmai and Nidbai, guardian 'uthras of the

Praised are ye, Nsab and Anan-Nsab. (Praised are) our fathers Hibil, Shitil and Anush he name and chief of the whole race.

Praised art thou, Lofty Abathur;

Blessed and established is the great skinta in which thou sittest.

Praised are ye four beings, sons of Perfection, who go to meet the good;

Go forth to meet the good and clothe the good with robes.

Praised art thou, Earth of Light and blessed and praised
Those who dwell in thee.

Blessed art thou, Road of the great, path of the perfect And track that riseth up to the Place of Light.

Blessed art thou, Nasirutha from whom the elect learn; From thee learn the elect, and deal out reward and pious gift

They deal with reward and pious gift and rise up and behold the Place of light.

Praised art thou, jordan of living water, for from thee we obtain purity;

We obtain purity from thee and receive the pure sign.

My fathers beheld the Life and my teacher the Place of Light.

The 'uthras of light are victorious, And victorious Abathur and the sons of Perfection Who stand, praising the Life.

Enlargement of life there shall be for the believing Who have departed out of our midst; The believers, the poor, the lowly and priests.

And my lord Manda-d-Hiia will lend them his helping hand.

Thankfully received are the good gifts (tabuta) of life, The good gifts of life and of knowledge of life, The pihla that at the name of the Life.

For any man who giveth an oblation, His oblation will be his helper: elect and perfect men Who bestow oblations will rise by Kusta's path. To them it shall be given.

Of the Ether-wreath they twisted them a wreath Of speech and hearing, of joy, purity, goodness and greatness.

A wreath from the Vine Ruaz He will set on the heads Of those souls called on, signed, and raised up by this masiqta;

(And the souls of) our fathers, our teachers, our brothers and our sisters, of those who have departed the body and those

who are yet in the body.

(A wreath like that) set on Its head by the Great (Life) And by the Great (Life) given to 'uthras And given by 'uthras to their priests.

Healer, whose medicine is water, come!

Be thou a healer to thy devotees,
To thy devotees be thou a healer
And to him that giveth oblation be thou a helper:
On him whom thou hast healed, do thou,
Wy lord, bestow soundness.

Behold him who standeth before thee and condemn him not.

My Lord, High King of Light, Revealer Whose eyes are uncovered, seeking justice And enacting justice for those who love it, Do justice on those who persecute us, Those persecutors who pursue us, And on the wicked and furious ones Who scheme to work evil upon us.

If it please Thee, High King of Light, Look on us and condemn us not!

Behold these souls who believed in Thee And for Thy name's sake stood by on earth And were persecuted. Show us pure ether-air So that we may forget earthly persecution, That we may forget the persecution of earth And the vexation of the wicked and liars.

Strengthen our insight, our voice, our vigilance and our praise!

Thereby the Great Life communed with thee And set thee up completely (?) with His radiance And His light, Manda-d-Hiia!

And may the vivifying-power of Life rest upon us. My elect, ye shall say "Blessed be the Voice of Life And praised be the great Beam which is all light!" And Life be praised!

[This is the "Blessed and praised be the Life" of Shem son of Noah. Afterwards, read here "Blessed and praised be Life" of the souls, and then recite "Good is the Good for the good".]

PRAYER No. 72

Good is the Good for the good, and His nature is set upon those who love His name. We will seek and find, speak and be heard. We have sought and found, have spoken and been heard in thy presence, my lord, Manda-d-Hiia, Lord of all healings.

Forgive him his sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and (those of) him who furnished this bread, masiqta and (ritual) food. My lord, Manda-d-Hiia and (Thou) Great First Life, forgive the sins trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes of the donor(s) of fee and oblation, and their wives, children, their priests and those who placed (brought) this bread and food; (likewise) you, my parents, teachers, instructors and preceptors when ye support from the Left to the Right. And ye shall say "Life be established in Its Dwellings and Life be praised;

Life is victorious over all works.

[Recite this "Good is the Good for the good" when thou readest a masiqta. When thou performest a baptism recite it, when thou distributest oil recite it, when thou recitest the Rahmia ("Devotions" recite it, and after the Rahmia. And recite it when thou partakest of the (ritual) dish.]

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 73 The Letter In the name of the Life! A sealed letter which leaveth the world --A letter written in good-faith (kushta) And sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life) -Righteous men wrote it, believing men tied it on, And suspended it about the soul's neck And despatched it to the Gate of Life. The soul, in her wisdom. Pressed her nail on the letter, Her nail she pressed on the letter; She imbued it with her mystic radiance, Wrapped it and veiled it in her light. How came it that Daium saw That the soul bore a letter? How was it that Daium saw it As her seven sons gathered about her And said "Who hath written the letter Whose secret no man knoweth? Who wrote the letter that is sealed in By these protective strands?" The letter is written in good faith, And sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life). Righteous (men) wrote it, believing men tied it on And hung it about the neck of the soul And despatched it to the Gate of Life. The soul flieth and goeth until she hath reached The watch-house of the Seven. The Chief-of-Dues, when he saw her, (And) the Governor, when they saw her, Murmur discontent and say "Who hath written the letter Whose secret no man knoweth? Who wrote letter that is sealed By these protective marks?" "The letter is written in good faith And sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life). Righteous (men) wrote it; Believing men tied it up And hung it about the neck of the soul And despatched it to the Gate of Life". The soul flieth and travelleth on Until she reacheth spirits of Purgatory. The spirits of Purgatory abased their heads And the soul passed the purgatory-spirits by. The soul flieth and goeth Until she came to the waters of death. As she reached the waters of death There came forth towards her A great Beam of radiance (and) of life, (who) Grasped her by the palm of her right hand And brought her over the waters of death. The soul flieth and goeth Until she reacheth the House of Life. When she reached the House of Life She uttered a cry to the House of Life, And when He heard her call the Life Sent a messenger towards her. (Who) grasped her by the palm of her hand, Conducted her, (came) to support her

To unite her to (the company of) 'uthras And to set her up amongst beams of light. Upon her head they placed a wreath of ether And took her out of the world in splendour. Life supported life: Life found Its own: It hath found Its own, and my soul hath found That for which she hoped.

And Life is victorious.

[Up to here recite over the flask of oil as it is put into clay up to the mouth of the bottle. And the clay must be pure and from the jordan.]

PRAYER No. 74

Bound (secured) and sealed are the spirit and soul of N. by the seal of Kushta and the great safeguard of truth by the word of Kushta and the raising (power) of Yukabar-Ziwa.

And Life is victorious.

[This is the conclusion of the "Letter". Set (press) thy sealring and the nail of thy little finger of thy right hand into the clay, seal it and read this conclusion over it. And Life is victorious].

[Shouldest thou wish to administer oil (to a dying person), at the beginning and end order the chief (relative) or remaining (persons: i.e. of the family?) to throw water over the dying person. If he is a Mandaean (layman) they shall purify the hand of the dying person and pour oil on it and sign it with three signings. And he shall join with him and shall place his hand on his mouth and then put the dying person's hand on his mouth. If immediate death is near (?) at the place where they apply the oil they shall cleanse with water and purify him and bring to him proxies (those like him).]

In the name of the Great Life!

Health and victory be mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush. When thou wishest to administer unction to anyone leaving the body (dying), say "In the name of the Great Life, union and renewal of life and forgiving of sins be there for this soul of N. son of N. of this "Letter and masiqta". And bring a clean new bottle never before used, press out pure oil and place in it. When enough, twine a wreath of myrtle about the bottle. And set it before thee and recite for thy crown "In the name of that First Being" and set thy crown on thy head. And recite beside thy crown "Life created Yawar-Ziwa", "Let there be light", and "Manda created me" for thy crown. And recite "Strengthened and enhanced is the great mystery of radiance light and glory" and bind thy pandama over thy mouth.

And take the phial into thy hand and recite "Water of Life art thou" over the bottle. And recite "Hail to the First Life" for the incense and cast incense on the fire and recite "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "To Thee" and "Raising my eyes"; and the bottle shall be in thy hand. And recite "I sought to raise eyes" and at the place where it says "wilt wipe away and remove from N. his sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes and cast them into the hells of earth and into the nethermost Abaddons of darkness and wilt raise him up as guiltless and not as guilty and as virtuous and not as vicious before thee, Manda-d-Hiia. With thy radience thou wilt clothe him and with thy light thou wilt cover him, and wilt set thy living wreath on his head, (the head of) this the soul of N." and take care that thou readest to the end with attention!

And recite the eight prayers for the pihta over the bottle and the two prayers for the mambuhaMana", cover the bottle with the clay and take thy seal-ring with three of thy fingers -thy thumb and the finger next thy thumb and the little finger and recite "The sealed letter which leaveth the world" and at the place where it saith "a letter written in good faith and sealed with the seal of the Mighty (Life)", seal with thy ring and the nail of thy little finger. And until the end let thy seal and the nail of thy little finger rest in the clay. And recite "Bound and sealed are the spirit and soul of N. with the seal of Kushta and the great safeguard of strength in the word of Kushta and the raising-up of Yukabar-Ziwa". over the bottle and recite over the myrtle wreath "The Light became light", "Enlightened and enlightening" and place the bottle on his head. Recite "Manda-d-Hiia went to the stars: his appearance loosed" over the bottle and take with thy forefinger some oil from the mouth of the bottle and recite "(In the name of the) Strange (Sublime) Life, this, the glory and light of Life" and at the place where it saith "to send forth spirit and soul" say "of N". and where it saith "And Sauriel the Releaser cometh, who releaseth spirit and soul" say "of N." and at "everything that is therewith" sign the mouth of the bottle; and at "the house of Abathur" sign the mouth of the bottle. And where it saith "the spirit of N. went and became like the soul and was raised up into the House of Life and Life is victorious" sign the mouth of the bottle. And recite "Truly did my baptiser baptise me", "I am baptised in the name of the Life", and

"Whose son am I? Of the guarded
And lift thy seal-ring, thy nail and thy little finger from it
and set it before thee and recite "Praised be the First Life"
and at the place where it says "Lift thine eyes" say "upon N.".
And thy pandamamanas light" (insert) "the soul of N. is
established in that place". must be over thy mouth. And recite

In the likeness of the Life to the place

Of radiance, light and beams of effulgence;

"Ye are set up and raised up in the place where the good are established amongst

And (recite) "I am crowned with a wreath and lay me down", "With Him, with the Deliverer", "Between the Hidden and the Radiance", "Bliss and peace there will be on the road which Adam attained", "My vigilance and praise", "Go in peace, chosen, pure and guiltless one in whom there is no spot", "The Mana rejoiceth in his treasures", "Well is it for thee, well is it for thee, soul that departed from the world", "Sunday, and Kushta and Oblation", "I am provided and provisioned", "He rose and took me up with him", "The day that the soul goeth forth" and "Ye are set up and raised up, my Chosen".

And recite the "Blessed and praised be Life" for the souls and here recite the "Blessed and praised is Life" of Shem son of Noah. And where it saith "To you it shall be given, of the Ether-wreath" say "to N. son of N." (it shall be given).

And recite "Good is the good for the good"; ask mercy for him and remit his sins and his trespasses. And give it to him to whom thou givest it and grasp in kushta the hand of him who holdeth (the hand) of the dying person and say to him "This kushta which I entrust to thee, do thou convey it to Abathur".

If it is urgent to carry him away, bestir thyself (hurry) when thou recitest "The sealed Letter which leaveth the world" and "Bound and sealed are the spirit and soul of N.". Give him that which thou givest him, and take in kushta the hand of him who taketh (the hand of) the dying person and say to him "This kushta I speak to thee do thou speak it to Abathur". Thy pandama must be over thy mouth. Then thou shalt recite "The First Life be praised", "Ye are set up and raised up." and (so on) till the "Good is the good for the good", just as I tell thee.

Offer up for him the devotional prayers, hymns and the "raising" (prayers) of the masiqta from beginning to end. And be careful (to insert) the name of him to whom thou didst administer the oil. Let nothing be lacking and recite with attention and care.

And Life is victorious

Then, when thou holdest thy pandama over thy mouth, pray for thyself. Make pihta and mambuha for thyself, recite "The Great Life spake and opened Their mouth" and eat thy pihtamambuha. And recite "Life is full", and "The Great Life dwelleth" for thyself and recite "Good is the good for the good" and perform the kushta-rite for thyself and honour thy crown. and drink thy

And beware, beware and beware lest thou begin any of the "loosing prayers" without thy pandama. (Do it) only after thou hast made petitions for thyself.

And Life is victorious.

This is the Benediction of Oil, which Bihram-Rba, son of Adam celebrated for his mother Hawa wife of Adam when she departed the body, whilst Hibil-Ziwa sat before them.

This Benediction of Oil was in the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat of the town Tib, written by Zazai-d-Gawazta son of Hawa. And Bayan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote it. Here he distributed it, with these books, amongst a hundred Nasoraeans, from his own Diwan which he had copied from Ramuia son of 'Qaimat's Diwan that was found in the possession of Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Bainai son of Zakia.

And Bayan-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar said "Just as it was written, I wrote it and all the mysteries of the Oil were therein. As far as Jerusalem, the city of the Jews, their mysteries (sacramental ceremonies) are like these.

And Life is victorious.

Exhort those who administer the oil to be careful. If he (the apparently dying person) doth not depart the body, let them bring him to thee. Recite "In great radiance am I immersed", break open the seal, bear it away (?) and throw it into the jordan.

And when thou administerest oil, beware lest thou make a mistake. If thou hast committed an error, it will need a "masiqta of the sixty" for him on whom the oil falleth and it will be well. If impossible to carry him read a "sixty" masiqta for him with seven food-trays, and at "that which is with her" sign him and at "the House of Abathur" sign him.

(If) the soul (be that of) a good, pious person, one who hath people who will do good after him, bring priests and celebrate sixty masiqtas for him in full with everything. In the upraising of the sixty" sign him alone at (the words) ma d-bh; at the words bit Abatur sign him alone. And in the last upraising sign him alone at bit Abatur and (then) sign the souls of our fathers.

For a masiqta thou requirest meat, water of prayer, incense, pihta, hamra, wreath and oil. And in (on) the seven trays: - place there all that thou wishest in the trays together with those mysteries (named above).

And when (there is) a masiqta, read the homilies about the soul; let them be many, and be compassionate. It is good (beneficial) for a soul on whom oil falleth. Recite over him and over the seven rahbata and (pray for) Mandaeans, Nasoraeans and the faithful. And pray the masiqtapihta and mambuha, the "bindings and loosings" of the masiqta prayers "We have acknowledged", "Praises", "Thee", "Lifting eyes",

"I sought to raise eyes" and all the appointed prayers for the from beginning to end.

Be careful; make enquiry, display kindness, show compassion (during?) the homilies, and loose him from his

And Life is victorious

Then Hibil-Ziwa taught and said "Great disgrace will fall on any Nasoraean who (whilst) reading the masiqta openeth his pandama or adulterates the water of prayer. He will not behold his Creator and will be smitten with that blow which was administered to the First Eldest One because he sinned and blundered before his Parents. And I, Hibil-Ziwa, will not reckon him amongst my own, nor count him as one of my own".

And Hibil-Ziwa said "Any Nasoraean who holds (to?) the pandama and doth not adulterate the water of prayer, as long as he remaineth in the body shall have increase, speech and a hearing because he hath neither removed nor changed aught of that which his fathers commanded him, nor hath he performed the acts of Yushamin or rendered a portion to the Well Sumqaq, nor did he stand in the heat of the Well Sumqaq".

Every man who celebrateth these mysteries must hold (wear) the pandama. When he holdeth his pandama all the creatures of darkness are turned back from his presence, his appearance will shine and all that he hath done will be confirmed by us. And Life is victorious.

This is the Book of Gadana which Hibil-Ziwa gave to the chosen elect, which I have copied for myself. I am poor, lowly, child-like and striving, one whom the Seven and Twelve persecute; one of the Root of the First (Life), one insignificant amongst my fellow-priests and ganzibras, earth beneath the feet of Nasoraeans and dust beneath the feet of the pious.

I, a slave who is all sin, copied this Book of Gadana for myself so that there should be someone to commemorate my name on earth and yonder in the celestial worlds of light. For my heart hath loved the Life and mine eyes wait upon Mandad-Hiia, who will be to me a support, a deliverer and a rescuer from the sons of Krun And I testify to the Life and to my lord Manda-d-Hiia with a true and faithful heart.

I am Rabbi Adam-Yuhana son of Bihram son of Sa'dan son of Msa'dan, Kamisia by name, Rish-Draz, I copied it for myself from the book of a righteous and upnght woman, a believing (creature) whose mind is pure; in it there is no lechery, lust or harlotry. She consecrated herself to love of Truth (Kushta) and copied this Book of Gadana so that there should be for her a commemorator on earth and in the mighty celestial worlds of light, vonder. She was my own paternal grandmother, her baptismal name was Anhar daughter of Sharat. May there be for her enlargement of life! And the name by which she was called was 'diia, daughter of Adam son of Sa'ad-Juwiri. (She copied it from?) the copy of the great, lofty and respected R. Ram-Yuhana son of R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R Zihrun son of R Adam son of R Yahia-Adam son of R Shitil son of R Ram son of R Zakia son of R Yahia son of R. Zakia son of a father of ganzibras, R. Mhatam son of R. Sam, known as Manduia, family name 'kuma (Black). He copied it from the book of the great, lofty and respected R. Yahia-Zihrun son of R. Yahia-Bihram son of R. Adam son of R. Yahia-Adam known as Manduia, family name 'kuma. He copied it for a shalmana -- the craftsman Hadaiat son of the craftsman Oasum son of Bihram son of Zakia of the sons of the Dihdaria (tribe), family name Sabur, from the book of R. Zihrun son of Asta Faruk, Asta Nuruz, his baptismal name being Bihram son of Adam-Yuhana son of Br-Hiia son of Zihrun son of Yahia-Anush, son of the great lofty and respected R. Mhatam son of Yahia-Baian son of Yuhana-Shadan, of the sons of the Dihdaria, family name Sabur, He copied from the book of Shaha whose baptismal name was Hawa-Mamania daughter of 'Aziz, family name Wasia. He copied it from a book (copied by?) Bihram-Br-Hiia son of Adam-Zakia-Br-Hiia son of Baktiar son of Adam-Bihram, family name Kuhilia, that was copied by the great, lofty and respected master-builder of knowledge and understanding, a noble and distinguished ganzibra, an excellent, accomplished man, devoted to the First Life, son of an orthodox family (root), son of a highly-distinguished family, our teacher, R. Yahia-Bihram son of a father of ganzibras, R. Sam-Bahran son of Yahia son of Zakia son of Yuhana known as Buhaiiar, Zakia by name. May Mand-d-Hiia forgive him his sins for he was kindly and long-suffering, and wrote this book so that there should be commemoration for him on earth and vonder in the worlds of light. And he copied it with the rubrics which had been copied by the great, lofty, respected and reliable ganzibra Zihrun son of Br-Hiia son of Baktiar son of Adam-Bihram, family name Kuhailia-may Manda-d-Hiia forgive him his sins! He copied it for Sam-Yuhana son of Mhatam-Bulbul son of Sam family name 'Asakir from the book of R Adam-Baktiar son of Yahia-Zakia-Zihrun son of Yuhana-Shitlan, family name Rish-Draz ...

[The list of copyists is so long that I venture to omit the rest this colophon of D.C. 53, up to p. 98, line 16; (Translator).]

... Ziqa son of Ninia. And Adam-Sabur said "I went to Bit-Hurdshaiia and travelled around a great deal, but found no

reliable masiqta equal to this masiqta. When I saw that it was reliable I wrote this masiqta just as it was. And any priest or Mandaean who prays, shall hold to this masiqta.

And now, ye priests who hold to it, be staunch to this masiqta so that there may be forgiveness for your sins, and the Life and Manda-d-Hiia and all the 'uthras sons of light will be your helpers. But we will abandon and not approach any man untrue to it.

And Life is victorious.

So these prayers were arranged from the "Explanation of Prayers of Baptism and the Masiqta" which was copied from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat: their father wrote (it?), Baian-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar and our master Baian son of Zakia. It was in his library. So that these injunctions were written by Baian son of Brik-Yawar. He distributed these books here amongst a hundred Nasoraeans from his own library, which he had copied from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat which was housed by Haiuna daughter of Yahia and Baian son of Zakia.

For it was written in the town of Tib. And Zakia copied it from the Diwan of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat and Yahia (?) copied from the Diwan of Sam son of Anush-Yahia, and Sam copied from the Diwan of Bihram son of Brik-Alaha ...? and Anush copied from the Diwan of 'Qaiam son of Sharat and 'Qaiam copied from Qaiuma son of Brik-Alaha and Qaiuma copied from Shganda son of Yasmin, and Shganda son of Yasmin copied from the Diwan Zazai-d-Gawazta br Hawa and Zazai-d-Gawazta copied from the Diwan of the First Life.

And Ramuia son of 'Qaimat said "From the day on which it fell from (was written by) Zazai-d-Gawazta son of Hawa till now, the years in which I wrote it, is (a space of) 368 years in the ages". And Ramuia son of 'Qaimat said "I wrote this Diwan in the town of Tib in the years when Anush son of Danqa departed with the heads of the people (ethnarchs), in the years when the Arabs advanced".

Then Baian-Hibil son of Brik-Yawar wrote "I purified myself when I got possession of these mysteries. And I myself travelled around and went on foot to Nasoraeans and took many diwansMasiqta and Oil-of-Unction. I have written them here and have distributed them to a hundred Nasoraeans in order that they may hold to and be staunch to them. from place to place. And nowhere did I find "mysteries" as reliable as these Mysteries of Baptism and

"And now, ye priests! Hold and abide by this end (purpose), like 'uthras of light who stood by these mysteries, all of them, and confirm it in a communion to which Yawar is joined.

"And any man who doth not confirm this end (conclusion) we will avoid and not approach him. He may go in his clothes and roll in his filth! His habitation will be the Sumgag Well."

Then the writing of Ram-Ziwa-Bihram son of Baian: -- "I have looked into the Diwan of 'The Great Wellspring' of Ramuia son of 'Qaimat. Any person who writeth the Book of Gadana and removeth any of the injunctions assigned and written therein, Thou wilt place in clouds of darkness. And anyone who writeth a book of rejection, or removeth any of the injunctions written therein so that they are broken, shall be cursed with a great curse. For this is the curse which the First Life uttered and pronounced, "Anyone who becometh hostile to the Life shall die the second death of an enemy: he will belong to the Darkness; he will fall and for him there will be no uprising".

(But) those who have not removed trust in the Life or (changed) any part of that which they wrote and taught about it, any individual, he and his opinion: and hath delivered them from their sins .. Moreover, anyone who cuts a copy, or extracts therefrom the name of its owner, shall be cut off (himself and sent) to the watch-houses (purgatories) of the planets. And at the Great Judgement he will stand up, but Abathur will not take his hand in kushta.

Life is victorious over all works and victorious is Yawar-Ziwa and his helpers, his people, his priests, and his holding (partisans).

And Life and all Its works are victorious.

HYMNS OF PRAISE PRAYER No. 75

In the name of the Great Life! May there be healing, victory, strenght, soundness, speech and hearing for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus, from the Life!

We have acknowledged and praises (are due) To the mighty sublime First Life, The Ineffable which is over all works. (I come), bringing (dedicating) my head and my mouth To the Life and to the implanted Word And to 'Usar-Hiia, the great solace and support of Life In order to praise, honour, magnify, bless and exalt Thee. (Yet) who shall praise Thee 2), Life? And who, Life, shall magnify the greatness of Thy victories? Thou art lauded, Thou art magnified, thou art glorified And Thou art exalted! (For lo) Thou art come, Thou camest and none but Thee came. At Thy radiancy the riders were afraid, At Thy light gates and kingdoms were troubled. on seeing Thee the Jordan turned about, [he waves of the sea rolled back And the islands of the sea were thrown into confusion, Chariots were overthrown and they fell on their faces. Cedars of Lebanon were rent, mountains shook and leaped like stages.

They opened and gave praise. Does in the desert shed their young untimely; The heights arise and speak in (Thy) honour. The earth trembled and was shaken. Jordan! whom didst thou behold that thou didst turn back? Waves of the sea! wherefore did ye roll back? Isles of the seal why were ye thrown into confusion? Chariots! wherefore did ye overturn and fall on your faces? Cedars of Lebanon! why were ye rent? Mountains! wherefore were ye shaken and why did ye leap like stags?

(Why) did ve open and give praise?

Does in the desert! on account of 'Whom did ye miscarry your young?

Heights! in Whose honour did ye arise and speak?

Earth! Whom didst thou behold and (at what) didst thou tremble?

'At the Radiance which surpasseth all radiance, At the Light which surpasseth all lights, And at the Good Being who crossed the worlds And came and cleft the firmament and revealed Himself." When the Life gazed (down) and looked on the earth And Its Glory alighted upon the roofs of Its Building, (Lo!) they were sitting on thrones of rebellion. They got down meekly from their thrones And fell upon their faces. It eclipsed and took away The glory of the worlds and generations And quenched the flames of their lamps. It set the eyes of the planets in the depths of the earth And in the lower glooms of Ilarkness. Spirit (ruha) lifted up her voice, She cried aloud and said, "My Father, my Father Why didst Thou create me? My God, my God, My Allah, why hast thou set me afar off And cut me off and left me in the depths of the earth And in the nether glooms of darkness So that I have no strength to rise up thither?" All arose, prayed and praised the majesty of mighty (Life) And their voices sang to the Glory that is mighty Praising the Radiance which surpasseth (all) radiance And the Light which surpasseth (all) lights, And the Good Being who crossed the worlds, Came, cleft the firmament and revealed Himself. He sundered Light from darkness and sundered Good from Evil. He sundered Life from Death, And He brought out those who love His name of Truth From Darkness to Light and from Evil to Good And from Death to Life and set them On roads of Truth and Faith. And Thou hast spoken to us with Thy Word And hast commanded us with Thy commandment - "Be My glory and I will be your Glory. Be my light and I will be your Light. And my name shall be in your mouths And I will be with you". Thou art He who overthrowest (false) gods in their highplaces And bringest reproach on the divinity of (false) deities.

They were broken down by shame on their way And deep ignominy befell their temples And fettered their might.

Great is the splendour in which Manda-d-hiia is arrayed! Blest is that day of light, praised is that dawn On which Thou didst travel and come from worlds of light! (That day) is not reckoned in a count of days. Nor in a reckoning of months; Except that day on which Thou wast revealed from worlds of light. We will reveal to them, that day on which Thou wast revealed, To all who love Thy name of Truth (kusta).

We offer up our commemoration, our petition, our prayer, Our submission, our tabuta and our faith In Thy presence, (O) 'Usar-Hiia, Delight and great Support of Life. Were we to stand and praise Thee, Thy name, Thy title and Thy goodness seven times a day, my Lord, Who could praise Thee, Life, Or magnify (worthily) the greatness of Thy victories? Can the stinking body praise Thee? or the vain tongue? Were our mouth like the sea, our lips like its waves And our tongue like cleft mountains, Then might we praise Thee, magnify Thee, honour Thee and bless Thee!

Thou knoweth him who feareth Thee with his heart And him who confesseth thee with his lips. With a pure mouth be Thou blessed And lauded with a tongue of praise. Supporters who do not waver, interpretations Of Truth (kusta) which vary not praise Thee. Sons of Perfection beside Thee, (an) endless, countless And everlasting (company), all shining with reciprocal radiance, Praise Thee, for amongst them all hatred, Envy and dissensions exist not. The Place which is all portals of radiance, light and glory Praiseth Thee. The ancient, lofty, occult And watchful One, Abathur, who sitteth according To his rank, like the Life, praiseth Thee, The 'uthra Pthahil praiseth Thee and saith to Thee, "Blessed art Thou, my Lord, Manda-d-Hiia And praised. And blessed is the Place From which Thou camest: praised, magnified And honoured is the great Place from which Thou camest. And praised, magnified and honoured is the great Place To which Thou goest." Elect righteous (men) from lower sanctuaries Ii Praise thee; for Thy knowledge. Thy wisdom, Thine understanding and Thy goodness do they praise Thee.

Thou hast come! Thou comest and art ready to reveal Thyself. Thou art immeasurable, infinite and everlasting. Thou art the Father, Thou art the Brother, Thou art the Source, Thou art the great Root of Life; Thou art the First, Thou art the Last, Thou art the Future, for Thou preparest Thyself to come And didst depart in order to reveal Thyself. Put far from us Thy wrath and bring near Thy mercy. Turn back, push back, remove and make impotent Angels of wrath, frost and hail from my land And my house—mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus—In the twinkling of an eye and at a turn of the wheels, (Let) our petition, our prayer

and our submission Rise up before Thee, Manda-d-Hiia! That which we have done forgive us, And that which we do, forgive us, (For) Thou, (O) Manda-d-Hiia art a forgiver of sins, Trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes. If Thou, (O) Manda-d-Hiia, didst not forgive our sins, Our trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes, Who would stand guiltless before Thee, Manda-d-Hiia' Slaves are we, who are all sin And Thou the Lord who art all mercy. Before Thee, all hands are thieving and all lips lying; In Thine eyes, Manda-d-Hiia (even) Jordan-waters are not cleansing.

(Set for) righteous and believing people. Causing our spirit and souls to dwell in abodes of Life According to the purpose of the Life And the will of the three 'uthras. And according to the will of Manda-d-Hiia Sublimest of beings, and according to the will of the Four Beings, sons of salvation. In Thy presence there will be restoration For our spirit and our souls. Thou wilt clothe us with Thy radiance And cover us with Thy light And will stand us before Thee with the innocent And not with the guilty; With the richly-endowed and not with the lacking. Knowledge of Life is Thy name, Truth is Thy name. Pure is Thy name, magnified is Thy name, Honoured is Thy name, blessed is Thy name And abiding is Thy name. Victorious art Thou And victorious is Thy name. Victorious are the woords of Truth which proceed from Thy mouth Over all deeds. Make victorious and establish This my soul (the soul of) Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus. And Life is victorious over all works.

PRAYER No. 76

In the name of the Life! Praises to the Outer Life

Whom Ye caused to dwell without (beyond), The abode that hath limit. For Your eyes are open to discern Your own, Your ears hearken at Your Place. Praises to that one great name of Life Which is above all names. Its name resteth on the great Place of Light, On the everlasting abode and on the city of 'uthras, And on the Beam who was greater than all beams, With Whose fight all beams shine And by Whom all souls are instified:

Who establisheth our strength and cutteth us not off From the House of our trust; Who restoreth our souls at the House of Ransom On the Day of Judgement, and perfecteth our souls On the great Day of joy. Praises (be) to One Who is all the 'uthras, And to One Who is all prayers, and to the Predestined One Wvho came and remained for our commemoration And who was established in the presence of Outer Life. One on whose mouth Life rested and whose praise Was established without. Praises, praises to the Ancient, the First, To the Son of the great Primal Life Whom Life called, prepared, armed and sent Him forth To the generations. (Lo) Thou camest and didst open a door, Thou didst level a road and tread out a path, Didst set up a boundary-stone And didst knit together a community. Thou wast Helper, Saviour and Guide To the Father of the great Family of Life , And didst knit it together in a Communion of Life, Didst build it into a great Building of sound construction And didst bring it forth to the great Place of Light And the Everlasting Abode.

O callers whom I have summoned! O nourishers whom I have nourished! O builders whom I have raised up And brought out from amongst the peoples, nations and tongues! Behold, here I stand! Behold, here I dwell! Worlds against whom I guard myself Though your words are not far from my face, If ye take mountains of food as your viaticum for eating,

They will not complete (or satisfy) you. If ye take seas for your drinking They will not make you perfect (content you). But if with perfections ye stand before the Outer Life And before the Eternal Abode, I will count your number, And your reckoning shall be reckoned. Betimes I will come and will fly And will reach the sons of my Name, the sons of my Sign, And the sons of the great Family of Life. I will bind you together into the bundle of Life And I will build you into a great Building of Truth And will bring you forth to the great Place of Light And to the Everlasting Abode.

If there is no hatred, rancour, or dissension amongst you The hand of the unbartablas customs-officers will not search amongst your garments; Ye will not pass over the Bridge Nor walk in a narrow street; Ye will not stand before the judge Nor look on the countenance of the Adversary-at-law; Nor will ye see an averted face. The chief customs-officer will not question you.

Ye will go forth: ye will behold the Perfecter of Souls, One who setteth on paths of surety His friends that are made perfect, A great comrade of the faithful, One of the great band of souls, Who will come out toward you And clothe your souls in a garment of radiance

And in good pure vestments of light Which he will bring you from the Great Place of Light And the Everlasting Abode. He will bring out toward you wreaths, A wreath of victories. And every leaf of your wreaths will weigh One thousand and eighty mithqals. Its brilliancy will exceed the brightness of the Sun And its light outshine the light of the moon. Ye will receive your vesture and will receive your wreaths In the presence of the Great (Life). Ye will be great, and called 'uthras amongst the 'uthras. Ye will open your eyes and behold your Judge. Betimes will the dayspring dawn upon

you, In strength ye will arise and behold the Outer Ether And the great Beam who is all light. Who was set up before the Great Life: He whom Life created, prepared and sent forth To the ages and to the worlds. And every man who giveth oblation; And took part in the communion from beginning to end. They will make as perfect as the mamas, Like rays of light he will be made to shine On the day of deliverance, on the Day of Redemption, The great Day of Joy; so that his righteous act Stretcheth onward. It will precede you and will uplift, Showing you the Outer Ether and the everlasting Abode, The place which is ancient, of Primal Beings, And sons of the great Family of Life. They eat of that which is imperishable And drink that which is not wine, eating well And asking solace. And an uthra of Life Cometh and resteth upon them day by day and hour by hour Praises (be) to the fame of the righteous And to the existence of Chosen Elect (men), And to the Unearthly Being who standeth without, Whose eyes are open and fixed upon those Who love his name of Truth (kusta) -Thou art he, Manda-d-Hiia! for thou knowest About that in which the perfect man is made perfect, And about the virtuous man, in what his virtue consisteth. And the Lie, of what doth it consist. Not a word issueth from the mouth of a perfect man But thou knowest it, hast understood and expected it In the great Place of Light and the Everlasting Abode. 'the mountain doth not boast its strength, nor a hero his doughty deeds, Nor doth a bowman vaunt his bow, nor the physician his drugs, Nor the righteous and sage man the utterance of his mouth. Not so: it is an uthra of Life which cometh And resteth upon Thy devotees. And those who seek from Him shall find, and to those who ask of Him

It will be given. Day by day, hour by hour, behold us Who stand in Thy name and are upheld by calling on Thy name. We hold to Thy Leader of the great company of Truth We have held staunch because of Thy victories. Humiliate us not; cast us not into the hands of tormentors, Liars, hypocrites and the censorious. Let not torturers strike us nor condemners damn our souls! The good will see and will be found ready, But The wicked will be discomfited and the children of the world be shamed

Perfected (souls) will see that the Life existeth, And will direct their gaze to the great Place of Light and the everlasting Abode.

Thou, Manda-d-Hiia, callest the caller, nourishest the nourisher, buildest the builder,

Exaltest horns, enlargest footsteps and settest up a road, And dost knit together in communion.

Thou art He who constructeth, and who takest out from amongst the peoples, nations and tongues every man who is summoned, worthy and invited. To every man whose term of life is over Thou wilt be a Helper, Saviour and Guide to the great Place of Light and to the everlasting Abode. As to one whose term is incomplete and he standeth (or liveth) in the body, able to open his mouth, lift up his voice, pray his prayers and to offer up his praise, and whose feet can walk to my House, thine uthra shall come and shall rest upon him, Thy friend.

Diffuse Thy light over all who love Thy name of Truth (kusta). Thou hast spoken with Thy Word and hast commanded us with Thy commandment, "Over your words My Word hath precedence: and at the raising of your right hands towards Me My right hand will be lifted towards you. Ye will call, and I will answer you quickly. Ye will seek My hand and I will not withhold it from your hands".

We will pray with Thee the uthras' prayer and ask of Thee, of the Great (Life), a petition for ourselves, for our friends, for our friends and for those who love the great Family of Life, for the whole Nasiruta of Life, fulfilled and disseminated on earth. Thou wilt bring us some of Thy radiance, thou wilt lend us some of Thy light. We will enter into Thy radiance will go forth in Thy light, will rise in Thy name and be kept right by Thy nature. Truth is Thy name, Knowledge of Life is Thy name, precious is Thy name, magnified is Thy name, victorious is Thy name, to words of truth which issue from Thy mouth, and victorious are all Thy deeds. And Life is victorious!

PRAYER No. 77

In the name of the Life!

Thee (O) life, (is it meet) to praise, to honour, To magnify and to bless; First Life, Second Life and Third Life, Yufin-Yufafin and Sam-Mana-Smira And the Vine which is All-Life And the great Tree which is all healings.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour and magnify And to bless 'Usar-Hai and Pta-Hai Who open (reveal) the pihta of Life And transplant a planting of Light, And instal the First Counterpart In the House of Life.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Nbat 'The First great Bursting-Forth (Emanation), The exigence of Life in Its nature

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless The Lord of Great Fruition. the great and high Being who was fruitful, begetteth and produceth Great fruit for Himself.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Yukabar-Ziwa, who increased in his brilliancy And was great in his light

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia, the life which proceeded from Life, The truth (kusta) that was aforetime, in the Beginning; Who was mightier in His radiance than the worlds of light.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Has, the Stem of splendour, radiance, light and honour Whose branches are a thousand thousand and its tendrils A myriad myriad. Well is it for him Who hath looked on that Tree! Bihram , who saw it, lived, shone, was cured and established And his name hath not died.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Sanasie, who standeth at the Gate of Life And prayeth for spirits and souls. He interpreteth silence, inspireth hope And taketh in keeping in the World of Light The prayers of pious and believing people.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Haiasum-Kusta, messenger of Life, The Word of the first chosen elect (men). He crossed the worlds, came, pierced the firmament And revealed himself.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Bhaq-Ziwa, who is called "He acted and succeeded in his skinta.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Yukas'ar, source of radiance who bestoweth radiance and displayeth his fight.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Biriawis, the strong source (kana), The Kana took thought so that its radiance increased.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Ayar, the pure Vine which abideth In the great and lofty Treasure-house of Light.

(Meet it is) to praise, honour, magnify and bless The pure Yusamin who resteth upon The treasures of the waters And upon mighty wellsprings of light.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless The uthra Tauriel, the being who resteth by The pastures of the water. When a fragment from the little finger of his right hand Fell off There was consternation on earth, And vexation(?) in the world of falsehood.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Adatan and Yadatan, who stand at the Gate of Life And praise and extol Life, And pray for the spirits and souls Of righteous and believing people In the Place of Life.

(Meet is it) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Silmai and Nidbai, two uthras Delegates of Manda-d-Hiia Who are active and do (the work of) the Life. With kusta and with the testimony of the Life They immerse living, shining, bright and well-doing souls Who go in sincerity to the Jordan (and are baptised) (But) not in the name of gods or of a messiah!

(It is meet) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Sum-Hai, Rhum-Hai, In-Hai and Zamar-Hai, Four Beings, sons of perfection, Who come towards sincere and believing people, And take them out of bonds (Tied by) the hands of the wicked And from beneath the claws of scheming men; And lift them up to the great place of Light And to the Everlasting Abode. They knit them into the Bundle of Life And build them into a great Building Of sure strength.

(It is meet) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Hibil, Sitil and Anus, Sons of a Stock which is living, light-giving, Vigorous and sturdy: Beings that cannot be taken by the sword Nor consumed by flames of fire; Nor swept away by floods of water; Nor will the thongs of their sandals Be dipped in the water. They were judged and were justified; They sought and they found; They strove and reached the Great Place of Light And the Everlasting Abode.

(It is meet) to praise, honour, magnify and bless Sihiun, and Pardun, and Kanfun, Uthras whose names, each one, are in the House of Life:

And the 'uthras Adam-Kasia, Bihram and Ram whose names are Each one in the House of life, (but) their nature is two two, (dualistic) And the names of righteous and believing people Will be established in the Place of Light. Thy name giveth out light, Thy name is illustrious, Thy name is pleasing and Thy name raiseth up. Thy name is victorious and victorious are the words of truth Which issue from Thy mouth, victorious over all works. Make victorious and raise up this my soul, The soul of Adam-Yuhana sun of Mahnus! And Life is victorious over all works.

I copied these three prayers "We have acknowledged", "Praises", and "Thee (Life)" for myself so that there may be commemoration for me on earth and yonder in the mighty and lofty worlds of light. Fur my heart hath testified to the First Life and I endure the persecution of the world from suns of the planets. For one name - Yawar - do I strive with a pious and believing heart fur the love of precious Truth.

My waiteth on the Life and mine eyes upon Manda-d-Hiia; for they will be my support, my deliverer and saviour from the Place of Darkness to the Place of Light. I copied for myself, poor and lowly a slave who is all sin, dust on the feet of Nasuraeans .. etc.

(The rest of the colophon, which resembles the former colophon, is omitted)

PRAYER No. 78 The Responses

In the name of the Great Life! May my thought, my knowledge and my understanding Enlighten me, Adam-Yuhana sun of Mahnus, By means of these responses and homilies for baptism and the masiqta.

PRAYER No. 79

In the name of the Great Life! When the myrtle, the myrtle, flourished In the gardens of Hibil; When the wild marjoram grew in the precincts of the manda, They gave me two twigs of myrtle From which they twisted a wreath for the jordan. For it is wondrous and fragrant is its perfume!

[Recite this hymn and twist a wreath of myrtle for thy staff, then read the jordan-hymn "Hear me my father, hear me".]

PRAYER No. 80

In the name of the Great Life! Hear me, my Father, hear me! Draw me upward (O) Great One, son of the mighty (Life), Our Father, son of the Lite! Silmai and Nidbai, lords of the jordan, hear me! Jordan, and both its banks, hear me! Hear me, Hibil-Ziwa, whose strength Resteth upon his brethren, the 'uthras! Hear me, Yawar-Ziwa, (thou) whose creations rest on (depend upon?) the jordan! Hear me, Mana-Rba-Kabira And raise that which ye have planted! Hear me, hear me, Hablaba) and Kana-d-Zidqa, Hear me, hear me, Abathur-Rama, whose strength Presideth over the Scales! Hear me, great Bihram! and raise me up Yuzataq-Manda-d-Hiia! Hear me, (ye) Seven Mysteries which reside In the Great Wellspring Hear me, (ye) three wellsprings which give out Radiance, light and effulgence!

Hear me (ye) three manas Who rest upon the jordan with your treasurel Hear me, Anus-'Uthra,

Whose strength dwelleth upon met

PRAYER No. 81

In the name of the Great Lifel
Hear me, my Father, hear me!
And draw me upward, great Son of the mighty (Life);
Our Father, Son of the Life!
Silmai and Nidbai, lords of the jordan, hear me!
Jordan and its two banks, hear me!

Habsaba and Kana-d-Zidqa hear me! Hear me, Great Life, from the height,

Hear me!

PRAYER No. 82

In the name of the Great Life! At the Fountain-head came I forth, At the Source of springs of life went I hence. Three skintas (sanctuaries) did I found And set over them guardians as rulers. The guardians I appointed to rule over them Are sublime, blessed and trusty

To the uttermost.

[Repeat this hymn when thou art baptising and takest up the mambuha into the phial from the jordan, and recite the prayer "At the Fountain-head of Water came I forth" and then recite "Blessed art thou, Outer Door".]

PRAYER No. 83

In the name of the Great Life!
How lovely are plants which the jordan hath planted And raised up! Pure fruit have they borne And on their heads they set living wreaths.
Yawar-Ziwa rejoieth in the good plants
Which the jordan planted and raised.
The Plants rejoice and flourish
In the perfume of Manda-d-Hiia
Which breatheth upon them.

PRAYER No. 84

Truly did my baptiser baptise me, Well did my baptiser baptise me, Truly did my baptiser baptise me And your baptism shall attain its end.

PRAYER No. 85

Silmai hath baptised us with his baptism, Nidbai hath signed us with his pure sign, The great Anus-'uthra hath placed living wreaths on our heads.

PRAYER No. 86

The jordan in which we have been immersed Shall be our witness that we have turned not away From our sign, nor have altered our pure Word.

PRAYER No. 87

I rejoice in my priests And in nasoraeans who hearken to my converse. I rejoice in you, my priests, For ye have not changed my pure Word.

PRAYER No. 88

In the name of the great Life! May the sublime Light be magnified! Rightly do I say to you, my Chosen, Who went up with me to the jordan, Pervert and change me not, after me not by hand. Pervert not nor alienate me, Men who have heard the Voice of Life! He who heareth the voice of Life Will be edified, Will be built up, Built up and armed. (Such a man's) strength will be doubled. Moreover, those who listen to the speech of the Life Will be greatly increased, Will be enriched and will not lack. Into the communion that is great will he be knit, He will enter the communion that is great So that he will be united (therewith) and will arise

PRAYER No. 89

And will behold the Place of Light.

And Life is renowned and victorious

And victorious the man who went hence.

In the name of the Great Life The great Light be magnified! To you do I call and (you) do I teach, Men who have received the Sign. Hearken not to the talk of all peoples and generations; Let not their stumblings cause you to stumble, Stumble not because of their stumblings! Be not interrogated at their tribunals, At their tribunals be not interrogated! Certainly have ye held to established truth, Ye have held to the certainty about which I instructed you. I call to my chosen ones so that Ye may not turn your thought away from Me. Because any man who is not steadfast (in thought) Whose mind is turned against me, Whose mind is turned from me, Great and not small will be his hurt. If ye have attained my strength Bear (arms for) me! If ye bear (arms for) me firmly Stand by me frombeginning to end! But it ye have not attained my strength (or army) Go from me, and approach not! For he that entereth it and beareth (arms) for me, His ' garment" will be adjusted to the House of Perfection. But he that weareth it and doth not perfect it Will die and his spirit will extinguish, He will die and extinct will be his spirit, He will become the portion of the world, Thou hast conquered, Manda-d-Hiia, Good One, who confirmest Thy friends! Renowned and victorious is Life And victorious the man who went hence

PRAYER No. 90 In the flame of the Great Life The sublime Light be glorified! A disciple am I, a new one; For I went to the jordan-bank And took my name on my head And in my heart I took a Sign, My Sign is not that of Fire, Nor is it that wherewith the Anointed One My Sign is a jordan of living water, The strength of which none can attain, He chose one out of a thousand And from two thousand he chose two, Making traders of them Who labour and ply their trade on earth. And they trade for fee and pious gift, And shine more than sun and moon. I came to the congregation of souls, For the Life sent me, sent me forth. There were some who bought my wares, There those who came to their end and lay down. There were those who bought my wares. The eyes (of such a one) were filled with light, Filled with light were his eyes (On) beholding the Great (One) in the House of Perfection, There were those who did not buy my wares. They went on, reached their end and lay down. 'they were blind and saw not, Their ears were stopped and they heard not And their hearts were not awakened To behold the Great One in the House of Perfection. As They called them and they answered not, When they call, who will answer them? Because it was given to them but they took not, Who will give to them when they ask They hated the Way of Life and its Abode But loved the abode of the wicked. And lo! in the abode of the wicked Will they be held captive.

They tied up their tribute, their money In a lappet of their clothes.

When they wish to lift their heads (hold their heads high) They hurl them down to the Gates of Darkness

To my Chosen do I call, to my Plants Who stand by the jordan. I say to them, "My children (who walk) in my road, My children (who follow) my road, Swerve not from it or its boundary! Let him who deviateth from its boundary Cling to the boundary-stone. He who hath turned aside from both will fall into the uttermost ends of the world". Thou host conquered, Manda-d-Hiia, Good One, who confirmeth his friends! Thou wilt forgive us who praise our Lord Our sins and our trespasses. Renowned and victorious is Life And victorious the man who hath gone hence.
[Up to here are the hymns and chants of baptism; and from

here to below are the hymns and chants of the masiqta.]

PRAYER No. 91 My vigilance and praisegiving Are my ferrymen across (the waters of death); A transformation brought me over, A cloud of light took me over.

In purity shalt thou rise to the Place of Light.

PRAYER No. 92 In the name of the Life! Go in peace, chosen, pure and guiltless one; Thou art without spot. Thou hast proven thyself by (thy sojourn on) earth And thy destiny leapt upward from its struggles From its struggles thy destiny leapt upward. Above all the world thou hast spoken. Chosen and pure one (saying), "I am a seer, a diviner;

A seer am I and a diviner!"
The worlds assembled for judgement, For judgement the worlds assembled And judgement was pronounced on them, On them was judgement pronounced, On those who did not perform the works Of right-dealing Man. But thou alone, Chosen and Pure One, Fair mana, that art burnished bright, Thou goest not to the judgement hall. Judgement will not be pronounced over thee, Over thee judgement will not be pronounced; Because thou didst perform the works Of rightdealing mankind. This, that they endure and bear, Thou (O) Chosen One, wilt not find before thee. Escape the clutch of the planets And the forces of this wvorld! Take, put on thy garment of radiance, Set on thy living wreath! Bow thyself! and worship! Prostrate (thyself) and praise the Great Life. Praise the Place of Life To which thy fathers go. Thou (O) Chosen One, Wast not from here; From this place thou wast not transplanted Thy planting, thy place was the Place of Life, Thy home the Everlasting Abode. They have set up for thee a throne of rest In which there is no heat or wrath. There is kept for thee a girdle In which there is no trouble or fault . Good one! Rise to the House of Life! And go to the Everlasting Abode!

They will hang thy lamp amongst lamps of light And they will shine in thy time, and lit thy moment. Arise! Behold the Place of Light! Renowned is Life and victorious And victorious the man who went thither.

PRAYER No. 93 The mana rejoiceth in its treasure And in the glory of Life Which resteth on it. I have acknowledged thee O elect righteous one, For thou settest my soul free From transitory things.

PRAYER No. 94 Hail to thee, hail to thee, soul

That hast departed from the world! Thou leavest corruption and the stinking body

In which thou hast been: thou leanest Its abode, the abode of the wicked,

The place which is all sinning,

The world of darkness,

Of hatred, jealousy and dissensions, The abode in which the planets go about,

Bringing pains and blemishes, Pains they bring, and blemishes, Every day causing them tribulation.

Rise up, rise up, soul! Ascend to thy first homeland. Rise, rise to thy first homeland,

The place from which thou wast transplanted, To the place from which thou wast transplanted,

To thy good dwelling, (the dwelling) of 'uthras, Bestir thyself! don thy garment of glory

And set on thy living wreath.

Rise! inhabit the S'kintas Amongst the 'uthras, thy brethren. As thou hast learnt, praise thy first Home; And curse this place, the house of thy fostering; For (during) the years that

thou didst spend therein Every day the Seven were thine enemies, The Seven were thine enemies and the Twelve Beset thee with persecution. Renowned is Life and victorious, And victorious the man who hath gone thither.

PRAYER No. 95 Her Sunday, her kus'ta and her alms Bear witness for the soul. Ye will be her witnesses And will pass her through at the toll-house.

PRAYER No. 96

I am provided and provisioned: Uthras of light equipped me. I am provisioned; for Life provided for me. And I am equipped by uthras of light. They provided me with provision of Truth

I lifted mine eyes to heaven and my soul waited on the house of life. and the life who heard my cry sent toward me a deliverer. the deliverer who came to me brought me that which was lovely; he opened out a robe and showed me its radiance and i cast off the stinking body. he grasped me with the palm of his right hand and led me over the waters of death. over the waters of death he brought me and led me onward; in the likeness of life he supported me. life supported life, life found its own. its own self did life find and my soul found that for which it had looked. renowned is life and victorious and victorious the man who went hence.

PRAYER No. 97

He rose and took me with him and did not leave me in the perishable dwelling.

PRAYER No. 98

The day on which the soul goeth forth, on the day that the perfected one ascendeth, on the day that the soul issueth from below the spheres of death, of contention, strife was thrown into the earth. ruha's slaves sit bewailing and the seven sit in consternation. the robe of the stars is lent and dust is cast on ruha's head the hell-beasts weep and the demons of purgatories are panic-stricken. the being who brought me hither, who brought me that which was beautiful, put on me a robe, clothed me in a robe of radiance. in a wrapping of light he covered me. he set on my head a wreath of ether and gave me of that which life bestoweth on the 'uthras. he set me up amongst 'uthras and stood me up amidst the perfected (souls). a wreath of ether he set on my head, and gloriously he brought me forth from the world. life supported life, life found its own, its own did life find, and my soul found that for which it had looked. renowned is life and victorious. and victorious the man who went thither.

PRAYER No. 99

Ye are set up and raised up, my chosen ones, by the word and certitude that came to you the word and the certitude that came to the good, the true word which came to believers. my chosen, ye sought and ye found, moreover ye shall seek and ye shall find. ye sought and found, my chosen ones, as the first (souls?) sought and found. thou art victorious, manda-d-hiia. and thou bringest to victory all who love thee. and life is victorious [here recite "Blessed and praised is Life, that souls".] PRAYER No. 100 In a building which life buildeth, good trees flourish. fragrant is the perfume of the trees with the perfume of manda-d-hiia which pervadeth them. [here recite "Blessed and praised be Life" of Shem son of Noah, and "Good is good for the good".]

PRAYER No. 101 The life hath founded a dwelling, and radiance dawned in the sublime ether! i and my brethren, the 'uthras, have set out every good thing, have set out the allotted portion of the great (life): we have offered it up in purity to the place of light. PRAYER No. 102

The building that life buildeth will never come to nought. [repeat this hymn after thou hast partaken of the communion and then say "Darkness is crushed back into the Dark and Light set up in its place".]

PRAYER No. 103

Darkness is crushed back into the dark and light is set up in its place. the life hath accepted your prayer, the 'uthras have accepted your praise the oblation is assigned to its lord, and bounty to him who giveth it. this soul ot n, and the souls of this masiqta rest at the great place of light and the everlasting abode. and life is victorious.

[here recite "In great radiance am I immersed" and lift thy hand for the masiqta and pray a prayer for thyself. and life is victorious.]

PRAYER No. 104 - The Rus' hma

My Lord be praised! May Kula strengthen you! In the name of the great Life may healing and purity be thine!

0 my Father, their Father, King Piriawis,

Great Jordan of living water, In the name of the Great Life

We have cleansed our hands in truth (ku ja)

And our lips with faith:

We have uttered words of radiance.

My mind is absorbed in (thoughts of) Light. Blessed is Thy name, praised is Thy name My Lord, Manda-d-Hiia, and blessed and praised Is that great Countenance (Presence) of Glory which emanated from Itself. (Three times.) I, N, son of N (or daughter of N.), Am signed with the Sign of Life And the name of Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia Were pronounced on me. (Three times) My ears have heard the voice of Life. (Three times) My nostrils have breathed the perfume of Life. (Three times) My Sign, that is on me, was not in fire, And not in oil, and not that wherewith the Anointed One anointed.

My Sign is in the great jordan of living water And the Sign and name of Manda-d-Hiia is mentioned upon me. Darkness is crushed down, and Light set up And the name of Manda-d-Hiia is mentioned upon me. (Three times) My mouth was filled with prayer and praise. (Three times) My knees bless and worship the Great Life. (Three times) My feet tread the ways of Truth (Kus'ta) and Faith. (Three times) I, N, son of N., am baptised with the baptism Of the great Bihram, son ot the Mighty (Life) My baptism shall guard me and will succeed. And the name of Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia Are mentioned upon me.

(Three times)

My feet - and the hands of the Seven and the Twelve Shall be powerless to rule me. The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia Are mentioned upon me.

PRAYER No. 105 - Asiet Malkia

Kus'ta heal you! In the Name of the Great Life! Healing and victory be thine, O great Gate of the precious House of Mercies! Healing and victory be yours; My honoured First Parents Healing and victory be yours; Treasure of the great First honoured Life. Healing and victory be thine; King Mara-d-Rabutha-'laita Healing and victory be thine; King Yus'amin the Pure, son of Nis'ibtun Healing and victory be thine; King Manda-d-Hiia, son of Nis'ibtun, Healing and victory be thine; King Hibil-Ziwa Healing and victory be thine; King Anus'-'uthra Healing and victory be thine; King S'is'lam-Rba Healing and victory be thine; King 'Shaq-Ziwa-Rba-Qadmaia Healing and victory be thine; King Sam-Ziwa, pure, eldest, beloved, great, first Radiance Healing and victory be yours, Hibil, S'itil and Anus', Healing and victory be yours Adatan and Yadatan, Healing and victory be yours

Be yours Adatan and Yadatan, Healing and victory be yours S'ilmay and Nidvay, (ye) two guardian 'uthras of the jordan, Healing and victory be yours; (Ye) twenty-four 'uthras, sons of light, Healing and victory be yours; (Ye) four beings, sons of Salutation, Healing and victory be yours; Njab and Anan-Ns'ab , Healing and victory be yours; Sar and Sarwan, Healing and victory be yours; Zhir and Zahrun and Bhir and Bihrun, And Tar and Tarwan Healing and victory be yours; Yufin (and ?) Yufafin, Healing and victory be yours; Habs'aba and Kana-d-Zidqa, Healing and victory be yours; King Baibag-'uthra, Healing and victory be thine; King S'ingilan-'uthra, Healing and victory be thine; Simat-Hiia, Healing and victory be thine; Great 'Zlat , Healing and victory be thine; S'arat-Nit'ufta, Healing and victory be thine; Kanat-Nit'ufta, Healing and victory be thine; Bihrat-Anana, Healing and victory be thine; King Abathur-Rama, Healing and victory be thine; King 'Us' t'una-rba

Healing and victory be thine; King Abathur-Muzania, Healing and victory be thine; King Pthahil, son of Zahriel, Healing and victory be thine; King Yahia-Yuhana, Healing and victory be thine; King Adam, the first man, Healing and victory be thine; King S'itil, , son of Adam the first man, Healing and victory be thine; O (ye) kings and uthras, And

Indwellings and jordans, And running streams and s'kintas Of the worlds of light, All of you, healing and victory (be yours!) And (may there be) forgiving of sins For myself, (Adam Yuhana) son of (Mahnus'), (N. son of N.) Who have prayed

May there be forgiveness of sins for me! (Note. - The part which follows forms the main part of the RAHMIA or "Devotions", I.e. the prayers prescribed for the three prayertimes daily, i.e. at sunrise, at noon and before sunset; each day of the week having its own set of prayers. These must be got by heart, and their correct recitation is an essential part of

every priest's training.)

My Lord be praised! In the name of the Great First Sublime (Strange) Life, from the worlds of light, the Transcendent, above all works, be there healing and purity (victory), strength and soundness, hearing and being heard, joy of heart and forgiving of sins for me, Adam Yuhana son of Mahnus'. May my thought, my knowledge and my intelligence enlighten me by means of this treasure, a section of the Devotions (Rahmia), and the strength of Yawar-Ziwa and Simat-Hija

PRAYER No. 106

Up, up! ye Elect Righteous Ones

Pray this prayer in the "Devotions" of the early hours

(daybreak) for it is the opening (prayer) of the "Devotions". Here recite "My good messenger" and "I worship Life" and recite "In the name of..."]
In the Name of the Great Life!

Up, up! ye Elect righteous ones, Rise up, ye perfected and believing ones! Rise, worship and praise the Great Life! And praise the great king SiSlam-Rba, And praise the Occult Tanna and Ham-Ziwa, And praise the great Yawar and 'Zlat the great, And praise Simat-Hiia, From whom all worlds came into being; And praise the Wellspring and Datepalm

From Whom the Father of 'uthras came into being. I worship and praise that lofty and great

King of light, the Compassionate One Who is full of loving-kindness. [Prayers 107 -108 Pray these two prayers after "Up, up elect righteous" (PRAYER No. 106) in the early morning devotions, then recite "In their name.., in the name of that Primal Being"]

PRAYER No. 107 In the name of the Great Life! My good messenger of light Who travelleth to the house of its friends, Come, direct my speech and open my mouth in praise That I may praise the Great Life Wholly.

PRAYER No. 108 In the name of the Great Life! I worship Life And I praise my Lord Manda-d-Hiia And that great Presence of Glory Which emanated from Itself.

(Prayers 110 - 112 This prayer, "The time of devotions" is the opening prayer of the eventide devotions. Then recite "In their name (In the name of the Life) and "In the name of that (Primal Being) and set on thy crown and recite beside is "Life created (Yawar-Ziwa)", "Let there be light" and "Manda created me" and then recite "Incense that is fragrant", and "Lo for the First Life" for the incense and cast it on the fire. And here recite the Sunday prayer.)

PRAYER No. 110 In the name of the great Life! The time, the time for devotions arriveth The time of the Lord of Prayer hath come. My awakener is Hibil, my instructor is Sitil, Anus lifteth up my hymns. The immerser in my immersion is Silmai And he who establisheth prayers is Nidbai.

PRAYER No. 111 In the name of the Great Life! My good messenger of light Who travelleth to the house of its friends Come, direct my speech and open my mouth in praise That I may praise the Great Life

PRAYER No. 112 In the name of the Great Life! I worship the Life And I praise my lord Manda-d-Hiia And that great Presence of Glory Which emanated from Itself. (Prayers 113 - 116 Pray these four prayers: "On the Ether-Light do I stand" (PRAYER No. 113),

"Early I rose from my sleep" (PRAYER No. 114),
"We have purified our hands in kusta" (PRAYER No. 115),

"Blessed be thy name and praised be thy name" (PRAYER

Recite them for the "Devotions" for daybreak after incense)

PRAYER No. 113 On the light of Ether do I stand

In the name of the Great Life, may healing be mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnus, through this Sunday prayer!

"On the light of Ether do I stand,

I stand for the Great Light with its purities! I am Manda-d-Hiia, emanation (planting) of the Mighty First Life.

I cried to the first day of the week, (Habsaba) The lauded, the pure guardian of the Light

Who enlighteneth 'uthras. To him I said

"Rise up, go, set off, descend to the earthly world, To that world which is all birth,

To be with the Elect Righteous, Men formed of flesh and blood.

Hold them in thy grasp, strengthen them, Stand by them, take care of them, Give them strength and fortitude

So that they may stand and worship and praise The Mighty Sublime Life! "

Then Sunday spoke, saying to Manda-d-Hiia "How canst thou send me to this world that is all birth To be with elect righteous (men) Formed of flesh and blood who do not respect me! They treat me with contempt, hold me in no great honour, And remit not my sin and transgression!

Then Manda-d-Hiia spoke, saying to Sunday, "Up with thee! Go, set off, descend to the earthly world To this world that is all birth, to be with Elect, righteous men formed of flesh and blood. And grasp them in thy grasp, confirm them, Stand by them and take care of them! Turn back and drive away from them The seven planets together with their demons and devils, And their amulet-imps and their evil creatures; So that they will forgive thee thy sins And thy transgressions; will hold thee in great esteem And victory will be ours and will be thine"

Then Manda-d-Hiia spoke and said to the elect righteous, "Give heed to Sunday the Enlightener whom I have sent to be with you in order to enlighten you, To uplift you and make you upright, And to bring you prayer and praise. Forgive him his sins and transgressions And hold him in great esteem.

Manda-d-Hiia taught and expounded and said, "Anyone who doth not forsake his sins and trespasses On Sunday, nor holdeth him in high esteem, Will have no seat amongst the 'uthras Nor will he behold the great Countenance of Glory. For Sunday is more precious, greater and more beauteous And bright than all the 'uthras!" Blessed and praised is Manda-d-Hiia and the Confirmed' And Life is victorious over all works.

PRAYER No. 114 Early I arose from my sleep In the name of the Great Life! Sublime Light be glorified! Early I arose from my sleep: I stood, Into radiance that was great I looked, I gazed into radiance that was great, Into the Light which is boundless.

When clothed') in robes of radiance And light was thrown on my shoulders A wreath of ether He set on my head And set it on the head of all His race He hymned, and the 'uthras with Him hymn And the Light-rays answer His voice. And it rouseth sleepers and maketh them rise up From their sleep. He said to them

"Arise, ye sleepers who lie there, Rise up, ye stumblers who have stumbled, Arise, worship and praise the Great Life And praise His Counterpart, that is the image of the Life Which shineth forth and is expressed In sublime light." And Life be praised!

PRAYER No. 115

We have purified our hands in Kusta In the name of the Great Life!

We have purified our hands in Kusta (truth)

And our lips in faith

We have uttered words of radiance

And were absorbed in thoughts of light.
Thou, my lord Manda-d-Hiia, art blessed and praised

And thy praise is established (on high). Great is the strength of Life;

Abounding the glory of the mighty (Life)!

Honour resteth upon the 'uthras who sit in glory.

This is prayer and praise which came to them from

The great place of Light and the everlasting Abode.
We praise (Him) with it when we have risen from our sleep,

Before any have spoken falsehood.

For any man who prayeth this prayer there will be forgiving of sins and transgressions in the great place of Light and in the everlasting Abode.

And Life is victorious

PRAYER No. 116

Blessed be thy name and praised be thy name

Blessed be thy name and praised be thy name

My lord, Manda-d-Hiia!

Pure mountains that quake not have blessed thee: 'Ufalnia (interpretations!) of truth which are unchangeable

Have blessed thee.

Sons of salvation who sit in thy company

Have blessed thee. Yawar-Ziwa, the great king of Nasirutha

Hath blessed thee; Ayar-Nhura, the pure, the envoy who is all righteousness,

Hath blessed thee

And I worship and praise that channel of light, The messenger of all rays-of-light.

Blessed is thy name and praised is thy name,

Being who resteth upon the Skintas!

Upon Skintas doth his name rest.

Every day, daily, they gaze on his likeness

And upon the great Countenance of Glory. And Life be praised!

PRAYER No. 117

[Prayer 117: Pray this prayer in the Rahmia (Devotions) of the seventh hour after incense on the fire (and after) "On the Ether-light do I stand" (PRAYER No. 113)] I worship, praise and laud That Srar, the great occult First Vine

Whose fruits are a thousand thousand, And a myriad myriad His tendrils; Upon Whom I called and He answered me-Further, when I call on him, He will answer me; For He will come and will heal me, Will lift me up, raise me and confirm me Will direct my eyes to the Light, And my feet to steadfastness My mouth to wisdom and my heart to vigilance.

Then I worship, praise and laud That first great occult Skinta That is the house of dazzling beings.

Then I worship, praise and laud That occult, first Skinta Which my Parents inhabit.

Then I worship, praise and laud Yon Ruaz, the great first secret Vine
Which loosed its milky juices into the habitations.

Then I worship, praise and laud That Ruaz, the great first Light Who hath sovereignty over all worlds of light.

Then I worship, praise and laud That great, occult, first Skinta To which the eyes of Nasoraeans. Men set apart, and the elect righteous Look, that they may rise and behold The great place of Light and the Everlasting Abode.

And Life be praised: Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 118

[Prayer 118: Pray this prayer in the evening devotions after incense (and) after "For the Ether-light do I stand". (PRAYER No. 113)]

It is time to pray the "Devotions"
The great moment for humble worship For offering up propitiatory prayer

To my lord, Manda-d-Hiia, For arousing the elect righteous.

The priests say to Manda-d-Hiia:

"We will abjure that which we possess Of fee, alms and benefit And the (false) deity of the House We will come and will be believers."

Manda-d-hiia saith to them, to the priests:

"Your Father hath great strength, Surpassing all limit, (stronger) Than passionate thoughts, vain things And the devouring flame.

The Good One clotheth His children He covereth them and raiseth and showeth them That there is great enlargement of Life And your souls shall rejoice With clouds (spouses?) of light.

But other souls will die and become As though they had never existed.

Ye shall receive your vestments Ye shall receive your wreaths.

In the presence of the Great (Life?) Ye will be great, and will be called 'Uthras amongst the 'uthras.

And ye will say "The Living stand In the dwelling of the Life"

And Life is victorious over all works.

PRAYER No. 119

[Prayers 119 - 124 SUNDAY The following three antiphonal hymns and three chants are for the first day of the week.]

In the name of the Great Life Be the sublime Light glorified!

On Sunday, the first of days, Who hath seen that which I have seen?

Who saw Manda-d-Hiia When he went and came to the world?

He went (thence) and came to the world The Earth lay prostrate and was affrighted.

He taught, and lovely was his voice! And he lifted it up, in his mouth there was eloquence, Eloquence he put into his mouth.

He revolutionized and forsook the world: The world he revolutionized and forsook.

Spirit (Ruha) sitteth in lamentation In lamentation sitteth Ruha;

And the Seven sit in consternation; They weep and prolong their mourning Because their mysteries are disclosed, Because disclosed are their mysteries. They will be brought to an end On the great Last Day.

Namrus (Ruha) feared and trembled, Her weapon fell from her shoulder, From her shoulder fell her weapon And her bows from the palm of her hand,

Ruha addresseth her sons, Her good-for-nothing idle (sons),

She saith to them,
"Sons, when terror overtaketh your mother,
What will you Seven do!
When the Strange Being cometh,
Who will rise to confront him?"

A consuming ray of light Is in Manda-d-Hiia'siirr's hand; felling• them He cometh (to?) the rebels.

The Son-of-Life raiseth his Voice At departure of the Seven Saying to them "I have brought wares To my friends. I brought truthful words to believers. Men who buy my wares, Their merits wreathe their heads Twined are their merits, And their horns are exalted On their heads. They will arise and will behold The Place of Light." Renowned is Life and victorious, And victorious the man who went hence.

PRAYER No. 120
My day -- what is it amongst the days?
A day, My day!
What amongst the hours is one hour?
My day, what is it amongst the days?
The day on which the radiance of Manda-d-Hiia shone forth,
My day is Sunday, chief of days,
The day on which the radiance of Manda-d-Hiia dawned
On my day the radiance of Sunday dawned
Upon us and enlightened us beyond measure.

PRAYER No. 121
Before the Wellsprings were transmuted
Before the Awakening without,
Before ye were in existence
I was in the world.
The Voice of living waters (Water of Life),
(Waters) which transmute the turbid waters.

They become clear and shining They gush forth and cast out impurities.

Wherefore should the First (Life) desire sons from the dregs?

Voices cry aloud proclamations Planning schemes, all of them talk!

(But) one Voice cometh and teacheth all sayings, One Being cometh and teacheth about this and that.

(As for) us, who have praised our Lord Thou wilt forgive us our sins.

Thou wast victorious, Manda-d-Hiia And thou leadest all thy friends to victory.

And Life is victorious.

PRAYER No. 122 O Lord of devotions, O Lord of Prayers And of hymns and good books, O Lord of prayer and praise, Hear my voice and condemn me not!

PRAYER No. 123 Except for six or seven nations, Fruit is set up on the Tree

On the Tree fruit is set up And (other) trees gather together toward it.

Toward it do the trees assemble, And a throne is set up for the Lord of Radiance For the Lord of Radiance a throne is set up And the Lord of Radiance sitteth thereon.

Before him are set up recompenses Which he delivereth to the perfect, To the perfect doth he deliver them

And said:
"To each according to the works of his hands
It is awarded".

And he said:
"Every man who toiled
And was long-suffering shall come
and take with both hands,
But he who did not toil nor endure,
Standeth empty in the House of Dues.

He will seek but will not find, And ask, but nought will be given him, Because he had in his hand and gave not, He will search there in his bosom and will find nothing."

Thou art praised, Manda-d-Hiia Who dost not condemn thy friends.

PRAYER No. 124 I seek a boon from the Life, From Thee, mighty Life.

I seek a boon from the Life -That Ye will rightly guide Your praise For me. (.... Text missing)

PRAYER No. 170 - Tab taba Itabia

(The Full Commemoration Prayer for the Dead and Living) Good is the Good (one?) for the good, and He set His nature upon those who love His name. We will seek and find, and will speak and be heard. We have sought and found, we spoke and were heard in Thy presence, my Lord Manda-d-Hiia, Lord of Healings. Forgive the sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes of him who made (furnished) this bread , masiqta and tabuta . His sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes thou wilt remit for him, my lord Manda-d-Hiia and Great First Life, (those of) the donor of fee and oblation.

For our forefathers there shall be forgiving of sins. For Yus'amin son of Dmut-Hiia there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Abatur son of Bihrat there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Hablaba and Kana-d-Zidqa there shall be forgiveness of sins. For the twenty-four 'uthras, sons of light, there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Pthahil son of Zahriel there shall be forgiveness of sins. For Adam son of Qin and Eve his wife there shall be forgiveness of sins. For S'itil son of Adam there shall be forgiveness of sins. There shall be forgiveness of sins for Ram and Rud . There shall be forgiveness of sins for S'urbai and S'arhabiel). There shall be forgiveness of sins for S'um son of Noah and Nuraita his wife. There shall be forgiveness of sins for Yahia-Yuhana son of 'Nis'bai and Qinta and Anhar his wives. There shall be forgiveness of sins for those three hundred and sixty priests who went forth from the district of Jerusalem the city. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the souls of our good fathers and for this my soul, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', who hath prayed this prayer and devotions. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my father, Yahia-Bihram son of Hawa-Mamania. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my mother, Mahnus' daughter of Simat. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the soul of my teacher Bihram son of Mudalal. There shall be forgiveness of sins for his wife, Anhar daughter of Hawa. There shall be forgiveness of sins for the souls of my children Anhar daughter of Anhar. There shall be forgiveness of sins for my brothers (and sisters) Anhar, and Sam, and Mudalal, and Ram; and Muhatam-Yuhana, and Adam-Yuhana, the sons of Mahnus': forgiveness of sins be there for them. The souls of Mandaeans; Ram son of S'arat-Simat ,-forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Simat, forgiveness ot sins be there for him; Anhar daughter of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Simat daughter of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Ram son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yasmin daughter of Yasman, forgiveness of sins be there for her. All the souls of our good fathers, be there forgiveness for them. And for this my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnul, be there forgiveness for me. The soul of my teacher, Bihram son of Mudalal, be there forgiveness for him. The souls of priests, Adam-Zihrun son of Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Anus' son of Maliha, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Ram-Zihrun son of Hawa-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Yahia-Zihrun son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him. Sam-Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him. All souls of our good forefathers, forgiveness of sins be there for them. And for this my soul, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and devotions, forgiveness of sins be there for me- And the soul of my teacher Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sons be there for him. The souls of ganzibria: Yahia-Yuhana son of Hawa-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Bihram son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram-S'itil son of S'arat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zihrun son of Maliha, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam son of S'adia-Maliha forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia-Bayan and Yahia-Bihram sons of Hawa-Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Ram-Yuhana son of Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bayan-Zangia son of Anhar-Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Saiwia son of S'arat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram son of Madinat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia son of Anhar-Ziwa, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Ram-Sindan and S'aria, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Hawa daughter of Daia, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Anhar- Kumraita daughter of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for her; Yahia-Ramuia son of Ramuia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Sam-Bihram son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam son of Bihram (Bihrat?)-Dihgan, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Adam-Br-hiia son of Simat, forgiveness of sins of there for him; Brik-Yawar son of Buran, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bihram Bisth'aq son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for him; S'abur son of Dukt, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Mha-tam and S'itil, sons of Haiuna, forgiveness of sins be there for them; Anus' son of Mihria-Zad, forgiveness of sins be there for him; S'aiar- Ziwa and S'abur son (sons?) of Kaizar'il, forgiveness of sins be there for him (them?); Bhira son of Kujasta, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Zakia son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there

for him; Ardaban-Malka-Baktiar son of Simat, forgiveness of sins be there for him.

And all souls of our good fathers, forgiveness of sins be there for them. And for this my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', who have prayed this prayer and these devotions, forgiveness of sins be there for me. The soul of my teacher, Bihram, son of Mudalal, forgiveness of sins be there for him. The souls of the ethnarchs: Adam-Bul-Faraz son of Hawa-Mamania, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Anus' Mu'ailia son of Hawa-Zadia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Yahia-Adam, son of Zadia-Anus', Hawa (?), forgiveness of sins be there for him (their?); Bihdad son of S'adia, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Bainia son of Haiuna, forgiveness of sins be there for him; Haiuna daughter of Tihwia, forgiveness of sins be there for her: Ramuia son of 'Qaimat, forgiveness of sins be there for him; S'ganda son of Yasman, forgiveness of sins be there for him, Zazai-d-Gawazta son of Hawa, forgiveness of sins be there for him. The people, (consisting of all Nasoraeans, priests and laymen (mandaiia), and ganzibria and ganzaiia (headpriests and treas- urers ?), from the age of Adam the First Man down to the end of the world (and generations); all who went down to the jordan and were immersed and received the Pure Sign, who did not betray their Sign, nor renounced (were converted from) their Baptism, forgiveness of sins be there for them. For them and their spouses and their offspring, their priests, and for those who supplied this bread and ritual food (t'abuta), and for you. my fathers, my teachers and instructors when ve upheld me from the Left to the Right, Forgiveness be there for you. And ye shall say "Life abideth in Its Dwelling " And Life be praised: Life is victorious over all works.

PRAYER No. 171 - Hymns of Praise In the Name of the Life!

Praised be the First Great Radiance and praised the Great First Light! Praised be the Wellspring and the great first Palm-Tree Praised be the mystic Tan(n)a which dwelleth in the great mystic First Wellspring. Praised be the great S'is'lam who sitteth on the bank of the Wellspring and Palmtree; praised is the great 'zlat Praised is the great Yawar who was formed from the loins of Radiance: praised is Simat-Hiia (Treasure-of-Life), Mother of all kings, because from them (both) all worlds proceeded - for she was appointed as the result of secret mysteries.

Praised is that first great Jordan: praised are those three hundred and sixty jordans which proceeded from that first great Jordan. Praised is that great mystic first S'kinta and praised are the three hundred and sixty S'kintas which proceeded from that first great mystic S'kinta.

Yawar-Ziwa, the vigilant 'uthra, divulged, revealed and "Upon every Nasoraean man who standeth at his devotions and prayeth this prayer and offereth up this (prayer of) dedication the glory of the Life will come and will rest on him, and he shall have strength and increase like Anus'-'Uthra. Upon any Mandaean man who standeth at his devotions and prayeth this prayer and raiseth this dedicatory prayer the attention of the Life will descend, will rest on him and he will have strength and greatness like a priest. And he shall say "Thou art established First Life" and dedicate (his crown) sixty-one times and make (this) petition: (and say) Ye are blessed, praised and magnified, revered and established with high honour which is great and boundless, O Life, and my Lord Manda-d-Hiia and the great First Liie, the Second Life and the Third Life; Yufin and Yufafin; Sam-Mana Smira; and the Vine which is all Life and the great Tree which is all healings. (O) Compassionate One, Forgiving One, Clement One, Pitiful One, Deliverer and Saviour, O Looser of the bound, loosen him (me) from and forgive his (my) sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and blunders, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', who have prayed this prayer and "devotions". Be there forgiveness of sins for me! O Sunday, the lauded, pure guardian of Light, (0) Ayar-Nhura, pure saviour who art all piety, who art invisible and unbounded! be my answerer and answer me : be my supporter and support me, be my Raiser-up and raise my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and "devotions". Be there forgiveness of sins for me!

O Hablaba (Sunday)! deliver me from hell-beasts and from purgatory-demons and from water-penalties , and from pots that seethe, from fire and ice, from the snare of the planets, from the plots of the planets, from the slaying of the planets and from the seven hell-beasts, the chief Levier of dues and the children of darkness. Great Bihram! baptise me in thy sublime jordan and deliver me in purity to the Place of Light. Stretch forth thy right hand of holy truth to clasp that of this my individual soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', who have prayed this prayer and (offered up) these devotions. Be there forgiving of sins for me. O Abathur-Rama, 0 Abathur-Muzania! Weigh me in thy balance, build me into thy building and count me in thy reckoning! Mahziel, Great First Word, which assured me sight in mine eyes, pour wisdom into my heart! Open the eyes of my understanding! Haias'um, healer; Kus'ta, and Yusmir healer of the mana and its counterpart, heal me (preserve me) from pains, from blemishes from hateful

curses, from a sickly body and from an oozing body. O Yawar-Rba, Yur-Rba, Treasurer, king of worlds of light, free me, rid me of my sin, my trespasses, my follies, my stumblings and my mistakes, mine, Adam Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and devotions. Be there forgiveness of sins for me, and for my father and mother, and nor my teacher, for my wife and children, for my priests and for all souls who stood for the Name of Life and were firm in the sign of Manda-d-Hiia with a sincere and believing heart. Yea, Life, verily Life, Life will be with the victorious. They (Life) will not condemn those who love Their name: they will be joined in holy union. Life for those who know, Life for those who believe, Life for beings who instruct us. Life is established in its dwellings: Life is victorious over all works.

PRAYER No. 172

Now (we beseech Thee), Life, (bestow) Thy pity, Thy clemency, Thine attention, Thy compassion, Thine, Great First Life! Show pity, be clement, be attentive to and show compassion on this, my soul, mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions. May there be forgiveness of sins for me. (Three times) . For me and for my father and my mother, for my teacher and for my wife and my offspring, and for my priest and for whomsoever bath offered this bread and ritual foods. And for you, my fathers, my teachers, and my instructors and those who taught me the faith when ye supported me from the Left to the Right, may there be forgiving of sins for you. And ye shall say "Life is established in its dwellings". And Life is victorious over all works.

PRAYER No. 173 The S'umhita

The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia be pronounced upon thee! The name of the great mystic Wellspring is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great mystic First Palmtree is pronounced upon thee. The naive of the great S'is'lam is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great 'zlat is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Yawar is pronounced upun thee. The name of Simat-Hiia is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Yukabar is pronounced upon thee. The name of the Mana and his counterpart is pronounced upon thee. The name of the great Mystery, the mystic Word, is pronounced upon thee. The name of Shaq-Ziwa the great, the first, is pronounced upon thee. The name of Sam, the pure, first-produced, beloved and first radiance, is pronounced upon thee. The name of the Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia is pronounced upon thee, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus'. May illness, malady, accidents, curses, vows and forfeitures, pains, infirmities, violent fevers, the evil eve and the dimmed eve be loosed and removed from thee. They shall depart (rise) to the mountains and heights from thy body, spirit and soul, thy trunk and thy, stature and (from) thine entire frame, thine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus', through the strength of my Father, their Father, Manda-d-Hiia, through the strength of the treasure of the First Life and through the strength of Yawar-Zi,va and Simat-Hiia. And the name of Life and the name of Manda-d-Hiia be pronounced upon thee.

PRAYER No. 174

I beseech the Life and my Lord Manda-d-Hiia and the 'uthras and kings of the worlds of the light for a sponsor for this high mystery (ginza) so that no lacking or deficiency may appear therein. Should there be anything missing or deficient, do thou, O Hibil- Ziwa, (thou) great Fulfiller, supplement it from thy treasure which is not deficient and from thy plenty, which lacketh in nothing. Rid it and loose it from its sins, trespasses, follies, stumblings and mistakes, (and) mine, Adam-Zihrun son of Mahnus' who have prayed this prayer and (these) devotions. May there be forgiving of sins for me.

O Sunday, receive it, save it, establish it and raise it up to perfection!

PRAYER No. 175

In the name of the Great Life. Then, when she reacheth the Seven Mysteries, servitors of the Seven go forth towards her. They come and surround her and question her and say to her, "O soul, whence comest thou and whither goest thou?" I say to them, "I come from the Body, the name of which is the Earth and I am going towards the Good Consumination". They say to me, "Whose servant art thou and whose envoy art thou called?" I say to them, "I am the servitor of the Beloved Consummation, and the envoy of the vast Ether".

Then they bless her (me); and praise her and guard her and say to her, "Everyone who knoweth this saying will rise towards the Good Goal" because they seek to grasp the mysteries of the Body. And they question her and then she riseth towards the Good Goal.

PRAYER No. 176

O King of all kings, O Father of all 'uthras; O Adatan and Yadatan; O S'ilmay and Nedvay, ye guardian 'uthras of the jordan; O Hibil-Ziwa, great Fulfiller who deliverest us from evil plots and deliverest us from all that is evil and ugly, O high King of Light, thou wilt give me comeliness of body,

compassion of heart, fullness of hand and integrity of eye. O Life, and my Lord Manda-d-Hiia Thou deliverest me savest me and guardest me. O high King of Light!

Little New Year's Feast Prayer

PRAYER No. 177 In the Name of the Great Life. Vines shone in the water And in the jordan mighty they grew. Ye are flourishing offshoots. Messengers hither I bring you, I give you great 'uthras.

I have twined for you and bring you Garlands of myrtle and marjoram For (lit. "in") the doors of the houses.

I will rear up for you babes And bring them to you. We bless you unto the world's end: The full river (yardna) hath blessed you And the baptism which is unfailing from beginning to end.

PRAYER No. 178 - Honouring of the Crown

Kus'ta strengthen thee , my crown, Kus'ta strengthen thee, my teacher, Kus'ta strengthen thee, my turban, Kus'ta strengthen thee, Great First Radiance, Kus'ta strengthen thee, Great First Light, Kus'ta strengthen you, my brother-priests, Kus'ta strengthen You, Life, my Parents , Kus'ta strengthen thee, my treasure, Kus'ta strengthen thee, Guardian of my treasure! We kiss thee with a pure mouth. (Sixty-one times) In an inner vessel they concealed thee . The Wellspring of living waters hath blessed thee, And the Nas'irutha which emanated therefrom Will be thine assuagement, it will be thy portion. And treasure will arise to its owner. And Thou, Life, wilt be victorious for ever and ever! And Life is victorious .

(.... Text missing)

PRAYER No. 382 - The Letter
In the Name of the Great Life!
Vines shone in the waters:
Mighty ones were confirmed
For perfecting, for clearing the waters,
Establishing Your likeness and giving us light
Let your radiance shine upon us, great 'uthras!
Shine, shine forth, come in mystic transfiguration,
Let your radiance shine forth and the radiance of the king.
Let your fragrance come and overpower (us with its
sweetness)

[This hymn the ganzibra shall pronounce over the winebowl, giving it to the baruka (blesser) and to the two witnesses.]

PRAYER No. 383 In the name of the Great Life! On the day that Hibil-Ziwa Walked with Yawar. Myrtle with them was plentiful Plentiful was the myrtle, And to Yawar he gave it, Into his right hand. And he said to him, "Take from me fresh myrtle And pronounce blessing in the shkinata Its blessing pronounce in the shkinata. Then Yawar opened his mouth, Blessing Hibil-Ziwa, blessing Hibil-Ziwa And said to him, "Blessed art thou, Our father, Hibil-Ziwa! Like the myrtle that is in thy right hand Thy Root shall flourish Like the root of fresh myrtle: And thou shalt have strength and increase Like the living waters".

[The "blessers" recite this hymn and give myrtle to the ganzibra.]

PRAYER No. 384
Myrtle, myrtle! The king took it;
The king was surrounded by the perfume of myrtle,
The king was surrounded by myrtle-perfume,
And blessing Hibil-Ziwa,
He said, blessing Hibil-Ziwa,
"Blessed art thou, our father Hibil-Ziwa,
Who hast brought this plant of fresh myrtle
And hast set it up in the dwellings of 'uthras.
The dwellings shine in its brightness
And delight in its fragrance for ever.
[The ganzibra recites this hymn and taketh the myrtle from
the "blessers".]

PRAYER No. 385
In the name of the Great Life!
All who inhale thy perfume and are crowned by thee
Sixty heinous sins will fall away from him.
And all pure spouses will be made perfect,
Delivered from evil actions.

(Those) who twine the wreaths and set them on our heads Will arise without spot and behold the Place of Light.

(The ganzibra reciteth this prayer over the myrtle, inhaleth its fragrance and giveth it to the shganda (acolyte) to smell, and to the "blessers" and all persons present; then he throweth the myrtle into the jordan and (folds and) putteth away the banner. And (then) they "honour their crowns.")

[Note. -- Here D. C. 3 p. 328 has a colophon which begins:

These are the prayers for the pihtania (breads) and all the blessings of the Blessed Oblation which I copied for my brothers and parents so that there may be support and a guardian for us on earth and forgiving of sins before the Life, my Parents, in the worlds of light, so that they may be instructed therein. I am poor, lowly... etc.

[Note. -- Before No. 386D.C. 3 inserts:

PRAYER No. 386 See Prayer No. 329.

[The rubric differs slightly, so I give it:]

This is a hymn for consecration of crowns on the Sunday when the ganzibra wishes to consecrate the cotton crowns for the priests. Wearing his vestments, with the (novice's) vestments and the crowns in his right hand and his staff in his left, he goes to the bank of the jordan, grasping the crowns which he wishes to consecrate together with his own in his right hand. Then, after performing ritual ablution in the jordan, he approaches the cult-hut and examines each (item) of the vestments, and recites the 'Salutation' at the Door of Mercies (i.e. facing North), to (as many) kings as he is able. After that he shall recite this hymn once over each crown. And Life is victorious!]
PRAYER No. 387 (See Prayer No. 305.)

PRAYER No. 388 (See Prayer No. 306.)

PRAYER No. 389 (See Prayer No. 307.)

PRAYER No. 390 (See Prayer No. 308.)

PRAYER No. 391 (See Prayer No. 309.)

PRAYER No. 392 (See Prayer No. 310.)

PRAYER No. 393 (See Prayer No. 311.)

[The ganzibra shall recite these seven hymns of the Great Shishlam when he placeth the crown on the postulant. And the priests shall recite these seven other hymns, and give their reponses.]

PRAYER No. 394 (See Prayer No. 312.)

PRAYER No. 395 (See Prayer No. 313.)

PRAYER No. 396 (See Prayer No. 314.)

PRAYER No. 397 (See Prayer No. 315.) PRAYER No. 398 (See Prayer No. 316 and 317.)

PRAYER No. 399 (See Prayer No. 318 and the rubric

which follows it.) PRAYER No. 400 (See Prayer No. 319 and the rubric

which follows it.) PRAYER No. 401 (See Prayer No. 320 and the rubric

which follows it.) PRAYER No. 402 (See Prayer No. 321 and the rubric

which follows it.) PRAYER No. 403 (See Prayer No. 322 and compare

Prayer 386.) PRAYER No. 404 (See Prayer No. 323 and the rubric

which follows it.) PRAYER No. 405 (See Prayer No. 324 and the rubric which follows it.)

PRAYER No. 406 (See Prayer No. 325 and the rubric which follows it.)

PRAYER No. 407 (See Prayer No. 326 and the rubric which follows it.)

PRAYER No. 408 (See Prayer No. 327 and the rubric which follows it.)

PRAYER No. 409 (See Prayer No. 328 and the rubric which follows it.)

PRAYER No. 410 - Prayer of Yahia

In the Name of the Great Life!

Health, victory and forgiving of sins be there for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, who have prayed this prayer and (these) Devotions. Forgiving of sins be there for a man whose eyes wait upon his Father and whose thought is directed to the Life and whose mind doth not stray from Knowledge-of-

Poor am I who make this petition: a lowly man who hath kept aloof from the Seven. And I say "O Lord of the lofty firmament, (O) Being who accepteth request, receive my prayer and my praise here; guide it with Thy directing (power), grant me a place in Thy Place, give me a dwelling in Thy world. Do not question me about my sins and the burden which hath weighed down my soul in this world. Behold me, who have sought purification before Thee! Look on me, who have borne persecution for Thy name! End for me acts of violence, for I am Thy servant and Thy child. Now I humble myself and my children to Thy name, for I have been true to thy name, and speak (it) in my heart and talk (of it) in my mind. And I subdue my form and my loins, (O) Shihrialia shilia, superior to all glories, before the pure Light which is above all lights.

And I say, "O Lord of gleaming banners, Lord of mystic books, Lord of "Letters-of-Truth". Lord of prayer and praise, He who uplifteth the prayer of 'uthras and sponsors the praisegiving of kings, Support of prayerful thoughts! Let there be strength and constancy for all lovers of Thy name! Look upon me with Your eyes and pity me in Your heart! Support me with Your strength, clothe me with Your glory, cover me with Your light. Cut me not off from Yourself! And put far from me fear, dread and terror of the seven stars and the twelve constellations: deliver me from the hands of the wicked, and loosen my feet from the bonds of death. Cut me not off from Your presence. Arm me against all that is evil: be for me a bulwark against rebels and a Hand of Truth against the destructive powers of this world. Turn away, repulse from me insecurity (?), poverty, ill-luck, lack of sleep and hours of agitation, an evil day and blows (onslaughts) which occur all the time. Be to me Life in life; give me to drink of freshlyflowing Water of Life. Set up for me a kana d-zidqa, a Table and good fortune so that they are fully supplied by Nasirutha. And my brethren will be with me and will provide (me with) a peaceful transplanting: my wife, my plants (children), and my priests shall accomplish it.

I shall depart and come towards You after a (ritually) perfect departure (death), with pure oil, and with the proven Sign; in ripeness of years, without feebleness, in a blessed old age, in my own home.

Look on the plants, marvel at the shualania (those entering the priesthood under tuition); then let there be with You a forgiver of sins for me, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush who have prayed this prayer and these "Devotions". Forgiveness of sins be there for me, for my father and mother, for my teacher, for my wife, for my offspring, for my priests and for all souls who arose at the name of Life and verified the sign of Mandad-Hiia with pious and believing heart.

Yea, Life, verily Life, life with the victorious there shall be for those love Their name! They will not sever the holy union knit between living ones, with those who know the Life and believe in the Life, and with those who teach us the faith. And Life abideth in Its Dwellings and Life is victorious over all

And now (I ask) of Life, Your compassion, Your forgiveness, Your reconciliation and Your compassion, Yours, Great First Life! Pity, forgive, awake and have compassion upon this my soul, mine, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush who have prayed this prayer and these "Devotions". Let there be forgiveness of sins for me! (thrice); for me and for my father, my mother, my teacher, my wife and my wife and my plants (children) and my priests who have placed bread and (ritual) food (here), (and) you, my fathers, my teachers, my instructors and those who taught me the faith, when ye supported me from the Left to the Right. Forgiveness of sins be there for you! Life abideth in Its dwellings and Life is victorious over all works!

[This is a prayer (called) Yahia's Petition ("John's Prayer"). Pray it in all your devotions.]

PRAYER No. 411 - Other Hymns

[This is the great Commemorative prayer known as "Our forefathers". It is usually preceded by the Tab taba Itabia prayer as in prayer 170. It is recited at every rite for the departed.]

Our forefathers, there shall be forgiving of sins for them. Yushamin son of Dmuth-Hiia, there will be forgiving of sins

.... (the prayer continues from this part as in Prayer 170, inserting the name of the copyist, Adam-Yuhana son of Mahnush, and his relatives, and teacher wherever such insertions are customary. The insertions are called zharia, 'injunctions", "rubrics")

[This is the chant of "Our forefathers".]

PRAYER No. 412

In the name of the Great Life. Then, when she (the soul) reacheth the seven mysteries, Servants of the Seven go out towards her And come and surround her and question her. And they said to her "O soul, whence comest thou? And whither goest thou?" She said to them, "I come from the Body the name of which is Earth. And I go toward the good Kimsa" They say to her "Servant of whom, art thou? Messenger of whom art thou called?' She said to them "I am the servant of the beloved Kimsa And the envoy of the vast Ether". Then they bless her and commend her and say to her, "All who know this (pass-) word shall rise Towards the good Kimsa" For they seek to grasp the mystery of the Body And (so) question her. And thereupon she ascendeth Towards the Good Kimsa [This is a prayer about the questioning of the soul.]

PRAYER No. 413 (See prayer No. 177.)

PRAYER No. 414 My Lord be praised! In the name of the Great Life! On the day when the radiance within Radiance Broke through and emerged, A counterpart of the jordan was formed in mirrors; In mirrors a counterpart of the jordan was formed. And water was produced in the Ether. The jordan emerged in its glory And the water was intermingled with the Ether, Intermingled was Water with Ether. And the strength of Light increased greatly, Was increased and established. A wreath they twisted into crowns (Of) myrtle leaves. And trees bore their burden (fruit) Nasirutha spoke therein to kings (priests)

And their purities were intertwined. (The bridegroom shall recite this prayer when entering his house before he "taketh kushta with his wife". Then he shall "honour" his crown. Beware of performing a marriage OI (entering into) a partnership when the moon is in Cancer, Capricornus, Sagittarius or Scorpio: they are evil days for a wedding.)

MANDAEAN PRAYER FRAGMENTS

The Messenger of Light Creates the Way of Salvation I prepared a path for the good ones and made a gateway for the world. A gateway for the world I made and erected a throne in it. A throne for the good ones I erected and set up a light beside it. A light I set up beside it. which is completely perfect. And a watch-tower for the sons of perfection I erected, in the place where they live and are without deficiency. I set up thrones for them and presented them with magnificent robes. I established the Jordan of the Great Life and appointed guardians over it, who were rich and without deficiency. I set up a throne for the lord of the radiant beings and erected a light before it. A light, which I erected, which was completely perfect. With illumination and praise. with what the Life had caused me to hear, with illumination and praise I arose and went to the House of the Mighty Life. In the joy that I felt, I reported to the Mighty Life. The Mighty Life rejoiced and was glad. he was overjoyed with me. The Life thanked me and gave me more glory than I had before. He spoke to me: Kusta preserve you, good one, and preserve the word that you have spoken. The Life spoke in his joy to the uthras and said: Praise the strength of the man, who healed the water through the fire. Praise the strength of the man, against whom the fire sinned not. The fire did not sin against him; the uthra shone in its brightness. In its brightness the uthra shone and prepared a path for the perfect ones. For the perfect ones he prepared a path and granted salvation to the perfect ones. Salvation he granted to the perfect ones and remembered their names in the house of the Mighty Life.

Adam's Deliverance - A Mandaean Hymn In the name of the Great Life the sublime Light be glorified. From the Place of Light I have come forth, from you, everlasting dwelling-place From the Place of Light I have come forth. and an uthra from the House of Life accompanied me. The uthra who accompanied me from the House of the Great Life

held a staff of living water in his hand. The staff which he held in his hand was completely full of leaves. He gave me its branches. of which the ritual books and prayers were full. Then he gave me more of them, and then my suffering heart was healed. My suffering heart was healed and my world-shy soul found peace.

Adam's Baptism - from the Ginza The planets stand there. they are bound by fetters and say: When Adam fled from us our watch-houses were destroyed. When Adam rose from us,

our radiance was soon taken away.

He rose up and ascended to the House of Life; they, the uthras, washed him in the Jordan and protected

They washed him and protected him in the Jordan;

they placed their right hand on him. They baptized him with their baptism

and strengthened him with their pure words.
(Source document location for this fragment is not recorded)

The Soul's Deliverance Hail to you, hail to you, soul, for you have departed from the world. You have left corruption behind

and the stinking body in which you found yourself, the abode, the abode of the wicked,

the place which is all sin, the World of Darkness, of hatred, envy, and strife, the abode in which the planets live, bringing sorrows and infirmities; they bring sorrows and infirmities, and every day they cause unrest. Rise up, rise up, soul, ascend to your first earth.

To your first earth, ascend, to the place from which you were transplanted, to the place from which you were transplanted,

to the fine abode of the uthras.

Bestir yourself, put on your garment of radiance and put on your resplendent wreath.

Sit on your throne of radiance,

which the Life set up for you in the Place of Light.

Rise up, inhabit the skinas, among the uthras, your brothers. As you have learnt, pronounce the blessing over your first father's house.

And curse this place the house of your earthly guardian. For the years that you spent in it, the Seven were your enemies, the Seven were your enemies. Your enemies were the Seven,

and the Twelve were your persecutors.

Bliss and Peace

Bliss and peace there shall be on the road which Adam built well. Bliss and peace there shall be on the road which the soul takes.

Go, soul, in victory to the place from which you were transplanted,

the place of joy, in which the face shines. The face shines in it.

the form is illumined and does not grow dim.

The soul has loosened its chains and broken its fetters.

It shed its bodily coat,

then it turned about, saw it, and shuddered. The call of the soul is the call of life

which departs from the body of refuse.

The Soul in Its Coat of All Colors - from the Ginza

The Soul, the soul speaks:

Who cast me into the Tibil, the earth, Who cast me into the Tibil, the earth,

who chained me in the wall?

Who cast me into the stocks,

which matches the fullness of the world?

Who threw a chain round me, that is without measure?

Who clothed me in a coat

of all colors and kinds?

Wrapped in Sleep I am wrapped and sleep

in a garment in which there is no defect. In a garment in which there is no defect,

which has nothing missing or lacking. The Life knew about me,

Adam, who slept awoke.

He the Helper took me by the palm of my right hand

and gave a palm-branch into my hand. The light cast me into the darkness, and the darkness filled with light.

On the day when light arises,

darkness will return to its place.

He approached the clouds of light, and his course was set to the Place of Light.

The Song of Ascent

I fly and proceed thither,

until I reach the watch-house of the sun.

I cry:

"Who will guide me past the watch-house of Sāmīs?"
"Your reward, your works, your alms, and your goodness will guide you past the watch-house of Sāmīs."

How greatly I rejoice,

how greatly my heart rejoices.

How much I look forward

to the day when my struggle is over, to the day when my struggle is over and my course is set towards the Place of Life.

I hasten and proceed thither, until I reach the watch-house of the moon.

When I arrived at the water-brooks,

a discharge of radiance met me

It took me by the palm of my right hand and brought me over the streams.

Radiance was brought and I was clothed in it,

light was brought and I was wrapped in it.

The Life supported the Life...

Son of the good ones,

show me the way to the uthras

and the ascent upon which your father rose up to the Place of Light.

(Source document location for this fragment is not recorded)

Instruction of Adam by an Uthra

Do not slumber and sleep, and forget not what your lord commanded you.

Be no son of the House, the world,

and be not named as a guilty person in the Tibil.

Love not fragrant wreaths,

and have no liking for a seductive woman.

Love not pleasant odors, and do not neglect the night prayer.

Love not treacherous spirits

and seductive courtesans.

Love not lust,

and lying phantoms.

Drink not and do not become intoxicated,

and do not forget your lord in your thoughts.

In your coming in and your going out be careful not to forget your lord.

In your coming and going

be careful not to forget your lord.

In your sitting and your standing

be careful not to forget your lord. In your resting and your lying down

be careful not to forget your lord.

Do not say; I am a firstborn son. in everything that I do I am proof against folly.

Adam, look upon the world

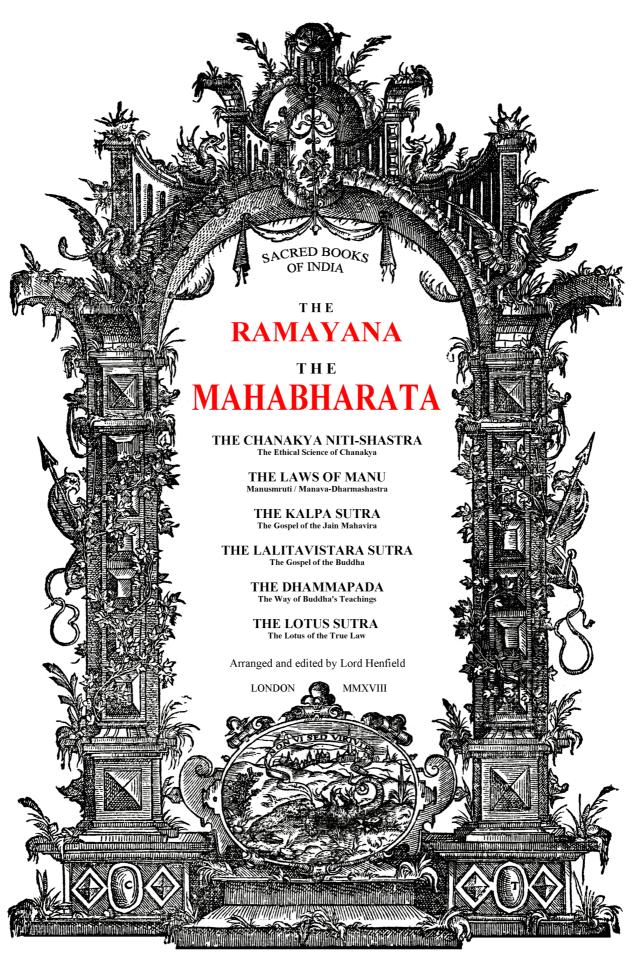
which is a completely unreal thing.

It is a unreal thing,

in which you can put no trust.

(From the Ginza Rba, see also Hans Jonas, The Gnostic

Religion, p 84 n32)



SCRPTURES AND LITERATURE OF INDIA

HINDU LITERATURE

(For non-Hindus, Hinduism is shrouded in a jumble of philosophical and spiritual teachings which have their foundation in an equal confusing jumble of traditions which are themselves based on a vast amount and diverse array of scriptures and texts. All canonical Hindu scripture taken together are roughly 20 times larger than the entire Christian Bible [Old and New Testament, including Deuterocanon, Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, etc.]. On top of that come all non-canonical Hindu texts which exceed the total amount of Hindu texts perhaps up to more than a 100 times larger than the Bible. These are often texts revered as significant by one or the other single Hindu group simply because the author originates from this particular group or community. The Mahabahrata alone is several the size of the Bible; and so are the Vedas, the Ramayana, the Upanishads, and other texts.

This leads to the misconception that Hindus may be some sort of Pagans, Polytheists, Idolators, or Infidels. Jews, Christians, and Muslims view Hindus as such. It is this ignorance that caused the suffering and death of millions of Hindus. Around 80 million Hindus were slaughtered by Islam alone during the last 1,300 years.

The "many gods of Hinduism" represent in reality different

The "many gods of Hinduism" represent in reality different attibutes and functions of God, pretty much like the "angels" do in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. One just needs to go through a mythological and historical text like the Mahabharata in order to see how many traditions of Hinduism are like those ones in Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Islam. One example may be the exaggerated rules on impurity and purification; there may be the possibility that those rules even origin in India and came to Judaism and Islam via Zoroastrianism which itself is closely tied with India, linguistically as well as culturally.

Dharma and Karma

Dharma has various meanings all of which, however, are closely created with one another. As duty, or the assemblage of all acts which we should do, Dharma represents the set of ethics and is thus both Righteousness and Religion.

The term karma (Sanskrit: karma; Pali: kamma) refers to both the executed 'deed, work, action, act' and the 'object, intent'. It encompasses the general aim of life. The philosophy of karma is closely associated with the idea of birth, creation, death, rebirth (resurection in another form), the endless and godly cycle of life which is taught in many schools of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism, and Daoism. The religion, its doctrines, ethics, customs and philosophies, is the main tool to achieve this harmonios cycle. The scriptures and oral traditions are the voices of the past that lead the students into the future by listening to the given accounts. They describe many good ways to God and salvation.

Tantra and Mantra

Tantra (Sanskrit: "weave" meaning continuity), tantricism or tantrism is the name for a number of traditions from Indian religions. These are some of the typical explanations of the meaning: "Tantra are traditions which are usually esoteric in their nature;" or "The term tantra, in the Indian traditions, means any systematic broadly applicable "text, theory, system, method, instrument, technique or practice," etc. What the Hindus really mean by that is in straight forward English: "Explaining the nature and structure of the Creator, of God. In other words: A systematical creed!"

As a matter of fact, Hindus are very religious. They fight for their faith for 3,000 years already. And understandably, they reject any insults from arrogant Muslims and Christians. Most Hindu revolts during the time of the Muslim Empires and the British Empire have their origins in defending Hinduism against conquerors from outside. They do not need be lectured on religious issues by them. Their religion is far more advanced and sophisticated than anything that those outsiders could offer.

Every Hindu knows their Mantra. A mantra (Sanskrit; Pali: mantam) is a sacred utterance, a numinous sound, a syllable, word or phonemes, or group of words in Sanskrit, Pali and other languages believed by practitioners to have religious, magical or spiritual powers. Some mantras have a syntactic structure and literal meaning, while others do not. Here once again, we have to put the term Mantra into straight forward English: it is a prayer! A mantra contains the basic creed of the Hindu Faith!

The earliest mantras were composed in Vedic Sanskrit in India and are at least 3,500 years old. At its simplest, the word "Om" (also: Aum) serves as a mantra [prayer], it is believed to be the first sound which was originated on earth. The Om-sound, when produced, creates a reverberation in the body which helps the body and mind to be calm. In more sophisticated forms, mantras are melodic phrases with spiritual interpretations such as a human longing for truth,

reality, light, immortality, peace, love, knowledge, and action. Some mantras without literal meaning are musically uplifting and spiritually meaningful like Gregorian chants, like Jewish and Muslim prayers which are also chanted in this

The use, structure, function, importance, and types of mantras vary according to the school and philosophy of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism. In Japanese Shingon tradition, the word Shingon means mantra. Similar hymns, antiphons, chants, compositions, and concepts are similarly found in Zoroastrianism, Daoism, Christianity, and elsewhere. Mantras serve a central role in tantra [creed]. In this school, mantras are considered to be a sacred formula and a deeply personal ritual, effective only after initiation. In other schools of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism or Sikhism, initiation is not a requirement.

The Garatri Mantra

The Gāyatrī Mantra, also known as the Sāvitri Mantra, is a highly revered mantra from the Rig Veda (Mandala 3.62.10), dedicated to Savitr also known as Vedmata. Gāyatrī is the name of the Goddess of the Vedic Mantra in which the verse is composed. Its recitation is traditionally preceded by om and the formula bhūr bhuvah svah, known as the mahāvyāhrti, or "great (mystical) utterance". Maharshi Vishvamitra had created the Gayatri mantra. It has the same significance as the Lord's Prayer in Christianity. This mantra gives us here the chance to roughly outline some attributes of the Hindu Faith.

The Gayatri mantra is cited widely in Vedic and post-Vedic texts, such as the mantra listings of the Srauta liturgy, and classical Hindu texts such as the Bhagavad Gita, Harivamsa, and Manusmrti. The mantra and its associated metric form was known by the Buddha, and in one sutra the Buddha is described as "expressing their appreciation" for the mantra. The mantra is an important part of the upanayana ceremony for young males in Hinduism, and has long been recited by dvija men as part of their daily rituals. Modern Hindu reform movements spread the practice of the mantra to include women and all castes and its use is now very widespread. It is considered as one of the most important and powerful Vedic mantras.

The main mantra appears in the hymn Rig Veda 3.62.10. During its recitation, the hymn is preceded by om and the formula bhūr bhuvaḥ svaḥ.

The Gāyatrī mantra is dedicated to Savitr, a Vedic Sun deity. However many monotheistic sects of Hinduism such as Arya Samaj hold that the Gayatri mantra is in praise of One Supreme Creator known by the name "Om" as mentioned in the Yajur Veda, 40:17.

The Gayatri mantra, in Devanagari, sounds like this: Om, bhur bhuvah svah Tat savitur varenyam Bhargo devasya dhimahi Dhiyo yo nah pracodayat

The single words mean: (Om - Para Brahman (entire universe); Bhur - Bhuloka (Physical Plane); Bhuvah - Antariksha (space); Svah - Svarga Loka (Heaven); Tat - Paramatma (Supreme Soul); Savitur - Isvara (Surya) (Sun god); Varenyam - Fit to be worshipped; Bhargo - Remover of sins and ignorance; Devasya - Glory (Inana Svaroopa ie Feminine/Female); Dheemahi - We meditate; Dhiyo - Buddhi (Intellect); Yo - Which; Nah - Our; Prachodayat - Enlighten.)

The Gayatri mantra has been translated in many ways. Quite literal translations include:

- "Let us meditate on (or pray to) that excellent glory of the divine vivifying Sun, May he enlighten our understandings." ---Monier Monier-Williams (1882)
- "We meditate on (or pray to) the glory of that Being who has produced this universe; may She enlighten our minds." --Swami Vivekananda

This interpretation reveals the meaning better:

• Om, the Brahm, the Universal Divine Energy, vital spiritual energy (Pran), the essence of our life existence, Positivity, destroyer of sufferings, the happiness, that is bright, luminous like the Sun, best, destroyer of evil thoughts, the divinity who grants happiness may imbibe its Divinity and Brilliance within us which may purify us and guide our righteous wisdom on the right path. --Shriram Sharma

And this interpretation makes it comprehensible to Jews, Christians, Muslims, and Atheists, and it sounds amazingly familiar:

• "Oh God! Thou art the Giver of Life, Remover of pain and sorrow, The Bestower of happiness. Oh! Creator of the Universe, May we receive thy supreme sin-destroying light, May Thou guides our intellect in the right direction." — Maharshi Dayananda Saraswati (founder of Arya Samaj)

Gayatri (Sanskrit) is the personified form of popular Gayatri Mantra, a hymn from Vedic texts. She is also known as Savitri and Vedamata (mother of vedas). Gayatri is often associated with Savitr, a solar deity in the vedas. According to many texts like the Skanda Purana, Gayatri is another name of Saraswati or her form and is the consort of Lord Brahma. However, Saivite texts identify Mahagayatri as the consort of

Shiva, in his highest form of Sadasiva with five heads and ten

Description of Gavatri

In Mahanarayana Upanishad of Krishna Yajurveda, Gayatri is described as white-coloured (Sanskrit: śvetavarnā), having the gotra of sage viswamitra (Sanskrit: sānkhyā yanasa gotrā), composed of 24 letters (Sanskrit: caturviṃś atyakṣarā), three-footed (Sanskrit: tripadā), sixbellied (Sanskrit: ṣaṭkukṣiḥ), five-headed (Sanskrit: pañcaṣīrṣaḥ) and the one used in Upanayana of dvijas (Sanskrit: upanayane viniyogaḥ).

As mentioned in Taittiriya Sandhya Bhashyam, the three feet of Gayatri is supposed to represent the first 3 vedas (Rk, Yajus, Sāma). The six bellies are supposed to represent 4 cardinal directions, along with the two more directions, Urdhva (Zenith) and Adhara (Nadir). The five heads represent 5 among the Vedangas, namely, vyākarana, śikṣā, kalpa, nirukta and jyotiṣā.

By citing from Gayatri Tantra, the text Mantramahārṇava gives the significance of Gayatri's 24 letters and its representation that are given below.

24 Letters of Gayatri mantra

Gayatri mantra has 24 letters. That is why it called as gāyatrī caturviṃśatyakṣarā. They are 1. tat, 2. sa, 3. vi, 4. tur, 5. va, 6. re, 7. ni, 8. yam, 9. bhar, 10. go, 11. de, 12. va, 13. sya, 14. dhi, 15. ma, 16. hi, 17. dhi, 18. yo, 19. yo, 20. nah, 21. pra. 22. co 23. da. 24. yat.

When counting the letters, the word varenyam is treated as vareniyam. But, while chanting, it ought to be chanted as varenyam only.

24 Rishis of Gayatri

The 24 Letters of Gayatri mantra represents 24 Vedic Rishis. They are: 1.vāmadeva, 2.atri, 3.vasiṣṭha, 4.śukra, 5.kaṇva, 6.parāśara, 7.viśvāmitra, 8.kapila, 9.śaunaka, 10.yājnāvalkya, 11.bharadwāja, 12.jamadagni, 13.gautama, 14.mudgala, 15.vyāsa, 16.lomasa, 17.agastya, 18.kauśika, 19.vatsa, 20.pulastya, 21.manḍūka, 22.dūrvāsa, 23.nārada, and 24.kaśvapa.

24 Meters of Gayatri

The 24 Letters of Gayatri mantra represents 24 Vedic Meters (i.e. Chandas). They are: 1.gāyatri, 2.uṣnik, 3.anuṣṭup, 4.bṛhati, 5.paṃkti, 6.triṣtup, 7.jagati, 8.atijagati, 9.śakvari, 10.atiśakvari, 11.dhṛti, 12.atidhṛti, 13.virāṭ, 14.prastārapaṃkti, 15.kṛti, 16.prakṛti, 17.akṛti, 18.vikṛti, 19.saṃskṛti, 20.akṣarapaṃkti, 21.bhūh, 22.bhuvaḥ, 23.swaḥ, 24.jyotiṣmati.

24 Vedic Devatas of Gayatri

The 24 Letters of Gayatri mantra represents 24 Vedic Devatas. They are: 1.agni, 2.prajāpati, 3.soma, 4.īśāna, 5.savitā, 6. āditya, 7.brhaspati, 8. maitrāvaruņa 9.bhaga, 10.āryamaan, 11.ganeśa, 12.tvaṣṭā, 13.pūṣā, 14. indrāgni, 15.vāyu, 16.vāmadeva, 17.maitrāvaruņi 18. viśvedevā, 19. māṭrkā, 20.viṣṇu, 21.vasu, 22. rudra, 23.kubera and 24.aśvins

The Padmapurana (in Sṛṣṭi Kāṇḍa) mentions 24 Adhi-Devatas (presiding deities) for each of the 24 letters of Gayatri mantra. They are 1.agni, 2.vāyu, 3.sūrya, 4.ākāśa, 5.yama, 6.varuṇa, 7.bṛhaspati, 8.parjanya, 9.indra, 10.gandharva, 11.pūṣā, 12. mitra, 13.tvaṣṭā, 14.vasu, 15.marut, 16.soma, 17.āṅgiras, 18.viśvedevā, 19.aśvins, 20.prajāpati, 21.akṣara (tattva), 22.rudra, 23.brahma and 24.viṣnu.

The Yoga yājāvalkya mentions 24 Devatas for each of the 24 letters of Gayatri mantra. They are 1.agni, 2.vāyu, 3.sūrya, 4.īsāna, 5.āditya, 6.āṅgiras, 7.pitri, 8.bharga, 9.āryamān, 10.gandharva, 11.pūṣā, 12. maitrā varuṇa, 13.tvaṣṭā, 14.vasu, 15.vāmadeva, 16.maitrā varuṇi, 17.jāeya, 18.viš vedevā, 19.viṣṇu, 20.prajāpati, 21.sarvadevā, 22.kubera, 23.aś vins and 24.brahma.

24 Śaktis of Gayatri

The 24 Letters of Gayatri mantra represents 24 Śaktis. They are: 1.vāmadevī, 2.priyā, 3.satyā, 4.viśwabhadrā, 5.vilāsinī, 6.prabhāvatī, 7.jayā, 8.śantā, 9.kāntā, 10.durgā, 11.saraswatī, 12.vidrumā, 13.viśālesā, 14.vyāpinī, 15.vimalā, 16.tamopahārini, 17.sūkymā, 18.viśwayoni 19.jayā, 20.vaśā, 21.padmālayā, 22.parāśobhā, 23.bhadrā, and 24. tripadā.

24 Tattvas of Gayatri

The 24 Letters of Gayatri mantra represents 24 Tattvas.[17] They are

- 1. Five Bhūtas, namely, pṛthivi (Earth), apas (Water), agni (Fire), vā yu (Air) and ākāśa (Sky).
- 2. Five Tanmātras, namely, gandha (smell), rasa (taste), rūpa (form), sparša (touch) and šabda (sound).

- 3. Five Karmendriyas (i.e. motor organs), namely, upasthā (sexual organ), pāyu (anus), pāda (leg), pāni (hand) and vāk
- 4. Five Jñā nendriyas (i.e. sense organs), namely, ghrā na (nose), jihvā (tongue), caksus (eye), tvak (skin) and śrotra
- 5. Four Vāyus (air), namely, Prāṇa, Apāna, Vyāna and Samā na

However, in classical definition of 24 tattvas, the last four are the antahkaranas (i.e. sense organs), namely, manas (mind), buddhi (intellect), citta (state of mind) and ahan kā ra

The Mudras of Gavatri

The Gayatri mantra represents some mahāmudras (great hand gestures). They are 1. sumukha, [note 7] 2. samputa, 3. vitata, 4. visṛta, 5. dvimukha, 6. trimukha, 7. catuḥ, 8. pañcamukha, 9. ṣaṇmukha, 10. adhomukha, 11. vyāpakāñjali, 12. śakaṭa, 13. yamapāśa, 14. grathita, 15. sanmukhonmukha, 16. vilamba,[note 8] 17. muştika, 18. matsya, 19. kūrmah 20. varāhaka, 21. simhākrānta, 22. mahā krānta, 24. mudgara, 24. pallava, 25. triśūla, 26. yoni, 27. surabhi, 28. akṣamāla, 29. linga, 30. ambuja.

Since, the first 24 are used before Gayatri Japa, they are traditionally referred as Pūrva Mudras.

Ahimsa - The Five Precepts in Hinduism

A word about Hindu law. Ahimsa (also ahinsa) is a Sanskrit word which means "non-violence" or "non-injury". The practice of ahimsa is an important aspect of religions like Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. A person who practices ahimsa generally eats vegetarian foods. A religious person who practices ahimsa does not take part in animal sacrifice either. Killing any living being out of passion is considered 'himsa' (injury) and abstaining from such act is 'ahimsā' (noninjury or nonviolence). In twentieth century, Mahatma Gandhi followed the path of Ahimsa. He struggled without violence, while asking for the rights of his followers.

Hindus, as well as Jainists and Buddhists (due to their Hindu origin), follow The Five Precepts, or guidelines. It is the Golden Rule in a codified form, just like The Ten Commandments and it can be traced back to the Instructions of Shuruppak from Mesopotamia. Normally, they are formulated in a form of a promise or oath:

- 1. I will not hurt a person or animal that is alive.
- 2. I will not take something if it was not given to me.
- 3. I will not engage in sexual misconduct.
- 4. I will not lie or say things that hurt people.
- 5. I will not take intoxicants, like alcohol or drugs, causing heedlessness.

(Thanissaro Bhikkhu, 2006)

In fact, Hindus have hundreds of precepts that are similar to those we can find in the Bible. They appear frequently in all Hindu scripture.

Pre-Hindu History

The earliest great civilisation in India was the Indus Valley Civilisation, represented by archaeological findings in Mohenjo Daro and Harappa. Its sites were spanning an area stretching from northeast Afghanistan, through much of Pakistan, and into western and northwestern India. It was a Bronze Age civilisation lasting from 3300 BC to 1300 BC, and its Golden Age lasted from 2600 BC to about 2000 or 1900 BC when it was shattered by the consequences of volcano eruptions. Together with the Minoan Civilisation, ancient Egypt, and Mesopotamia, the Indus Valley Civilisation was one of the very early civilisations. A kind of syllable writing on clay teblets was used but it could not be clearly decyphered yet; it seem to have had nothing to do with Hinduism as the Indo-Aryans immigrated from Central Asia at around 2000

Religion or Philosophy?

Is Hinduism a religion or a philosophy? Many people do not know what Hinduism really is, and they often describe it incorrectly, especially when they are no Hindus themselves. The many scriptures are partly the reason for this confusion. Hinduism, however, is not as mysterious or complex as it is often portrayed to be. Hinduism, or the "Vedic Culture," as Hindus call it, is a way of life in its entirety. Some basic knowledge may help to get along with the studies of the scriptures and this interesting way of life.

Language and Script

First of all, we have to recognise the language of the Hindus which was in the past Sanskrit for scripture and its version Prakrit for daily life. As Sir Monier Monier-Williams made it clear in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary [1873], which he arranged etymologically and philologically, Sanskrit belongs to the family of Indo-European languages. In other words: The modern successors of Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Pali, such as Hindi, Hindustani, Sindhi, Marathi, Urdu, Awadhi, Kashmiri, Rajasthani, Nepali, Gujarati, Bengali, Assamese,

Oriya, Sinhala, Deccan, and many more, are all closely related to the Iranian languages of the Zoroastrians, such as Persian. Pashto, Baluchi, and Kurdish; but all these languages are also cognatively related to German, English, Norwegian, Greek, Armenian, Polish, Russian, Serbian, Croatian, Czech, and even to Latin, Italian, Spanish, and French. So, an Indian word like "tripadi" can immidiately be recognised as the Roman "tripede" or English tripod "three-footer," meaning a vessel or pot on three legs.

The story of writing is a different one. At the time when Hindu, as well as Jain and Buddhist, thoughts were formulated, Indians could not write them down - they had to memorise everything. These memories were then transmitted orally to the next generations. From the times of the Vedas (from circa 1500-1000 BC), people following monastic ways of life, and it were the monks and nuns who carried the knowledge of old times in their brains. The tasks changed a little when writing appeared in India. Then the monasteries became universities with libraries

According to the Arab chronicler al-Magrizi (or Makrizi, 1364-1442 AD), an ancient Jewish community existed in Baktra (today: Balkh) which is in northeast Afghanistan near the border to Usbekistan. It was established by the transfer of Jews to Baktra by the Assyrian King Sennacherib (Reign: 705-681 BC). The ancient city of Baktra was the capital of Bactria and a trade hub for Persians, Indians, Jews, and Chinese. A Bab al-Yahud (Gate of Jews) and al-Yahudiyya (Jewish town) in Balkh is attested to by Arab geographers. Muslim tradition stated that the prophet Jeremiah fled to Baktra and that Ezekiel was buried there (Encyclopedia Judaica, 4th edition, p. 147.). Under Persian rule in the 5th and 4th centuries BC, many Greek prisoners [among them also Jews again, Greek Jews] were deported to Bactria and Sogdiana, so both their communities and languages became common in the area which is now Afghanistan, Pakistan, and the northwest of India.

Writing was brought to India by Aramaic speaking Judaeans who travelled, probably together with Persian traders, along the trade routes as merchants. They introduced their Aramaic script, which was an offshot of Phoenician, to Central Asia and India. This script of Bactria is known as Karoshti of which archaeologists found early examples inscribed on a silver bowl from the 4th century BC. In 1969, it was discovered in a burial mound near Issyk in southeastern Kazakhstan. Karoshti and Greek scripts, both decents of Phoenician, then were used to create the first true Indian script in the 3rd century BC: Brahmi. It was this Brahmi script that carried the sacred Hindu texts written in Sanskrit language into the future.

Shruti and Smriti

Shruti (the Vedas whose authors are unknown) are texts that were transmitted orally across the generations and fixed into writing later (after 300 BC, when the Brahmi script was created, probably by Emperor Ashoka or his father), in contrast to Smriti, literally "that which is remembered" are a body of Hindu texts usually attributed to an author, traditionally written down; if that is the right definition, those texts were all composed after 300 BC

Sacred Hindu Texts

The following list provides a somewhat common set of reconstructed dates for the terminus ante quem of Hindu texts, by title or genre. It is notable that Hinduism largely followed an oral tradition to pass on knowledge, for which there is no record of historical dates. Responsible for the memorisation were the monasteries in which each monk was assigned to the duty to memorise some certain chapters of a "book" and to recite the learned verses each and every day in form of chants. New disciples had so the chance to memorise the heard verses. So it went for generations until the Aramaic script arrived and established itself in new Karoshti and Brahmi forms. All dates here given ought to be regarded as roughly approximate, subject to further revision, and generally as relying for their validity on highly inferential methods and standards of evidence. There are no first hand copies known.

Names of the texts with estimated range of dating

- Rigveda, 1200-700 BC
- Samaveda, 900-600 BC
 Yajurveda, 900-600 BC
- · Atharvaveda, 800-500 BC
- The Upanishads 800-300 BC
- Ramayana, 600-300 BC (Reflecting the 7th to the 6th centuries BC.)
- Mahabharata, 500-300 BC (Reflecting 7th to the 5th century BC.)
 - Samkhya Sutra, 500-200 BC (lost work)
 - · Bhagavad Gita, 400-200 BC
 - Mimamsa Sutra, 300-200 BC
 - Arthashastra, 300 BC
- Nyaya Sutra, 2nd century BC
- · Vaiseshika Sutra, 2nd century BC

- Brahma Sutra, 500 BC
- Yoga Sutras of Patanjali, 400-100 BC
- · Shiva Sutras, 120 BC
- Puranas, 250-1000 AD
- · Yoga Vasistha, 750 AD
- Abhinavabharati, 950 1020 AD

Some Hindu Principles

To describe Hinduism in brief, we can begin by saying that: 1. The Vedic Tradition or Hinduism is more than a religion, but a way of life, a complete philosophy.

- 2. It is based on Universal Spiritual Truths which can be applied to anyone at anytime.
- 3. It is called Sanatana-Dharma, the eternal nature of the soul.
- 4. It recognizes that there is one Supreme Being with no beginning or end, the all in all, the unlimited Absolute Truth, which can expand into many forms.
- 5. That Supreme Being is found in the spiritual realm but
- also lives in the heart of all living beings.
 6. The Vedic tradition recognises that the individual soul is eternal, beyond the limitations of the body, and that one soul is no different than another.
- 7. The soul undergoes it's own karma, the law of cause and effect, by which each person creates his own destiny based on his thought, words and deeds. The soul undergoes this karma in the rounds of reincarnation.
- 8. The soul incarnates through different forms (called samsara or reincarnation) until it reaches liberation (moksha) from the repetition of birth and death, and attains its natural position in the spiritual domain.
- 9. The Vedic path is based on regaining our natural spiritual identity.
- 10. It has a complete library of ancient texts, known as the Vedic literature, that explain these truths and the reasons for the tradition.
- 11. This Vedic literature is considered to be non-ordinary books that are the basis of the Vedic system. Some of these have been given or spoken by God, and others were composed by sages in their deepest super conscious state in which they were able to give revelations of Universal Truths while in meditation on the Supreme.
- 12. The Vedic path offers personal freedom for one to make his own choice of how he or she wants to pursue their spiritual approach, and what level of the Absolute Truth he or she wishes to understand. This is spiritual democracy and freedom from tyranny.
- 13 The Vedic path consists of ten general rules of moral conduct. There are five for inner purity, called the yamas-truthfulness, ahimsa or non-injury to others and treating all beings with respect, no cheating or stealing, celibacy, and no selfish accumulation of resources for one's own purpose. The five rules of conduct for external purification are the niyamas--cleanliness, austerity, perseverance, study of the Vedas, and acceptance of the Supreme Being.
 14. There are also ten qualities that are the basis of dharmic
- (righteous) life. These are dhriti (firmness or fortitude), kshama (forgiveness), dama (self-control), asteya (refraining from stealing or dishonesty), shauch (purity), indriya nigraha (control over the senses), dhih (intellect), vidya (knowledge), satyam (truth) and akrodhah (absence of anger).

Relations

Hinduism and Judaism are among the oldest existing religions in the world. The two share some similarities and interactions throughout both the ancient and modern worlds. Both religions were regarded by some scholars to be ethnic religions, and not promoting conversions. Adherents of both religions, however, are found across the world. Both religions share common elements in regard to a complicated system of laws, purity codes, and dietary restrictions, for defining their

Jews have lived in India for over 2,500 years and have never been discriminated against. This is something unparalleled in human history. Jews never faced persecution by Hindus, neither are there any records of Hindus facing persecution at the hands of Jews. Those were committed mostly by Christians and in particular by Islam with its totalitarian-fascist concept of Sharia law with is inherent enmity and intolerance towards beliefs other than Islam.

Judaism, notable for its monotheistic conception of God, has some similarities with those Hindu scriptures that are monotheistic, such as the Vedas. In Judaism God is transcendent, while in Hinduism God is both immanent and transcendent. Different Hindu sects have a variety of beliefs about the nature and identity of god, believing variously in monotheism, polytheism, pantheism, and panentheism. According to the Upanishads, the Mahabharata, and some Puranas, Narayana is the supreme deity. The Vaishnavite sect considers Vishnu or Krishna to be the supreme god, while Shaivites consider Shiva to be the supreme god.

In Judaism, God is an absolute one, indivisible and incomparable being who is the ultimate cause of all existence. In Hinduism, gods are considered to have a similar status to

another when distinct, but may also be seen as "aspects or manifestations of a single, transcendent god", or an "impersonal absolute".

Bernard Jackson points out the extent to which legal regulations, customs, and royal ordinances in Halakha in the Jewish tradition and Dharmaśāstra among Hindus are binding on members of their respective societies. Jackson adds that both Jewish and Hindu law evidence a great sensitivity to the interplay of local custom and authoritative law. He says that in both religions, the writing down of a collection of norms did not necessarily mean that all or even most norms were intended to be enforced, and that the laws connected with royal authority were not necessarily statutory. Wendy Doniger states that Hinduism and Judaism are alike in their tendency toward orthopraxy (the correct conduct, both ethical and liturgical, as opposed to faith or grace. Orthopraxy is in contrast with orthodoxy, which emphasises correct belief, and ritualism, the practice of rituals) rather than orthodoxy (the righteous or correct creed and opinion).

Ancient trade and cultural communication between India and the Levant is documented in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea and the accounts surrounding the Queen of Sheba in the Hebrew Bible.

The trade relations of both regions can be traced back to 1,000 BC and earlier to the time of the Indus Valley Civilisation of the Indian subcontinent and the Babylonian culture of Middle East. The Torah mentions India by name (Pison = Indus) in Genisis, Chapter 2, verses 10-14 when it describes the 4 regions the Holy Land had contacts with: And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. The name of the first is Pison (Indus). . . . Gihon (Nile). . . Hiddekel (Tigris). . Euphrates (Phrath). As trade connexions between India and Mediterranean Jewish communities continued, the languages of these cultures started to share linguistic similarities.

About 5,000 Jews reside in India today. The Bnei Menashe are a group of more than 9,000 Jews from the Indian states Manipur and Mizoram who have resided in India since as early as 8th century BC. Neither Jews nor Hindus try to convert other people to their religions.)

The stories narrated in the Mahabharata and the Hariyamsa might well have real backgrounds. Due to the mentionings of Persian, Aramaic (Hebrew), and Greek words, the stories might have taken place between the 8th and 5th centuries. The similarities to Jewish and Greek religious custums is quite astonishing. Even more so the direct mentionings of Hebrew names like Yaudeva, Yadava (Yudavah, Judaea), Abhira (Abiru, Habiru, Hebrew), of Greek people by name like Yavana or Yona (Ion[a], Ionian), and of Persian people by name like Pahlava (Pahlavi, Persian) or Kuru (Kurush, Kyros, Cyrus, Karoshti). Archaeological evidence shows that these three peoples were in Indian territory already at the time of the Mahabharata Wars. All alphabets (abugidas) of India have their origin in the Aramaic script which was used by the Jewish scribes of the Assyrian and Persian empires. The earliest examples date back to 353 BC; See Image Plate No 11, Grand Bible

Linguistic Relations

And if that is not enough, there is strong linguistic evidence for the presence of these foreigners in the Sanskrit language itself. The following list of cognate terms from the Indian Rigveda and the Iranian Avesta will show the linguistic relations with comparisons in the following sequence: Vedic Sanskrit, Avestan Iranian, Common meaning: ap, ap, water (pl. apas); Apam Napat, Apam Napat, the water's offspring; aryaman, airyaman, Arya-hood (lit:** member of Arya community); rta, asha/arta, active truth and righteousness; atharvan, athrauuan/athaurun, Atar (priest); ahi, azhi/azi, dragon (snake, serpent); daiva, deva/daeva (daēuua), a class of divinities; manu, manu, man; mitra, mithra, oath (covenant); asura, ahura, another class of spirits; sarvatat, hauruuatat, intactness (perfection); Sarasvatī, Haraxvaitī, a river goddess; sauma/soma, haoma, a plant (deified); svar, hvar/xvar, the Sun; Tapati, Tapaiti, fire/solar goddess; Vrtraghna, Verethragna, obstacle: Yama, Yima, son of the Solar God; yajna, yasna (object: yazata), worship (sacrifice, eucharist), Gandharva, Gandarewa, heavenly beings; Nasatya, Nanghaithya, twin Vedic gods; Amarattya, Ameretat, immortality; Posha, Apaosha, demon of drought; Ashman, Asman, sky (heaven); Angira Manyu, Angra Mainyu, spirit (passion, teacher of divine knowledge); Manyu, Maniyu, anger (wrath); Sarva, Sarva, Rudra (Vedic god of wind, Shiva); Madhu, Madu, honey; Bhuta, Buiti, ghost; Mantra, Manthra, prayer (sacred spell); Aramati, Armaiti, piety; Amrita, Amesha, nectar of immortality; Sumati, Humata, good thought; Sukta, Hukhta, good word; Narasamsa, Nairyosangha, praised man; Vayu, Vaiiu, wind; Vajra, Vazra, bolt; Ushas, Ushah, dawn; ahuti, azuiti, offering; bhaga, baga, lord (patron); Usij, Usij, priest; trita, thrita, the third; Mas, Mah, Moon (month); Vivasvant, Vivanhvant, lighting up; Druh, Druj, Evil spirit, Yavana/Yona, Yauna, Ion[a] (pl. Iones) Greek, Greeks.)

THE RAMAYANA

The Ramayana Epic Author: The Sage Valmiki Deva Press, 65/2, Beadon Street. Calcutta. Translation: Manmatha Nath Dutt, 1891 Estimated Range of Dating: 7th - 3rd centuries BC.

(The Ramayana epic was composed in Sanskrit by the sage (rishi) Valmiki of Ancient India, and in its present form it consists of some 24,000 verses, divided into seven kandas (books) and about 500 sargas (chapters).

- 1. Balakand, meaning the book of childhood.
- Ayodhyakanda, meaning the book of Ayodhya.
 Aranyakanda, meaning the book of the forests.
- 4. Kishkindhakanda, meaning the book of Kishkindha
- 5. Sundarakanda, meaning the book beautiful.
- 6. Yuddhakanda, meaning the book of the war.
- 7. Uttarakanda, meaning the book of after events.

The name Ramayana is composed of two words, Rama and ayana. Rama, the name of the central figure of the epic, has two contextual meanings. In the Atharvaveda, it means "dark two contextual meaning. In the Atharvaveda, it means "dark means "dark means "dark means "darkness or stillness of night". The other meaning, which can be found in the Mahabharata, is "pleasing, pleasant, charming, lovely, beautiful". The word ayana means travel or journey. Thus, Ramayana means Rama's progress. But there is a minor catch. While ayana means travel or journey, ayana is a meaningless word. This transformation of ayana into ayana occurs because of a Sanskrit grammar rule known as internal

The Ramayana belongs to the genre of Itihasa, narratives of past events (puravrtta), which includes the Mahabharata, the Puranas and the Ramayana. The genre also includes teachings on the goals of human life. It depicts the duties of relationships, portraying ideal characters like the ideal father, the ideal servant, the ideal brother, the ideal husband and the ideal king. Like the Mahabharata, Ramayana presents the teachings of ancient Hindu sages in narrative allegory, interspersing philosophical and ethical elements.

The oldest parts of the Ramayana date to between the mid-7th century BC and the mid-6th century BC. This is due to the narrative not mentioning Buddhism nor the prominence of Magadha. The text also mentions Ayodhya as the capital of Kosala, rather than its later name of Saketa or the successor capital of Shravasti. In terms of narrative time, the action of the Ramayana predates the Mahabharata. However, it is felt that the general cultural background of the Ramayana is one of the post-urbanization periods of the eastern part of north India, while the Mahabharata reflects the Kuru areas west of this, from the Rigvedic to the late Vedic period. Scholarly estimates for the earliest stage of the text range from the 7th to 4th centuries BC, with later stages extending up to the 3rd century AD. It was finally written down when writing in form of the Brahmi script (a development of the Jewish Aramaic script) became available in the 3rd century BC

The names of the characters (Rama, Sita, Dasharatha, Janaka, Vashista, Vishwamitra) are all known only in the late Vedic literature. For instance, a king named Janaka appears in a lengthy dialogue in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad with no reference to Rama or the Ramayana. However, nowhere in the surviving Vedic poetry is there a story similar to the Ramayana of Valmiki. According to the modern academic view, Vishnu, who, according to Bala Kanda, was incarnated as Rama, first came into prominence with the epics themselves and further, during the Puranic period of the later 1st millennium AD. Also, in the epic Mahabharata, there is a version of the Ramayana known as Ramopakhyana. This version is depicted as a narration to Yudhishthira.

Books two to six are the oldest portion of the epic, while the first and last books (Bala Kanda and Uttara Kanda, respectively) seem to be later additions. Style differences and narrative contradictions between these two volumes and the rest of the epic have led scholars to this conclusion.

The Ramayana was an important influence on later Sanskrit poetry and Hindu life and culture. The characters Rama, Sita, Lakshmana, Bharata, Hanuman, and Ravana are all fundamental to the cultural consciousness of the South Asian nations of India, Nepal, Sri Lanka and the South-East Asian countries of Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand. Its most important moral influence was the importance of virtue, in the life of a citizen and in the ideals of the formation of a state or of a functioning society.

SYNOPSIS

The poem describes the royal birth of Rama in the kingdom of Ayodhya (Oudh), his tutelage under the sage Visvamitra, and his success in bending Siva's (Shiva's) mighty bow at the bridegroom tournament of Sita, the daughter of King Janaka, thus winning her for his wife. After Rama is banished from his position as heir by an intrigue, he retreats to the forest with his wife and his favourite half brother, Lakşmana, to spend 14 years in exile. There Ravana, the demon-king of Lanka, carries off Sita to his capital, while her two protectors are

busy pursuing a golden deer sent to the forest to mislead them. Sita resolutely rejects Rayana's attentions, and Rama and his brother set about to rescue her. After numerous adventures they enter into alliance with Sugriva, king of the monkeys; and with the assistance of the monkey-general Hanuman and Ravana's own brother, Vibhişana, they attack Lanka. The name monkey originally might refer to uncivilised tribes. Rama slays Ravana and rescues Sita, who in a later version undergoes an ordeal by fire in order to clear herself of the suspicions of infidelity. When they return to Ayodhya, however, Rama learns that the people still question the queen's chastity, and he banishes her to the forest. There she meets the sage Valmiki (the reputed author of the Ramayana) and at his hermitage gives birth to Rama's two sons. The family is reunited when the sons become of age, but Sita, after again protesting her innocence, asks to be received by the earth, which swallows her up. Here the 7 books in some detail.

1. Bala Kanda

This Sarga (section) details the stories of Rama's childhood and events related to the time-frame. Dasharatha was the King of Ayodhya. He had three wives: Kaushalya, Kaikeyi and Sumitra. He was childless for a long time and anxious to have an heir, so he performs a fire sacrifice known as Putrakameshti Yajna. As a consequence, Rama was first born to Kaushalya, Bharata was born to Kaikeyi, Lakshmana and Shatrughna were born to Sumitra. These sons are endowed, to various degrees, with the essence of the Supreme Trinity Entity Vishnu; Vishnu had opted to be born into mortality to combat the demon Ravana, who was oppressing the gods, and who could only be destroyed by a mortal. The boys were reared as the princes of the realm, receiving instructions from the scriptures and in warfare from Vashistha. When Rama was 16 years old, sage Vishwamitra comes to the court of Dasharatha in search of help against demons who were disturbing sacrificial rites. He chooses Rama, who is followed by Lakshmana, his constant companion throughout the story. Rama and Lakshmana receive instructions and supernatural weapons from Vishwamitra and proceed to destroy Tataka and many other demons.

Janaka was the King of Mithila. One day, a female child was found in the field by the King in the deep furrow dug by his plough. Overwhelmed with joy, the King regarded the child as a "miraculous gift of God". The child was named Sita, the Sanskrit word for furrow. Sita grew up to be a girl of unparalleled beauty and charm. The King had decided that who ever could lift and wield a heavy bow, presented to his ancestors by Shiva, could marry Sita. Sage Vishwamitra takes Rama and Lakshmana to Mithila to show the bow. Then Rama desires to lift it and goes on to wield the bow and when he draws the string, it broke. Marriages were arranged between the sons of Dasharatha and daughters of Janaka. Rama marries Sita, Lakshmana to Urmila, Bharata to Mandavi and Shatrughna to Shrutakirti. The weddings were celebrated with great festivity in Mithila and the marriage party returns to Ayodhya.

2. Avodhva Kanda

After Rama and Sita have been married, an elderly Dasharatha expresses his desire to crown Rama, to which the Kosala assembly and his subjects express their support. On the eve of the great event, Kaikeyi - her jealousy aroused by Manthara, a wicked maidservant - claims two boons that Dasharatha had long ago granted her. Kaikeyi demands Rama to be exiled into the wilderness for fourteen years, while the succession passes to her son Bharata. The heartbroken king, constrained by his rigid devotion to his given word, accedes to Kaikeyi's demands. Rama accepts his father's reluctant decree with absolute submission and calm selfcontrol which characterizes him throughout the story. He is joined by Sita and Lakshmana. When he asks Sita not to follow him, she says, "the forest where you dwell is Ayodhya for me and Ayodhya without you is a veritable hell for me. After Rama's departure, King Dasharatha, unable to bear the grief, passes away. Meanwhile, Bharata, who was on a visit to his maternal uncle, learns about the events in Ayodhya. Bharata refuses to profit from his mother's wicked scheming and visits Rama in the forest. He requests Rama to return and rule. But Rama, determined to carry out his father's orders to the letter, refuses to return before the period of exile.

3. Aranya Kanda

After thirteen years of exile, Rama, Sita and Lakshmana journey southward along the banks of river Godavari, where they build cottages and live off the land. At the Panchavati forest they are visited by a rakshasi named Shurpanakha, sister of Ravana. She tries to seduce the brothers and, after failing, attempts to kill Sita. Lakshmana stops her by cutting off her nose and ears. Hearing of this, her brothers Khara and Dushan organise an attack against the princes. Rama defeats Khara and his raskshasas.

When the news of these events reach Ravana, he resolves to destroy Rama by capturing Sita with the aid of the rakshasa Maricha. Maricha, assuming the form of a golden deer,

captivates Sita's attention. Entranced by the beauty of the deer, Sita pleads with Rama to capture it. Rama, aware that this is the ploy of the demons, cannot dissuade Sita from her desire and chases the deer into the forest, leaving Sita under Lakshmana's guard.

After some time, Sita hears Rama calling out to her; afraid for his life, she insists that Lakshmana rush to his aid. Lakshmana tries to assure her that Rama cannot be hurt that easily and that it is best if he continues to follow Rama's orders to protect her. On the verge of hysterics, Sita insists that it is not she but Rama who needs Lakshman's help. He obeys her wish but stipulates that she is not to leave the cottage or entertain any stranger. He draws a chalk outline, the Lakshmana rekha, around the cottage and casts a spell on it that prevents anyone from entering the boundary but allows people to exit. With the coast finally clear, Ravana appears in the guise of an ascetic requesting Sita's hospitality. Unaware of her guest's plan, Sita is tricked into leaving the rekha and is then forcibly carried away by Ravana.

Jatayu, a vulture, tries to rescue Sita, but is mortally wounded. At Lanka, Sita is kept under the guard of rakshasis. Ravana asks Sita to marry him, but she refuses, being eternally devoted to Rama. Meanwhile, Rama and Lakshmana learn about Sita's abduction from Jatayu and immediately set out to save her. During their search, they meet Kabandha and the ascetic Shabari, who direct them towards Sugriva and Hanuman

4. Kishkindha Kanda

Kishkindha Kanda is set in the ape (Vanara) citadel Kishkindha. Rama and Lakshmana meet Hanuman, the biggest devotee of Rama, greatest of ape heroes and an adherent of Sugriva, the banished pretender to the throne of Kishkindha. Rama befriends Sugriva and helps him by killing his elder brother Vali thus regaining the kingdom of Kishkindha, in exchange for helping Rama to recover Sita.

However Sugriva soon forgets his promise and spends his time enjoying his newly gained power. The clever former ape queen Tara (wife of Vali) calmly intervenes to prevent an enraged Lakshmana from destroying the ape citadel. She then eloquently convinces Sugriva to honour his pledge. Sugriva then sends search parties to the four corners of the earth, only to return without success from north, east and west. The southern search party under the leadership of Angada and Hanuman learns from a vulture named Sampati (elder brother of Jatayu), that Sita was taken to Lanka.

5. Sundara Kanda

Sundara Kanda forms the heart of Valmiki's Ramayana and consists of a detailed, vivid account of Hanuman's adventures. After learning about Sita, Hanuman assumes a gargantuan form and makes a colossal leap across the sea to Lanka. On the way he meets with many challenges like facing a Gandharva kanya who comes in the form of a demon to test his abilities. He encounters a mountain named Mainakudu who offers Hanuman assistance and offers him rest. Hanuman refuses because there is little time remaining to complete the search for Sita

After entering into Lanka, he finds a demon, Lankini, who protects all of Lanka. Hanuman fights with her and subjugates her in order to get into Lanka. In the process Lankini, who had an earlier vision/warning from the gods therefore knows that the end of Lanka nears if someone defeats Lankini. Here, Hanuman explores the demons' kingdom and spies on Ravana. He locates Sita in Ashoka grove, where she is being wooed and threatened by Ravana and his rakshasis to marry Ravana. Hanuman reassures Sita, giving Rama's signet ring as a sign of good faith. He offers to carry Sita back to Rama; however, she refuses and says that it is not the dharma, stating that Ramayana will not have significance if Hanuman carries her to Rama - "When Rama is not there Ravana carried Sita forcibly and when Ravana was not there, Hanuman carried Sita back to Rama". She says that Rama himself must come and avenge the insult of her abduction.

Hanuman then wreaks havoc in Lanka by destroying trees and buildings and killing Ravana's warriors. He allows himself to be captured and delivered to Ravana. He gives a bold lecture to Ravana to release Sita. He is condemned and his tail is set on fire, but he escapes his bonds and leaping from roof to roof, sets fire to Ravana's citadel and makes the giant leap back from the island. The joyous search party returns to Kishkindha with the news.

6. Yuddha Kanda

Also known as Lanka Kanda, this book describes the war between the army of Rama and the army of Ravana. Having received Hanuman's report on Sita, Rama and Lakshmana proceed with their allies towards the shore of the southern sea. There they are joined by Ravana's renegade brother Vibhishana. The apes named Nala and Nila construct a floating bridge (known as Rama Setu)[24] across the sea, using stones that floated on water because they had Rama's name written on them. The princes and their army cross over

to Lanka. A lengthy war ensues. During a battle, Ravana's son Indrajit hurls a powerful weapon at Lakshmana, who is badly wounded. So Hanuman assumes a gigantic form and flies from Lanka to the Himalayas. Upon reaching Mount Sumeru, Hanuman was unable to identify the herb that could cure Lakshmana and so decided to bring the entire mountain back to Lanka. Eventually, the war ends when Rama kills Ravana. Rama then installs Vibhishana on the throne of Lanka.

On meeting Sita, Rama agrees to Sita's request to undergo an Agni Pariksha (test of fire) to prove her chastity, as he wants to get rid of the rumors surrounding her purity. When Sita plunges into the sacrificial fire, Agni, lord of fire raises Sita, unharmed, to the throne, attesting to her innocence. The episode of Agni Pariksha varies in the versions of Ramayana by Valmiki and Tulsidas. In Tulsidas's Ramacharitamanas, Sita was under the protection of Agni (see Maya Sita) so it was necessary to bring her out before reuniting with Rama.

7. Uttara Kanda

It conjectures Rama's reign of Ayodhya, the birth of Lava and Kusha, the Ashvamedha yajna and last days of Rama. At the expiration of his term of exile, Rama returns to Ayodhya with Sita, Lakshmana, and Hanuman, where the coronation is performed. On being asked to prove his devotion to Rama, Hanuman tears his chest open and to everyone's surprise, there is an image of Rama and Sita inside his chest. Rama rules Ayodhya and the reign is called Ram-Rajya (a place where the common folk is happy, fulfilled, and satisfied).

This book (kanda) is not considered to be a part of the original epic but instead a later addition to the earliest layers of the Valmiki Ramayana and is considered to be highly interpolated. In this book, as time passes in the reign of Rama, spies start getting rumours that people are questioning Sita's purity as she stayed in the home of another man for almost a year without her husband. The common folk start gossiping about Sita and question Rama's decision to make her Queen. Rama is extremely distraught on hearing the news, but finally tells Lakshmana that the purity of the Queen of Ayodhya has to be above any gossip and rumour. Ram instructs him to take Sita to a forest outside Ayodhya and leave her there with a heavy heart. Lakshmana reluctantly drops Sita in a forest for another exile.

Sita finds refuge in Sage Valmiki's ashram, where she gives birth to twin boys, Lava and Kusha. Meanwhile, Rama conducts an Ashwamedha yajna (A holy declaration of the authority of the king) and in absence of Sita places a golden statue of Sita. Lava and Kusha capture the horse (sign of the yajna) and defeat the whole army of Ayodhya which come to protect the horse. Later on, both the brothers defeat Lakshmana, Bharata, Shatrughan and other warriors and take Hanuman as prisoner. Finally Rama himself arrives and defeats the two mighty brothers. Valmiki updates Sita about this development and advises both the brothers to go to Avodhya and tell the story of Sita's sacrifice to the common folk. Both brothers arrive at Ayodhya but face many difficulties while convincing the people. Hanuman helps both the brothers in this task. At one point, Valmiki brings Sita forward. Seeing Sita, Rama is teary eyed and realises that Lava and Kusha are his own sons. Again complicit Nagarsen (one of the primaries who instigated the hatred towards Sita) challenges Sita's character and asks her to prove her purity. Sita is overflown with emotions and decides to go back to Mother Earth from where she emerged. She says that, "If I am pure, this earth will open and swallow me whole." At that very moment, the earth opens up and swallows Sita. Rama rules Avodhva for many years and finally takes Samadhi into Sarayu river along with his three brothers and leaves the world. He goes back to Vaikuntha in his Vishnu form (Lakshman as Shesh Naga, Bharat as his conch and Shatrughan as the Sudarshan Chakra) and meets Sita there who by then assumed the form of Lakshmi.

List of important characters that appear in the Ramayana epic:

- Agastya was a son of sage Pulastya and brother of sage Vishrava. He was an uncle of Ravana. Agastya and his wife Lopamudra met Rama, Sita, and Lakshmana during their exile and gives them a divine bow and arrow.
- Ahalya is the wife of the sage Gautama Maharishi. Many Hindu scriptures say that she was seduced by Indra (the king of gods), cursed by her husband for infidelity, and liberated from the curse by Rama (an avatar of the god Vishnu).
- Akampana was a maternal uncle of Ravana. He was one of ten sons of Sumali and Ketumathi. He also had four sisters. In the Valmiki Ramayana, he was one of the survivors of the battle between Khara and Dushana along with Shurpanakha. After escaping the deadly carnage, he instigated Ravana to kidnap Sita, thus indirectly making him one of the masterminds behind the war. Later he was killed in the battle by Hanuman.
- Akshayakumara was a son of Ravana and Mandodari. He was killed by Hanuman during the encounter in Ashok Vatika.

- Angada was a vanara and the son of Bali (vanar king of Kishkindha before Sugriva) and Tara. Angada helped Rama find his wife Sita and fight her abductor, Ravana.
- Añjana was the mother of Hanuman. According to a version of the legend, Añjana was an apsara named Puñjikastala, who was born on Earth as a vanara princess and married Kesari, a vanara chief. Vayu, god of the wind, carried the divine power of Lord Shiva to Anjana's womb, and thus Hanuman was born as an incarnation of Lord Shiva. In Shiv Purana Anjana is stated as the Daughter of Gautama Maharishi and Ahalya..
- Atikaya was a son of Ravana and his 2nd wife Dhanyamalini. He was killed by Lakshmana.
- Bharata was 2nd son of King Dasharath. He was born to queen Kaikayi. Bharata was the younger half brother of Rama. Ramayana holds Bharata as a symbol of dharma and idealism. He was married to Sita's cousin Mandavi with whom he had two children.
- Chandrabhagha was the wife of Janaka's younger brother Kushadhwaja (also known as Kushadhhojan).
 Chandrabhagha 's two daughters Mandavi and Shrutakirti were married to Rama's younger brothers Bharata and Shatrughna respectively, [citation needed]
- Dasharatha was the king of Ayodhya. He had three queens, Kausalya, Kaikeyi and Sumitra, and four sons: Rama, Bharata, and twins Lakshmana, Shatrughna. Dasharatha also had a daughter named Shanta. Once, Kaikeyi saved Dasaratha in a war, and as a reward, she got the privilege from Dasaratha to fulfill two of her wishes at any time of her lifetime. She made use of the opportunity and forced Dasharatha to make their son Bharata crown prince and send Rama into exile for 14 years. Dasharatha dies heartbroken after Rama goes into exile. He was a good king, who was also very kind.
- Devantaka was the son of Ravana. He was killed by Hanuman.
- Dhanyamalini was the second wife of Ravana. Her true identity is unknown but some stories refer to her as the daughter of Maya and sister of Mandodari.
- Dhumraksha was a maternal uncle of Rayana. He was one of ten sons of Sumali. Dhumraksha was killed by Hanuman.
- Dushan was a man-eating Rakshasa in the Indian Ramayana epic. According to Indian epic Ramayana, Dushana and his twin brother Khara, younger brothers of Ravana, were demons who ruled the Dandaka Forest. After Lakshmana humiliated Shurpanakha by cutting off her nose and ears, Khara and Dushana went to war against Lakshmana and Rama. During this fight, Dushana was killed by Rama.
- Ganga is a goddess and the daughter of Himavan. Because of her incomparable beauty, she was given to the Devas, and she became the Milky Way. Later, Shiva brought her down to earth and she became the holy river the Ganges in Hinduism.
- Hanuman is a divine vanara companion and devotes of the god Rama. Hanuman is one of the central characters of the Ramayana. He is a Brahmachari (life long celibate) and one of the chiranjeevis. In some versions of the epic, he is described as an avatar of Lord Shiva.
- Hema is an apsara in Indra's court. When Mayasura visited svarga, he saw and married her. They had 2 sons, Mayavi and Dundubhi, and a daughter Mandodari. She later left them and returned to heaven.
- Indrajit or Meghanada was a prince of Lanka and possessor of Indra Loka (Heaven). In the epic, he is described as a great warrior and master of illusions. He was the elder son of Ravana. He was born to Ravana's elder consort Mandodari. He is a atimaharathi. He was names Indrajit by Brahma, the Creator after he defeated Indra and takeover Indra Loka.
- Jambavan is described as a king of sloth bear in epic Ramayana. He was created by Brahma, to assist Rama in his struggle against Ravana.
- Janaka was the king of Mithila and the father of Sita and Urmila. He was A wise and kind king.
- Jambumali was son of Lanka's commander-in-chief Prahasta. He was killed by Hanuman during the encounter in Ashok Vatika.
- Jatayu. In the epic is a divine bird and the younger son of Aruna. He was an old friend of Dasharatha (Rama's father). Jatayu was killed by Ravana when he tried to save Sita during her abduction.
- Kaman. Kabandha is a Rakshasa (demon) who is killed and freed from a curse by the god Rama.
- Kaikashi or Kaikeshi or keshani or Pushpothkatha was the wife of sage Vishrava, and mother of Ravana, Kumbhakarna, Vibhishana and Shurpanakha. She was a daughter of a Rakshasa king Sumali.
- Kaikeyi was the third and youngest wife of King Dasharatha, and mother of Bharata. She is famed for her beauty. After she saved the life of Dasaratha in battle, he offered to grant anything she would ask of him. She later calls in this favor to have Bharata crowned king and Rama sent into the forest, inspired by the words of her maid, Manthara.

- · Kausalya was the mother of Lord Rama and the first consort of King Dashratha. She was best out of the three mothers
- · Kewat. In the epic Ramayana Kewat was a boatman who had taken Rama, Sita and Lakshman in his boat and crossed the Ganges.
- · Khara was a man-eating rakshasa in the Indian Ramayana epic. He was a younger male cousin of Ravana and the son of Kaikesi's sister Raka. He was killed by Rama, along with his brother Lakshmana when he attacked Rama after Shurpanakha's humiliation. After Lakshmana cut off Shurpanakha's nose, Khara fought against Lakshmana and Rama. During this fight, Khara lost and was killed by Rama, who also killed his brothers Dushana and Trishiras. He was the ruler of the Danda Kingdom, roughly equivalent to the Nashik district, with Janasthana (Nashik city) as its capital. He protected the northern kingdom of Lanka on the mainland and his kingdom bordered the Kosala Kingdom, the kingdom of Rama. He was well known for his superior skills in warfare. In the Ramayana war, between Rama and Ravana, Khara's son, Makaraksha, fought on his uncle, Ravana's side, and was killed by Rama.
- · Kumbhakarna was 2nd son of Vishrava and Kaikasi. He was the younger brother of Ravana and the elder brother of Vibhisana and Surpanakha. Despite his gigantic size and great appetite, he was described to be of good character and a great warrior in those times. When offered a boon by Brahma he was tricked into asking for eternal sleep. A horrified Ravana, out of brotherly love, persuaded Brahma to amend the boon. Brahma mitigated the power of the boon by making Kumbhakarna sleep for six months and being awake for the rest six months of a year (in some versions, he is awake for one day out of the year).
- · Kusha. Along with Lava, Kusha was the other son of Rama and Sita.
- · Lakshmana. 3rd son of King Dasharatha, and halfbrother of Rama. He was the twin brother of Shatrughna. They were born to queen Sumitra. He was an incarnation of Sesha Naga. He was deeply devoted to his brother, whom he followed through many dangerous adventures and quests. He was married to Sita's younger sister, Urmila. He guarded his brother Rama and Sita for 14 years day night without sleeping.
- Lava, out of two was one of the sons of Rama and Sita. He had a twin brother named Kusha, one of the youths to whom Valmiki taught the Ramayana that he received from Narada.
- Malyavan was a maternal granduncle of Ravana. He was one of three sons of Sukesha. He had two younger brothers named Sumali and Mali. Malvavan's wife was Sundari. She had seven sons - Vajra Mushti Viroopaaksh, Durmukh, Suptaghn, Yagyakop, Matt, and Unmatt; and one daughter named Analaa.
- · Mandavi. In the Hindu epic Ramayana, Mandavi is the daughter of King Kushadhwaja and Queen Chandrabhaga. She was a cousin of Sita and Urmila. She also had a younger sister named Shrutakirti. Mandavi was married to Rama's brother Bharata Aftr the Ramayana, she became Queen of Gandhara and had two sons, Pushkala and Taksha, who founded Peshawar, then called Purushapura, and Takshasila, now called Taxila, respectively.
- Mandodari was the elder consort of Ravana. The Ramayana describes Mandodari as beautiful, pious, and righteous. Mandodari was the daughter of Mayasura and an apsara named Hema. Mandodari bears two sons: Meghanada (Indrajit) and Akshayakumara.
- · Manthara is said to be hunch-backed, ugly and antagonistic in appearance. Manthara, it appears, is an expert talker and a cunning woman who can manipulate her way to get what she wants. When Rama is going to become the king of Ayodhya, many deities consulted Lord Vishnu. They said "Rama is going to become king. He will enjoy his life. But the reason behind his introduction is to kill evil." Lord Vishnu expressed his helplessness, so they consulted Saraswathi, the Goddess of education. She went in the form of Manthara (Kekaya) and sent Rama to forests. Manthara is said to be the incarnation of Alakshmi, the eternal consort of Kali Purusha. In her earlier life, she had done penance unto Lord Rudra and accumulated virtue to become one among many celestial dancers/apsaras in Swarga Loka. Knowing well that she was an evil soul, Brahma ordained her to take birth as Manthara and create hurdles in establishing Rama Rajya on earth during Treta Yuga. scitation needed
- Maricha is a rakshasa (demon), who is killed by Rama, the hero of the epic, and an avatar of God Vishnu. He is mentioned as an ally of Ravana, the antagonist of the epic. His most notable exploit is his role in the kidnapping of Sita, Rama's wife.
- · Nala. In the epic Ramayana, Nala was a Vanara who helped Rama during his war with Ravana. Hs is credited as the engineer of the Rama Setu. He was a son of Vishvakarma.
- · Narantaka was a son of Ravana. He was killed by Angada. • Nila. In the epic Ramayana, Nila is the commander-in-
- chief of the vanara army in Rama's battle against Ravana.

- Nishad Raja. In the epic Ramayana, Nishada Raja is the king of the forest tribes and also childhood friend of Rama
- · Prahasta was a maternal uncle of Ravana and chief commander of Lanka's army. He was a son of Sumali and Ketumati. He had 9 brothers and four sisters. One of his sister was Rayana's mother Kaikashi.
- Rama is the protagonist of the epic Ramayana. Rama is an avatar of Lord Vishnu. He was the son of the king of Kosala Kingdom Dasharath and his elder consort Kaushalva. He is a virtuous, strong, and just man in his own right. He married Sita, whom he loved deeply. He also had a strong bond with his brother Lakshmana as well.
- Ravana was the Rakshasa king of Lanka. He is the main antagonist of the epic Ramayana. He was the son of Vishrava and Kaikashi. He performed penance for the God Shiva for many years, and in return received a great blessing from God himself that he cannot be killed by any God, demon, or other divine beings.
- · Rishyasringa was a great Rishi he presided over the sacrifice that King Dasharatha offered in order to get a son. He was married to Dasharath's daughter Shanta. He is sometimes depicted as a combination of a Deer and a Man.
- Ruma was the wife of Sugriva. She is mentioned in Book 4 (Kishkindha Kanda) of Ramayana. Ruma and Sugriva fell in love with each other and wanted to marry each other. But Ruma's father did not approve. Hence, Sugriva with the help of Hanuman abducted Ruma and they married each other. Ruma was taken away from Sugriva by Vali following the strife of two royal Vanara brothers. Later, the fact of Ruma being withheld by Vali became the primary justification of Rama's slaying Vali and helping Sugriva to become the sovereign of Kishkindha. When accused by Vali of lowly, treacherous and unexpected assassination from the shades by Rama's arrow, Rama says his assassination was a just punishment for the sin Vali committed when he robbed Sugriva of Ruma, his wedded spouse, and used her for his own pleasure.
- · Sampati was a supporter of Lord Rama. He was the brother of Jatayu and the son of Aruna.
- Shanta was the daughter of a king Dasharatha and his elder consort Kaushalya. Later she was adopted by king Romapada of Anga Pradesh. She was married to sage Rishvasringa.
- Shabari was devoted to Rama. As Her Guru sage, Matanga said to worship Rama, she waited for Rama for several years. Sabari finally met Rama after the abduction of Sita. She helped Rama to find the address of Sugriva and Hanumana
- · Shatrughna was the voungest son of King Dasharath. He was born to queen Sumitra and was a twin brother of Lakshmana. He was married to Sita's cousin Shrutakirti with whom he had two children.
- · Lord Shiva played an important role in the epic. Both Rama and Ravana were great to devote to Shiva. Shiva is part of the great trinity in Hindusim, along with Vishnu and Brahma. Some versions of the epic also describe Hanuman as one of the avatars of Shiva. Shiva is a great ascetic and often sits in meditation. It is believed that he is able to tame the power of other gods, devas, and supernatural beings, and he often grants blessings and wishes to those who sit in dedication meditation ('Tapasya'). His wife is Parvati.
- · Shrutakirti. In the Hindu epic Ramayana. Shrutakirti or Shrutakeerti is the daughter of king Kushadhwaja and queen Chandrabhaga. She was a cousin of Sita and Urmila. She also had an elder sister Mandavi. Shrutakirti was married to Rama's brother Shatrughna.
- Shurpanakha was the daughter of Vishrava and Kaikashi; and the younger sister of Ravana. According to Ramayana, she met the Rama during one such visit to the Forest of Panchavati and was instantly smitten by his youthful good looks. Rama meanwhile kindly rejected her advances, telling her that he was faithful to his wife Sita and thus would never take another wife. Rejected, Shurpanakha then approached his younger brother, Lakshmana, who also rejected her, the humiliated and envious Shurpanakha attacked Sita but was thwarted by Lakshmana, who cut off her nose and left ear and sent her back to Lanka.
- · Sita is the main female character of epic Ramayana. King of Mithila Janaka, found her lying in a furrow on the sanctified ground and decided to raise her as his daughter (Some people defined her as the missed daughter Saheily of Rayana). She married Rama, and loved him so much that she followed him into exile. She is famed for her virtue and beauty and is regarded as an Avatara of the goddess Lakshmi.
- Subahu is a rakshasa character in the Ramayana. He and his mother, Tataka, took immense pleasure in harassing the munis of the jungle, especially Vishvamitra, by disrupting their vainas with rains of flesh and blood. Vishvamitra approached Dasharatha for help in getting rid of these pestilences. Dasharatha obliged by sending two of his sons, Rama and Lakshmana, to the forest with Vishvamitra, charging them to protect both the sage and his sacrificial fires.[citation needed] When Subahu and Maricha again

attempted to rain flesh and blood on the sage's yajna, Subahu was killed by Rama.

- · Sugriva was a Vanara. He was the younger brother of Vali, whom he succeeded as ruler of the vanara the kingdom of Kishkindha. Ruma was his wife. He was the spiritual son of Surya. Sugriva aided Rama in his quest to liberate his wife Sita from captivity at the hands of the Rakshasa king Rayana.
- Suketu was a yaksha who performed a yajna to get an heir, with the strength equal to thousand elephants. After the ritual, he got a daughter named Tataka.
- · Sumali was the son of demon king Sukesa and Gandharva princess Devavati. He had two brothers Malyavana and Mali. Sumali was married to Ketumati with whom he had ten sons (Prahasta, Akampana, Vikata, Kalikamukha, Dhumraksha, Danda, Suprasya, Sanhradi, Praghasa, and Bhaskarna) and four daughters (Raka, Puspotkata, Kaikashi, Kumbhnashi). One of his daughters Kaikashi was married to sage Vishrava who later gave birth to Ravana, Kumbhakarna, Vibhishana, and Shurpanakha.
- · Sumantra, also known as Arya Sumantra, was the prime minister in the court of Ayodhya. He was extremely loyal to the rulers of Ayodhya and was King Dasharatha's a most trusted minister. He knew many secrets about the royal family, including what he had heard from the conversation between King Dasharatha and Maharishi Durvasa. He helped Lord Rama in his exile.
- · Sumitra is the third consort of King Dasharatha of Ayodhya. She is the mother of twins Lakshmana and Shatrughna.
- · Tara was the wife of Bali, and the mother of Angada. She was the queen of Kishkindha and is regarded as one of the panch Kanyas.
- · Tataka was a beautiful woman who was transformed into a demon (Rakshasha) once she tried to seduce the Sage Agastya. As a demon, she used to drink the blood of living creatures and used to kill anything she sees. In one of Rama's few great acts, he broke her curse by slaying her.
- · Trijata is a demoness who was assigned the duty of guarding Sita who was kidnapped by the king of Lanka. In later adaptions of Ramayana, she is described as the daughter of Vibhishana.

Trijata appears as a wise rakshasi, who dreams of Ravana's destruction and Rama's victory. She accompanies Sita on a survey of the battlefield of the war between Rama and Ravana and reassures Sita of Rama's well-being when Sita sees her husband unconscious and presumes him dead.

- Trishira was a son of Ravana. He was killed by Hanuman.
- Urmila. She was the younger daughter of Janaka and the younger sister of Sita and Mandavi. She married Lakshamana and they had two sons. She lived 14 years without Lakshamana and waited for him.
- · Vali or Baali was a powerful king of Kishkindha in the epic Ramayana. He was a spiritual son of Indra, the biological son of Vriksharaja, the elder brother of Sugreev, husband of Tara and father of Angada.
- Vasishtha was a Sage and the Guru of King Dasharatha, he used to offer religious advice to the king and the royal
- · Vibhishana was a younger brother of Ravana. Though a Rakshasa himself, Vibhishana was of a noble character. When Ravana kidnapped Sita, he advised Ravana to return her to her husband Rama in an orderly fashion and promptly which Ravana refused sternly. When Ravana did not heed his advice, Vibhishana deserted Ravana and joined Rama's army. Later, when Rama defeated Ravana, Rama crowned Vibhishana as the king of Lanka.
- · Vishrava. According to epic Ramayana, Vishrava was the son of Pulatsya, the brother of celebrated sage Agastya Muni and the grandson of Brahma. Vishraya was married twice. Once with Ilavida with whom he had a son named Kubera and his second consort was a Rakshasa princess Kaikashi with whom he had three sons (Ravana, Kumbhakarna & Vibhishana) and a daughter (Shurpanakha).
- · Vishvamitra was a great Sage and wise man who was once a king. Through long Meditation, he gained a number of Spiritual powers. He took Rama on a quest to defeat a demon and to lift the bow of Shiva, the first step in the future king's great journey.)

THE RAMAYANA VOLUME ONE (Balakandam and Avodhvakandam) BALAKANDAM.

The ascetic Valmiki asked that best of sages and foremost of those conversant with words, ever engaged in austerities and Vaidika studies, Narada saying,-"Who at present in this world is alike crowned with qualities, and endued with prowess, knowing duty, and grateful, and truthful, and firm in vow,—who is qualified by virtue of his character, and who is ever studious of the welfare of all creatures? Who is learned, hath studied society, and knoweth the art of pleasing his subjects? And who alone is ever lovely to behold? Who hath subdued his heart, and controlled his anger, is endowed with

personal grace, and devoid of malice; and whom, enraged in battle, do even the gods, fear? Great is my curiosity to hear of such a person. Thou canst, O Maharshi tell me of a man of this description." Hearing Valmiki's words, Narada, cognisant of the three worlds, said with alacrity,-"Do thou listen! Rare as are the qualities mentioned by thee, I will, O sage, having duly considered, describe unto thee a person endued with them. There is one sprung from the line of Ikshwaku, known by the name of Rama. He is of subdued soul and exceeding prowess; effulgent; endowed with patience; having senses under control; intelligent; learned in morality; eloquent; crowned with grace; the slayer of foes; broad-shouldered; possessed of mighty arms, a conch-shaped neck, fleshy jaws, and a broad chest; a powerful bowman; the repressor of foes; having plump shoulder-blades; of arms reaching down unto his knees; with a beautiful head, and a graceful forehead; and endowed with excellent might; having symmetrical limbs; and of a cool hue; and possessed of prowess; and having a welldeveloped chest; with expansive eyes; crowned with auspiciousness and favourable marks; knowing duty; firm in promise; aye engaged in the good of his subjects; of accomplished renown; furnished with knowledge; pure in body and spirit; modest towards superiors; versed in selfknowledge; like unto Prajapati himself; blest with prosperity; protecting all; the destroyer of enemies, and supporter of all living beings; and the stay of order, practising all the duties of his class; and preserving those cleaving unto him; versed in the profundities of the Vedas and the Vedangas; accomplished in archery; gifted with a good memory; ascertaining with rapidity the truth of things; the darling of all; unreproved; of unvanquished spirit; discerning; proficient in every branch of learning; ever resorted to by the good even as the ocean is, by the rivers; worthy of being honoured; having an equal regard for all; and capable of filling the heart with ever-new sensations. Crowned with every grace; he enhanceth the joys of Kaucalva: being like unto the sea in gravity, and unto the Himavat in patience. In prowess, he is like unto Vishnu, and boasteth of the personal attractions of the Moon. In anger he resembleth the fire raging at the dissolution of all; and in forgiveness, he is like unto the Earth. In giving away, he is like unto (Kuvera) the Bestower of riches, and in truth, he is like another Dharma.

'Desirous of doing that which would be acceptable to subject, king Dacaratha, from fulness of affection, wished to instal as his associate in the kingdom his beloved and meritorious eldest son, Rama, of infallible prowess, and endued with sterling virtues, and ever intent on the welfare of the people. Beholding the provisions for the installation, that lady the king's consort. Kaikevi, who had previously been promised two boons, even asked for these, viz., the exile of Rama, and the installation of Bharata. Bound by the ties of duty in consequence of that promise of his, king Dacaratha banished his favourite son Rama. In pursuance of his father's promise, and with the view of compassing the pleasure of Kaikevi that heroic one commanded by his sire wended into the forest. And on the eve of his departure for the forest, that enhancer of Sumitra's joy and favourite of his brother (Rama), his dear brother Lakshmana, endowed with humility, displaying brotherliness, followed him out of affection. And as Rohini followeth the moon, Rama's beloved spouse, sprung in Janaka's line-like unto an embodiment of Divine power- dear (unto Rama) as life itself, and engaged in acts of good, and furnished with every auspicious mark, and the best of wives, followed Rama. Having been followed far by his father Dacaratha along with the citizens, Rama met with the virtuous and beloved king of the Nishadas; and then in company with Guha, Lakshmana, and Sita, dismissed his charioteer on the banks of the Ganges at Sringaverapura Then wending from one wood to another, and having crossed many broad rivers, they, in accordance with Bharadwaja's directions, arrived at the Chitrakuta; and constructing a romantic abode, the three began to live there as they listed. And they spent their days in delight, even like gods and Gandharbhas. And when Rama had reached the Chitrakuta, king Dacaratha, distressed on account of his son, went to heaven, bewailing the latter. And when Dacaratha had ascended heaven, the mighty Bharata, although pressed by the Brahmanas headed by Vasistha, to rule the kingdom, did not wish for dominion. And that hero went after Rama into the forest, with the view of propitiating that worshipful one. And having come to the high- souled Rama, with truth for his prowess, he besought his brother, with every mark of respect. And Rama said unto Bharata these words,—"Thou too, O thou conversant with duty, art king." And the exceedingly generous, illustrious and mighty Rama of a cheerful countenance did not wish for the kingdom, in consonance with his father's injunction. And having made over unto Bharata as his substitute on the throne his own sandals Bharata's elder brother repeatedly forbade him. And then Bharata, finding his desire not obtained, touched Rama's feet, and began to rule at Nandigrama, expecting the return of Rama. And when the auspicious Bharata, firm in promise and of subdued sense, had gone away, Rama again perceiving there the influx of citizens and others, eagerly entered

Dandaka. And having entered that mighty forest, the lotuseved Rama slew the Rakshasa, Viradha, and saw Sarabhanga. Suitikshna, Agastya and Agastya's brother. And he then, directed by Agastya, gladly possessed himself of Indra's bow, the inexhaustible arrows, the scimitar, and the quiver. And while Rama was dwelling there with the rangers of woods, the sages came to him in a body for the destruction of the Asuras and Rakshasas. Thereupon in the presence of those ascetics like unto flaming fire, inhabiting the Dandaka forest, he promised to slay those Rakshasas in battle. And it was while he was living there that, that dweller of Janasthana, the Rakshasi Surpanakha, capable of assuming any form at will, was disfigured. And it was while living there in the society of the inhabitants of Janasthana, that Rama slew in battle the Rakshasas Khara and Tricira and Dushana, together with their followers, who all had been stirred up by the words of Surpanakha. And fourteen thousand Rikshasas were slain in that battle. And learning of the destruction of his relatives, Ravana wrought into frenzy by anger, sought the aid of a Rakshasa named Maricha. And although strongly dissuaded by Maricha, saying "Thou ought not to enter into hostilities with that powerful one. Do thou, therefore, O Rayana, excuse me!" Yet, disregarding those words of his, Ravana, urged on by Fate, went into that asylum in company with Maricha. And that one (Maricha) commanding illusions, having drawn far the king's sons (Rama and Lakshmana) he (Ravana) carried away Rama's wife, slaying the vulture Jatayu. And beholding the vulture slain and learning of the carrying off of Mithila's daughter, the descendant of Raghu, deprived of sense, bewailed in grief. And having with unassuaged sorrow burnt the vulture Jatayu, as he was searching for Sita in that wood, he fell in with a Rakshasa, Kavandha by name, of a dreadful and deformed shape. Having slain him, the mightyarmed one burnt his body, -and thereupon he went to heaven. And the Rakshasa addressed Rama, saying, "Do thou, O descendant of Raghu, repair unto the female ascetic, Savari, conversant with all systems of morality." Reparing to Savari, that destroyer of foes, gifted with exceeding energy, Rama, the son of Dacaratha, highly honoured by Savari, met with Hanuman* on the banks of the Pampa. [* Hanuman is a Hindu god and devoted vanara companion of the god Rama.] Then, agreeably to Hanuman's advice, the exceedingly powerful Rama saw Sugriva and detailed unto him all, specially touching Sita. Then the monkey Sugriva, having heard all from Rama, was well pleased with Rama and in the presence of fire, made friends with him. Then the king of monkeys, out of friendship, mournfully related unto him all about his hostilities with Vali And then Rama vowed that he would slav Vali. Thereupon the monkey described unto Raghava the prowess of Vali, and he feared lest Rama should not prove a match for Vali. And with the view of convincing Raghava (as to Vali's might), Sugriva showed unto him the huge corpse of Dundabhi, resembling a large hill. And looking at the skeleton, Rama endued with exceeding prowess, smiling the while, with his toe cast it off at the distance of full ninety miles. And with a single mighty shaft he pierced seven palmyra palms, a hill, and the sixth nether world, carrying conviction into Sugriva. Thus convinced, the mighty monkey well pleased went with Rama towards the cave called Kishkinda. And having arrived there, that best of monkeys Sugriva of a tawney and golden hue, set up loud roars. And at those mighty sounds, out came the lord of monkeys and having obtained Tara's consent, came before Sugriva for battle. Then Raghava killed Vali on the spot with a single shaft. And, in compliance with Sugriva's request, having slain Vali in battle, Raghava conferred the kingdon on Sugriva. Then that best of monkeys having summoned all the various monkeys, sent them in various directions it search of Janaka's daughter. Then at the suggestion of the vulture Sampati, the mighty Hanuman crossed the salt sea extending for a hundred yojanas. And arriving at the city of Lanka, ruled by Ravana, he found Sita in the midst of an Asoka wood, absorbed in thought. And then having shown her the sign, he related unto her all about the friendship between Rama and Sugriva, and having cheered Videha's daughter, he smashed the gate of the palace. Then having slain five generals, and seven counsellors sons, and grinded the heroic Aksha, he was bound fast (by the arms of Indrajit). Then knowing that in virtue of the grandsire's boon, he was free, he forgave those Rakshasas that were leading him (to Ravana). Then having burnt down the city of Lanka, with the exception of the place occupied by Mithila's daughter, the mighty one returned, with the intention of delivering the glad tidings unto Rama. And that one of immeasurable soul having come before the high souled Rama, and circled him, addressed him, saying,—"I have truly seen Sita." Then accompanied by Sugriva, Rama repaired to the shore of the mighty ocean, and with shafts resembling the sun, vexed the deep. Then that lord of rivers—the Ocean—showed himself And agreeably to the advice of the Ocean Nala constructed a bridge (over the water). By that bridge Rama went to the city of Lanka, - and slew Ravana in battle. And having recovered Sita, Rama experienced high shame (in consequence of Sita's having lived so long in Ravana's place),

Incapable of hearing it, the chaste Sita entered flaming fire. Thereupon assured by Agni as to the sinlessness of Sita, Rama became exceedingly pleased, and was honoured by all the deities. And at the great act of Rama's, the three worlds with all that was mobile and immobile in them, as well as the sages and gods, were well pleased with the mighty-souled Raghava. Then installing that foremost of Rakshasas, Bibhisana, on the throne of Lanka, Rama was perfectly easy, and rejoiced exceedingly. Then Rama, obtaining a boon from the celestials. revived the monkeys fallen in battle, and surrounded by friends, set out for Ayodhya on the car Pushpaka. And repairing to Bharadwaja's hermitage, Rama, having truth for his prowess, despatched Hanuman to Bharata. Then talking over past affairs, accompanied with Sugriva, Rama, mounted on the Pushpaka, departed for Nandigrama, Having arrived at Nandigrama, the sinless Rama sheared himself of his matted locks along with his brothers, and, laving regained Sita, got back his kingdom. And Dacaratha's son, the auspicious Rama, lord of Ayodha, hath been ruling those happy subjects of his, even like a father. (During his reign) his subjects will enjoy happiness, and contentment, and become hale, and grow in righteousness, and be devoid of mental disquietude and disease, and free from the fear of famine. And no person is to witness his son's death, and women will be ever chaste, and never bear widowhood. And no fear of conflagration (will exercise people), nor creatures be drowned in water. And no danger will come from the wind, -nor any suffer from fever. And no fear will come from hunger, Or from thieves. And cities and provinces will be filled with corn and wealth. And all will live happily as at the Golden age, And having performed with countless gold an hundred horse sacrifices, and bestowed with due rites ayutas and kotis of kine on learned persons, and countless wealth on famous Brahmanas. Raghava will establish an hundred royal families, and will employ each of the four castes in its own duties. And having reigned for ten thousand and as many hundred years, Rama will depart for the regions of Braha. He that readeth this sacred, sin-destroying, merit-bestowing history of Rama like unto the Veda itself, becometh cleansed from all sin. And the man that readeth this Ramayana conferring length of days, after death, is honoured in heaven, along with his sons, and grandsons, and relations. If a Brahmana readeth it, he attaineth excellence in speech; if a Kshatriya, he acquireth lordship over landed possessions; if a Vaisya, abundance of wealth in trade; and if a Sudra, greatness."

SECTION 2.

Hearing those words of Narada, that one of virtuous soul, skilled in speech, together with his disciples, worships that mighty sage. And having received due honours, the celestial asking for and receiving permission (to depart), went to the etherial regions. And when Narada had left for the celestial regions, that holy person went to the banks of the Tamasa hard by the Jahnavi. And having arrived at the banks of that river, the pious one, observing a holy spot devoid of mud, spoke into his disciple standing by, saving,—"O Bharadwiya, behold this holy spot devoid of mud. And it is beautiful, and contains pleasant waters, even like the minds of good men. Do thou, child, put down thy pitcher, and give me my bark. I will bathe even in this Tamasa, the best of holy spots." accosted by the high-souled Valmiki, Bharadwaja ever intent upon serving his spiritual guide, presented the sage his bark. And that one of subdued senses, having received his bark from his disciple, began to range around, surveying that extensive forest. In the vicinity of the wood, that worshipful one espied a pair of Kraunchas, emitting melodious notes, and ranging around in perfect peace of mind. At this juncture, a wickedminded fowler, singling out the male without any cause of hostility, slew him in the very presence of the holy man. And observing him struggling on the earth, bathed in blood his help-mate began to bewail in piteous accents, at the prospect of her separation from her copper-crested oviparous husband, engaged in sport with extended plumage. Finding the oviparous one thus brought down by the fowler, the piety of that pious and righteous-souled Rishi was excited exceedingly. Then considering it to be an unrighteous deed, with a heart moved with pity, that twice-born one, beholding the weeping Kraunchi, spoke these words,—"O fowler, since thou hast slain one of a pair of Kraunchas, thou shalt never attain prosperity!" Having uttered this, he thought within himself, What is this that I have said, afflicted with grief for the bird?" Revolving thus in his mind, that highly-wise one and best of sages addressed his disciple, saying,—"This speech that I have uttered is of equal feet and accents; and is capable of being chaunted according to measure to stringed accompaniment. Let it therefore go forth as a sloka as it has come out of my sorrow!" When the sage had spoken thus, his disciple, well pleased, assented to his excellent speech; and thereat that pious person was gratified. Then having duly performed his ablutions at that holy spot, the reverend sage retraced his steps, pondering over the incidents touching the sloka. And his disciple also, accomplished in learning, and of I meek demeanour, followed Valmiki, carrying on his back a pitcher filled with water.

Having entered the hermitage along with his disciple, that one knowing duty, while apparently engaged in diverse kinds of talk, revolved in his mind the circumstances connected with the verses. And it came to pass that desirous of seeing the best of sages, there arrived that lord and creator of all, the effulgent Brahma, furnished with four countenances. Beholding him, Valmiki rose up suddenly and, wondering greatly, humbly and silently stood before him with folded hands. And duly bending low in reverence Valmiki offered that deity water to wash his feet, and other things for reception. And having sat down on a highly-honoured seat, that worshipful one enquired after the welfare of that sage Valmiki knowing no deterioration; and then asked him to be seated. And having been seated in the presence of the Grandsire of all, Valmiki, his mind running upon the self-same subject, became plunged in thought. "What a sin hath been committed by that wicked-minded one, incited by hostile feeling, when he without cause slew that sweetly-singing Krauncha!" And thereupon, again lamenting that female Krauncha, he, in grief of heart, mentally recited those verses. Then smiling, Brahmft spoke unto that excellent sage,-"Those verses of thine which thou hast composed shall attain celebrity: no doubt need be entertained on this head. It is because I had intended so, that those verses had come out of thy lips. Do thou now, O best of saints, compose the entire history of Rama. Do thou relate unto the world the history of the righteous-souled and intelligent Rama crowned with qualities. And do thou, and thou hast heard it from Narada. relate all that is known, and all that is unknown to thee, O wise one, concerning Rama, and Lakshmana, and Videha's daughter, and all the Rakshasas. And even what is not known to Narada, shall be unfolded unto thee. And no words of thine in this poem shall contain an untruth. Do thou, therefore, compose into verses this delightful story of Rama. And as long as the mountains and the seas exist on earth, thy history of Ramayana will spread among men. And as long as this story of Ramayana shall retain currency, thou shalt reside both in this world and in mine." Having said this, the worshipful Brahma disappeared there. And thereat the sage and his disciples marvelled greatly. And his disciples sang those verses again and again; and, momentarily experiencing pleasure, said unto him with exceeding wonder,—"Those verses, composed of equal accents, and furnished with four parts, have been sung by the mighty saint, have, in virtue of frequent repetition, been associated with a world of pathos, and have attained the eminence of a sloka. And now it is the intention of that illustrious and self centered sage to compose the entire Ramavana in this metre.'

The great ascetic Valmiki of gracious appearance and unparalleled renown has composed hundreds of verses in melodious measure, couching the significance of the history of Rama's line. Listen to the annals of the foremost of Raghu's race, and the destruction of the Ten-headed one composed by the ascetic, with Samasas, Sandhis, Prakritas, and Pratayas; and lucid with sweet and equally-accented words.

SECTION 3.

Having heard the entire history of the intelligent Rama, capable of conferring religious merit and the two other cognate objects, as well as emancipation, Valmiki again sought to get insight into it. And, seating himself facing the east on a cushion of kusa grass, and sipping water according to the ordinance, he addressed himself to the contemplation of the subject through yoga. And by virtue of his yoga powers, he clearly observed before him Rama, and Lakshmana, and Sita, and Dacaratha together with his wives in his kingdom, laughing, and talking, and acting, and bearing themselves as in real life. And he saw into all that was endured by Rama firm in promise, with his wife for the third. And like an emblic myrobalan on his palm, that righteous-souled one, by virtue of his yoga, perceived all that had happened as well as all that would happen in future. And having truly seen everything by virtue of his contemplation, that magnanimous one set about recording the charming Rama's history. And agreeably to what had been related by the mighty-souled Narada, that worshipful saint composed the history of Ragu's line, conferring profit and pleasure, and impregnated with qualities fraught with them, and, like unto the ocean, abounding in riches, and captivating ear and mind. And Rama's birth, and mighty prowess, and kindness to all, and popularity, and forbearance, and good-ness, and truthfulness, and the wonderful converse he had with Viswamitra: and the nuptials of Janaki; and the snapping of the bow; and the hostilities of Rama with Rama (Parasurama); and the noble qualities of Dacaratha's son; and Rama's installation; and the enmity of Kaikeyi; and the obstacle in the way of the installation; and the exile of Rama; and the king's grief, lamentations, and departure for the other regions; and the grief of the subjects, and their dismissal by Rama to Avodhya: and the tidings of the lord of Nishadas; and the charioteer's return; and the crossing of the Ganges; and Rama's interview with Bharadwaja; and his arrival at Chitrakuta in consonance with Bharadwaja's injunction; and Rama's building a mansion there and sojourn; and Bharata's arrival, and his

propitiation of Rama; and Rama's offering oblations to the manes of his father; and the installation of the sandals; and Bharata's dwelling at Nandigrama; Rama's removal to Dandaka and destruction of Viradha; Rama's interview with Sarabhanga and meeting with Sutikshna; and Sita's companionship with Anusuya, and the latter's painting the former; and Rama's interview with Agastya, and his obtaining the bow from him; and the story of Surpanakha and her disfigurement; and the slaughter of Khara Tricira; and the exertions of Ravana; the destruction of Maricha, and the carrying away of Vaidehi; Raghava's lamentations, and the death of the king of vultures; Rama's encounter with Kavandha, (a headless demon) and his view of Pampa; Rama's interview with Savari, and his subsistence there on fruits and roots: Rama's lamentations, at Pampa, and meeting with Hanuman; the former's sojourn to the Rishyamukha, and interview with Sugriva; Rama's raising the confidence of Sugriva, and his friendship with the latter; and the encounter between Vali and Sugriva; the destruction of Vali, the establishment of Sugriva on the throne; and Tara's lamentation; the understanding between Rama and Sugriva as to the time for commencing the march; Rama's stay during the rainy season; and the ire of the lion of Raghu's race; the levying of forces; and the despatch of envoys in different directions; and the assignment by Sugriva of different quarters to the monkeys; the making over of his ring by Rama to Hanuman; Jambubana's discovery of the cave; the fasting of the monkeys on the shore of the ocean: Hanuman's interview with Sampati: Hanuman's ascension of the mountain, and his bounding over the main; and his sight of the Mainaka at the injunction of Ocean; the ring of Rakshasis; Hanuman's meeting with the Rakshasa Chyagraha; Hanuman's destruction of Sinhikaya; and Hanuman's sight of Lanka, and his entrance by night into Lanka; his ascertaining of conduct in times of helplessness; his journey to the tavern; and his sight of the inner apartments; and his sight of Ravana and of his car Pushpaka; his walk to the Asoka wood, and sight there of Sita; his presentation of the ring to Sita and converse with her; and the roaring of the Rakshasis; and dreaming of the dream by Trijata; Sita's handing a gem to Hanuman; and the breaking down of trees; and the flight of the Rakshasis, and slaughter of the slaves; and the wind-god's Son being taken captive; and his terrible roars while burning down Lanka; and his bounding back over the ocean; and the forcible possession of honey; and Hanuman's consoling Raghava, and handing him the gem; Rama's interview with Ocean; and Nala's constructing the bridge, the army's crossing of the ocean; and the nightly seige of Lanka; and Rama's interview with Bibhishana; the communication as to the means of destruction; and the destruction of Kumbhakarna and Meghananda; and the destruction of Ravana, and the recovery of Sita in enemy's city; and the sprinkling of Bibhishana, and the sight of Pushpaka; Rama's return towards Ayodhya, and meeting with Bharadwaja; despatch of Hanuman; and Rama's meeting with Bharata; and the installation of Rama; and the dismissal of all the forces; and Rama's pleasing his subjects, and renunciation of Sita, -all else besides concerning Rama on earth, that hath not yet taken place,-have been dealt with by the worshipful sage in the last book.

SECTION 4

When Rama had obtained his kingdom, that worshipful sage Valmiki, composed the entire history [of that hero] in excellent metre and fraught with high meaning, saint recited twenty-four thousand slokas; and it consists of five hundred sections, and is divided into six Kandas with the Uttara. And having composed it, including as well fut incidents to happen afterwards, that lord reflected as to who should publish the same before assemblies. And as that great sage of purified soul was thus pondering, in came Kusi and Lava, in the guise of the sons of ascetics, and touched his feet. And he found those illustrious princes, the brothers Kusi and Lava, knowing morality, and living in a hermitage, and endowed with sweet voices,-apt at taking in the meaning of poetry. And finding them of a retentive endowment, and initiated into Vedic studies, that lord taught them how to interpret the Vedas, and that vow-observing one taught them the great Ramayana in full, treating of Sita's life, and the destruction of Paulastya. And those sweet voiced brothers, resembling Gandharbas in grace, accomplished in music and dancing, and cognisant of Sthana and Murchhana, began to chant this poem delightful in recitation and in singing, set in three measures, and seven notes, and sung according to time to the accompaniment of stringed instruments, and fraught with the sentiments of love, pathos, risibility, the irascible, the terrible, and the heroic. And knowing the characteristics that go to make up the Drama, and gifted with mellifluous voices, those blameless princes, coming from Rama's body, and resembling him, even as the reflection of the solar or the lunar disc resembles that disc, got by heart that excellent and moral story in its entirety; and those princes versed in the Fine arts, with a concentrated mind chanted it as they had learnt it, in the assemblies of ascetics and Brahmanas and good men.

Once upon a time, those high souled and pious ones, furnished with every auspicious mark, chanted this poem in an assembly of ascetics of purified souls. Having heard this music, all the ascetics were seized with surprise, and with eyes flooded with tears, exclaimed, "Well done! Well done!" And well pleased, those saints cherishing Duty, praised the praiseworthy Kusa and Lava as they sang, saying-"Ah! what charming music! What sweetness of the verses! All this happened long ago, yet it seems as if we saw it before us." And unified with the theme, both of them singing together sweetly, and at a high pitch, by means of saraja and the other notes, they entranced the audience. And the two thus went on sweetly singing at a high pitch, praised by those mighty sages priding in their asceticism. Some one in the assembly pleased with them presented them with a water-pitcher; and some one of high fame, being delighted, made them a present of a bark garment; and some one gave them a dark deer skin;-and some holy thread,—and some, a kamandalu and some great saint conferred on them a maunja made girdle; and some person granted them a vrishi, and some, a kaupina. And then some ascetic, well-pleased, gave them an axe; and some, a red cloth; and some, a thread for tying up their matted locks; and some gladly gave a twine for binding faggots with, - and some, ascetic presented them with a sacrificial pot; and some, a quantity of fire-wood; and some, a seat made of adumvari7. And some exclaimed, "Swasti;" and some joyfully cried, 'May ye be long-lived!" And all those ascetics of truthful speech conferred on them blessings. And the sages said,-Wonderful is the story! And, O ve accomplished in all kinds of music! beautifully have ye chanted and finished this poem, charming ear and heart, and conferring long life and prosperity,-which will afford themes to poets." And admired everywhere, on one occasion those singers were seen by Bharata's elder brother, in a street of Ayodhya, sparsely scattered with stalls. And having had the brothers Kusa and Lava brought under his roof, that destroyer of enemies, Rama, accorded those ones worthy of honour, a respectful reception. And having seated himself on a throne of excellent gold, in the midst of his brothers and counsellors, that lord, Rama, beholding both the brothers, handsome and of modest demeanour, spoke unto Lakshmana, Bharata and Satrughna, saving.—"Do ve listen to the story, fraught with excellent sense and composed in excellent measure, as sung by these ones endowed with the divine afflatus." And then he ordered the singers to begin. Thereupon causing the down of the audience to stand on end, and ravishing their minds and hearts, they began to sing melodiously and distinctly and in as high a pitch as they could command, and in strains rivalling the notes of a Vina. And that song of theirs enchanted the ear of that assembly. And Rama said, - "Although these Kusa and Lava, of rigid penances, look like ascetics, yet they bear on their persons the signs of royalty. And, besides, the story conduces to my fame. Do ye, therefore, listen to that history fraught with great worth!" And then commanded by Rama, they began to chaunt according to the Marga mode, and Rama seated in the midst of his court, was drawn to the music, anxious for the perpetuation of his history.

SECTION 5.

This great story of Ramayana treats of those victorious kings commencing with Prajapati, and having Ikshwaku for their founder, who ruled the entire earth as no other kings had done so before them, and in whose line Sagara was born—Sagara who dug the ocean, and whom, while out in progress, his sixty-thousand sons followed. We shall now chaunt the entire history of that dynasty from the beginning. Do ye, with minds free from ill will, listen to that story conferring merit, profit and pleasure.

There is on the banks of the Saravu a great and flourishing country called Kosala abounding in corn and wealth, in which the inhabitants passed their days pleasantly. And the capital of that country was Ayodhya famed among men which was founded by Manu himself-that foremost of men. And that beautiful and mighty city was twelve yojanasin length and ten in breadth; and was intersected outside with spacious roads laid out orderly. And scattered with blown blossoms. and regularly sprinkled with water, the well- arranged broad high-ways looked beautiful. And that one bringing prosperity unto mighty kingdoms, King Dacaratha, lived in that city, like unto the lord of the deities inhabiting the celestial regions. And the city was furnished with doors and gates, and wellarranged rows of shops. And it contained all kinds of instruments and arms, and was inhabited by all classes of artizans. And that graceful and matchlessly brilliant city abounded in eulogists and genealogists. And it was crowned with stately edifices with flags, and guarded by hundreds of Sataghnis. And the mighty city contained theatres for females, and gardens, and mango-groves; and was enclosed by a wall. And encircled by a deep moat, the city was accessible neither to friend nor foe. And it abounded with elephants and horses, and kine and camels and asses. And it was thronged with neighbouring kings come to pay tribute, and inhabited by merchants from various countries, and adorned with mountain-like palaces glittering with gems, and filled with

sporting-places for females, and like unto Indra's Amaravati. And the city was wonderful to behold, gleaming with goldburnished ornaments, and inhabited by troops of courtezans, and abounding in all kinds of gems, and graced with royal places. And it abounded in paddy and rice, and its water was sweet as the juice of the sugar-cane. And it resounded with the sounds of Dundubhis and Mridangas and Vinas and Panavas. And that foremost spot of all the earth was like unto an aerial car obtained in heaven by the Siddhas, through force of ascetic austerities, and thronged with the best specimens of humanity. And that city was filled by king Dacaratha with thousands of such Maharathas light-handed and accomplished in fight, as could by force of arms or sharpened shafts slaughter infuriated lions and tigers and boars roaming in the forest; yet as would not pierce with arrows persons lorn or abandoned or hiding or fugitive. And it abounded mostly in excellent Brahmanas, lighting the sacrificial fire, and crowned with qualities, and versed in the Vedas and the Vedangas, and giving away thousands, and ever abiding by truth, and highsouled, and resembling mighty ascetic.

SECTION 6.

And in that city of Ayodhya resided king Dacaratha versed in the Vedas, commanding all resources, far-sighted, of mighty prowess, dear to the inhabitants both rural and urban, an Athiratha in the Ikshwaku line, performing sacrifices, engaged in the performance of duties, self-controled like unto a Maharshi, a royal saint famed in the three worlds, possessed of strength, the destroyer of foes, having friends, of subdued senses, comparable unto Sakra and Vaisravana by virtue of accumulated riches and other possessions, and protecting people even as the highly energetic Manu protected them. And as Indra rules Amaravati, that one firm in promise, and following duty, profit, and pleasure, ruled that best of cities. And in that excellent city, the men were happy and righteous-souled, and widely-read, and each contented with his possessions, and devoid of covetuousness, and speaking the truth. And in that prime of cities, there was none who had not at his command a plenteous supply of the good things, and there was no householder who was not well off in horses and kine, and corn and wealth. And one could see nowhere in Avodhya persons given up to lust, or unsightly, or crookedminded, or unlettered, or atheistical. And all the men and all the women were of excellent character, and subdued senses and a happy frame of mind, and both in respect of occupation and conduct spotless like unto Maharshis. And all wore earrings and tiaras and garlands, and abundantly enjoyed the good things of life. And all were clean, daubing their limbs, and perfuming their persons, and feeding on pure food, and giving away, and wearing Angadasand Nishkas and handornaments, and repressing passions And there were not in Ayodhya persons not lighting the sacrificial fire, or not performing sacrifices, or mean-minded, or thieving, or engaged in improper occupations, or of impure descent. And the Brahmanas of subdued senses were always engaged in the performance of their own duties, giving away in charity, and studying, and receiving gifts with discrimination. And none of them was atheistical or untruthful or slenderly-read or detracting or incompetent or illiterate. And there was no Brahmana who was not versed in the Vedas and Vedangas, or not observing vows, or not giving away by thousands, or poor-spirited, or of insane mind, or afflicted. And no man and no woman was seen devoid of grace or beauty, or lacking in reverence for their monarch. And the four orders with Brahmanas at their head contained persons serving gods and guests, and endowed with gratitude, and munificent, and heroic, and possessing prowess. And the men were long-lived; and ever abode by duty and truth; and lived in that best of cities, always surrounded by sons and grandsons and wives. The Kshatriyas were obedient unto the Brahmanas, and the Vaicyas followed the Kshatriyas, and the Sudras, occupied with their proper vocations, ministered unto the three other orders. And that city was ably governed by that lord of Ikshwaku's line, even as that foremost of men, the intelligent Manu, had governed it before him. And as a mountain-cavern abounds with lions, it was filled with warriors resembling flaming fire, of straight ways, unforbearing, and of accomplished learning. And the city abounded with excellent horses sprung in Kamvoja, and Vahlika, and Vanayu, and the banks of the Sindhu, and like unto that best of horse, Hari's charge; and with fierce elephants sprung on the Vindha mountain, and the Himavat, filled with juice, and of exceeding strength, and resembling hills; and with Bhadra, Mandra, and Mriga elephants; and those sprung from the mixture of the three, and from the mixture of Bhadra and Mandra, and from Bhadra and Mriga, and from Mriga and Mandra,-superior like unto Airavata, and coming from Mahapadma, Anjana, and Vamana breeds: fierce, and looking like hills. And that city was over two yojanas; and truly it was called Ayodhya. And repressing enemies, that city was governed by the great and the exceedingly powerful king Dacaratha, even as the Moon sways the stars. And that lord of earth resembling Sakra governed that city of Ayodhya bearing a true name, furnished with strong gates and bolts,

and auspicious, and graced with excellent edifices, and teeming with thousands.

That high-souled one of Ikswaku's line had competent counsellors, capable of administering business, of diving into the motives of others, and ever intent upon the good of the monarch. And that heroic king had eight famous counsellors, pure and devoted to the royal service.—viz., Dhrishti, and Vijaya, and Surashtra, and Rashtravardhana, and Akopa, and Dharmapala, and Sumantra the eighth, conversant with profit. And he had two family priests after his heart; viz, those foremost of saints, Vasistha and Vamadeva. And he had other counsellors besides; viz., Suyajna, and Javali, and Kacyapa, and Gautama, and the long-lived Markandeya, and the regenerate Katyayana. Ever associated in counsel with these Brahmarshis, his priests and counsellors serving the dynasty from father to son, learned yet modest, and bashful, and conversant with policy, and of subdued-senses, and auspicious, and high-souled, and accomplished in the art of arms, and of high renown, cautious, and acting according to their word, and possessing energy, forgiveness and fame, and ever preluding their speech with a smile, and never committing themselves a lie either from anger or interest or desire, and ever employing spies noting what was doing or done in the midst of their own or a hostile party. And they were adepts in intercourse with people, and well-tried in friendship by the monarch. And they were ever busy in replenishing the exchequer and in levying troops. And they did not cherish ill will even towards enemies, when innocent. And they were heroic, and ever high-spirited, following policy, and protecting those citizens that were pure, and not bearing ill will towards Brahmanas and Kshatriyas, and filling the treasury, by inflicting punishments according to the offences of the persons guilty. And during the time when those pure ones of one mind presided over the justice of the kingdom, there was neither in the city nor the provinces any that was a liar, or wicked, or going after others' wives. And peace reigned all around the city and the provinces. And the ministers wore excellent raiment, and ornaments, and were engaged in observing pure vows, and ever kept their eye of policy open, in the interests of the monarch. And the king considered them as crowned with virtues; and they were famed on account of their prowess, concluding unerringly in consequence of their intelligence of other countries. And in all climes and times they could manifest their noble qualities; and they were cognisant of war and peace, and possessed of goodness, passion and ignorance. And they could keep their counsel, and judge of things finely, and were well-versed in the art of policy, and ever fair-spoken. Surrounded by such counsellors endowed with various qualities, the faultless king Dacaratha ruled the earth, gathering intelligence by means of spies, and righteously protecting the subjects, and preserving the people, and not sacrificing his duties,-famed over the three worlds. And munificent, and firm in promise in battle. that best of men ruled there this earth. Nor did he ever meet with a foe that was either his equal or superior. And possessed of friends, and having obedient commanders, and extricating his thorns by his might, that king ruled the earth, even as the lord of celestials ruleth heaven. And surrounded by those counsellors studious of his welfare, and bearing affection towards him, and clever, and competent, that king, by virtue of his prowess in subduing others, resembled the Sun surrounded by his rays.

SECTION 8

And although engaged in austerities with the view of having sons born to him, the powerful and high-souled king, had no son capable of perpetuating his line. And mentally turning the matter over, the high-souled one thought, "Why do I not celebrate a horse-sacrifice with the intention obtaining a son?" And that highly-energetic, pious and intelligent monarch, in consultation with all his counsellors of sedate minds, having made up his mind to celebrate the sacrifice, said unto that best of counsellors, Sumantra.—"Do thou speedily summon my spiritual guides, along with the family priests." Thereupon, going out speedily, Sumantra of swift movements called together all the spiritual guides, as well as others versed in the Vedic ritual; viz., Suyajna, and Vamadeva, and Javali, and Kacyapa, and Vasistha, and other principal twice-born ones. And having paid homage unto them, the virtuous king Dacaratha then spoke unto them these sweet words, consistent with duty and interest, —"Ever pining on account of a son, I know no happiness, - therefore it is my intention that I should celebrate a horse sacrifice. I intend to celebrate it according to the ordinance. Do ye, therefore, consider how I may attain my object." Thereat, the Brahmanas with Vasistha at their head, exclaiming ing "Well! Well!" approved the words that had fallen from the lips of the monarch. And exceedingly pleased, they spoke unto Dacaratha saying,-"Do thou order the necessary articles, loose the horse, and prepare the sacrificial ground on the north bank of the Sarayu. And, O king, since with the intention of obtaining offspring thou purposest so piously,

thou wilt surely obtain sons after thy heart." And hearing these words of the regenerate ones, the king was highly gratified. And with eyes expanded in delight, he spoke unto his ministers,-"Do ye procure the necessary sacrificial articles, according to the injunction of my spiritual preceptors; and loose a horse protected by a competent person, and followed by one of the chief family priests; and do ye prepare the sacrifical ground on the north bank of the Saravu: and do ve in due order and according to the ordinance perform the rites required to secure an uninterrupted completion to the ceremony. This ceremony is incapable of being celebrated by every king. Particular care should be taken that the sacrifice is not defective on account of any serious omission; inasmuch as with learned Brahma-Rakshasas ever on the look-out to espy shortcomings in the ceremony, the performer thereof speedily perishes, should anything take place not consonant to the Ordinance. And do ye possessed of ability so arrange, that this sacrifice may be completed in harmony with the ritual." Thus addressed with due respect, the counsellors listened to the words of the monarch, and said, "So be it."

Then taking the permission of that best of kings, those regenerate ones knowing duty, having blessed the monarch, returned to their respective quarters. And dismissing those Brahmanas, the king spoke unto his minister, saying, ye, even as the family priests have ordered, arrange for the sacrifice!" Having said this, that mighty-minded and best of men dismissed his ministers, and himself entered into the inner apartment. And coming there, that lord of men said unto his favourite wives,-"Do ye know it for certain that in order to obtain a son I am going to petform a sacrifice." And hearing those sweet words, the countenances of those shining dames looked resplendent, like lotuses after the cold season is over.

SECTION 9.

Hearing all about it, the king's charioteer addressed the monarch in private, saying,—"Do thou listen to what is related in ancient history, and to what I have heard myself! This horse-sacrifice is enjoined by the family priests; and I have myself heard the following story celebrated in ancient chronicle. And what the worshipful Sanat Kumara had said formerly in the presence of the saints, applies. O king, the case of thy having a son. "Kacyapa hath a son known by the name of Bibhandaka. He will get a son called Rhishyasringa. And he will grow up and pass his days in the woods. And that foremost of Brahmanas will not know aught else save following his father. And, O king, it is rumoured abroad, and also always said by the Vipras, that that high-souled one will practise the two modes of Brahmacharya life. And he will spend some time in serving the sacrificial fire and his famous sire. At this time, the powerful Romapada of exceeding strength will be famed as king of the Angas. And in consequence of some default on bif part, there will occur in his kingdom a terrible and dreadful drouth, capable of striking terror into all. And filled with grief on account of this drouth. the king will call about him Veda-accomplished Brahmanas, and speak unto them, saying,—"Ye are conversant with the Vedic ritual and the social duties. Do ye, therefore, tell me how to expiate for this evil." And thus accosted by the king, those excellent Brahmanas versed in the Vedas, will say unto that ruler of earth,-"Do thou, O monarch, by all means, bring Bibhandaka's son. And having, O king, brought that Brahmana versed in the Vedas, Bibhandaka's son Rhishyasringa, and duly honoured him, do thou, O monarch with a concentrated mind, bestow upon him thy daughter Santa, according to the ordinance." And hearing those words of theirs, the king will begin to think as to how he can bring over that one endowed with energy. Then in consultation with his counsellors, the prudent king having come to a conclusion, will, honouring them duly, desire his priest and his courtiers to set out in quest of Rhishyasriuga. Thereupon hearing the king's words, with aggrieved hearts, and with heads hanging down, they will beseech the monarch, saying,—"Afraid of the saint, Bibhandaka, we shall not be able to repair thither." Anon hitting upon the appropriate means, they say,—'We will search for the Vipra, and no blame shall attach unto us.'-

Thus by help of courtezans, the saint's son was brought by the lord of the Angas. And then the god (Indra) poured down showers; and the king conferred on him Santa. And now thy son-in-law Rhishyasringa will help thee in obtaining a son. Now I have related unto thee what Sanat Kumara had communicated." Thereupon king Dacaratha, well pleased, spoke unto Sumantra,-"Do thou now tell me by what means Rhishyasringa was brought over (by the lord of the Angas)."

SECTION 10

Thus asked by the king, Sumantra said these words,- "I will relate unto thee how the counsellors brought Rhishyasringa. Do thou listen with thy counsellors! The priest together with the counsellors spoke unto Romapada, saying,- 'The means that we have hit upon can never fail of effect.' Rhishyasringa hath been brought up in woods; and is engaged in austerities and the study of the Vedas; and is

ignorant of the pleasure that ensueth from contact with women. By help of things agreeably ministering unto the senses, and ravishing the soul, we shall bring him to the city. Do thou, therefore, arrange for them! Let courtezans of comely presence, clad in ornaments, repair thither. And if well treated, they will by various means bring him hither.' Hearing this, the king said unto the priest,—'So be it!' and laid the charge upon him,—who, however, made it over to the courtiers. And the latter acted accordingly.

And in accordance with the instructions, the courtesans entered that great forest; and remaining at some distance from the hermitage, endeavoured to meet with the sober son of the saint ever dwelling in the woods. And satisfied with serving his sire, he never strayed from the hermitage; and consequently had never seen men and women, or any other creatures living in cities and towns. And it came to pass that on one occasion, walking about at will, Bibhandaka's son came to that spot and beheld the courtezans. And excellently attired, and singing in sweet voices, the women said unto the saint's son,-'Who art thou? And what dost thou, O Brahmana? We wish to learn all this. And why is it that thou rangest alone this far-off forest? Beholding these beautiful damsels never seen before, he from delight hastened to inform them of his lineage, 'My father is Bibhandaka; and I am his son, having sprung from his loins. My name is Rhishyasringa; and my occupation is known the world over. And this auspicious hermitage hard by belongs to us; and there I shall receive you all in due form.' Hearing the words of the saint's son, they all consented, and the women went to behold that asylum. And when they had come there, the saint's son received them hospitably, saying,—'Here is Arghya,' 'Here is water for washing the feet,' 'Here are fruits and roots.' And thereupon they readily received his hospitality. And actuated by the fear of the saint, Bibhandaka, they bent their minds upon departing soon. And they said,-'Do thou also, O twice-born one, receive from us these excellent fruits! And, good betide thee, O Vipra, do not tarry!' And thereupon, embracing him joyfully, they gave unto him sweetmeats and various kinds of savoury viands. And tasting those things, that one of exceeding energy took them for fruits, never tasted before by the dwellers of the forest. Then, having accosted him. the women, feigning the observance of some vow, went away, inspired with the fear of his father. And when they had gone, that twice-born one, Kacyapa's son, became sad, and from grief of heart went this way and that. And the next day his mind momentarily running upon it, the graceful son of Bibhandaka, endowed with prowess, came to that spot where he had encountered the comely courtezans, adorned with ornaments. And as soon as they observed him coming, they came forward, and said,-Do thou, O Brahmana, come unto our hermitage! There are in that asylum diverse kinds of fruits and roots; and there thou wilt surely feed thy fill. Thereupon, hearing those words of theirs capable of influencing the heart, he became bent upon going,-and the women brought him away. And when that high-souled Vipra had been brought over, the good, Indra, suddenly poured forth plenteous showers, enlivening the spirits of men. And when the ascetic had arrived, with showers, the king approached him in humble guise, bending his head to the ground. And he offered him Arghya,in due form, and with a collected mind; and asked for his favour, so that wrath could not influence the Vipra. And taking him into the inner apartments, and in due form conferring upon him in sober mood his daughter Santa, the king became happy. Thus the highly powerful Rishyasringa together with his wife Santa, began to live there, respectfully ministered unto in regard to every desire.'

SECTION 11.

And he said again,-"O foremost of monarchs, do thou listen to me as I relate how that intelligent Sanat Kumara, best of deities, spoke. 'In the line of Ikshwaku will be born a righteous king, named Dacaratha, fair of form, and firm in promise. And that king will contract friendship with the ruler of the Angas. And the latter will have a highly pious daughter, Santa by name. And the (old) king of the Angas will have a son, named Romapada. And repairing unto him, the highly famous king Dacaratha will speak unto Romapada, righteous-souled one I am without issue. Let Santa's husband, desired by thee, take charge of this sacrifice of mine, to be celebrated with the object of my obtaining a son to perpetuate the race.—Hearing these words of the king, and having pondered well, he will make over unto him Rhishyasringa of subdued senses, together with Santa and his children. And taking that Vipra, that king, his mind free from anxiety, with a glad heart, will prepare for that sacrifice. And king Dacaratha, knowing duty and desirous of fame, with the intention of obtaining offspring and heaven, with joined hands, will appoint that best of Brahmanas, Rhishvasringa, to conduct the ceremony. And that bringer of good will attain his object at the hands of that foremost of Brahmanas; and four sons will be born to him of immeasurable prowess, bringing fame unto the family, and known by all.' Thus spoke formerly in the divine age, that worshipful and foremost of deities, Sanat Kumara. Therefore, do thou, O best of men,

repairing thither, accompanied with thy forces and equipage, thyself, O mighty king, bring Rhishyasringa over with due honours." And hearing Sumantra's words, Dacaratha was exceedingly delighted. After hearing these words, and permitted by Vasishtha, he, accompanied with the ladies, and his courtiers, set out for the place where that twice-born one was. And gradually passing by woods and fells, he arrived at the place where that foremost of ascetics was. And coming before that best of regenerate ones, he saw that sage's son near Romapada, like unto flaming fire. Then the king received him respectfully, and with a delighted mind, on account of the friendship he bore him. And he communicated unto the intelligent son of the saint, the fact of their intimacy, and then the latter paid homage unto Dacaratha. Having passed seven or eight days with Romapada, receiving high honours, that foremost of men, Dayaratha spoke unto Romapada, saying,—"Let thy daughter, O king, together with her husband, O lord of men, repair unto my city. I am going to be engaged in a mighty enterprise." Hearing this as to the journey of that intelligent one, the king said unto that Vipra,—"Do thou repair with thy wife!" Thereupon the saint's son, promising to go, said unto the king,—"So be it!" And then with the king's permission, he set out with his wife. And Dacaratha and the puissant Romapada clasping each other by the palm, and embracing each other in affection, attained excess of joy. Then Raghu's son, bidding farewell unto his friend, set out. And he despatched swift messengers to the citizens, saying,-"Let the entire city be embellished; let it be perfumed with dhupa, and watered and decked with pennons." And hearing of the king's approach, the citizens joyfully did every thing as they had been commanded. Then the monarch, with that foremost of Brahmanas before him, entered the decorated city, to the blares of conchs and drums. And behold irlg that Brahmana entering the city, duly honoured by the prime of men, subservient unto Indra, like unto Kacvapa's son entering the celestial regions, honoured of the thousand-eyed lord of the celestials, ail the citizens rejoiced exceedingly. Then taking him into the inner apartment, and paying him homage according to the ordinance, the king considered himself as having gained his object, in consequence of the presence of that Brahmana. And all the inmates of the inner apartment, seeing the large-eyed Santa thus arrived with her husband, experienced excess of joy. Then honoured by them and the king in especial, she happily spent there some time along with that twice-born one.

SECTION 12.

Then after a long while, when the charming spring had appeared on the earth, the king conceived the desire of celebrating the sacrifice. Then bowing down the head unto that Vipra effulgent like a celestial, he appointed him to undertake the ceremony, for the purpose of obtaining offspring to perpetuate his line. Then that Brahmana said unto that lord of the earth, the king,—"So be it! Do thou order the necessary provisions, loose the horse, and prepare a sacrificial ground on the north bank of the Sarayu." Then the king spoke unto Sumantra, saying,-"O Sumantra, do thou summon speedily Brahmanas versed in the Vedas and priests professing the Vedanta philosophy-Suyajna, and Vamadeva, and Javali, and Kacyapa, and the priest Vasistha, together with other excellent twice-born ones." Thereupon Sumantra endowed with activity, bestirring himself, summoned all those versed in the Vedas. Then, honouring them duly, the virtuous king Dacaratha spoke unto them these amiable words, consistent with duty and interest,-"Aggrieved on account of a son, I have no happiness on earth, and therefore, I have intended to celebrate a horse-sacrifice. And by the grass of the saint's son, I shall obtain my desire." Thereupon the Brahmanas with Vasishtha at their head honoured the words that fell from the king's lips, saying,—"Well." And the Brahmanas headed by Rhishyasringa addressed the king, saying,-"Do thou arrange for the provisions, loose the horse, and prepare the sacrificial ground on the north bank of the Sarayu! And since thou purposest so virtuously in obtaining offspring, thou shalt obtain four sons of immeasurable prowess." And hearing those words of the regenerate ones, the king was exceedingly delighted. All cheerfully he spoke these auspicious words to his courtier,-"In accordance with the directions of my spiritual guides, do ye speedily procure these provisions,-loose the horse well protected, and followed by a priest,-and prepare the sacrificial ground on the north bank of the Saravu. And do ve perform the ceremonies capable of securing the rites from disturbance. Surely every king is competent to perform this sacrifice. Yet care must be taken that no default occurs in it. For flaws in this foremost of sacrifices are watched by learned Brahma-Rakshasas. And should it come to be celebrated in violation of the ordinance, the performer thereof shall meet with instant destruction. And do ye so order that this sacrifice of mine may be completed according to the prescribed ritual. Thereupon honouring those words of the king, the ministers did as ordered. And having eulogized the king knowing duty, the twice-born ones, with the Monarch's leave, departed for their respective quarters. And when the Vipras had gone, the

mighty- minded lord of men dismissing his counsellors, entered the inner apartment.

SECTION 13.

And when after a full one year, spring had again appeared on the face of the earth, the puissant king, intent upon getting offspring through the horse-sacrifice, saught Vasishtha's side. And having saluted Vasishtha and duly paid him homage, he humbly spoke unto that best of twice-born ones, with the intention of having offspring. "Do thou, O Brahmana, undertake to perform this sacrifice of mine, according to the ordinance, O foremost of ascetics! And do thou order so that no impediment may happen to the sacrifice! Thou art my kind friend, and prime and mighty spiritual guide. Engaged in it, thou wilt have to bear the entire burden of the ceremony. Thereupon that best of Brahmanas said, - "So be it! I will do all that thou askest." He then said unto old Brahmanas wellup in sacrificial affairs, and experienced car-makers, and highly pious aged people, and servants, carrying on the ceremonial operations till the end, and artists, and carpenters, and diggers, and astrologers, and artizans, and dancers, and conductors of theatres, and pure and learned persons variously versed in knowledge,—"Do ye, in obedience to the royal mandate, engage in the sacrificial work! And fetch bricks by thousands! Do ye raise structures for the kings, commanding every convenience! And do ye rear goodly and comfortable buildings by hundreds for the Brahmanas, replenished with various meats and drinks. Ye should provide spacious apartments for the citizens and the dwellers of provinces,—and separate quarters for the princes, coming from foreign parts; and stables for horses, and dressingrooms,-and wide apartments for native and foreign warriors. And dwellings filled with diverse kinds of viands, and commanding everything desirable,-and mansions for the lower orders of the citizens, exceedingly beautiful to behold. And meats should be duly dispensed with respect, and not in the indifference of festive occasions, -so that all may regard themselves as honourably entertained. None should be disregarded out of lust or passion. Those persons, and artizans, that will labour eagerly in the sacrifice should by turns, be especially entertained; and servants, who, being entertained with gifts, do every thing completely, and omit nothing. And do ye, with hearts mollified by love, act so, that all our friends be well pleased with us."

Then they approached Vasishtha, saying, -"Everything hath been performed properly, without anything being left out. And what thou sayest shall be performed, and nothing omitted." Then summoning Sumantra, Vasishtha said these words,—"Do thou invite all those kings that are pious, and Brahmanas, and Kshatriyas and Sudras, by thousands. And do thou with due honours bring people from all countries. And, with proper honour thyself bring the righteous, truthful, and heroic Janaka, lord of Mithila. And it is because he is our old friend that I first mention him. Then do thou thyself bring the amiable and ever fair-spoken lord of Kasi, of execellent character, resembling a celestial. Then do thou bring hither along with his son, the highly-pious, old king of Kekaya, who is the father in-law of this best of monarchs! Then do thou bring with due honours the puissant king of Kocala, and that mighty archer, the illustrious Romapada, the friend of that lion of a king, and that foremost of men—the heroic, and highly generous lord of Magadha, versed in all branches of learning. And in accordance with the mandate of the king, do thou invite the foremost monarchs! And do thou summon the kings of the East, of the Sindhu and Sauvira countries, and of Saurashtra, and of the South! And do thou speedily bring those monarchs that are attached unto us, together with their friends and followers. Do thou in obedience to the mandate of the monarch, bring over these, despatching dignified emissaries!

Having heard those words of Vasishtha, Sumantra speedily ordered faithful persons anent the bringing over of the kings. And the virtuous Sumantra, in accordance with the injunction of the ascetic, himself speedily set out for the purpose of bringing the monarchs. And then the servants came and informed the intelligent Vasishtha as to the articles that had been got ready for the sacrifice. Then well-pleased that best of twice-born ones, the ascetic Vasishtha, said unto them,—"Do not give away disrespectfully or lightly. A gift bestowed with disrespect, indubitably destroyeth the giver."

Then for several days, kings began to pour into Dacaratha's city daily and nightly, bringing with them various kinds of gems. Thereupon Vasishtha well-pleased said unto the king,—"O best of men, obeying thy mandate the kings have come here; and I too, according to merit, have received those excellent kings with respect. And ev thing hath been carefully made ready for the sacrifice the persons concerned. Do thou, therefore, repair to ill sacrificial ground, for performing the sacrifice. And, 9 foremost of monarclis, it behoveth thee to view the. platfic filled with all desirable objects, and looking as if preparedly imagination herself."

Then in accordance with the injunctions of both Vasishtha and Rhishyasringa, the king came to the sacrificial spot on a day presided over by an auspicious star. Then, with Rhishyasringa at their head, Vasishtha and the other principal Brahmanas wending to the sacrificial ground, began the ceremony, according to the ordinance; and in due form. And the auspicious king, in company with his wives, was initiated into the ceremony.

SECTION 14.

And after the expiry of full one year, when the sacrifcial horse had returned, the sacrifice of the king commenced on the north bank of the Sarayu. And with Rhishyasringa at their head, the principal twice born ones began the proceedings in that mighty horse-sacrifice of that high-souled monarch. And the priests, each duly and according to the ordinance performing his proper part, engaged in the ceremony in consonance with the scriptures. And the regenerate ones, having performed the pravargya as well as the upasada according to the ordinance, duly completed the additional ceremonies. Then, worshipping the deities with glad hearts, those foremost of ascetics duly performed the morning ablutions and the other prescribed rites. The oblations of clarified butter first having been offered unto Indra, according to the ritual, the king with a purified heart performed his ablutions. And then the mid-day ablutions took place in proper sequence. And those foremost of Brahmanas, in due form, and according to the ordinance, officiated at the third bath of that high-souled monarch. And the priests presided over by Rhishyasringa, invoked Sakra and the other deities, reciting measured mantras. And the sacrificial priests. chaunting sweet Sâmas and soft mantras, duly invoking the dwellers of the celestial regions, offered each his share of the oblations. And no part of the ceremony was performed improperly, or left out,— and every thing was satisfactorily celebrated with mantras. And on that day no Brahmana ever felt tired, or hungry; and there was none that was not learned. or that was not followed by an hundred persons. And Brahmanas, and Sudras having among them ascetics, and Sramanas, and the aged, and the infirm, and women, and children, were continually fed. And although they ate their fill, yet they knew no repletion. And "Give food, and clothes of various kind"—(was heard all around). And those employed in the task gave away profusely. And every day food dressed properly in due form was to be seen in countless heaps resembling hills. And men and women coming from various countries to the sacrifice of that high-souled one were excellently entertained with meats and drinks. And the foremost regenerate ones said,—"The viands have been prepared in the prescribed form, and they taste excellent. We have been gratified. Good betide thee!" All this was heard by that descendant of Raghu. And persons adorned with ornaments distributed the victuals among the Brahmanas, and they were assisted by others beaming jewelled pendants. And in the interval between the completion of one bath and the beginning of the next, mild and eloquent Vipras, desirous of victory, engaged in various disputations. And every day in that sacrifice, skilful Brahmanas, engaged in the ceremony, did every thing, according to the ritual. And there was no twice-born one that was not versed in the Vedas and the Vedangas, or that did not observe vows, or that was not profoundly learned,-nor did any assist at the sacrifice that could not argue ably. And when the time came for planting the Yupas, persons cognisant of arts and sacrificial rites, prepared six Yupas of Vilwa, as many of catechu, and as many of Palasa, and one of Sleshmataka, and two of Devadaru wellmade and measuring two outstretched arms. Persons versed in the arts and science of sacrifice constructed these Yupas. And at the time of throwing up the Yupas, for embellishing the sacrifice, these one and twenty Yupas, each measuring one and twenty Aratnis, having eight angles, and smooth-faced were decked out in one and twenty pieces of cloth, and were firmly planted with due ceremonies by artizans. And being wrapped up in cloths, and worshipped with flowers, they looked like the seven Rishis appearing in the welkin. And an adequate number of bricks was also duly made (for the ceremony.) And Brahmanas accomplished in the arts constructed the sacrificial fire-place with those bricks. And that fire-place of that lion among kings, set by skilful Brahmanas, consisting on three sides of eighteen bricks, looked like the golden-winged Garura. And for the purpose of sacrificing them unto the respective deities were collected beasts and reptiles, and birds and horses, and aquatic animals. And the priests sacrificed all these in proper form. And to these Yupas were bound three hundred beasts, as well as the foremost of the best horses belonging to king Dacaratha. Then Kaucalya, having performed the preliminary rites, with three strokes slew that horse, experiencing great glee. And with the view of reaping merit Kaucalya, with an undisturbed heart passed one night with that horse furnished with wings. And the Hotâs and Adhwaryus, and the Uâgatas joined the king's Vâvâtâalong with his Mahishi and Parivriti And priests of subdued senses, well-up in sacrificial rites, began to offer oblations with the fat of the winged-horse, according to the ordinance. And that lord of men, desirous of removing his sins, at the proper time smelt the odour of the smoke arising from the fat, agreeably to the scriptures. And then sixteen sacrificial priests in the

prescribed form offered the various parts of the horse unto the fire. It is customary in other sacrifices to offer the oblations by means of a Plaksha bough; but in the horse-sacrifice a cane is used instead. The horse-sacrifice, according to the Kalpa Sutras and the Brahmanas, extend over three days. There after, on the first day was the Chatushtoma celebrated; and on the second the Uktha, - and on the third the Atiratra. And then the Jyotishtoma, and then Ayushtoma, and the Atiratra and the Abhijit, and the Viswajit, and the Aptoryama—all these various great sacrifices were celebrated with due rites. And in this mighty horse-sacrifice founded of yore by Sayambhu, that perpetuator of his line, the king, bestowed the Eastern quarter on his chief sacrificial priest, the Western on his Adhwarvu, the Southern on Brahma, and the Northern on the Udgath, as Dakshinas, And having completed that sacrifice, that perpetuator of his race, and foremost of men, the king, conferred on the priests the earth; and having conferred it, that auspicious descendant of Iskhaku experienced high delight. And then the priests spoke unto that monarch, who had all his sins purged off, saying,—"Thou alone art worthy to protect the entire world. We do not want the earth; nor can we rule it, being, O lord of Earth, constantly engaged in Vaidika studies. Do thou, therefore, confer upon us something instead, as the price thereof. Do thou confer upon us gems, or gold, or kine, or anything else, for, O foremost of monarchs, we do not want Earth." Thus addressed by the Brahmanas versed in the Veda, that best of kings bestowed upon them ten lacs of kine, and ten Kotisof gold, and forty of silver. Then those priests in a body, accepting the wealth, brought it unto the ascetic Rhishyasringa and the intelligent Vasishtha. Then having receieived each his share, those foremost of regenerate ones were exceedingly pleased, and said,-"We have been highly gratified." Then unto those Brahmanas that had come there, the king with due regard gave Kotis of gold. And unto a certain poor twice-born one that asked for gifts, the descendant of Raghu gave an excellent ornament from his own arm. And, when the regenerate ones were thus properly gratified, that one cherishing the Brahmanas, excess of with senses intoxicated by reverentially bowed unto them. And thereupon the Brahmanas uttered various blessings upon that generous king, bending low to the earth. Then having celebrated that excellent and sin-destroying sacrifice, bringing heaven, and incapable of being celebrated by foremost monarchs, king Dacaratha, well pleased, spoke unto Rhisyasinga, saying,-"0 thou of excellent vows, it behoveth thee to do that whereby my line may increase." Thereupon the best of Brahmanas said,—"Be it so! Unto thee, O king, will be born four sons, perpetuators of their race." Hearing these sweet words of his, that foremost of monarchs bended low unto him with controlled faculties, and experienced the excess of joy. And then that high-souled one again spoke unto Rhishyasringa.

SECTION 15

Then that one of capacious intelligence, versed in the Vedas, having pondered for a time, and regained his senses, returned unto the king this excellent answer,—"On thy behalf, and with the view of obtaining sons for thee, I will by help of mantras laid down in the Atharva Veda, duly celebrate the famous ceremony, capable of crowning thee with offspring.' And then with the view of obtaining sons (for the king), that effulgent one set about the son-conferring ceremony; and in accordance with the ordinance, and with mantras, offered oblations unto the sacrificial fire. And the deities, with the Gandharbas, and the Siddhas, and the principal saints, assembled there duly, with the object of each obtaining his share of the offerings. And having duly assembled there, the deities addressed these words unto Brahma, the lord of creatures,-"O thou possessed of the six attributes, through thy grace, a Rakshasa named Ravana oppresses us all by his prowess,—nor can we baffle him. And, O lord, as thou hast well-pleased conferred on him a boon, we always suffer him in deference to it. And the wicked-minded one harasseth the three worlds furnished with prosperity, and beareth ill-will unto them. And blinded by the boon he hath received, that irrepressible one intends to bring down the lord himself of the celestials, and the Yakshas, and the Gandharbas, and the Brahmanas, and the Asuras. And the Sun doth not burn him, or the Wind blow about him; and at sight of him, that one engarlanded with billows, the Ocean, dares not stir. Therefore, great is the fear that afflicteth us, coming from that Rakshasa of dreadful appearance. And O lord, it behoves thee to devise some means for destroying him." Thus addressed by the deities in a body, he said,—"Alas! I have, however, decided on the means of destroying that wicked-souled one. He had asked,— 'May I be incapable of being slain by Gandharbas, and Yakshas, and gods, and Rakshasas!'-whereat I said,- 'Be it so!' Through disdain, the Rakshasa did not at that time mention men. Therefore, by men alone he is capable of being slain; nor can his end be compassed by any other means. Hearing this welcome speech uttered by Brahma, the deities and the Maharshis became exceedingly delighted. At this juncture, that lord of the universe, the highly- effulgent Vishnu, clad in yellow apparel, and bearing in his hands the

conch, the discus, and the mace, and adorned with burnished Keyuras arrived there, riding Vinata's son; like the Sun riding the clouds. And worshipped by the foremost of the celestials, he drew near Brahma, and sat down a collected mind. And bending low before him, the deities spake unto him, saying,-'O Vishnu, for the benefit of the worlds, we shall appoint thee to some work. Do thou, O lord, dividing thyself into four, O Vishnu, become born as sons in the three wives, resembling Modesty, Auspiciousness, and Fame,—of Avodhya's lord. king Dacaratha, cognisant of Duty, and munificent, and possessing energy, and like unto a Maharshi. Do thou, O Vishnu, becoming man, slay in battle this thorn of the worlds; the pampered Ravana, incapable of being slain by the gods; for the foolish Rakshasha, by virtue of sublimated prowess, haffles the deities, and the Gandharbas, and the Siddhas, and the foremost of saints. And by him bereft of the sense of right and wrong, have saints and Gandharbas and Apsaras sporting in the groves of Nandana, been wantonly slain. It is to compass his death that accompanied by the ascetics, we have come hither: it is for this that the Siddhas and the Gandharbas and the Yakshas have taken refuge in Thee! Thou O God, art the prime way of us all. O repressor of foes! Do thou, for bringing destruction unto the enemies of the gods, turn thy thoughts to being born as man." Thus besought that foremost of gods and chief of celestials, Vishnu, worshipped of all creatures, addressed the assembled deities, following Duty, with the Grand-sire at their head, saying, - "Do ye renounce fear! For your behoof, slaying in battle the wily and irrepressible Ravana, dreadful unto the saints and the celestials, together with his sons, and grandsons, and friends, and counsellors, and relatives, and acquaintances, I will abide among mortals, ruling this earth for ten thousand and as many hundred years." Having thus conferred a boon upon the gods, the god Vishnu of subdued soul fell to thinking as to the place where he would be born among men. Then that one of eyes resembling lotus-petals, dividing self into four parts, chose even king Dacaratha for his father. Thereat the celestials and the saints and the Gandharbas and the Rudras and the Apsaras hymned the Slayer of Madhu in excellent hymns:

"Do thou utterly uproot the haughty Ravana of fierce prowess and enhanced insolence—that foe of the lord of celestials, who is the occasion of the tears of the three worlds, and dreadful unto ascetics; Slaying that one of terrible prowess, who distresses the three worlds, with his forces and friends, do thou, O foremost of gods, thy fever of heart removed, repair unto the celestial regions protected by thee and purged of all its faults and sins."

SECTION 16

Thus besought by the foremost of the celestials, that searcher of hearts, Vishnu, although cognisant of the means whereby Ravana was to be destroyed, spake unto the gods these amiable words,—"What, ye gods, is the means of compassing the destruction of that lord of the Rakshasas, by adopting which I could slay that thorn of the ascetics?' addressed, the deities answered Vishnu, incapable of deterioration, saying,-"Assuming the form of a human being, do thou in battle slay Ravana! He, O repressor of foes, had for a long course of time performed rigid austerities; and thereat, that creator of all, the first-create Brahma was well pleased. And propitiated by his penances, the Master conferred a boon on the Rakshasa to the effect that, save man, no fear should come to him from the various beings. And in the matter of that boon-bestowing, man had formerly been disregarded by (Ravana). And puffed up with pride in consequence of the boon he received from the Grand-sire, he commits ravages upon the three worlds and carries away the fair sex by violence. Therefore, O subduer of enemies, we have even fixed upon man for bringing about his death." Hearing this speech of the celestials, Vishnu of subdued soul chose even king Dacaratha for his father. And at that time, eagerly wishing to have sons, that destroyer of enemies, the effulgent king Dacaratha, who was sonless, was celebrating the sacrifice that conferreth male offspring. Then, having ascertained the course to follow, Vishnu, having greeted the Grand-sire, vanished there, worshipped by the deities and the Maharshis.

And then himself bearing in his hands a capacious vessel made of burnished gold, with a silver cover,-dear like unto a spouse, and resembling the divine Creative energy, filled with celestial Payasa, , from out the sacrificial fire of Dacaratha initiated into the ceremony, there arose a mighty being, of unparalleled prowess, high energy, and huge strength, black, and wearing a crimson apparel, with a red face, uttering the blares of a trumpet, and having a body covered with leonine hair, having whiskers and an excellent head of hair, furnished with auspicious marks, and adorned with celestial ornaments, and resembling a mountain-peak, and bearing the prowess of a flaming tiger, and like unto the Sun or tongues of flaming fire. And with his eyes fixed upon Dacaratha, he addressed the king, saying, take thou me as a person commisioned by Prajapati." Hearing him speak thus, Dacaratha, with joined hands, said,-'Lord, art thou welcome? What can I do for thee?" Thereupon, that

person despatched by Prajapatiagain spake thus,-"O king, having adored the deities, thou hast to-day obtained this. Do thou foremost of kings, accept this excellent and divinlyprepared Payasa, conferring sons, health, and affluence,which thou art to give unto thy worthy consorts, saying,-Partake it. Through them thou wilt, O monarch, obtain sons,—for obtaining whom thou hast performed this sacrifice." Thereupon, saying,—"So be it," the lord of men delightedly placed that divinely-bestowed golden vessel filled with the celestial Payasa upon his head. And having saluted that wonderful being of gracious presence, he in excess of joy began to go round him again and again. Then Dacaratha having received that divinely-prepared Payasa, waxed exceeding glad; like unto a pauper attaining plenty. Then that highly effulgent being of a wonderful form, having performed that mission of his, vanished even there. And Dacaratha's inner apartment, being graced with the rays of joy, looked like unto the welkin flooded with the lovely beams of the autumnal moon. Then entering the inner apaitment, he spake unto Kausalya, saying,—"Take thou this Payasa; for this will make thee bear a son." Having said this, the king offered unto her a portion of this Payasa. Then he conferred upon Sumitra a fourth of it. Then in order that she might have a son, king Dacaratha made over unto Kaikeyi an equal portion of what remained. And then having reflected, the mighty-minded one gave unto Sumitra the remaining portion of the Payasa resembling ambrosia. Thus the king dispensed the Payasa unto each and all of his wives. And those foremost wives of the king, having received that Pavasa, became exceedingly delighted, and considered themselves as highly honoured. Then those excellent consorts of the lord of earth, having separately partaken of that choice Payasa, shortly bore offspring, resmbling fire or the Sun. And the king, beholding those wives of his bearing children, obtained his desire and became delighted; even as that foremost of the celestials. Indrawhile being worshipped by the Siddhas and the ascetics.

When Vishnu had accepted the sonship of that high-souled king, the self-create Lord addressed the celestials, saying, "For assisting the heroic Vishnu firm in promise, always seeking the welfare of us all, do ye create powerful beings, assuming shapes at will, cognisant of illusions, heroic, furnished with the celerity of the wind, versed in morality, possessing intelligence, like unto Vishnu in prowess, unslayable, knowing the ways and means (of war and peace) gifted with excellent bodies, capable of resisting all weapons, and resembling immortals. And from forth the bodies of the foremost Apsaris, and Gandharbis, and Yakskis, and Panagis. and Rikshis and Vidhyddharis, and Kinnaris, and Vanaris do ye produce sons wearing the shapes of monkeys. Formerly I had created that foremost of bears, Jambuvana, who suddenly came out of my mouth as I was yawning." Hearing this mandate of Him possessed of the six attributes, they began to produce sons endowed with monkey- forms. And high-souled ascetics, and Siddhas, and Vidhadharas, and Uragas, and Charanas, generated heroic sons,— rangers of woods. And Indra begat as his son that foremost of monkeys, Vali, resembling the Mahendra hill, and that best of those imparting heat, the Sun, Sugriva. And Vrihaspati begat the mighty ape named Tara, the most excellent and intelligent of the prime monkeys. And the Bestower of riches begat as his son the graceful ape Gandhamadana. And Vicwakarma begat that mighty monkey named Nala; and Agni begat as his son the powerful and graceful Nila in effulgence like unto the fire, who surpassed even his sire in energy, prowess, and renown. And the beautiful Acwins, endowed with the wealth of loveliness, begat Maindra and Dwivida. And Varuna begat the monkey named Sushena; and Paryyanya begat Sarava, possessed of great strength. And the Wind god begat the graceful monkey named Hanuman, endeued with a frame hard as adamant; in fleetness like unto Vinata's offspring; and the most intelligent as well as the most powerful amongst all the principal monkeys. Thus produced, there suddenly came into being by thousands, mighty bears, and monkeys, and Gopuchchhas, of immeasurable strength, and heroic, and powerful, assuming shapes at will, endowed with bodies resembling elephants of hills,—even those who would engage in compassing the destruction of the Ten-headed one. And the sons of the deities retained distinctly the respective hues, forms, and prowess, that characterized their several sires. And those that sprang from the Golangulas, possessed even more than the might of the gods. Likewise, on Rikshis and Kinnaris were gladly begot thousands upon thousands of monkeys, by gods, and Maharshis, and Gandarbas, and Tarkshyas, and famous Yakshas, and Nagas, and Kimpurushas, and Siddhas and Vidyadharas, and Uragas. And upon the principal Apsaris, and the Vidyadharis, and the daughters of the Nagas, and the Gandarbis were begot by the Charanas as sons, heroic monkeys of gigantic bodies, ranging the forests and living on fruits and roots. And all these monkeys were endowed with strength; and could assume shapes and repair everywhere, at will. And they were like unto lions and tigers, both in pride and in prowess. And they faught with crags and hurled hills.

And they faught with nails and teeth,-and were accomplished in all weapons. And they could move the largest hills; and crush the fixed trees; and with their impetus, vex that lord of rivers-the Ocean. And they could with their kicks rend the Earth, and swim over the mighty main. And they could penetrate into the welkin, -and capture the clouds. And they could subdue mad elephants ranging the forest. And with their roars, they could bring down birds singing. Thus came into being Kotis of high-souled leaders of monkey-herds. assuming forms at will. And these became the leaders of the principal monkey-herds; and they, in their turn, generated heroic monkeys, the foremost of the leaders of herds

Some of these monkeys began to dwell on the top of the Rikshavana mountain; while others inhabited various other mountains and forests. And all the leaders of monkey-herds stayed with those brothers, - Sugriva, the son of the Sun-god and Vali, that of Sakra, - and also with Nala, and Nila, and Hanuman, and other leaders of monkey-herds. And endowed with the might of Garura, and accomplished in fight, they ranged around, pounding lions, and tigers, and mighty Uragas. And the mighty-armed Vali of great prowess and redoubtable strength protected by virtue of the energy of his arms Rikshas, and Gopuchchhas, and monkeys. And this earth, furnished with mountains, and forests, and oceans, began to teem with those heroic lords of leaders of monkeyherds, inhabiting different places, bearing characteristic marks, resembling masses of clouds, or mountain-peaks, possessed of mighty strength, and of terrible bodies and visages.—in order that they might assist Rama.

When the horse-sacrifice of the high-souled Dacaratha had been completed, the immortals, accepting each his share, returned whence they had come. And the monarch, having observed all the rules of initiation, entered the palace with his equipage and retinue. And the lords of the earth, having been received suitably by the king, with glad hearts set out for their own countries, saluting that foremost of ascetics (Rhishyasringa). And clad in bright apparel, the delighted forces belonging to those graceful kings repairing to their own homes, looked exceedingly beautiful. When the lords of the earth had gone away, the graceful king Dacaratha re-entered his palace, with the foremost of regenerate ones at his head. And followed by the intelligent monarch with his retinue, Rhishyasringa, having been duly honoured, set out with Santa. Having thus dismissed them all, the king, his object attained, began to dwell there happily, expecting sons.

And then when the six seasons had rolled away after the completion of the sacrifice, in the twelfth month, on the ninth lunar day, under the influence of the Punarvasu asterism, when the Sun, the Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, and Venus were at Arius, Capricorn, Libra, Cancer, and Pisces, -and when Jupiter had arisen with the Moon at Cancer, Kaucalya gave birth to that lord of the universe, bowed unto by all the worlds. Rama. the descendant of Ikshwaku, furnished with excellent marks,—the one half of Vishnu,— exceedingly righteous, with rosy eyes, and mighty arms, and crimson nether lip, and endowed with a voice like the sound of a kettledrum. Then on having given birth to that son of immeasurable prowess, Kaucalya looked resplendent, like Aditi on having brought forth that foremost of celestialsthe wielder of the thunder-bolt. And then was born of Kaikevi. Bharata, having truth for prowess, endowed with all the virtues, and the very fourth part of Vishnu. And then Sumitra gave birth unto Lakshmana and Satrughna, heroic, and skilled in all weapons, and endowed with the half of Vishnu. And Bharata of purged intelligence was born under the asterism Pushva, when the Sun had entered Pisces; while the two sons of Sumitra were born when the Sun arose in Cancer, under the asterism of Aslesha.

And thus were separately born four high-souled sons unto the king, crowned with qualities, and graceful, and in loveliness resembling the constellations Prosthapada Thereat the Gandharbas began to chaunt sweetly, and the Apsaras to dance. And the celestial kettledrums sounded: and there showered down blossoms from the sky. And high festivities were commenced by the multitude in Ayodhya. And the spacious highways became filled with players and dancers, glittering with all kinds of gems, and resounding with the music of singers and performers on instruments. And the king bestowed gifts upon bards and genealogists and penegyrists, and he also gave kine by thousands to Brahmanas

And when the eleventh day had gone by, the king performed the Naming ceremony of his sons. And experiencing great delight, Vasishtha conferred the names. And the high-souled eldest one was called Rama; and Kaikeyi's son was called Bharata; and Sumitra's son was called Lakshmana,— and the last was named Satrughna. And the king fed the Brahmanas as well as the inhabitants rural and urban; and he bestowed heaps of jewels upon Brahmanas. Thus did he celebrate the natal rites of the princes. And among all those princes, the eldest, Rama, like unto Ketu, and the special delight of his father, became the object of general regard, even as the selfcreate Himself. And all of them were versed in the Vedas, and

heroic, and intent upon the welfare of others. And all were accomplished in knowledge; and endowed with virtues. And among them all, the exceedingly puissant Rama, having truth for prowess, was the desire of every one, and spotless like unto the Moon himself. He could ride on elephants and horses, and was an adept in managing cars. And he was ever engaged in the study of arms, and aye occupied in ministering unto his sire. And even from early youth, that enhancer of auspiciousness. Lakshmana, was ever attached unto his eldest brother Rama, that delight of all. And like unto another life of Rama, Lakshmana furnished with auspiciousness was in everything attentive to Rama's wishes, even at the neglect of his own person. And that foremost of persons did not even attain sleep without Rama's company,—nor did he partake any sweetmeat that was offered, unless Rama partook it with him. And when mounted on horse-back, Raghava went ahunting, Lakshmana went at his back bow in hand, protecting him. And that younger brother of Lakshmana, Satrughna, likewise became ever dearer unto Bharata than life itself

And on account of those exalted and well-beloved sons of his. Dacaratha experienced the excess of joy, like unto the Grand-sire on account of the celestials. And when they came to be furnished with knowledge, and crowned with virtues, and endowed with bashfulness and fame, and to attain wisdom in everything, and to be far-sighted, Dacaratha, the father of such powerful and flamingly effulgent sens, became delighted even like that lord of worlds-Brahma. And those best of men, ever engaged in the study of the Vedas, were accomplished in the art of archery—and always intent upon ministering unto their father.

And once upon a time, when the virtuous king Dacaratha, surrounded by his priests and friends, was reflecting about the nuptials of his sons, unto that high-souled one engaged in thought in the midst of his counsellors came the mighty ascetic Viswamitra. And desirous of seeing the king, he said unto the warders,-"Do ye speedily announce that I, Gadhi's son, sprung in the Kucika line, have come!" Hearing those words of his, they urged on by them, all hurriedly began to run towards the royal chambers. And coming to the royal apartments, they communicated to Ikshwaku's descendant the arrival of the ascetic Viswamitra. Hearing those words of theirs, Dacaratha surrounded by his priests, went out delightedly to meet him, like Vasava going out to meet Vrihashpati. And having come unto that ascetic observing vows and of flaming energy, the monarch with a cheerful countenance offered him the Arghya. And there- upon, having accepted the king's Arghya in accordance with the ordinance he enquired of the lord of men as to his continued prosperity and peace. And the exceedingly virtuous descendant of Kucika asked the king concerning the welfare of the exchequer, and the provinces; and the peace of his friends and acquaintances. 'And are thy captains submissive: and hast thou vanquished thy foes? And hast thou performed well the human and the divine rites?" And approaching Vasishtha and the other anchorites, that foremost of ascetics of exalted piety duly asked them touching their welfare. And having been properly received by the monarch, they with glad hearts entered the royal residence, and sat them down according to precedence. Then gladly worshipping the mighty ascetic, Viswamitra, the exceedingly generous king, well-pleased, addressed him, saying,-"Like unto the obtaining of ambrosia, like unto a shower in a land suffering from drouth, like unto the birth of sons of worthy wives to him without issue, like unto the recovery of a lost thing, yea,-like unto the dawning of a mighty joy, I consider this thy arrival. illustrious ascetic, thou art well come. What is even that which is nearest to thy heart. What shall I do for thee, experiencing sincere pleasure? Thou, O Brahmana, art worthy of my best services. By luck it is that, O bestower of honour, I have gained thee. To-day my birth hath been crowned with fruit-to day hath my life attained its object. And truly yesternight hath been succeeded by an auspicious morning, since I have beheld thee. Having first attained exceeding effulgence by virtue of austerities performed for obtaining the title of Rajarshi, thou hast afterwards obtained the status of a Brahmarshi. Thou art worthy of manifold homage from me. This thy exceedingly holy arrival appeareth wonderful. O lord, by beholding thee, surely my body hath been rendered pure. Tell me, what is it that thou wouldst have, - and what is the purpose of thy coming? I wish that I may be obliged by doing thy will. And, O thou of excellent vows, thou ought not to hesitate. I will every way accomplish thy will for thou art my god. O regnerate one, surely great prosperity cometh to me in consequence of thy coming, in as much as it shall be the means of bringing me entire and excellent merit, O Brahmana!" Hearing this soul-soothing, ear-charming, and free-humble speech that was uttered, that illustrious prime of ascetics crowned with virtues, and furnished with all perfections, experienced exceeding delight.

Hearing those astonishing words of that lion-like king, the highly-energetic Viswamitra with his down standing on end, said,—"O foremost of kings, sprung from an illustrious line, and having Vasishtha for thy guide, these words become thee alone on earth and no one else. Do thou, O best of kings, ascertain thy course in respect of the matter I bear in my heart; and do thou prove firm in promise! For celebrating a sacrifice, I, O foremost of men, abide by some prescribed course. And it comes to pass that two Rakshasas assuming shapes at will, have become bent upon disturbing the ceremony. And in that sacrifice which I have determined to bring to a completion. and which is on the eve of being completed, both these Rakshasas, Maricha and Suvihu, accomplished in arms and possessed of prowess, shower flesh and gore upon the altar. And on that ceremony being thus disturbed and my purpose thus frustrated, I considered my labours as all lost, and, therefore, have left my country in dejection. And, O monarch, I cannot bring myself to vent my wrath; for such is the nature of that business, that it is not proper for one engaged in it to utter a curse. Therefore, O foremost of monarchs, it behoves thee to grant me thy eldest son, the heroic Rama of genuine prowess, with the side-locks. By virtue of his own divine energy, he, being protected by me, is capable of even destroying those Rakshasas disturbing the ceremony. And I will, without doubt, confer upon him manifold blessings, -- by means of which he will secure the golden opinions of the three worlds. And encountering Rama, they will by no means be able to stand him, nor is there any other who dares to slay them. And puffed up with energy, they have become ensnared at the hands of Kala, —and, O best of monarchs, they are no match for Rama. Nor, king, ought thou to indulge in paternal affection. For ten nights only Rama is to remain there, with the object of slaying those foes to my sacrifice, those Rakshasas disturbing the rites. I tell thee, do thou consider the Rakshasas as already slain. I know full well Rama of sterling prowess,—as also the highly-energetic Vasishtha and the other ascetics present here. And if thou, O king, set thy heart upon acquiring religious merit and high fame on earth, do thou then grant me Rama! And, O Kakutstha, if thy counsellors together with the Brahmanas having Vasishtha at their head, consent, do thou then dismiss Rama! Even this is my wish,—and he also hath come of age. Do thou, therefore, part with thy son, the lotus-eyed Rama, for the ten days of the sacrifice! Do thou act so, O descendant of Raghu, that the time appointed for the ceremony may not be overpassed. Good betide thee! Let not thy mind indulge in grief!"

Having said these words consistent with virtue and interest, the mighty-minded and highly-powerful Viswamitra paused. And hearing the auspicious words of Viswamitra, that foremost of kings shook with a mighty sorrow, and became bewildered. Then, having regained his sense, he rose up and became cast down through apprehension. Having heard the words of the ascetic, capable of rending the mind and heart, the bigh-souled king of men became stricken with grief and shook on his seat.

SECTION 20.

Hearing the words of Viswamitra, that best of monarchs remained insensible for a time, - and then regaining his sense, spake thus,-"My lotus-eyed Rama is not yet turned of sixteen; and I do not perceive his fitness to cope with Rakshasas in battle. I am the lord of this Akshaukini of forces. Marching with this, will I engage with the night- rangers. And these servants of mine are valiant, and warlike, and accomplished in weapons, and capable of fighting the Rakshasas,-therefore, it behoveth thee not to take Rama. And myself bow in hand, stationed at the van of the array, will battle with the rangers of the night as long as life is spared unto me. And then well protected, thy sacrifice will hold an unimpeded course. Therefore, I will repair thither, and it behoveth thee not to take Rama. And youthful, and unaccomplished, and not knowing what constitutes strength and what not, and not equipped with the energy of science, and unskilful in fight, he is not a match for Rakshasas,-they being deceitful warriors. Bereft of Rama, O best of ascetics, I cannot live for a moment. Therefore, it behoveth thee not to take him. If, O Brahmana, it is thy intention to take Rama, then. O thou of excellent vows, do thou also take me along with the Chaturanga forces! O Kucika's son, I am sixty thousand years old; and (at this age) I have obtained Rama after undergoing extreme troubles,-it therefore becometh thee not to take Rama. And among the four sons of mine, I find my highest delight in Rama, my first-born, and the most virtuous of them all.—therefore, it behoveth thee not to take Rama. What is the prowess of the Rakshasas? And whose sons are they? And who, pray, are they? And what are the proportions of their bodies? And who protecteth them, O foremost of ascetics? And by what means shall either Rama, or my forces, or, O Brahmana, I myself be able to slay in fight those deceitful warriors—the Rakshasas? Do thou tell me, adorable one, inflated as they are by virtue of their prowess, how can I stand them in fight?" Hearing that speech of his, Viswatmitra said,-"There is a Rakshasa named Ravana, sprung from the line of Pulastya. Having obtained a boon from Brahma, he boldly opposeth himself to the three worlds, being possessed of great strength, and prowess, and backed by

innumerable Rakshasas. And, O mighty monarch, I also hear that that lord of the Rakshasas is the very brother of Vacravana and the son of the ascetic Vicravan. And when that one possessed of mighty strength does not stoop to disturb the sacrifice himself, those powerful Rakshasas, Marich and Suvahu, being incited by him, disturb the rites." The ascetic having spoken thus, the king then answered him,-"I am incapable of standing that wicked-souled one in fight. Therefore, do thou, O thou versed in morality, extend thy favour unto my son! Of slender fortune as I am, thou art my guide and my god. Even the celestials and the Danavas and the Gandharbas and the Birds and the Snakes are incapable of bearing Ravana in battle—what then is man? He deprive h in conflict even the puissant of their prowess. I cannot fight either with him or with his forces. And, O foremost of ascetics. whether thou art accompanied with my son or my forces, thou wilt not be able to stand him. And how can I, O Brahmana, make over unto thee my son, of tender years, resembling an immortal, who is ignorant of warfare? I will not part with my son. The sons of Sunda and Upasunda resemble Kala himself in battle,—and it is they who are disturbing thy sacrifice. Therefore I will not part with my son. And Maricha and Suvahu are possessed of prowess, and accomplished in weapons. But with my friends I will repair to encounter one of them. If thou do not consent to this, I beseech thee with my friends, (do thou desist!)" Hearing these words of the lord of men, a mighty ire took possession of that foremost of regenerate ones. Kucika's son; and the fire of the Maharshi's wrath flamed up even like unto a fire fed by fuel and clarified

SECTION 21.

Hearing those words of Dacaratha, composed of letters faltering with affection, Kucika's son, stirred up with anger, answered the monarch, saying,-"Having promised me first, thou endeavourest to renounce that promise of thine. This surely is unworthy of a descendant of Raghu, - and this can bring destruction upon the dynasty. If, king, in acting thus, thou hast acted properly, I will then repair to the place whence I had come. O Kakuthstha's descendant false in promise, do thou attain happiness, being surrounded by thy friends." And when the intelligent Vicwamitra was exercised with wrath, the entire earth began to tremble, and the gods even were inspired with awe. And knowing that the entire universe was in trepidation, that mighty saint, the sedate Vasishtha of excellent vows, said these words unto the king,--"Born in the line of Ikshwaku, thou art the very second self of virtue. And endowed with patience, and auspicious, and observing excellent vows, thou ought not to renounce virtue. The descendant of Raghu is famed over the three worlds as righteous-souled. Do thou maintain thy habit of adhering to promise; for it doth not behove thee to act unrighteously. If having promised,-'I will do so,' thou dost not act up to thy word, the merit thou hast achieved by digging tanks and by performing sacrifices shall come to naught,-therefore do thou renounce Rama! Accomplished or not accomplished in weapons, the Rakshasas cannot bear him protected by Kucika's son, like ambrosia, by flaming fire. This one is Virtue incarnate: this one is the foremost of those possessing prowess. This one surpasseth all others in learning, and is the refuge of asceticism. This one is cognisant of all the weapons that exist in the three worlds furnished with mobile and imobile things; but others do not know him, -nor yet shall know him hereafter. And neither the gods, nor the saints, nor the immortals, nor the Rakshasas, nor the foremost of Gandharbas and Yakshas, nor the Kinnaras, nor the mighty Serpents can know him. And formerly while the descendant of Kucika was ruling bis kingdom, Siva conferred upon him the highly famous sons of Kricacwa in the shape of all weapons. And those sons of Kricacwa were the offspring of Prajapati's daughters. They were endowed with various forms, and were effulgent and dreadful. And Daksha's daughters of elegant waists, Jaya and Suprabha, brought forth an hundred exceedingly effulgent weapons. And by virtue of her boon, Java obtained fifty sons of immeasurable strength and endued with the power of becoming invisible for the purpose of slaughtering the hosts of the Asuras. And Suprabha also brought forth fifty sons named Sanharas, incapable of being borne, and infallible, and powerful. Kucika's son is adequately conversant with all those weapons. And that one knowing duty is also capable of creating wonderful weapons. And, O descendant of Raghu, there is nothing present, past, or future which is not known by that foremost of ascetics of high soul, and cognisant of morality. Such is the prowess of that highly famous Vicwamitra possessed of mighty energy. Therefore, O king, it behoveth thee not to hesitate in the matter of Rama's going. The descendant of Kucika is himself capable of repressing the Rakshasas; and it is in order to thy son's welfare that coming unto thee, he asketh for him of thee." At this speech of the ascetic, that foremost of Raghus, the king, well- pleased, became exceedingly delighted. And that famous one, relishing the journey of Rama, began to reflect in his mind about consigning him unto Kucika's son.

SECTION 22.

Upon Vasishtha's representing this, king Dacaratha himself with a complacent countenance, summoned unto him Rama and Lakshmana. And when the auspicious rites had been performed by both Rama's father and mother, and when the priest Vasishtha had uttered mantras, king Dacaratha, smelling his son's crown, with a glad heart, made him over unto the descendant of Kucika. Then there blew a Breeze free from dust and of delicious feel, on witnessing the lotus-eved Rama at the hands of Vicwamitra. And as the high-souled one was about to set out, blossoms began to shower down copiously, accompanied with the sounds of celestial kettledrums and the loud blares of conchs. Vicwamitra went first, and next the highly famous Rama with the side-locks, holding the how. And him followed Sumitra's son. And equipped with quivers, and with bows in hand, gracing the ten cardinal points and resembling three-hooded serpents, they followed the high-souled Vicwamitra, like the two stalwart Aswins following the Grand-sire. And those effulgent ones of faultless limbs went in the wake of the ascetic, illumining him with their grace. And like unto those sons of his, Skanda and Bisakha following the incomprehensible deity, Sthanu, those youthful brothers of comely persons and faultless limbs, Rama and Lakshmana, highly effulgent, carrying bows in hand, adorned with ornaments, and equipped with scimitars, with their fingers encased in Guana skin, flamingly followed Kucika's son, beautifying him with their splendour. And having proceeded over half a Yojana, and arriving at the right bank of the Sarayu. Vicwamitra addressed these sweet words unto Rama, -"O Rama! do thou, O child, take of this water: let no delay occur. Do thou receive the mantras Vala and Ativala,-and thou wilt not feel fatigue or fever or undergo any change of look, and whether asleep or heedless, the Rakshasas will not be able to surprise thee. And, O Rama, the might of thy arms will be unequalled in this world,—nay, in all the three worlds. There shall be none—thy equal. Do thou, O Raghava, recite Vala and Ativala, O child! And, O sinless one, when thou hast secured these two kinds of knowledge, none in this world will equal thee in good fortune, or in talent, or in philosophic wisdom or in subtle apprehension, or in the capacity of answering a controversialist; for Vala and Ativala are the nurses of all knowledge. And, O Rama, O foremost of men, if thou recitest Vala and Ativala on the way, neither hunger nor thirst will exercise thee, O descendant of Raghu! And if thou recitest these, thou wilt attain fame on earth. Those sciences fraught with energy are the daughters of the Grandsire. I intend to confer them upon thee O Kakutstha: and O lord of earth they are worthy to be conferred upon thee as thou art possessed of various virtues. Thou need not entertain any doubt about it. And if thou learn them like unto the exercise of asceticism they will prove of manifold good unto thee." Thereat Rama with a cheerful countenance sipping water, with a purified body received those sciences from the Maharshi of subdued soul. And furnished with the sciences Rama of dreadful prowess appeared resplendent, even like the adorable autumnal Sun invested with a thousand rays. Then Rama having rendered unto Kucika's son all the duties appertaining to a spiritual guide, the three happily spent that night on the banks of the Sarayu. And although those excellent sons of Dacaratha lay down on an unbeseeming bed of grass, yet in consequence of the sweet converse of Kucika's son, the night seemed to pass pleasantly away.

SECTION 23

And when the night had passed away, the mighty ascetic spoke unto Kakutstha, lying down on a bed of leaves, Rama, the best son of Kaucalya, the first Sandhya should now be performed. Do thou, O foremost of men, arise! Thou shouldst perform the purificatory rites and contemplate the gods." Hearing those proper words of the ascetic, those foremost of men, endowed with heroism, bathed, and, offering Arghya, began to recite the Gayatri. And having performed these daily duties, those exceedingly powerful ones. greeting Vicwamitra having asceticism for wealth, stood before him, with the object of starting on their journey. And as those ones endowed with exceeding prowess were proceeding, at the shining confluence of the Sarayu and the Ganga they beheld a noble river flowing in three branches. And there lay a holy hermitage, belonging to ascetics of subdued souls, where they had been carrying on their high austerities for thousands of years. Beholding that sacred asylum, those descendants of Raghu, exceedingly delighted, spake unto the high-souled Vicwamitra, these words,-'Whose is this sacred hermitage? And what man liveth here? O worshipful one, we are desirous of hearing this. Surely, great is our curiosity." At those words of theirs, that foremost of ascetics, smiling, said,-"Hear, O Rama, as to whom the asylum belonged in time past. Kandarpa, called Kama by the wise, was once incarnate (on earth.) And it came to pass that as that lord of the deities, Sthanu, having performed here his austerities in accordance with the prescribed restrictions, was wending his way in company with the Maruts, that fool-hardy wight dared disturb the equanimity of his mind. Thereupon,

descendant of Raghu, uttering a roar, the high-souled Rudra eyed him steadfastly. And thereat all the limbs of that perverse-hearted one became blasted. On his body being consumed by that high-souled one, Kama was deprived of his person in consequence of the ire of that foremost among the deities; and, O Raghava, from that time forth, he hath become known as Ananga. And the place where he was deprived of his body is the lovely land of Anga. This sacred hermitage belongs to Siva; and these ascetics engaged in pious acts. O hero, have been from father to son his disciples. And no sin toucheth them. Here, O Rama, in the midst of the sacred streams, will we spend the night, O thou of gracious presence, crossing over on the morrow. Let us then, having purified ourselves, enter the holy hermitage! It is highly desirable for us to soiourn here.—here will we happily spend the night, having bathed, and recited the mantras, and offered oblation unto the sacrificial fire, O best of men!"

As they were conversing thus, the ascetics were highly delighted on discovering them by means of their far-reaching spiritual vision,—and they rejoiced greatly. Then giving Kucika's son water to wash his feet and Arghya, and extending unto him also the rites of hospitality, they next entertained Rama and Lakshmana. And having experienced their hospitality, they (the guests) delighted them with their talk. And then the saints with collected minds recited their evening prayers. And having been shown their destined place of rest along with ascetics of excellent vows, they happily passed that night in that hermitage affording every comfort. And that foremost of ascetics, the righteous- souled son of Kucika, by means of his excellent converse, charmed the prepossessing sons of the monarch.

SECTION 24.

Then next morning which happened to be fine, those repressors of their foes, with Vicwamitra who had performed morning rites at their head, came to the banks of the river. And those high-souled ascetics observing vows, having brought an elegant bark addressed Vicwamitra, saying, "Do thou ascend the bark with the princes at thy head! May thy journey be auspicious: let no delay occur!" Thereupon saying,-"So be it!", and having paid homage unto those ascetics, Vicwamitra set about crossing that river with them, which had replenished the ocean. And it came to pass that while thus engaged, they heard a sound augmented by the dashing of the waves. And having come to the middle of the stream, the highly energetic Rama with his younger brother, became curious to ascertain the cause of that sound. And reaching the middle of the river, Rama asked that best of ascetics,—"What is this loud uproar that seemeth to come riving the water?" Hearing Raghava's words dictated by curiosity, that righteous-souled one spake, unfolding the true cause of the noise,-"O Rama, there is in the Kailaca mountain an exceedingly beautiful pool, created mentally by Brahma, O foremost of men.—and hence this watery expanse goeth by the name of Manasa Pool, And the stream that issues from that liquid lapse, flows through Ayodhya: the sacred Sarayu issues from that pool of Brahma. And as the Sarayu meets the Jahnavi, this tremendous uproar is heard, being produced by the clashing of the waters. Do thou, O Rama, bow down to them with a concentrated mind." Thereupon, both of these exceedingly righteous ones, bowed down unto those streams; and betaking themselves to the right bank, began to proceed with fleet vigour. And beholding a dreadful trackless forest, that son of the foremost of men, Ikshhwaku's descendant, asked that best of ascetics, saying,this forest abounding in crickets; and filled with terrible ferocious beasts, and various birds possessed of shocking voices and screaming frightfully; and graced by lions, and tigers, and boars, and elephants; and crowded with Dhavas and Acwas and Karnas and Kukubhas and Vilmas and Tindukas and Patalas and Badaris. Whence is this dreadful forest?" Him answered thus the mighty asetic Vicwamitra endowed with high energy,-"Do thou listen, O Kakutshtha, as to whom belongeth this dreadful forest! Here were formerly, O foremost of men, two flourishing provinces, named Malada, and Karusha, built by celestial architects. In days of vore, O Rama, on the occasion of the destruction of Vritra, the thousand-eyed one came to have hunger, to be besmeared with excreta, and to slay a Brahmana. And when Indra had been thus besmeared, the deities, and the saints having asceticism for wealth, washed him here, and cleansed his person from the dirt. And the deities, having renounced here the filth that had clung unto the person of the mighty Indra, as well as his hunger, attained exceeding delight. And thereat Indra becoming purified, attained his former brightness, and became devoid of hunger. And mightily pleased with this region, he conferred on it an excellent boon, saying,-"Since these two places have held excreta from my body, they going by the names of Malada and Karusha, shall attain exceeding prosperity and fame among men." And beholding the land thus honoured by the intelligent Sacra, the deities said unto the subduer of Paka,-'Well!" "Well!" And, O repressor of foes, these two places, Malada and Karusha, enjoyed prosperity for a long lime and were blessed with corn and

wealth. Then after a space of time, was born a Yakshini capable of assuming forms at will, and endowed with the strength of a thousand elephants. Her name, good betide thee! was Taraka, and she was the spouse of the intelligent Sundashe whose son is the Rakshasa, Maricha possessed of the prowess of Sacra; having round arms, with a huge head, a capacious mouth and a cyclopean body. And that Rakshasa of dreadful form daily frightens people. And, O descendant of Raghu, Taraka of wicked deeds, daily commits havoc upon these countries, Malada and Karusha . And now at the distance of over half a Yojana, she stayeth, obstructing the way. And since this forest belongeth unto Taraka, thou shouldst repair thither and, resorting to the might of thy own arms, slay this one of wicked deeds. And by my direction, do thou again rid this region of its thorn: for no one dareth to approach such a place, infested, O Rama, by the dreadful and unbearable Yakshini. And now I have related unto thee all about this fearful forest. And to this day that Yakshini hath not desisted from committing ravages right and left."

SECTION 25.

Hearing this excellent speech of that ascetic of immeasurable energy, that foremost of men answered him in "O best of ascetics, I have heard that the these happy words,-Yaksha race is endowed with but small prowess. How can then that one of the weaker sex possess the strength of a thousand elephants?" Hearing this speech that was uttered by Raghava of immeasurable energy, Vicwamitra, delighting with his amiable words that subduer of foes. Rama, and Lakshmana. said,—"Do thou listen as to the means whereby attaining terrible strength, that one belonging to the weaker sex hath come to possess strength and prowess by virtue of a boon. In former times there was a mighty and exceedingly powerful Yaksha, named Suketu. And he had no issue. And he was of pure practices, and used to perform rigid austerities. And, O Rama, the Grand-sire, well pleased with that lord of Yakshas, conferred upon him a gem of a daughter, by name Taraka. And the Grand-sire endowed her with the strength of a thousand elephants; yet that illustrious one did not bestow a son on that Yaksha. And when she had grown, and attained youth and beauty, he gave that famous damsel unto Jambha's son, Sunda, for wife. And after a length of time, that Yakshi gave birth to a son, named Maricha, possessed of irrepressible energy-him who became a Rakshasa in consequence of a curse. And, O Rama, when Sunda had been destroyed, Taraka along with her son, set her heart upon afflicting that excellent saint Agastya. And enraged with Agastya, she rushed at him with a roar, intending to devour him. And on seeing her thus rushing, that worshipful saint, Agastya, said unto Maricha, 'Do thou become a Rakshasa!", and, in exceeding wrath, he also cursed Taraka. "And, O mighty Yakshi, ince in frightful guise with a frightful face thou hast desired to eat up a human being, do thou immediately leave this (thy original) shape, and become of a terrible form!" Thus cursed by Agastya, Taraka, overwhelmed with rage, lavs waste this fair region, where Agastya carrieth on his austerities. Do thou, O descendant of Raghu, for the welfare of Brahmanas and kine, slay this exceedingly terrible Yakshi of wicked ways and vile prowess! Nor, O son of Raghu, doth any one in the three worlds, save, thee, dare to slay this Yakshi joined with a curse. Nor shouldst thou, best of men, shrink from slaying a woman; for even this should be accomplished by a prince in the interests of the four orders. And whether an act be cruel or otherwise, slightly or highly sinful, it should for protecting the subjects, be performed by a ruler. Of those engaged in the onerous task of government, even this is the eternal rule of conduct. Do thou, O Kukutstha, slay this impious one; for she knoweth no righteousness! We hear, O king, that in days of yore, Sakra slew Virochana's daughter, Manthara, who had intented to distroy the earth. And formerly, O Rama, Vishnu destroyed Kavya's mother, the devoted wife of Bhrigu, who had set her heart upon making the world, devoid of Indra. By these as well as innumerable princes—foremost of men—have wicked women been slain. Therefore, O king, renouncing antipathy, do thou, by my command, slay this one!

SECTION 2

Hearing those bold words of the ascetic, the son of that foremost of men, Raghava firm in his vows, with clasped hands answered,-"In accordance with the desire of my sire, and in order to glorify it, I ought fearlessly to do even as Kucika's son saveth. And havingbeen desired to that end while at Ayodhya by that high-souled one, my father Dacaratha, in the midst of the spiritual guides, I ought not to pass by thy words. Therefore, commanded by that upholder of the Veda, I, agreeably to my father's mandate, will, without doubt, bring about that welcome event-the death of Taraka. And in the interests of Brahmanas, kine, and celestials, I am ready to act as desired by thee of immeasurable energy." Having said this, that repressor of foes, with clenched fist, twanged his bowstring, filling the ten cardinal points with the sounds. And at those sounds, the dwellers in Taraka's forest were filled with perturbation,-and Taraka also amazed at those sounds, became exceedingly wroth. And, rendered almost insensible

by anger, that Rakshasi furiously rushed in amain towards the spot whence had come the report. And beholding that frightful one of hideous visage and colossal proportions, transported with rage, Raghu's descendant spake unto Lakshmana,-"Behold, O Lakshmana, the terrible and hideous body of yonder Yakshini! The sight of her striketh terror into the hearts of even the brave. Mark! - This irrepressible one, possessing all the resources of illusion, will I oppose, and deprive her of ears and nose. But I dare not slav her, she being protected by virtue of her feminineness. I intend only to oppose her course, and de- prive her of her prowess.' As Rama was speaking thus, Taraka, deprived of sense through ire, uttering roars, with uplifted arms rushed against him. And thereat the Brahmarshi, Vicwamitra, uttering a roar, upbraided her, and said.— "Swasti!"46 May victory attend the descendants of Raghu!" And raising thick clouds of dust, Taraka instantly bewildered both the descendants of Raghu. And then by help of illusion, she began to pour upon them a mighty shower of crags. And thereat Raghu's descendant was wroth. And resisting that mighty shower of crags by vollies of shafts, Raghava with arrows cut off her hands. And with the fore-parts of her arms lopped off, as she was roaring before them, Sumitra's son waxing worth deprived her of her ears and nose. Therupon that one capable of assuming forms at will, began to assume various shapes; and to vanish from sight, bewildering her antagonists with her illusory displays. And terribly ranging the field, the Yakshi showered crags upon her antagonists. And beholding them enveloped on all sides by that craggy down-pour, the auspicious son of Gadhi spake these words,—"O Rama, renounce thy antipathy. This one of wicked ways is exceedingly impious. And this sacrifice-disturbing Yakshi will, by virtue of her power of illusion, come to increase more and more in energy. Do thou, therefore, against the arrival of dusk, slay her! The Rakshasas are incapable of being controlled when evening sets in." Thus addressed, Rama, displaying his skill in aiming by sounds, enveloped with arrows that Yakshi showering crags. Being thus hemmed in with a network cf shafts, she possessed of the powers of illusion, rushed against Kakutstha and Lakshmana, uttering terrible roars. And as that Yakshi, in prowess like unto a thunder-bolt, was rushing on, Rama pierced her chest with arrows,-and thereat she dropped down and died. And upon seeing that grim-visaged one slain, the lord of the celestials together with the celestials themselves honouring Kakutstha, exclaimed "Well!", "Well!" And exceedingly pleased, the thousand -eyed Purandara, together with the delighted deities, said unto Vicwamitra,—"O ascetic, O Kucika's son, good betide thee! all the Maruts with Indra at their head, have been gratified with this act (of Rama's). Do thou therefore show affection unto Raghava! Do thou, O Brahmana, confer upon Raghu's descendant the sons of Prajapati Kricacwa, of true prowess, and charged with ascetic energy. And ever following thee, he, O Brahmana, is fit to receive them of thee. And this son of the king is to accomplish a mighty task in the interest of the celestials." Saying this, the deities, having paid homage unto Vicwamitra, joyfully entered the celestial regions.

And now came evening on, when that best of ascetics, gratified at the destruction of Taraki, smelt Rami's crown and said these words,—"Here O Rama of gracious presence, shall we pass the night; and morrow morning wend unto that hermitage of mine." Hearing Vicwamitra's words, Dacatatha's son, glad at heart, happily passed that night in the forest of Taraka. And being thus freed from all disturbances from that day forth that forest appeared charming, even like unto the forest of Chaitraratha. Having thus slain the Yaksha's daughter, Rama, eulogized by celestials and Siddhas spent there that night with the saint, being awakened by the latter at the break of day.

SECTION 27.

Having passed that night, the illustrious Vicwamitra, smiling complacently sweetly spake unto Raghava, saying,-Pleased am I with thee. Good betide thee, O highly famous prince! With supreme pleasure, do I confer upon thee all the weapons by means of which subduing such antagonists as celestials and Asuras backed on earth by Gandharbas and Uragas, thou wilt in battle be crowned with victory. And all those celestial weapons, good betide thee, I will confer upon thee. And I will confer upon thee, O Raghava, the celestial and mighty Dandachakra, and Dharmachakra, and also Kalachakra. And O foremost of men, I will confer upon thee the fierce Vishnu Chakra, --- and Indra Chakra, and the Vajra, and Siva's Sulavata, and the weapon Brahmaciras, and Aishika, O mighty-armed descendant of Raghu! And, O best of men, I will, O king's son, bestow upon thee the matchless Brahma weapon, and, O Kakutstha, the two excellent maces. the flaming Modaki and Cikhari. And, O Rama, I will confer upon thee Dharmapaca, and Kalapaca, and the excellent Varunapaca. And, O descendant of Raghu, I will bestow upon thee the two Ashanis,-Sushka and Ardra, and the Pinaka weapon, and the Narayana, and the Agneya weapon called Sikhara, and the Vayavya, called Prathama, O sinless one!

And, O Raghava, I will confer upon thee the weapon called Hayaciras, and the Krauncha weapon, and 0 Kakutstha, a couple of darts, And I will confer upon the Kankala, and the dreadful Mashaia, and Kapala, and Kinkini-all those that are intended for slaughtering Rakshasas. And, O mightyarmed one, son of the best of men, I will confer upon thee the mighty weapon Vidyadhara, and that excellent scimitar named Nandana, and the favourite Gandharba weapon. Mohana, and Praswapana, and Pasamana, and Saumva, O Raghava! And O best of men, do thou accept Varshana, and Soshana, and Santapana, and Vilapana, and Madana hard to repress, beloved of Kandarpa, and that favourite Gandharba weapon, Manava, and the favourite Pichasa weapon, O highly famous prince. And do thou, O mighty- armed Rama, speedily accept the Tamasa. O best of men, and the exceedingly powerful Saumana, and the irrepressible Samvarta and Maushala, O son of the king, and the Satya weapon, and the supreme Mayamaya, and the Saura. Tejaprabha, capable of depriving foes of energy, and the Soma, and the Sisira, and the Tashtra, and the terrible Daruna belonging unto Bhaga, and Sileshu, and Madana — all assuming forms at will, and endowed with exceeding prowess, and highly exalted." Then with his face turned towards the east, that foremost of ascetics having purified himself, gladly conferred the mantras upon Rama. And the Vipra also bestowed upon Raghava those weapons, of which even he celestials are incapable of holding all. As that intelligent ascetic, Vicwamitra, recited mantras. all those invaluable weapons appeared before that descendant of Raghu. And, with clasped hands, they well-pleased, addressed Rama, —"These, O highly generous one, are thy servants, O Raghava. And whatever thou wishest, good betide thee, shall by all means be accomplished by us." Thus addressed by those highly powerful weapons, Kakutstha Rama, with a delighted soul, accepting them, touched them with his hand, and said,—"Do ye appear before me as I remember you!" Then the exceedingly energetic Rama, well pleased, paying everence unto the mighty ascetic, Vicwamitra, prepared to set out.

SECTION 28

Having accepted those weapons with purity, Kakutstha while proceeding, with a complacent countenance spake these words unto Viswamitra,-"O adorable one, I have received these weapons, incapable of being repressed even by the celestials themselves. Now, O best of ascetics, I would acquire a knowledge of withdrawing them." Upon Kakutstha's representing this, Vicwamitra of high austerities, endowed with patience, of excellent vows, and pure in spirit, communicated unto him the mantras for restraining the weapons. "Do thou, 0 Rama, accept Satyavat, and Sataykirti, Dhrishta, and Rabhasa, and Pratiharatara, and Paranmukha, and Avanmukha, and Lakshya, and Alakshya, and Drihanabha, and Sunabha, Dacaksha, and Satavaktra, and Dacacirsha, and Satodara, and Padranabha, and Mahanabha, and Indunabha, and Swanabha, and Jyotisha, and Sakuna, and Nairashya, and Vimala, and Yaugandhara, and Vindra, and the two Daityapramathanas, and Suchivahu, and Mahavahu, and Nishkali, and Virucha, and Archimali, and Dhritimali, and Vrittiman, and Ruchira, and Pitrya, and Saumansa, and Vidhuta, and Makara, and Karavira, and Rati and Dhana, and Dhanya, O Raghava, and Kamarupa, and Kamaruchi, and Moha, and Avarana, and Jrimbhaka and Sarpanatha, and Panthana, and Varuna,-these sons of Kricaswa, O Rama, effulgent, and assuming shapes at will. And, good betide thee, O descendant of Raghu, thou art worthy to receive these weapons." Thereupon, Kakutstha with a heart overflowing with delight, said,—"So be it!" And those weapons were furnished with celestial and shining persons, and endowed with visible shapes, and capable of conferring happiness. And some of them were like (live) coals; and some comparable unto smoke; and some were like unto the Sun or the Moon. And with folded hands, they spake unto Rama in honied accents,—O chief of men, here we are! Do thou command as to what we are to do on thy behalf." Then the descendant of Raghu answered, saying,-"Repair whithersoever ye will! Recurring to my memory, do ye in time of need, render me assistance!" Thereupon paying homage unto Rama, and having gone round him, they replied unto Kakutstha,—"Be it so!" and returned whence they had come. And having learnt all about those weapons, Raghava, while proceeding spake sweetly unto that mighty ascetic, Vicwamitra,—"What is yonder wood hard by the hill, appearing like clouds? Great is my curiosity. It is pleasing unto the sight, and abounds in beasts, and is exceedingly romantic, and is adorned with various birds singing sweetly. Now, O foremost of ascetics, we have come out of a wilderness capable of making one's hair stand on end. And from the pleasantness attaching to this place, I have come to a conclusion. Tell me, O reverend sir, whose hermitage is this? where, O eminent ascetic, is that hermitage where dwell those wicked-minded wretches of impious deeds, given to slaughtering Brahmanas, who disturb thy sacrifice? Where, O adorable one, is that spot, repairing unto which, O Brahmana

I am to protect thy sacrificial rites, and to slay the Rakshasas? All this, O foremost of ascetics, I desire to hear, O lord.'

Hearing those words of Rama of measureless prowess, vho had asked the question, the highly energetic Vicwamitra answered, saying, -- "Here, O mighty-armed Rama, Vishnu of mighty asceticism worshipped of all the deities, for years upon years, and hundreds of Yugas, dwelt for carrying on his austerities and Yoga. This, O Rama, was formerly the hermitage of the high-souled Vamana. And this is famed as Siddhacrama, in consequence of that one of potent asceticism having attained fruition there. And it came to pass that at this time Virochana's son, king Vali, having vanquished the celestials with Indra and the Maruts, established that dominion of his, famous in the three worlds. And that mighty chief of the Asuras celebrated a sacrifice. And as Vali was performing that sacrifice, the deities with Agni at their head, coming unto Vishnu himself at this asylum, addressed him, saying.—"Virochana's son, Vali, O Vishnu, is celebrating a sacrifice. Do thou, before the ceremoney is finished, accomplish thy own end. He duly conferreth upon such as repair unto him from various quarters all those things that they ask for. And do thou thyself, O Vishuu, aided by thy power of illusion, assuming a Dwarf-form, accomplish the welfare (of the celestials.)" In the meantime, O Rama, the wonderful Kasyapa resembling fire in splendour, and flaming in energy, having in company with, and with the assistance of, the divine Aditi, O Rama, accomplished his vow, lasting for hundred years, began to hymn the destroyer of Madhu ready to confer boons. "By means of warm austerities, do I behold thee composed of penances, a mass of mortifications, and endowed with a form and a soul of austerities. And in thy person, O lord, do I behold this entire universe. And in Thee without beginning, and incapable of being pointed out, do I take refuge!" Thereupon exceedingly pleased, Hari spake unto Kacyapa, with his sins purged off saying,mention the boon! Good betide thee. Methinks thou deservest a boon." Hearing these words of his, Marichi's son, Kacyapa, said,—"Aditi, the gods and I myself, crave of thee this,—and, O bestower of boons, it behoveth thee well pleased to confer on us this boon. O thou of excellent vows! Do thou, O sinless one, become born as my son in Aditi, O adorable deity! Do thou become the younger brother of Sakra, O destroyer of Asuras. It behoveth thee to help the celestials afflicted with grief. And this place through thy grace will attain the name of Siddhacrama. The work, O lord of the celestials, hath been accomplished. Do thou now, O thou of the six attributes. ascend from hence!" And accordingly Vishnu of mighty energy took his birth in Aditi. And assuming the form of a dwarf, he presented himself before Virochana's son. And then asking for as much earth as could be covered by three footsteps, that one ever engaged in the welfare of all creatures, with the object of compassing the good of all, stood occupying the worlds. And having by his power restrained Vali, that one of exceeding energy, again conferred the three worlds upon the mighty Indra, and made them subject to his control. Formerly he used to dwell in this asylum capable of removing fatigue. And through reverence for the Dwarf, I reside here. And this hermitage is infested by Rakshasas disturbing rites. And, O most puissant of men, here thou shouldst slav those ones of wicked ways. To-day, O Rama, will I repair unto this supremely excellent Siddhacrama. And this asylum, child, is as much thine as mine." Saying this, taking Rama and Lakshmana, the mighty ascetic, experiencing exceeding delight, entered that asylum, and appeared graceful, like the Moon emerged from mist in conjunction with the Punarvasu stars. And beholding Vicwamitra, the ascetics inhabiting Siddhacrama, suddenly rising in joy, worshipped that intelligent one,—and extended unto the princes the rites of hospitality. And then having reposed for while, those unreproved princes, the descendants of Raghu, with clasped hands, addressed that foremost of ascetics,-"Be thou even to-day initiated unto the ceremony. Good betide thee, O best of ascetics! Let this Siddhacrama verily attain fruition,—and let thy words be verified!" Thus addressed, that mighty saint of exceeding energy, with his mind subdued, and senses under restraint, caused himself to be initiated into the ceremony. And like unto the Kumaras, Rama and Lakshamana, having passed the night pleasantly, rose in the morning; and having finished their morning worship, and with purity and selfrestraint recited the prime mantras, paid their obeisance unto the sacrificial fire and the sacrificer, Vicwamitra, who was seated.

SECTION 30.

Then those princes, repressors of foes, cognisant of place, and time, and words, thus spake unto Kucika's son agreeably to time and place, saying,—"O adorable one do thou tell us as to the time when we should oppose those rangers of the night! Let not that hour pass away!" Upon the two Kakutsthas' saying this, and finding them prompt for the encounter, those ascetics well-pleased, fell to extolling the sons of the king. "For six nights from to-day, ye should

protect us. This ascetic hath been initiated into the sacrifice. and must therefore, observe taciturnity." Hearing these words of theirs, those illustrious princes, renouncing sleep, began to guard the hermitage six days and nights; and those heroic and mighty archers with their armours on protected that best of ascetics and subduer of enemies. And when time had thus gone by and the sixth day had arrived, Rama said unto Sumitra's son,-Being well equipped, be thou vigilant!" When Rama, manifesting emotion, and being eager for encounter, had said this, the priests and spiritual guides lit up the altar. And along with Vicwamitra and the family priests, they lit up the altar furnished with Kuca, and Kaca, and ladles, and faggots, and flowers. And as reciting mantras, they were about to duly engage in that sacrifice, there arose a mighty and dreadful uproar in the sky. And as in the rains, masses of clouds appear enveloping the firmament, the Rakshasas, displaying illusions in that wise, began to rush onward. And Maricha and Suvahu together with their followers coming in dreadful forms, began to shower down blood upon the altar. And on seeing the altar deluged with gore, Rama suddenly rushed forward, and beheld them in the sky. And suddenly seeing them rushing in amain, the lotus-eyed Rama fixing his gaze at Lakshmana, said,-"Behold, O Lakshmana, by means of a Manava weapon, I shall, without doubt, drive away the wicked, flesheating Rakshasas, even as the wind driveth away clouds before it. Surely I cannot bring myself to slay such as these." Saying this, that descendant of Raghu, Rama, in vehemence fixing on his bow an exceedingly mighty and gloriously-dazzling Manaya weapon, discharged it in great wrath at Maricha's chest. And wounded by that foremost of Manava weapons, Maricha carried off a sheer hundred Yojanas, dropped in the midst of the ocean. And finding Maricha senseless, and whirling, and afflicted by the might of the weapon, and overcome, Rama addressed Lakshmana, saying, -- "Behold, O Lakshmana, this Manava weapon first used by Manu, depriving him of his senses, hath carried him off,—and yet hath not taken his life! But these shameless, wicked, and blood-drinking Rakshasas, addicted to wrong-doing, these disturbers of sacrifices, will I slaughter." Having said this, anon showing unto Lakshmana his lightness of hand, Raghu's descendant took out a mighty Agneya weapon, and discharged it at the breast of Suvahu. Thereat being pierced with that shaft, he fell down upon the ground. Then taking a Vayavaya weapon, the illustrious and exceedingly generous Raghava, bringing delight unto those ascetics, slew the rest. And having destroyed all those Rakshasas disturbing sacrifices, Raghu's descendant was honoured by the saints, even as Indra in days of yore, after having vanquished the Asuras. And when the sacrifice had been completed, the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra, beholding all sides cleared of Rakshasas, spake unto Kakutstha, saying,-"O mightyarmed one, I have obtained my desire; and thou hast executed thy preceptor's mandate. And, O illustrious hero, thou hast truly made this a Siddhacrama." Having thus extolled Rama, he took Rama and Lakshmana, to perform his evening devotions.

SECTION 31.

Those heroes, Rama and Lakshmana, their interest secured, with glad hearts passed that night there. And when the night had passed away and the morning come, they together appeared before the saint, Vicwamitra, and the rest. And having saluted that foremost of ascetics resembling flaming fire, they of honied speech spake unto him words exceedingly 'These servants of thine, O best of ascetics, have come before thee. Do thou command, O chief of anchorets, what command of thine are we to execute?" Thus addressed by them. the Maharshis with Vicwamitra at their head spake unto Rama, saying,-"A highly meritorious sacrifice, O foremost of men, is to be celebrated by Mithila's lord, Janaka. Thither shall we repair. And thou, O great among men, must accompany us, and there behold a wonderful jewel of a bow. And formerly this bow of immeasurable energy, and dreadful, and exceedingly effulgent at the sacrifice, had been conferred in court by the celestials (on king Devarata). And neither gods nor Gandharbas, neither Asuras nor Rakshasas nor men. can fix the string upon it. And desirous of being acquainted with the prowess of this bow, many kings and princes came; but they in spite of their mighty strength, failed in stringing it. There, Kakutstha, thou wilt behold that bow belonging to the high-souled king of Mithila, -as well as his exceedingly wonderful sacrifice. That rare bow, O foremost of men, furnished with an excellent device for griping it, had been solicited by Mithila's lord as the fruit of his sacrifice; and the celestials conferred it upon him. And now, O descendant of Raghu, in the residence of king, the bow is worshipped like a deity with aguru, dhupa, and various other incenses." This having been said, that foremost of ascetics, in company with Kakutstha and the saints, departed. And on the eve of setting out, he addressed the sylvan deities, saying,—"Luck! I will, with my desire obtained, go from forth this Siddhacrama unto the Himavat mountain on the north of the Jahnavi." Having said this, that tiger-like ascetic, Kucika's son, along with other anchorets having asceticism for their wealth, set out in a

northerly direction. And as that best of ascetics proceeded, he was followed by Brahmanas upholding the Veda, carrying the sacrificial necessaries on an hundred cars. And birds and beasts dwelling in Siddhacrama followed the high-souled Vicwamitra having asceticism for wealth. And then followed by the body of devotees he dismissed the birds. And having proceded a longway, when the sun was sloping down, the ascetics rested on the banks of the Sona. And when the maker of day had set, having bathed and offered oblations unto the fire, those ascetics of immeasurable energy, placing Vicwamitra in their front, sat them down. And Rama also together with Sumitra's son, having paid homage unto those ascetics, sat him down before the intelligent Vicwamitra. Then Rama of exceeding energy, influenced by curiosity, asked that foremost of ascetics. Vicwamitra, having asceticism for his wealth, saying,-"O worshipful one, what country is this, graced with luxuriant woods? I am desirous of hearing this. Good betide thee, it behoveth thee to tell me this truly Thus addressed by Rama, that one of high austerities and excellent vows began in the midst of the saints to describe the oppulence of that region.

SECTION 32.

Once upon a time there was a mighty son of Brahma, of high austerities, named Kuca. And he was cognisant of duty, and ever engaged in observing vows and honouring good men And that high-souled one begat on Vaidarbhi, sprung from a respectable line, and endowed with all noble qualities, four sons like unto himself, and possessed of extraordinary prowess-Kucyamva, and Kucanabha, and Asurtarajas, and Vasu, resplendent and breathing exhaustless spirits. And with the deisre of enhancing Kshetrya merit, Kuca said unto his truthful and virtuous sons,-'Ye sons! do ye engage in the task of governing,-and thereby acquire immense merit." Hearing Kuia's words, those four foremost of men and best of sons addressed themselves to founding seats for their government. And the highly energetic Kucamva founded the city of Kaucamvi; and the righteous Kucanabha, the metropolis of Mahodaya; and the magnanimous Asurtarajas, Dharmaranya; and king Vasu, Girivraja, best of capitals. This city with these five mighty mountains shining around (otherwise) called Vasumati belongs to the high-souled Vasu. And the river known by the name of Sumagadhi flows through the Magadhas. And in the midst of the five foremost of hills, it looks like a garland. And this Magadhi, O Rama, belongs unto the high- souled Vasu, taking, O Rama, an easterly course, and flowing through fertile fields furnished with corn. And, O descendant of Raghu, the virtuous-souled Rajarshi Kucanabha begat an hundred peerless daughters on Ghritachi. And it came to pass that they endowed with youth, beautiful, and like unto the lightning in the rainy season, decked in excellent ornaments, coming to their garden, were merrily singing and dancing and playing on musical instruments, O Raghava! And as they perfect in every limb, and unparalleled on earth in beauty, and endowed with all qualities, and furnished with youth and grace, were in the garden, like unto stars embosomed among clouds, that life of all, the air, beheld them and said,- "I seek for ye: do ye become my wives. Do ye renounce this human guise, and attain long lives. Youth verily is unstable, specially with the human beings: do ye attaining unfading youth, become immortal:" Hearing this speech of the Air of ever fresh energy, the damsels ridiculing it, said,—"Thou rangest the hearts of all creatures, O foremost of celestials, and we also know thy influence. Wherefore, then, dost thou dishonour us? O foremost of celestials, we are the daughters of Kucanabha, O divine one. And god as thou art, we can dislodge thee from thy place; but we refrain from doing so, lest thereby we lose our ascetic merit. May, O foolish one, that time never come, when disregarding our truthful sire, we following our inclination, shall resort to self choice. Our father verily is our lord and prime god. Of him even shall we become the wives unto whom our father giveth us away." At these words of theirs, that lord and adorable one, the Air, exceedingly enraged, then entered into their bodies, and broke all their limbs. Their bodies being thus broken by Air, those damsels. exceedingly agitated and overwhelmed with shame, with tears in their eyes entered the residence of the king. And finding his supremely beautiful and favourite daughters with their limbs broken, and woe- begone, the king bewildered, spake,-'Ye daughters, what is this? Who is it that thus disregards virtue? By whom have ye all come by this crooked form? And why demonstrating your grief, do ye not answer me? Having said this, the king heaved a deep sigh and became eager to hear all

SECTION 33.

Hearing those words of the intelligent Kucanabha, his hundred daughters touching his feet with their heads, said, — 'O king, that life of all, the Air, was desirous of overcoming us, having recourse to an improper way, nor did he regard morality.—We have a father, good betide thee; and have no will of our own. Do thou ask our father about it, if he consent conferring us on thee.—But that wicked wight did not listen

to our words; and as we were saying this, were we roughly handled by him.' Hearing those words of theirs, the highly pious and puissant king addressed his hundred beautiful daughters, saying,—'Ye have displayed a signal example of that forgiveness which is fit to be followed by the forbearing; and that ye have unanimously regarded the honour of my house, also conduces to your praise. Alike to men and women. forbearance is an ornament. And difficult it is for one to exercise that forbearance, specially in respect of the celestials. And may every descendant of mine possess forbearance like unto yours! Forbearance is charity; forbearance is truth; forbearance, O daughters, is sacrifice; forbearance is fame; forbearance is virtue,-yea,the universe is established in forbearance. Then dismissing his daughters, the king endowed with the prowess of celestials and versed in counsel, began to consult with his counsellors about the bestowal of his daughters in respect of time and place and person and equality of lineage. And it came to pass that at this time an ascetic named Chuli, highly effulgent, with his vital fluid under control, and of pure practices, was performing Brahmya austerities. And as the saint was engaged in austerities, good betide thee, Urmila's daughter named Somada-a Gandharbi-ministered unto him. And in all humility that virtuous one for a definite period was engaged in ministering unto him. And thereat, her spiritual guide was gratified with her. And, O descendant of Raghu, once he said unto her,-'I am gratified good betide thee! What good shall I render thee? Thereupon, concluding that the ascetic was gratified, the Gandharbi, cognisant of words, exceedingly delighted, sweetly addressed that one versed in speech,—'Thou art furnished with the Brahmya fire, art like Brahma himself, and of mighty austerities. I desire of thee a righteous son endowed with the Brahmva ascetic virtues. I am without a husband, good betide thee, and I am no one's wife. Upon me who am thy servant, thou shouldst confer such a son by help of Brahmya means.' Thereupon, well pleased with her, the Brahmarshi Chulina conferred upon her an excellent Brahmya mind-begotten son, named Brahmadatta. And that king, Brahmadatta, founded the flourishing city of Kampilya, even as the sovereign of the celestials founded the celestial regions. And, O Kakutstha, the righteous king Kucanabha finally decided on conferring his hundred daughters upon Brahmadatta. And inviting Brahmadatta that highly energetic lord of earth, with a glad heart conferred his hundred daughters upon him. And, O descendant of Raghu, king Brahmadatta resembling the lord himself of the celestials, by turns received their hands in marriage. And as soon as he touched them, the hundred daughters were cured of their crookedness, and became free from anguish, and were endowed with pre-eminent beauty, And upon beholding them delivered from (the tyranny of) the Air, the monarch Kucanabha became exceedingly delighted, and rejoiced again and again. And he dismissed the newly married lord of earth, king Brahmadatta, in company with his consorts and the priests. And the Gandharbi Somada rejoiced exceedingly at the completion of the nuptials of her son; and embracing her daughters-in-law again and again, and extolling her son, she expressed the fulness of her joy."

SECTION 34.

'And, O Raghava, when Brahmadatta was married, that sonless one, (Kucanabha), with the intention of obtaining male offspring, took in hand a son-conferring sacrifice. And when the sacrifice had commenced, that son of Brahma, the exceedingly noble Kuca, spake unto king Kucanabha, saying, 'O son, there will be born unto thee a virtuous son like to thyself: thou wilt obtain even Gadhi,—and through him enduring fame in this world.' Having said this unto king Kucanabha, Kuca, O Rama, entering the welkin, went to the eternal regions of Brahma. Then after sometime, an eminently virtuous son, named Gadhi, was born to the intelligent Kucanabha. O Kakutstha, even that highly pious Gadhi is my sire. And, O descendant of Raghu I, called Kaucika, am sprung from Kuca's line. And, O Raghava, I had a sister of noble yows born before me. And her name was Satyayati: and she was bestowed upon Richika. And following her lord, she ascended heaven in her own proper person. And my highly generous sister, Kauciki, hath finally assumed the form of a mighty river. And in order to compass the welfare of all creatures, my sister is now a noble and charming river of sacred waters, issuing from the Himavat mountains. And thenceforth, out of affection for my sister, Kauciki, I ever dwell happily in the vicinity of the Himavat, O Raghava. And that virtuous Kauciki, Satyavati, as well established in religion as truth, and chaste, and eminently pious, is now the foremost of streams. And, O Rama it is only for the purpose of completing my sacrifice that leaving her behind, I have come to Siddhacrama. And now by virtue of thy energy, have I attained fruition Now O Rama I have narrated unto thee the circumstances connected with the history of my line and myself, as also of this place, O mighty-armed one,-which thou hadst asked me to relate. But, O Kakutstha, while I was speaking, half the night hath been spent. Do thou now sleep, good betide thee, -so that thou mayst not feel any difficulty

while on the journey. The trees stand motionless, and the beasts and birds are silent, and, O descendant of Raghu, all sides have become enveloped in nocturnal gloom. The midnight is gradually passing away; and the firmament thickstudded with stars resembling eyes, is illumined up with their light. And that dispeller of darkness, the mild-beaming moon, is rising, gladdening the hearts of all creatures with his splendour. And night-ranging beings-terrible carnivorous Yakshas and Rakshasas— walk hither and thither." Having said this, the mighty ascetic of exceeding energy paused. And those ascetics honouring him, said,—"Excellent! Excellent! This line belonging to the Kucikas is ever exalted and devoted to virtue, And those foremost of men sprung in the Kuca race are high-souled and like unto Brahmarshis-and specially thou, O illustrious Vicwamitra, art so. And that best of streams, Kauciki, hath added lustre unto thy line." and the auspicious son of Kucika having been extolled by those delighted ascetics-the foremost of their order-slept, like unto the sun, when setting. And Rama too along with Sumitra's son having in admiration praised that best of ascetics, enjoyed the luxury of slumber.

SECTION 35.

Having in company with the ascetics passed the remainder of the night on the banks of the Sona, Vicwamitra, when the day broke, spake,-"O Rama, the night hath passed away, and the morn hath come. The hour for performing the prior devotions hath arrived. Arise! arise! good betide thee! Do thou prepare for going." Hearing these words of his, Rama, having finished his morning devotions and rites, and ready for departure said,-"This is the Sona, of excellent waters, fathomless, and studded with islets. O Brahmana, by which way shall we cross?" Thus addressed by Rama, Vicwamitra replied,—"Even this path hath been fixed upon by me,—that, namely, which the Maharsais go." And having proceeded far, when the day had been half spent they beheld that foremost of streams, the Jahnavi, worshipped by ascetics. And having beheld that river furnished with sacred waters, and frequented by swans and cranes, the ascetics who accompanied Raghava were exceedingly delighted. And they took up their quarters on the banks of the river. And then having bathed and duly offered oblations of water unto the gods and the manes of their ancestors, and performed Agnihotra sacrifices, and partaken of clarified butter like unto nectar, those highsouled and auspicious ones, with glad hearts, sat down, surrounding Vicwamitra. And the descendants of Raghu also sat down, occupying prominent places as befitted their rank. Then Rama with a heart surcharged with cheerfulness snake unto Vicwamitra, saying,—"O adorable one, I desire to hear how the Ganga flowing in three directions and embracing the three worlds, falls into the lord of streams and rivers." Influenced by Rama's speech, the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra entered upon the history of the Ganga's origin and progress, O Rama, that great mine of ore, Himavat is the foremost of mountains. Unto him were born two daughters, unparalleled on earth in loveliness. And, O Rama, their mother of dainty waist, the amiable daughter of Meru, named Mena, was the beloved wife of Himavat-she of whom was born Ganga the elder daughter of Himavat; and, O Raghava, a second daughter was also born unto him, named Uma. And it came to pass that once upon a time, the deities, with the view of accomplishing some work appertaining to them as divine beings, in a body besought that foremost of mountains for that river flowing in three directions, Ganga. Thereupon, desirous of the welfare of the three worlds, Himavat in obedience to duty, conferred upon them his daughter flowing everywhere at will, and sanctifying all creatures. Thereat in the interests of the three worlds, accepting her, those having the welfare of the three worlds at heart, went away with Ganga, considering themselves as having attained their desire. The other daughter of the mountain, O descendant of Raghu, adopting a stern vow, began to carry on austerities, having asceticism for her wealth. And that best of mountains bestowed upon Rudra of unequalled form his daughter Uma, furnished with fiery asceticism, and worshipped of the worlds. And these, O Raghava, are the daughters of that king of mountains, worshipped of all, viz., Ganga, the foremost of streams, and the divine Uma. Now, O best of those endowed with motion, have I related unto thee how that sin-destroying one flowing with her waters in three diverse directions, first, O child, went to the firmament and then ascended the celestial regions.

SECTION 36.

When the ascetic had spoken thus, both the heroes, Rama and Lakshmana, saluting that first of anchorets, said,— "O Brahmana, thou hast delivered this noble narration fraught with morality. Now it behoves thee to speak about the elder daughter of the mountain-king. Thou art extensively conversant with everything relative to men or gods. Why is it that that purifier of the worlds laveth three directions? And why is that foremost of streams, Ganga, famous as wending in three ways? And, O thou cognisant of morality, what are her performances in the three worlds?" Thereat Vicwamitra

having asceticism for his wealth, began to relate unto Kakutstha that history in detail in the midst of the ascetics. 'In days of yore, O Rama, the blue-throated one of mighty asceticism, having entered into matrimony, commenced upon knowing the goddess. And as that intelligent blue-throated god, Mahadeva, was thus engaged in sport, a devine hundred years passed away; and yet, O Rama, chastiser of foes, no son was born of her. Thereat all the gods with the Grand sire at their head became exceedingly anxious. "Who will be able to bear the offspring of this union?" And thereupon the celestials repairing unto Mahadeva, thus addressed him, saluting low,-'O god of gods, O mighty deity, ever engaged in the welfare of all, it behoveth thee to be propitious at the humble salutations of the celestials. The worlds, O foremost of celestials, are incapable of bearing thy energy. Therefore, for the welfare of the three worlds, do thou, being furnished with Brahma asceticism, in company with the goddess practise austerities, and rein in thy energy by thy native indomitableness. Do thou preserve these worlds; for it becometh thee not to destroy all.' Hearing the words of the deities, the great god of the worlds said unto them.- 'So be it!' And addressing them again he said,—'Ye gods, by my own energy I will assisted by Uma bear my virile vigour,therefore let the creation find rest! But tell me, ye foremost of celestials, who will sustain my potent virility rushing out from its receptacle?' Being thus addressed, the gods answered him having the bull for his mark,—'The earth will to-day bear thy vital flow.' Thus assured, the mighty lord of the celestials let go his vital fluid; and thereat the earth containing mountains and forests was overspread with the energy. Then the gods spake unto the Fire, saying,—'Do thou in company with the Wind enter into this fierce and mighty energy!' And when the Wind had entered into it, it was developed into a white hill, and a forest of glossy reeds, resembling fire or the Sun. And here sprang from Fire Kartikeya of mighty energy. And there- upon the celestials and the saints, with gratified hearts, began to pay enthusiastic adorations unto Uma aud Siva. Then the Mountain's daughter, O Rama, addressed the celestials, cursing them with eyes reddened in wrath,-'While in association with Mahadeva for obtaining sons, I was broken in upon by ye, for this, ve shall not be able vourselves to beget offspring on your wives. And from this day forth, your wives shall remain without issue.' Having thus spokeu unto the celestials, she cursed the Earth also, saying,-'O Earth, thou shalt have various forms, and many shall lord it over thee! Nor, stained because of my ire, shalt thou experience the pleasure that is felt on obtaining a son. O thou of wicked understanding, O thou that dost not wish me a son!' Witnessing the gods thus distressed, the lord of the celestials set out in the direction presided over by Varuna. And having repaired to the north side of that mountain, Maheswara along with the goddess became engaged in austerities on the peak Himavatprabhava. I have now related unto thee, O Rama, the spread of the Mountain's daughter, (Ganga). Do thou how together with Lakshmana listen to the narration of Bhagirathi's potency.

SECTION 37.

And on that celestial being engaged in austerities, the deities with Indra and Agni at their head, desirous of gaining over the generalissimo, appeared before the Grandsire. And, O Rama, the gods with Agni at their head, bowing unto him. addressed that possessor of the six attributes, the Grand-sire, saying,-'0 God, that adorable one who had formerly consigned unto us the generalissimo, resorting to high asceticism, is practising austerities with Uma. Do thou now, O thou conversant with resources, so order as is advisable in the interests of the worlds! Verily thou art our prime way. Hearing the words of the deities, the Grandsire of all creatures, consoling them with soft words, spoke unto them, saying,-'Even as the Mountain's daughter hath said, sons will not be born unto ye of your own wives. Her word is infallible of a certainty: there is no doubt about it. This is the celestial Ganga-she on whom Hutasana will beget a son the foe-subduing generalissimo of the celestials. And the elder daughter of the Mountain will consider that son as brought forth by Uma; and Uma also will, without doubt, look upon him with regard.' Hearing these words of his, O descendant of Raghu, the gods bowing unto the Grand-sire, paid him homage. Then, O Rama, repairing unto the Kailaca mountain teeming with metals, the deities commissioned Agni with the view of having a son (born unto him.) 'Do thou, O god. accomplish this work of the deities! O thou of mighty energy, do thou discharge thy energy into that daughter of the mountain, Ganga.' Thereupon giving his promise unto the gods, Pavaka approached Ganga, saying,- 'Do thou, O Goddess, bear an embryo; for even this is the desire of the deities.' Hearing this speech, she assumed a divine appearance. And beholding her mightiness, Agni was shrunk up on all sides. And then Pavaka from all sides discharged his energy into her,-and thereat all her streams became surcharged with it, O descendant of Raghu. And unto him staying at the head of all the deities, Ganga spoke, saying,-'O god, I am incapable of sustaining this new-sprung energy of thine: I am

burning with that fire, and my consciousness fails me.' Thereupon that partaker of the oblations offered unto the gods, said unto Ganga,—'Do thou bring forth thy embryo on the side of this Himavat!' Hearing Agni's words, Ganga of mighty energy cast her exceedingly effulgent embryo on her streams, O sinless one. And as it came out of her, it wore the splendour of molten gold; and in consequence of its fiery virtue, objects near and objects far were converted into gold and silver of unsurpassed sheen.—while those that were more distant were turned into copper and iron. And her excreta were turned into lead. In this wise, various metals began to increase on earth. And as soon as the embryo was brought forth, the woods adjoining the mountain, being overspread with that energy, were turned into gold. And from that day, O descendant of Raghu, gold of effulgence like unto that of fire, became known as Jatarupa, O foremost of men! And when the son was born, the deities with Indra and the Maruts enjoined ipon the Kirtika stars to suckle him. 'Surely he shall be son into us all'-concluding thus, they as soon as he was born, by turns began to dispense milk unto him. Then the celestials called him Kartikeya, saying,-'Without doubt, this son shall become famed over the three worlds.' And hearing those words of theirs, the Kirtikas bathed the offspring that had issued from her womb, flaming like fire, with auspicious marks. And, O Kakutstha, since Kartikeya had issued from (Ganga's) womb, the celestials called that effulgent and mighty-armed one, Skanda. And then the teats of the Kritikas were filled with milk: and thereupon assuming six mouths, he began to suck milk from the teats of those six. And having drunk the milk, that lord although then possessed of a tender frame, by virtue of his inborn prowess in one day vanquished the Danava forces. And him possessed of mighty effulgence, the celestials assembled with Agni as their leader sprinkled with water, by way of installing him as their generalissimo. He who, O Kakutstha, on the earth revereth Kartikeva, is blessed, and attaineth righteousness, and being long-lived and obtaining sons and grand-sons, repaireth to the regions of Skanda.'

SECTION 38.

Having said those words unto Rama, composed of melodious letters, Kaucika again spoke unto Kakutstha, -"Formerly there was a king-lord of Ayodhya Sagara. And it came to pass that righteous one, though eagerly wishing for children, was without issue. And Vidharbha's daughter, O Rama, named Kecini, was the elder wife of Sagara. And she was virtuous and truthful. And the second wife of Sagara was called Sumati, who was the daughter of Arishtanemi and the sister of Suparna.57 And with those wives of his, that mighty king, coming to the Himavat, began to practise austerities on the mountain Bhriguprasravana. And when a full hundred years had been numbered, the ascetic that had been adored by means of these austerities, Brighu, best of those endowed with truth.conferred a boon upon Sagara, saving. —'O sinless one, thou shalt obtain glorious offspring; and, O foremost of men, thou shalt attain unparalleled renown among men. And, O child, one of thy consorts shall bring forth a son who will perpetuate thy race; and the other give birth to sixty thousand sons.' As that best of men was saying this, those daughters of kings, exceedingly delighted, propitiating him, addressed him with clasped hands, —'Who of us, O Brahmana, shall produce a single son, and who many? This, O Brahmana, we wish to hear. May thy word prove true!' Hearing this, the highly pious Bhrigu said these pregnant words,-'Do ye unfold your minds. Who wishes for what boon,-between a single perpetuator of the line, and innumerable sons, possessed of mighty strength, and furnished with fame, and endowed with high spirits?' Hearing the ascetic's words, O descendant of Raghu, Kecini in the presence of the monarch chose, O Rama, a single son to perpetuate the line; and Suparna's sister, Sumati, sixty thousand sons, high spirited and furnished with fame. And then, O son of Raghu, having gone round the saint and bowed down the head, the king went to his own capital, accompanied by his consorts. And after a length of time, the elder, Kecini, bore a son unto Sagara, known by the name of Asamanja. And Sumati, O foremost of men, brought forth a gourd. And when it burst open, out came from it sixty thousand sons. And the nurses fostered them by keeping them in jars filled with clarified butter. And after a great length of time, they attained to youth. And after a long lapse of time, Sagara's sixty thousand sons attained to youth and beauty. And O foremost of men, the eldest son of Sagara, taking those children, would, O descendant of Raghu, often cast them into the Sarayu, and in mirth behold them sinking in the waters. Being thus evil-disposed, and injuring honest folks, and engaged in doing wrong unto the citizens, he was banished by his father from the city. And Asamanja had a son possessed of prowess named Ansuman. And he was beloved of all men and fair-spoken towards every one.

"And, O foremost of men, it came to pass that after a long time had gone by, that lord of earth Sagara made up his mind, saying,—'I will sacrifice.' And having determined jpon it,

that one versed in the Vedas set about it, in company with his priests."

SECTION 39.

When Vicwamitra had ended, hearing his words, Rama exceedingly pleased, spoke unto that ascetic resembling -"I am anxious to hear in detail, good flaming fire, saying,betide thee, how, O Brahmana, my ancestor arranged for the sacrifice." Hearing those words of his, Vicwamitra, smiling, eagerly spoke unto Kakutstha, saying,-"Do thou, O Rama, hearken unto the story of the high-souled Sagara's sacrifice. Sankara's father-in-law is the far-famed Himavat. And approaching each other, the Himavat and the Vindhya beheld each other. And on the region lying between them took place, O foremost of men, that sacrifice of Sagara's. And that country, O best of men, is excellent as a sacrificial ground. And, O Kakutstha, equipped with a powerful bow, that mighty car-warrior, living under Sagara's sway, Ancumat, O child, followed the horse, for the purpose of protecting it. And it came to pass that with the intention of disturbing the sacrifice of that monarch, on a certain day Vasava, assuming the form of a Rakshasi, stole away the sacrificial horse. And, O Kakutstha, on the horse of that high-souled one being stolen, the priests said unto the king engaged in the 'On this auspicious day, hath the sacrificial horse been stolen by violence. Do thou, O Kakutstha, slay him that steals the horse,—and bring it back. Otherwise the sacrifice will be defective, bringing us misfortune. Therefore, do thou, O king, act so, that the sacrifice may not be marred with defects.' Hearing the words of the priests, the king addressed his sixty thousand sons in the midst of his court, saying,-'Being, as this great sacrifice is, presided over by eminently pious Brahmanas sanctified by mantras, I do not, ye foremost of men, ye sons, see how Rakshasas may find entrance into it. Therefore, repair ve, and seek for the horse, ve sons. Good betide you! Do ye search the entire earth engarlanded with oceans; and do ye search Yoyana after Yoyana, ye sons. And do ye delve the earth till ye light upon the horse, by my command following the track of that stealer of the horse. I have been initiated into this sacrifice with my grand-sons and priests.' And thereat the mighty princes, enjoined by their father, breathing high spirits, began to range the earth, O Rama. Then they each fell to delving the bowels of the earth for the space of a Yoyana in length and breadth, with their hands resembling thunder-bolts in feel, and with darts like unto thunder-bolts, and with gigantic ploughshares. And being thus riven, the earth, O descendant of Raghu, began to send forth loud cries

O Raghava, O thou hard to repress, there arose an uproar from serpents, and Asuras, and Rakshasas, and other creatures, that were being slaughtered. And, O descendant of Raghu, they excavated the earth, O Rama, for sixty thousand Yoyanas,-yea, as if they had intended to reach the lowest depths underground. Thus, O foremost of kings, those sons of the monarch dug all around Jamvudwipa, filled with mountains. Thereat, the gods together with the Gandharbas, and Asuras, and Pannagas, in trepidation appeared before the Grand-sire. And propitiating that high-souled one, they with melancholy countenances and in exceeding agitation, spoke these words unto the Grand-sire,-'O adorable one, the entire earth is being excavated by the sons of Sagara; and many are the high souled ones as well as the aquatic animals that are being slain in consequence.—This one is the disturber of our sacrifice, and by him hath the sacrificial horse been stolen,-saying this, Sagara's sons are committing havoc upon all creatures."

SECTION 40.

Hearing the speech of the celestials, that possessor of the six attributes, the Grand-sire, spoke unto them exceedingly frightened and deprived of their senses on beholding the prowess of Sagara's sons like unto the Destroyer himself,-This entire Earth belongeth unto the intelligent Vasudeva, she being his consort. And that adorable one is indeed her lord. And assuming the form of Kapila, he unceasingly sustaineth the Earth. And the sons of king Sagara will be consumed by the fire of his wrath. The pre-ordained excavation of the Earth, as well as the destruction of Sagara's sons, had been foreseen by the far-sighted.' Hearing the words of the Grand-sire, those repressors of their foes, the three and thirty celestials, being exceedingly rejoiced, went back to their respective quarters. And as the sons of Sagara were riving the Earth, there arose a mighty noise, like unto the bursting of thunder. Then, having riven the entire Earth and ranged it all around, the sons of Sagara together (returned to their father) and spake unto him, saying -By us hath the Earth been extensively surveyed, and have powerful deities and Danavas, Rakshasas, Picachas, Uragai and Pannagas been slain; and vet do we find neither the horse nor the stealer thereof. What are we to do now? Good betide thee, do thou consider it well.' Hearing those words of his sons, that foremost of kings, getting into a wrath, said, O descendant of Raghu,-'Do ye yet again, good betide ye, delve the earth, and having got at the stealer of the horse, cease.' Receiving

this mandate of their sire, the sixty- thousand sons of the high-souled Sagara rushed towards the depths of the earth. And as they were engaged in excavating, they beheld the elephant of the quarter resembling a hill, named Virupaksha, holding the earth. And, O son of Raghu, that mighty elephant, Virupaksha, held on his head the entire earth with its mountains and forests. And, O Kakutstha, when on sacred days the mighty elephant, from fatigue, shaketh his head, then takes place the earthquake. Thereupon, O Rama, going round that mighty elephant, and honouring him duly, they went on piercing the underearth. And having pierced the East, they pierced the South,-and in the Southern quarter also they beheld a mighty elephant—the high-souled Mahapadma, resembling a huge hill, holding the earth on his head. And thereat they marvelled greatly. And having gone round him. the sixty- thousand sons of the high-souled Sagara began to penetrate into the Western region. And in the Western quarter also those highly powerful ones beheld the elephant of that quarter named Saumanasa, resembling a mighty mountain. And having gone round him, and asked him as to his welfare, they delving on, arrived at the Northern region. And on the North likewise, O foremost of the Raghus, they beheld Bhadra, white as snow, holding this earth on his goodly person. And having felt as well as gone round him, those sixty thousand sons of Sagara went on penetrating the depths of the earth. Then repairing to the famous Northeastern region, Sagara's sons becoming enraged, began to dig the earth. And there those high-souled, exceedingly powerful and vehement ones beheld the eternal Vasudeva in the guise of Kapila. And there also, experiencing exceeding delight, O descendant of Raghu, they found his horse, browsing hard by. And knowing him to be the destroyer of the sacrifice, they bearing spades, and ploughs, and innumerable trees and crags with eyes reddened with ire, furiously rushed against him, exclaiming,-'Stay! Stay! And thou it is that hast stolen our sacrificial horse. O thou of wicked understanding, know that thou hast fallen into the hands of the sons of Sagara.' Hearing this speech of theirs, Kapila, O descendant of Raghu, overwhelmed with rage uttered a tremendous roar. And then, O Kakutstha, the sons of Sagara were reduced to ashes by the high-souled and incomparable Kapila.

SECTION 41

Seeing the delay on the part of his sons, King Sagara, O son of Raghu, addressed his grandson, flaming in his native energy, saying,-Thou art heroic and accomplished and like unto thy uncles. Do thou enquire into the circumstances that have befallen thy uncles, as also about the way by which the horse hath escaped. And as there are stong and mighty creatures inhabiting the Earth's interior, with the view of resisting them, do thou take thy bow along with thy scimitar. And honouring those that deserve to be honoured and slaying such as disturb thee, do thou, having attained thy end, come back, becoming the instrument for the completion of my sacrifice.' Thus duly enjoined by the high-souled Sagara, Ancumat endowed with fleet vigor, taking his bow as well as his scimitar, set out. And commanded by the monarch, O best of men, he found the underground way that had been carved out by those high-souled ones. And he found an exceedingly powerful elephant belonging to the cardinal point, worshipped by deities, and Danavas, and Rakshasas, and goblins, and birds, and Uragas. And having gone round him, and asked him as to his welfare, he enquired after his uncles and the stealer of the horse. Hearing this, the mighty-minded elephant of that quarter answered—'O son of Asamanja, having attained thy object, thou wilt speedily return with the horse.' And hearing those words of his, Ancumat by turns duly asked the same question of all the elephants belonging to the cardinal points. And being honoured by those guardians of the cardinal points, knowing words as well as their application in regard to time, place, and person, he was asked by them, saying,-'Do thou come with the horse!' Hearing those words of theirs, that one of fleet vigor repaired unto the spot where the sons of Sagara, his uncles, had been reduced to a heap of ashes. And (arriving there), Asamanja's son, smitten with grief, and being exceedingly afflicted at their destruction. bewailed in heaviness of heart. And exercised by grief and sorrow, that foremost of men espied there the sacrificial horse straying near. And desirous of offering oblations of water unto those princes, that highly powerful one in need of water, did not find any watery expanse in the neighbourhood. And it came to pass, O Rama, that surveying wide, he descried the maternal uncle unto the princes, Suparna, the lord of birds, resembling the Wind. And thereupon Vinata's son possessed of mighty strength spoke unto him, saying,—'Do not lament, O foremost of men. The destruction of these was for the welfare of all. These highly powerful ones had been consumed by the peerless Kapila,—therefore, thou ought not to offer water unto them in consonance with social usuage. Ganga O foremost of men, is the elder daughter of Himavat. In her (streams) do thou perform the watery rites of thy uncles, O mighty-armed one: let that purifier of the worlds lave these, reduced to a heap of ashes. And on these ashes being watered by Ganga, dear unto all, the sixty thousand sons of Sagara

will repair unto the celestial regions. Do thou, O highly pious one, go back, taking this horse, O foremost of men; and do thou complete the sacrifice of thy grand-father, O hero.' Hearing Suparna's speech, the exceedingly powerful Ancumat of mighty asceticism speedily taking the horse, retraced his steps. Then coming to the king who had been initiated into the ceremony, he, O descendant of Raghu, faithfully communicated unto him the words of Suparna, Hearing this sorrowful intelligence, the king duly finished the sacrifice agreeably to the scriptures. And having seen the completion of the sacrifice, that lord of earth entered his capital; but the king could not see how to bring Ganga on earth. And without being able to ascertain it, the mighty monarch after a long course of time, and having reigned for thirty thousand years, ascended heaven."

SECTION 42

When Sagara had bowed unto the influence of Time, the subjects selected the righteous Ancumat for their king. And, O descendant of Raghu, Ancumat proved a great ruler. And his sbn, the celebrated Dilipa, was also a great king. And, O Raghu's son, consigning unto Dilipa his kingdom, Ancumat entered upon rigid austerities on the romantic summit of the Himavat. And having for the space of thirty-two hundreds of thousands years carried on austeries in the woods, that highly famous one, crowned with the wealth of aceticism, attained the celestial regions. And the exceedingly powerful Dilipa, hearing of the destruction of his grand-fathers, was stricken with grief: yet he could not ascertain his course about it. And he constantly thought as to how Ganga could be brought down, how to perform their watery rites, and how to deliver them. And as that pious one furnished with self- knowledge was always meditating upon this, an eminently virtuous son was born unto him named Bhagiratha. And performing numerous sacrifices, the mighty king Dilipa reigned for thirty thousand years. And without having arrived at any definite decision in regard to their deliverance, the king, O puissant one, being attacked with an ailment, breathed his last. And having sprinkled his son Bhagiratha in the way of installing him in the kingdom, that prime of men, the king, by virtue of his own acts, repaired to the region of Indra. And, O descendant of Raghu, that royal saint Bhagiratha was possessed of righteousness, And being without issue, and desiring to obtain it, the mighty monarch consigned his kingdom and his subjects to the care of his counsellors, and engaged in bringing down Ganga. And, O Raghu's descendant, restraining his senses, and eating once a month, and surrounding himself with five fires, and with arms upraised, he for a long lapse of time performed austerities at Gokarna. And as he was performing his terrible austerities, a thousand years rolled away. And thereat that possessor of the six attributes and lord of all creatures, Brahma, was wellpleased with that high-souled monarch. And presenting himself together with the celestials, the Grand-sire thus spoke unto the high-souled Bhagiratha engaged in austerities,—'0 Bhagiratha, O mighty monarch, pleased am I with thee, O lord of men, on account of thy ardent austerities; do thou, O thou of excellent vows, ask for the boon thou wouldst have. Thereupon that great car-warrior, the highly powerful and mighty-armed Bhagiratha, with clasped hands, said unto the Grand-sire of all creatures,-'If, adorable one, thou art pleased with me, if thou wouldst grant me the fruit of my asceticism, may Sagara's sons receive water at my hands; and on the ashes of those high-souled ones being laved by the waters of Ganga, may my great-grand-fathers without fail repair unto heaven! And, O divine one, I beseech thee, may our line never languish for want of offspring. May, O God, this prime boon light upon Ikshwaku's race!' When the king had said this, the Grand-sire addressed him these sweet and auspicious words composed of melting letters,-'O mighty car-warrior Bhagiratha, high is this thy aim. Be it so, good betide thee, thou enhancer of the Ikshwaku line. Haimavati Ganga, Himavat's elder daughter, even her to hold, O king, do thou employ Hara; for Ganga's fall, O king, Earth will not be able to sustain. And to hold her, O king, find I none save the weilder of the Trident." Having thus addressed the monarch, and greeted Ganga, the creator of the worlds repaired to heaven with the celestials.

SECTION 43.

When that god of gods had gone away, Bhagiratha, O Rama, pressing the earth with his thumb, spent a year in adoring Siva. And when the year was complete, Uma's lord, Pacupati, worshipped of all the worlds, spake unto the king, saying,—'O foremost of men, I am well-pleased with thee: I will do what will be for thy welfare. I will hold the Mountain's daughter on my head.' Then, O Rama, that one bowed unto by all creatures, the elder daughter of Himavat, assuming an exceedingly mighty shape, with irresistible impetus precipitated herself from the welkin upon Siva's gracious head. And that divine one, Ganga, exceedingly difficult to sustain, thought,—'I will enter the nether regions, carrying off Sankara by my streams.' Knowing her proud intention, the adorable Hara waxed wroth: and the three-eved

deity set his heart upon enveloping her. And, O Rama, as that sacred one plunged upon Rudra's holy head of tangled locks, resembling Himavat, she could by no means reach the earth, despite all her endeavours; nor did she obtain egress from under the matted locks. And she wandered there for many a year. And finding Ganga in this plight, Bhagiratha became again engaged in high austerities. And thereupon Siva, O descendant of Raghu, was exceedingly gratified; and cast Ganga off in the direction of the Vindu lake. And as she was let off, seven streams branched out from her. And the three streams of the excellent Ganga of auspicious waters went in an easterly direction; while the Suchakshu, the Sita, and that mighty river the Sindhu flowed on the auspicious west. And the seventh followed Bhagiratha's car. And that royal saint, the exceedingly puissant Bhagiratha, mounted on a superb car, went before; and Ganga followed him. And she descended from the welkin upon Sankara's head, thence alighting upon the earth; and there her waters flowed with thundering sounds. And earth looked beautiful with swarms of fallen and falling fishes, and tortoises, and porpoises. And then celestials and saints and Gandharbas, and Yakshas and Siddhas mounted on excellent elephants and horses and cars resembling cities, looked on Ganga descending upon the earth. And the celestials stationed on cars were struck with surprise; and all creatures marvelled at the excellent descent of Ganga. And eager to witness the spectacle, celestial hosts of immeasurable energy came there. And in consequence of the celestials coming thither, and the effulgence of their ornaments, the firmament free from clouds, shone as if with an hundred suns. And the sky was graced with fast-fleeting porposies and serpents and fishes resembling playing lightning; and the welkin scattered with pale foam-flakes by thousands, appeared as if it was scattered with autumnal clouds swarming with cranes. And the river proceeded sometimes rapidly, and sometimes awry, and sometimes in volumes, and sometimes sloping, and sometimes ascending, and sometimes languidly; and sometimes water clashed with water; and sometimes ascending an upland, it descended into a dell. And the pellucid and pure water first descending upon Sankara's head, and thence on to the earth, appeared exceedingly beautiful. And there the saints and the Gandharbas, as well as the inhabitants of the earth, touched the sacred water flowing from Bhaba's body. And those that had fallen from the sky unto the earth in consequence of some curse or other, having bathed there, and thereby having their sins washed and removed by that sanctifying water, again ascended the sky and entered their respective regions. And through the agency of that shining water, all beings, feeling delight, rejoiced, and having bathed in Ganga, became cleansed from sin. And stationed on an excellent car that mighty king, the royal saint Bhagiratha, went first, and Ganga went at his back. And the gods, and the saints, and the Daityas, and the Danavas, and the Rakshasas, and the foremost of Gandharbas and Yakshas, and the Kinnaras, and the mighty Uragas, and the Serpents, and the Apsaras, O Rama and the acquatic animals in a body following Bhagiratha's car, with glad hearts went in the wake of Ganga. And withersoever king Bhagiratha went, the famous Ganga, foremost of streams, capable of destroying all sins, went. And Ganga flooded the sacrificial ground of the high-souled Jahnu, of wonderful deeds, as he was performing a sacrifice. Thereat, O Raghava, reading her insolence, Jahnu, waxing wroth, drank up all her wonderful waters. Thereupon, the deities, and the Gandharbas, and the saints, struck with amazement, fell to worshipping that foremost of men, the high-souled Jahnu and brought Ganga into the daughtership of that high souled one. And that highly energetic lord, being propitiated, let Ganga off through his ears. Therefore it is that Ganga goes by the name of Jahnu's daughter Jahnavi. Then Ganga again began to follow Bhagiratha's car. And having reached the ocean, that foremost of streams, with the object of accomplishing his work, entered into the subterranean regions. And having carefully brought Ganga, that royal saint, Bhagiratha, having his senses bewildered beheld his grand-fathers reduced to ashes. And the excellent waters of Ganga overflowed that heap of ashes; and thereupon, O best of the Raghus, they, their sins purged, attained heaven.

SECTION 44.

When having arrived at the Ocean, the king wending in Ganges wake, entered underneath the Earth, at that spot where those (sons of Sagara) had been reduced to ashes. And, O Rama, on the ashes being washed by the waters of Ganga, Brahma, the lord of all creatures thus spoke unto the monarch,—'O most puissant of men, the sixty three thousand sons of the high-souled Sagara have been delivered—and they have ascended heaven like unto celestials themselves. And, O lord of earth, as long as the waters of the ocean shall endure in the world, Sagara's sons shall reside in heaven like unto celestials. And this Ganga shall become thy eldest daughter; and she shall attain celebrity among all, being called after thy name. And Ganga is called both Tripathaga and Bhagirathi. And she is known as Tripathaga, in consequence of her proceeding in three directions. Do thou now, O lord of men,

here offer oblations of water unto thy grand sires,-and thereby, O king, make good thy promise. And, O king, that foremost of righteous ones, thy ancestor of exceeding renown, had failed to atain his desire. And, O child, Ancumat likewise unparalleled in the worlds in energy had failed in realising his cherished promise of bringing down Ganga. And then again that royal saint, crowned with qualities, of austerities like unto mine, ever abiding by his Kshatriya duties, even Dilipa's self-thy exceedingly puissant sire-O eminently righteous -had failed in bringing down Ganga according to his cherished resolve, O sinless one. And now, O foremost of men, that promise having been fulfilled by thee, thou shalt attain signal glory in the world by the common consent of all. And, O vanquisher of thy foes, having brought about Ganga's descension, thou shalt from this act of thine also attain the regions of Brahma. Do thou, O best of men, lave thyself in these waters incapable of being rendered worthless. O prime of men,-and thereby become purified, and attain sanctity. And do thou perform the watery rites of thy grand-sires. May luck be thine, I shall now repair to my own regions: do thou depart, O king.' Having said this, the illustrious lord of the celestials— the Grand-sire of all creatures—went unto the celestial regions. And the royal saint king Bhagiratha also of high fame having performed his ablutions and purified himself. and duly and in proper order offered oblations of water unto the sons of Sagara, entered his capital. And attaining exceeding prosperity, that foremost of men ruled his kingdom: and, O descendant of Raghu, having him as their sovereign, the people rejoiced greatly; and with their griefs removed. and prosperity secured, they lived in peace of mind. Thus, O Rama, have I detailed unto thee the history of Ganga. Auspiciousness mayst thou obtain! Good betide thee, the evening draweth nigh. He that reciteth this story conferring prosperity, fame, long life, and heaven unto Vipras, Kshatriyas, and others, attaineth the good graces of his ancestors and the celestials; and, O Kakutstha, he that listeneth to the sacred history of Ganges descent, conferring length of days, attaineth all his desires, and all his sins are destroyed, and his life and fame increase.'

SECTION 45.

Hearing the words of Vicwamitra, Raghava, together with Lakshmana, was struck with amazement,-and spoke unto Vicwamitra, saying,-"O Brahmana, wonderful is the story that thou hast recited unto us, viz; that of Ganga's sacred descension and the replenishing of the Ocean. And, O afflicter of foes, as we had been reflecting upon all this at length, the night hath passed away as if it were a moment. And the livelong night hath passed away as I in company with Sumitra's son, was pondering over Vicwamitra's auspicious speech.' Then in the morning which happened to be bright, that subduer of his foes, Raghu's descendant, addressed the ascetic Vicwamitra, who had finished his devotion,-"The auspicious night is past,—and we shall (again) listen to thy wonderful narrations. Let us now cross over this sacred stream-foremost of rivers-wending in three ways. And learning that thou hast arrived at this place, the pious ascetics have speedily come hither, and have also brought this barque with a spacious carpet." Hearing those words of the highsouled Raghava, Kaucika crossed over the crowds of ascetics; and on reaching the north bank, he paid homage unto the saints. And when they had landed on the banks of the Ganga. they beheld a city named Vicala. And thereupon speedily that foremost of ascetics in company with Raghava, went towards Vicala,—beautiful and elegant like unto the celestial regions. Then the highly wise Rama, with folded hands, asked that mighty ascetic Vicwamitra concerning the excellent city of Vicala,-"0 mighty ascetic, what royal line resideth in yonder large city? I desire to hear this, good betide thee; and great is my curiosity." Hearing those words of Rama, that foremost of ascetics began to relate the history of Vicala, saying,-"Do thou listen, O Rama, to what I had heard from Sakra relating this history; and, O descendant of Raghu, do thou listen to all that befell in this city. Formerly in the Krita age, O Rama. Diti's highly powerful sons, as well as those of Aditi, possessed of prowess, and virtuous and pious- high-souled ones both-O foremost of men, fell to reflecting,-'How can we become exempt from decrepitude and disease, and immortal. And as they reflected, it struck them,—'By churning the ocean of milk, we must obtain ambrosia.' Then deciding upon churning (the ocean), those ones of immeasurable energy making Vasuki the cord, and the Mandara (hill), the stick, began to churn the deep. And after a thousand years had gone by, the hoods (of the serpent) serving as the churning cord, began to vomit virulent venom and to bite at the crags, with their fangs. And thereat there came out powerful poison like unto fire; and in consequence the entire universe with celestials, and Asuras, and men, began to burn. And thereupon, intending to seek refuge, they appeared before that mighty god, Sankara, or Pacupati, or Rudra,—hymning 'Save us.' 'Save us.' When that master, the lord of the celestials, was being thus addressed by the deities, there appeared before them Hari bearing the conch and the discus. And smiling Hari said unto the trident-bearing Rudra,—'O

chief of the celestials, since thou art the foremost of the gods, this that hath come out of the ocean churned by the celestials. is thine. Remaining here, O lord, do thou receive the first offering in the form of this poison.' Having said this, that best of celestials vanished there. Witnessing the dismay of the celestials, and hearing also the words of Sarngin, Siva took in that dreadful poison as if it were nectar; and then leaving the deities, the worshipful Hara went away. And then, O descendant of Raghu, as the celestials resumed the churning. that foremost of hills serving as the cord, entered the subterranean regions. Thereupon the gods and the Gandharbas fell to extolling the slayer of Madhu, saying, Thou art the way of all beings, of the celestials in especial. Do thou, O mighty-armed one, protect us, and recover the mountain. Having heard this, Hrishikesa, or Hari, assuming the form of a tortoise, stood in the sea, supporting the hill on his back; and that Soul of all, Kecava best of male beings, taking hold of the top of the hill by his hand, began to churn the deep, stationed in the midst of the celestials. And after a thousand years had rolled on, arose a male being impregnated with the Ayurveda [Science of Medicine.], of exceedingly righteous soul, called Dhanwantari, bearing in his hands a stick, and a Kamandalu. And there arose also, from the cream of the churning waters, those magnificent dames the shining Apsaras. And, O foremost of men, as they had emerged from water, they are called Apsaras [Ap means water.]. And there sprang sixty Kotis of shining Apsaras. And, O Kakutstha, the female attendants of those are numberless. And neither the deities nor the Danavas would accept them.--and in consequence of this non-acceptance, they are known as women belonging to all. And then, O Raghu's descendant, arose the eminently pious daughter of Varuna, Varuni, who fell to looking for acceptance. And Diti's sons, O Rama, did not accept the daughter of Varuna, - and Aditi's sons, O hero, accepted that one of blameless limbs. And hence Diti's sons go by the name of Asuras; and Aditi's by that of Suras. And the celestials became exceeding glad, on having accepted Varuni. And, O foremost of men, next arose Uchhaicrava-best of horses, and also Kaustubha; and next, the excellent ambrosia. And,0 Rama, tremendous was the carnage for the porsession thereof (ambrosia); and Aditi's and Diti's sons fought together. And the Asuras assembled together with the Rakshasas; and, O hero, mighty was the battle that was fought, striking terror into the three worlds. And when a great havoc had been committed, the highly powerful Vishnu, assuming a captivating form speedily stole away the ambrosia. And those that came forward before that best of male beings, Vishnu, knowing no deterioration, were crushed in conflict by Vishnu in a different form. And in that exceedingly dreadful battle between the sons of Diti and Aditi, those heroic ones, viz., Aditi's heroic sons slaughtered those of Diti. And having slaughtered the sons of Diti and regained his kingdom, Purandara, happily began to rule the worlds, containing saints and Charanas.

SECTION 46.

And on those sons of her being slain, Diti afflicted with great grief, thus addressed her husband, Maricha's son, Kacyapa,—'O adorable one, thy high-souled sons have slain mine. I now wish for a son, who, obtained through long austerities, will be able to slay Sakra. And I will engage in austerities: it behoves thee to grant me such an embryo,such a slayer of Sakra it behoves thee to promise me.' Hearing those words of hers, Maricha's son, Kacyapa of exceeding energy answered the deeply aggrieved Diti, saying,-'Be it so.' Good betide thee, do thou become pure, O ascetic. If thou remain pure, when a full thousand years shall be complete, thou wilt give birth unto a son who will slay Sakra in battle. And through me, thou wilt give birth to a son that will destroy the three worlds.' Having said this, that highly energetic one rubbed her person with his palm. And having rubbed her, he said,—'Luck!' and then went away to carry on austerities. And when he had gone, Diti, O foremost of men, becoming exceedingly delighted, went unto Kucaplava [An asylum on the cast, otherwise called Beshalaksha.] and began to practise rigid mortifications. And, O foremost of men, as she was practising austerities, the thousand-eyed deity most dutifully ministered unto her. And the thousand-eyed one provided for her fire, and Kusa, and faggots, and water, and fruits, and roots, and other things that she wanted. And at all times, Sakra served Diti by rubbing her person, and removing her fatigue. And when ten years only were wanting to complete the thousand years, Diti, O descendant of Raghu, being exceedingly delighted, thus spoke unto the thousandeyed one,-'O best of those endowed with prowess, of me engaged in austerities, ten years only remain (to complete the period.) And after that time, good betide thee, thou wilt behold thy brother. I will, O son, bind him unto thee in affection whom I had besought for to compass thy destruction,—so that, the fever of thy heart removed, thou wilt with him enjoy the victory of the three worlds. On thy high-souled sire having been besought by me, he, O foremost of celestials, granted me the boon that after a thousand years, I shall obtain a son.' And it came to pass that having said this,

the sun being in his meridian, the worshipful Diti with her feet placed at that part of the bed which should contain her head, was overpowered by sleep. And thereupon seeing her resting her feet at the place where she should place her head,—and consequently unclean, Sakra was exceedingly delighted, and smiled. And, O Rama, Purandara entered into her womb, and that highly self-controlled one severed the embryo in seven parts. And the embryo being pierced by the thunder-bolt of an hundred knots, cried at the top of its voice, and thereat Diti awoke. 'Do not cry, do not cry,'—exclaimed Sakra: and even while it was crying, the mighty-minded Vasava continued piercing it 'Do not slay it,' do not slay it,' said Diti. Thereupon, in consideration of the honour of his mother, Sakra went out.

Then he with clasped palms accosted Diti, saying,—O worshipful one, thou didst sleep with thy feet placed where thy head should have lain, and hast therefore become impure. And finding this opportunity, I severed in seven pieces that would be slayer of mine in battle. Do thou, O worshipful one excuse me.

SECTION 47.

When the embryo had been sundered in seven, Diti exceedingly aggrieved humbly spoke unto the irrepressible thousand-eyed deity, saying,—'By my fault it is that the embryo hath been sundered in seven. O chief of the celestials, herein thou art guilty of no transgression, O destroyer of Vala, And since calamity hath befallen the embryo. I wish to do thee a good turn. Let the seven parts become the guardians of the seven Maruts. And, O son, let my sons having noble forms, becoming famous as Marutas range the Vataskandha regions in heaven. And let one range Brahma's regions, and another Indra's, and the highly illustrious third also range around, being known as Divya Vayu [Etherial air.]. And, O best of celestials, by thy command, let the four remaining sons of mine known by the name which thou hast mentioned, range about in appointed periods.' Hearing her words, that destroyer of Vala; the thousand-eyed Purandara, with clasped palms said, - 'All this that thou hast said must come to pass; there is no doubt about it. Good betide thee, thy sons endowed with celestial forms, shall range about. And it hath been heard by us that having thus ascertained in that hermitage, the mother and the son, O Rama, went to heaven, their desire obtained. Even this, O Kakutstha, is the place where formerly the mighty Indra sojourned, and where he attended upon Diti of accomplished ascetic success. And, O most powerful of men, Ikshwaku had an exceedingly righteous son born unto him of Alamyusha, known by the name of Vicala, And here stood a palace, built by him, called Vicala, And Vicala's son, O Rama, was the mighty Hemachandra. And after Hemachandra comes the celebrated Suchandra. And, O Rama, the son of Suchandra was Dhumraswa. And then was born Srinjaya, son unto Dhumraswa. And Srinjaya's son was the powerful Sahadeva. And Sahadeva's son was the preeminently pious Kucacwa. And Kucacwa's son was the puissant Somadatta. And now, O Kakutstha, Somadatta's son the effulgent and invincible and renowned Sumati resideth in this city. And by the grace of Ikshwaku, all the sovereigns of Vicala are long-lived, and high- souled, and puissant, and pious. And here will we happily spend a night; and on the morning of the morrow thou wilt, O foremost of men., behold Janaka.' And having heard that the illustrious Vicwamitra had come, that best of kings, the effulgent Sumati, appeared before him. And having paid Vicwamitra high homage together with his priests and friends, and with clasped hands enquired after the former's welfare, he addressed Vicwamitra, "Blessed are we, and obliged are we, whose domains, O ascetic, have been graced with thy presence. Surely none is more blessed than I am.

SECTION 48.

Having met together, they enquired after each other's welfare. And then Sumati spoke unto the mighty ascetic, -"Good betide thee, boasting of the prowess of saving,celestials of elephantine or leonine gait, heroic resembling tigers or bulls, possessed of expansive eves like lotus-petals. bearing scimitars and bows and quivers, like unto the Acwinis in grace, endowed with youth, like unto celestials fancy-led, descended from etherial regions to the earth beneath, whose sons, O ascetic, are these boys, and what for have they come hither, and why also is it that they journey on foot? And adoring all directions, like unto the Sun or the Moon adorning the firmament, and resembling each other in personal proportions, and expressions, and gestures, and equipped with excellent weapons, and war-like, how have these paragons of men come into this impracticable way? I wish to hear all this related truly." Having heard his words, Vicwamitra faithfully related all about it. Hearing Vicwamitra's words, the king was extremely surprised and having those sons of Dacaratha as his all-worthy guests, received with becoming respect those highly powerful ones deserving of hospitality. And meeting with such splendid reception from Sumati, those descendants of Raghu spent there a night, and the next day set out for Mithila. And

beholding Janaka's beauteous city, the ascetics exclaiming, — 'Excellent, excellent' fell to admiring Mithila. And in a grove at Mithila, Raghava saw an ancient, lonely, and romantic asylum, and asked that foremost of ascetics, saying,is this that looketh like an asylum, though without any ascetics? I wish to hear, O worshipful one, to whom this asylum belonged in time past." Hearing this speech addressed by Raghu's descendant, that one versed in speech, the highly energetic and mighty saint. Vicwamitra, answered,— Do thou listen. I will tell thee through the wrath of what high-souled one this hermitage came to be cursed. O foremost of men, this excellent asylum honoured by the celestials themselves, formerly belonged to the high-souled Gautama. And here, O illustrious prince, in days of yore Gautama in company with Ahalva carried on austerities for a long series of years. And perceiving occasion, Sachi's lord, the thousandeyed deity, assuming the form of that ascetic thus addressed Ahalya, -'0 exceedingly beautiful one, those bent upon sport, do not stay for the menstrual season. And, O graceful one, I desire to enjoy thy company (on the instant). Thereupon, out of curiosity, that one of perverse understanding consented to the proposals of the chief of the celestials. Then, having attained her object, she spoke unto that foremost of the celestials, saying.-'O best of the immortals, I have obtained my desire, —do thou speedily go from his place, O lord. Do thou, O lord of the celestials, from a sense of repectibility preserve thyself and me also.' Indra too smiling, said unto Ahalya,—'O thou of shapely hips, pleased am I. Now I repair unto my own place.' Having known her thus, Indra, Rama, exceedingly apprehensive of Gautama, then hurriedly sallied out of the thatched cottage. Just at this time, Indra saw that mighty ascetic Gautama entering—that foremost of anchorets, incapable of being repressed by the deities and the Danavas, and equipped with ascetic energy, having bathed in the waters of holy spots, and flaming like fire, carrying faggots and kusa grass. And seeing him, the countenance of the lord of the celestials turned pale. And seeing the wicked thousand-eyed deity in the guise of an ascetic, the wellbehaved anchoret fired with rage said,- 'And since, O thou of wicked understanding assuming my form, thou hast done this foul deed, thou shalt lose thy scrotum.' And soon as the high-souled Gautama had said this in ire, the scrotum of the thousand-eyed one dropped to the earth. And having seen Sakra in this plight, he cursed his wife also, - 'For a thousand years thou shalt live here feeding upon air, without food, tormented with repentance and thou shalt remain in this hermitage unseen of any. And when the irrepressible son of Dacaratha Rama, shall come to this deep wood, thou shalt be cleansed of thy sin. And, O wicked one, ministering unto him the rites of hospitality, with a mind free from ignorance and covetousness, thou shalt in thy own form with joy regain my side.' Having said this to that wicked woman the highly energetic Gautama of rigid austerities, forsaking this hermitage, began to carry on penances on the romantic summit of the Himavat, inhabited by Siddhas and Charanas.

SECTION 49.

"And having been deprived of his scrotum, Sakra with eyes tremulous with fear, addressed the celestials with Agni at their head, as well as the Siddhas and the Gandharbas and the Charanas, saying,-'I have accomplished the work of the celestials by stirring the ire of the high-souled Gautama, and thereby disturbing his austerities. And in doing so, I have been deprived of my scrotum; and Ahalya also hath been put down. And I have deprived him of his ascetic energy by causing him to utter a mighty curse,-and, therefore, ye celestials, and saints, and Charanas, ye should restore my scrotum unto me who have served the gods.' Hearing Satakratu's words, the deities along with the Maruts led by Agni, presented themselves before the divine Pitris [The ancestors.]. And then Agni addressed the latter, saying,-'This ram is possessed of a scrotum; while Sakra hath been deprived of his. Do ye taking the scrotum of the ram furnish Sakra with it. And although deprived of the scrotum, the ram will be able to grant consummate satisfaction unto ye. And on those that will offer such a ram for your entertainment, ye will bestow undying and profuse merit.' Hearing Agni's speech, the assembled Pitris, rooting up the scrotum of the ram, joined it unto the person of the thousand-eyed deity. Thence- forth, Kakutstha, the divine Pitris together feast upon scrotumless rams, for their scrotum had been joined unto the person of Indra. And thenceforth, O Raghava, Indra also through the high-souled Gautama's ascetic energy, hath been bearing the scrotum of a ram. Therefore, O highly powerful one, do thou enter the hermitage of that pious one and deliver the dignified and divinely fair Ahalya.' On hearing Vicwamitra's words, Raghava in company with Lakshmana, placing Vicwamitra in their front, entered the asylum: and they beheld that magnificent dame flaming in ascetic energy; and incapable of being gazed at too near even by the celestials and the Asuras; as if created by the Deity to be the divinely charming Woman; like a flame hid in smoke; or the brightness of the full moon clouded and dimmed in mist; or the solar splendour incapable of being beheld on account of clouds.

And by virtue of Gautama's word, she had been incapable of being seen by any in the three worlds, till the sight of Rama. And now the curse having come to an end, she could be perceived by them. And the two descendants of Raghu then took hold of her feet; but remembering Gautama's words, she on her part took hold of theirs. And with a collected mind she gave them water for their feet as well as Arghya, and extended unto them the rites of hospitality. And the Kakutsthas accepted the homage thus rendered according to the ordinance. And blossoms began to shower copiously to the sounds of kettledrums; and the Gandharbas and the Apsaras began to rejoice greatly. And exclaiming, 'Excellent, excellent,' the celestials honoured Ahalya, as with a person purified by penance, she again came under Gautama's governance. And the highly energetic Gautama also happy on his union with Ahalya, honoured Rama highly, and that one of mighty mortifications then became engaged in austerities. And having duly received signal honours from the great ascetic Gautama, Rama set out for Mithila.

SECTION 50.

Then proceeding north-east Rama in company with Sumitra's son, placing Vicwamitra at their head, appeared before the sacrificial ground. And Rama and Lakshmana said unto that puissant ascetic,-"Great is the pomp and splendour of the high-souled Janaka's sacrifice. And, O pious one, many thousand of Brahmanas inhabiting various regions, and well-read in the Vedas (have come to this sacrifice); and the abodes of ascetics are throughd with hundreds of cars. Do thou, O Brahmana, arrange for some place where we may put up." Hearing Rama's words, the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra selected for their abode a well-watered spot free from bustle and tumult. And hearing of Vicwamitra's arrival, the best of monarchs without blame, placing the priests Satananda before him, as well as the high-souled family priests, speedily taking the arghya, at once went out in humble guise, and offered it unto Vicwamitra according to the ordinance. Having accepted that homage of the high-souled Janaka, the ascetic enquired after the king's welfare, and the uninterrupted performance of his sacrifice. And the king together with his priests, having enquired of the ascetics as to their welfare, cheerfully embraced them all in a proper way. Then he with clasped hands, spoke unto that foremost of anchorets, saying,—"O worshipful one, do thou along with these eminent ascetics, take thy seat." Hearing Janaka's words, the mighty ascetic sat him down. And the king also, in company with his priests and counsellors sat down around in order of rank. And then the monarch looking into Vicwamitra's face, said.—"To-day by the grace of the gods, hath my sacrifice been crowned with success-to-day have I reaped the fruit of my saciifice by beholding thy worshipful self. Blessed and obliged am I whose sacrificial ground, O Brahmana, hath been graced by thee along with these ascetics. Twelve days, O Brahmarshi, have been fixed for the period of initiation by the sages. On the expiry of that term, thou wilt, O Kaucika, behold the celestials come unto the sacrifice for claiming their respective shares." Having said this, the king with a cheerful countenance, with folded hands, again intently asked that foremost of ascetics,- "These youths, good betide thee, like unto celestials in prowess, of the gait of lions or elephants, heroic, and resembling tigers or bulls, of expansive eyes like unto lotus-petals, bearing scimitars, quivers and bows, graceful like unto the Acwins, endowed with youth, resembling immortals fancy-led from heaven unto the earthwhose sons, O ascetic, are they and what for have they come, and why again have they come afoot? And bearing excellent arms, whose sons, O mighty anchoret, are these heroic ones, who grace this place even as the sun and the moon do the welkin, and resemble each other in bodily proportions, expression, and gestures; wearing side-locks and of warlike mien? This I would hear truly related." Hearing this speech of the high-souled Janaka, that ascetic of immeasurable soul related all about Dacaratha's sons,-their sojourn in Siddhacrama, and the slaughter there of the Rakshasas, their undaunted journey, the sight of Vicala, the encounter with Ahalya and Gautama, Rama's curiosity about the mighty bow, and visit there for beholding the same. Having related all this unto the high-souled Janaka that one endowed with exceeding energy, the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra, paused.

SECTION 51.

Hearing the narration of the intelligent Vicwamitra, Gautama's eldest son, the exceedingly energetic Satatnanda of rigid austerities, highly effulgent by virtue of his asceticism, with his down standing on end wondered greatly at the sight of Rama. And seeing the king's sons seated at their ease, he said unto that foremost of ascetics, Vicwamitra, — "O most powerful of anchorets, by thee was my illustrious mother, grown old in asceticism, shown unto the king's son. Did my famous and exalted mother entertain with the produce of the woods Rama worthy of every one's homage? And, O highly energetic one, hath that old story relative to my mother having been wronged by that celestial, been communicated unto Rama? And, O Kaucika, good betide thee, hath my

mother, in consequence of beholding Rama, been united with my revered sire? And, O son of Kucika, hath the highly energetic Rama come hither, after having been rendered homage by my high-souled revered sire? And, O Kucika's son, was my revered sire of quiescent soul, saluted by Rama when he arrived there?" Hearing those words of his, the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra, skilled in speech, replied unto Satananda, cognisant of words, saying,-"O best of ascetics, nothing necessary was omitted by me,—but everything hath been done. And the ascetic's wife hath been united with him, even as Renuka with Bhrigu's* son." [* Jamadagni, father of Parusurama.] Hearing the speech of the intelligent Vicwamitra, the exceedingly energetic Satananda said unto Rama,-"Art thou well come, O chief of men? It is by our luck that. O descendant of Raghu thou hast come unto us. headed by the respected Maharshi Vicwamitra. This highly energetic Vicwamitra, this Brahmarshi is of prowess measureless; and deeds inconceivable, by virtue asceticism. Him thou knowest as the prime way. O Rama, there existeth on this earth not one that is more fortunate than thyself. Thy protector is even Kucika's descendant, by whom mighty austerities have been performed. Do thou listen as I faithfully describe unto thee the ascetic power of the highsouled Kaucika. Do thou listen unto me relating this. This righteous one was for a long time a king, subduing his enemies, cognisant of morality, acomplished, and intent upon the welfare of his subjects. And there was a king named Kuca, the son of Prajapati. And Kuca's son was the powerful and pious Kucanabha. And Kucanabha's son was Gadhi. And Gadhi's son is the highly energetic and mighty ascetic Vicwamitra who ruled the earth. And that king reigned for thousands of years. And it came to pass that once with his four-fold forces marshalled, he set out for ranging the earth. And the king went on by turns ranging cities and kingdoms, rivers and mountains and asylums. And at length that foremost of conquerers, the mighty Vicwamitra, came upon Vasishtha's asylum furnished with various blossoming plants and trees; abounding in animals; inhabited by Siddhas and Charanas; graced by celestials and Danavas and Gandharbas and Kinnaras; and filled with mild deer; frequented by the feathered tribes: crowded with Brahmarshis: with Devarshis inhabiting it; aye teeming with high-souled ones of accomplished ascetic success and resembling fire; like another region of Brahma; graceful; and adorned on all sides with high-soulded saints and Valakhilyas and Vaikhanasas resembling Brahma, feeding on water or air, or living on withered leaves, or subsisting on fruits and roots, and selfcontrolled and free from faults, and of vanquished senses, and engaged in reciting mantras and performing homas.

SECTION 52.

Upon seeing that foremost of those reciting mantras, the highly powerful and heroic Vicwamitra, exceedingly delighted, bowed unto him in humility. And having enquired as to the pleasantness of Vicwamitra's journey, the highsouled and adorable Vasishtha ordered a seat for the former. And on the intelligent Vicwamitra having been seated, that best of ascetics properly entertained him with fruits and roots. And having accepted Vasishtha's hospitality, that foremost of monarchs, the exceedingly energetic Vicwamitra, then enquired of Vasishtha as to the welfare of his asceticism, his Agnihotras, and his disciples, and his trees. Thereupon Vasishtha communicated the welfare of all unto that best of kings. Then Brahma's son, Vasishtha, of fierce austerities, the best of those reciting mantras, asked Vicwamitra, seated at his ease, saying,-'0 king, is it well with thee? And, O king, dost thou rule thy subjects, pleasing them consistently with royal duties? And, O virtuous one, are thy retainers maintained on salaries from the kingdom? Do they abide by thy mandates? And, O destroyer of foes, hast thou vanquished thy enemies? And, O repressor of foes, is it well with thee as to, O most powerful of men, thy forces, exchequer, and friends, and, O sinless one, sons and grand- sons?' Thereupon, the highly powerful king, Vicwamitra, with humility communicated unto Vasishtha his complete welfare. And having conversed for a long time, those virtuous ones, experiencing exceeding joy, ministered unto each other's delight. Then, O descendant of Raghu, after the conversation had ended, the adorable Vasishtha, smiling, addressed Vicwamitra, saying,-'O highly powerful one, I desire to properly entertain thee of immeasurable power, as well as thy forces,-do thou, therefore, accept my hospitality. Do thou receive the hospitality which I extend unto thee. O king, thou art the foremost of guests, and art worthy of assiduous homage." Being thus addressed by Vasishtha, that mighty ascetic, king Vicwamitra, said,—'Even by this word of thine relative to receiving me, hast thou in fact done so. And, O worshipful one, even with the fruits and roots that are in thy asylum. with the water for washing my feet, and sipping,—yea, with the sight of thy revered self, have I been, O profoundly wise one, excellently entertained by thee, who art thyself worthy of homage. I bow unto thee. I will go now. Do thou regard me with a friendly eye.' As the king was speaking thus, the righteous-souled and generous Vasishtlia again and again

pressed him to accept his hospitality. Then Gadhi's son answered Vasishtha, —'Very well. O potent ascetic,—let that be which findeth favour in thy sight.' This having been said by him, Vasishtha, the best of those reciting mantras, joyfully called his sacrificial dappled cow, whose sins had been washed away,—'O Savala! do thou come soon; and hear my words. I intend to entertain this royal saint together with his forces. Do thou enable me to entertain him, by yeilding excellent viands. And, O divine one, O thou that conferrest everything that is desired, do thou grant everyone whatever he asketh among edibles impregnated with the six tastes. And do thou, O Savala, speedily create sapid viands to be chewed, sucked, licked or drunk!."

SECTION 53.

Thus addressed by Vasishtha, that bestower of all that was desired, Savala, O destroyer of thy foes, brought forth everything that was desired by everyone. And she produced sugarcanes, and honey, and fried rice, and excellent Maireyas [A kind of wine prepared from molasses.], and costly drinks and various viands, and heaps of warm rice resembling hills, and other kinds of edibles, and soups, and Dadhikulyas [A preparation of milk and rice.], together with silver plates by thousands filled with meats of diverse tastes. And, O Rama, that army of Vicwamitra consisting of cheerful and stout men being superbly entertained by Vasishtha, became exceedingly gratified. And the royal saint, Vicwamitra himself, together with the priests and Brahmanas and the inmates of the inner apartment, was also heartily filled. And being hospitably entertained with his courtiers and counsellors and retainers, he, exceedingly delighted, spoke unto Vasishtha, saying, 'Received and excellently entertained have I been by thee,0 Brahmana, who thyself art worthy of being honoured. Do thou, O thou conversant with speech, listen to me. I will tell thee a word. Do thou bestow on me Savala for an hundred thousand kine. O worshipful one, varily this one is a jewel; and as it is the function of kings to acquire jewels, do thou confer on me Savala; for, O twice-born one, this one by right belongs unto me.' Thus addressed by Vicwamitra the righteous and adorable Vasishtha—best of ascetics—replied unto that lord of earth,—'O king, neither for an hundred thousand nor for an hundred koti of kine, nor yet for heaps of silver, will I part with Savala. O subduer of enemies, this one deserves not to be separated from my side. Even like unto the fame of the mighty, this Savala is ever joined with me. My oblations to the gods and the Pitris as well as my subsistence itself are established even in her. And my Agnihotras [Maintainance of the perpetual fire.], Vali [Offerings to the spirits of air.], and Homa [Burnt offerings.] depend uper her; and, O royal saint, my Svahakaras and Vashatkaras [Sacrifices performed with the exclamation of Swaha and Vashat respectively.] as well as my various lore depend upon her. All this is so: there is no doubt about it. Verily she is my all; and in her do I find my delight. And many are the reasons, O king, why I cannot give unto thee Savala.' Thus addressed by Vasishtha, that one versed in speech, Vicwamitra, eagerly rejoined,— 'I shall confer upon thee fourteen thousand elephants decked in gold chains and gold neck-ornaments and hooks; and I will confer upon thee eight hundred golden cars furnished with bells and each yoked with four white horses; and. O thou of auspicious vows, I will confer upon thee one thousand and ten high-mettled horses of noble breeds; and I will confer upon thee a koti of youthful and variegated kine,-do thou grant unto me Savala. And as much of gems and gold, O best of regenerate ones, as thou wilt ask for, shall I bestow upon thee: do thou grant me Savala.' Thus besought by the intelligent Vicwamitra, that adorable one replied, saying,-'O king, Savala I will not by any means give. This is verily my jewel: this is verily my riches: this is verily my all: this is verily my subsistence. And this is my Darsa [Bi-monthly sacrifice, performed at change of the moon by persons maintaining a perpetual fire.] and this my Paurnamasa [A ceremony performed at the full of the moon by persons maintaining a perpetual fire.], and this my various sacrifices with dakshinas [Gifts to Brahmanas on occasions of sacrifice.]: and, O king, this my various rites. This, O king, is without doubt, the root of all my rites. And what need of dilating? This one bestowing everything that is desired will I not part

SECTION 54.

"When the ascetic Vasishtha would not part with the cow of plenty then Vicwamitra, O Rama, forced Savala away. And, O Rama, carried away by that high- souled king, Savala, stricken with grief and afflicted with sorrow, bethought herself, weeping,—'Have I been forsaken by the high-souled Vasistha that the royal retainers carry me off thus aggrieved? What wrong have I done unto that mighty ascetic of concentrated spirit, that, knowing me to be faultless, that righteous one leaveth her that was devoted unto his service?' Revolving this in her mind and sighing again and again, she darted unto where the pre- eminently energetic Vasishtha was; and defeating those servants (of the king), she with the speed of the wind, appeared at the feet of that high-souled one. And

weeping Savala having the voice of clouds, standing before Vasishtha, spoke in distressful accents,-'O Brahma's son, wherefore have I been forsaken by thee, -that the servants of the king were carrying me from off thy presence?' Thus addressed the Brahmarshi said these words unto that one aggrieved, and of heart afflicted with sorrow, and like unto a sister.—'O Savala, not that I forsake thee: nor hast thou done me any wrong. But this mighty king proud of his prowess hath been carrying thee away. Surely, my strength is not equal to his. More specially, he is a king,a powerful king,-more particularly, this day he should not be slain by me (inasmuch as he is my guest): he is a Kshatriya and lord of earth. And he is foremost in might by virtue of possessing this entire Akshauhtni abounding in elephants and horses and cars and standards, and pennons on elephants.' Thus addressed by Vasishtha, that one cognisant of words humbly said in reply unto that Brahmarshi of incomparable power,-'The might of the Kshatriyas is not great,—the Brahmanas are more mighty than they. O Brahmana, superhuman is the power of the Brahmanas, excelling that of the Kshatriyas. Thy power is immeasurable; and the exceedingly energetic Vicwamitra is not as powerful as thyself. Thy energy is unequalled. O highly energetic one, do thou command me bursting with Brahma forces: the pride, power and endeavours of that wicked one will I bring down.' Thus accosted by her, the highly famous Vasishtha, O Rama, said,-'Create thou forces capable of crushing the forces of the enemy.' Hearing those words of his, Suravi created (an army). And, O king, Pahlavas by hundreds brought into being by her lowing, begin even in Vicwamitra's sight to commit havoc upon his forces. Thereat, exceedingly angered, with eyes expanded in ire, that king commenced to slay the Pahlavas with various weapons. And beholding the Pahlavas by hundreds afflicted by Vicwamitra, she again created grim-visaged Sakas mixed with Yavanas. And the field became thronged with the Sakas mixed with Yavanas. of dazzling splendour, exceedingly fierce resembling golden filaments, bearing sharp scimitars and adzes, and clad in yellow apparel. And that entire host (of Vicwamitra) was being consumed by them like unto flaming fires. Then the exceedingly powerful Vicwamitra hurled weapons at them; and with these the Yavanas, Kamvoyas and Varvaras [Barbarians.] became sore afflicted."

SECTION 55.

"And beholding them sore harassed, and overwhelmed by Vicwamitra's weapons, Vasishtha directed (Savali) saying, 'O cow of plenty, do thou create (fresh troops), through thy Yoga power' And from her roar there came into being Kamyojas, resembling the Sun. And from her udders sprang Varvaras, arms in hand; and from her mysterious parts, Yavanas; from her anus, Sakas; and from the pores of her skin, those barbarians,—Haritas and Kiratas. And, O descendant of Raghu, anon Vicwamitra's entire host consisting of foot, and elephant, and horse, and car, was exterminated by them. And seeing the army annihilated by the high-souled Vasishtha, the hundred sons of Vicwamitra, equipped with various weapons, rushed in high ire against that best of mantra-reciting ones. Thereupon, uttering a roar, that mighty ascetic consumed them quite. And in a moment, Vicwamitra's sons together with horse and car and foot were reduced to ashes by the high-souled Vasishtha. And witnessing them all destroyed, together with the army, the illustrious Vicwamitra, covered with shame, became plunged in thought; and like unto a tideless ocean or a fangless snake, he instantly became shorn of his effulgence, like unto the sun overwhelmed by Rahu [A Daitya with the tail of a dragon, whose head was severed from his body by Vishnu; but being immortal, the head and tail retained their separate existence, and being transfered to the stellar sphere, became the author of eclipses.]. And deprived of his forces and sons, he appeared like a bird bereft of its wings; and losing his entire army and with it the high spirits that it had inspired him with, his heart died within him. Then entrusting one of his (remaining) sons with the sovereignty, saying,—'Do thou rule the earth agreeably to the duties of the Kshatriya,' he went into the forest. And repairing to the side of the Himavat inhabited by Kinnaras and Serpents, that one of mighty asceticism began to perform austerities with the view of propitiating Mahadeva. And on a certain occasion that lord of the celestials, Vrishadwaja [An appellation of Siva.], intending to confer a boon, appeared before the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra,-What for, O king, art thou performing penance? Do thou unfold what thou hast to say. I am for conferring a boon: do thou express what boon thou wouldst obtain.' Thus addressed by that god, that performer of mighty austerities, Vicwamitra, bowing down unto him, addressed him, saying,—'If, O mighty god, thou art pleased (with me), do thou confer upon me the science of archery with all its mysteries and mantras, as well as its virtues of helping from far and near. And, O sinless one, may all those weapons that are with the celestials and the Danavas and the Maharshis and the Gandharbas and the Yakshas, and the Rakshas, shine on me! May this my desire be granted me through thy grace, O god of gods! There- upon, saying,—'Be it so'—the lord of the celestials vanished. And

obtaining the arms from the lord of the celestials, the mighty Vicwamitra, naturally haughty became swelled with insolence. And surcharged with energy, like unto the sea during the equinox, he considered, O Rama, as if that foremost of saints, Vasishtha, was already slain. And repairing to Vasishtha's asylum, the king began to discharge weapons, capable of burning down the hermitage. And beholding those weapons discharged by the intelligent Vicwamitra, the ascetics, overtaken by fear, by hundreds began to fly. And Vasishtha's disciples as well as the animals and birds inhabiting there, fled in all directions by thousands. And for a time the hermitage of the high-souled Vasishtha was bare of living beings, and still like unto a wilderness, though Vasishtha cried again and again,—'Do not fear. To-day will I slay Gadhi's son, even as the sun (destroys) mist.' Having said this, that best of mantrareciting ones, Vasishtha, in high wrath, addressed Vicwamitra, saying,-'Since, O fool, thou hast destroyed this hermitage that had been prospering for a long time, thou of execrable ways shalt not live long.' Saying this, he, transported with wrath, and like unto the smoking flame at universal dissolution, speedily upraised a staff resembling another mace of Yama itself."

SECTION 56.

Thus addressed by Vasishtha, the mighty Vicwamitra, aiming a fiery weapon, said,-'Stay! Stay!' The worshipful Vasishtha also on his part, raising a Brahma staff resembling another staff of Kala, exclaimed in wrath,-'Wretch of a Kshatriya! here am I,—do thou display the might thou ait master of. To-day, O Gadhi's son, will I humble thy pride of arms. Thou disgrace of thy race, where is thy Kshatriya might, and where my high Brahma energy? Do thou behold my superhuman Brahma energy.' And even as water allayeth the fierceness of a flame, the Brahma staff quenched the energy of the powerful fiery weapon discharged by Gadhi's son. Then Gadhi's son, waxing wroth, discharged Varuna and Raudra and Aindra and Pasupata and Aishika weapons. And, Manava, and Mohana, and Gandharba, and Swapana, and Jrimbhana, and Mohana, and Santapana, and Vilapana, and Soshana, and DSruna, and Vajra hard to baffle, and Brahmapaca, and Kalapaca and Varunapaca, and Pinaka (favourite of Siva). and the two Asanis, wet and dry, and the Danda weapon, and Paicacha, ani the Krauncha weapon, and Dharmachakra, and Kalachakra, and Vishuchakra and Vayavya, and Mathana, and the Haraciras weapon, and the twin Saktis, hurled he, and Kankala, and Mushala, and the mighty weapon Vidyadhara, and the terrible Kala weapon, and the dreadful Trisula weapon, and Kapala, and Kankana,—all these weapons hurled he (Vicwamitra), at that best of mantrareciting ones, O descendant of Raghu. And it was wonderful to behold. But Brahma's son baffled all those by means of his staff. And on those (weapons) being resisted, the son of Gadhi hurled a Brahma weapon. And on that weapon being discharged, the deities with Agni at their head, and the Devarshis, and the Gandharbas, and the mighty Serpents, became afflicted with fear. And on that Brahma weapon being discharged, all the three worlds became exceedingly alarmed. And, O Raghu's descendant, Vasishtha by virtue of his Brahma energy completely baffled that terrible Brahma weapon. And when the high-souled Vasishtha had baffled the Brahma weapon, his form became fierce and terrible, capable of striking terror into the three worlds. And from the pores of his body, resembling a smoking flame, darted out scintillations of fire. And resembling another staff of Yama, the Brahma staff raised by Vasishtha's arm flamed like unto the smokeless fire at the universal dissolution. Then the ascetics in a body fell to eulogizing that best of mantrareciting ones, Vasishtha, saying,— 'Thy might, O Brahmana, is infallible. Do thou rein in (the Brahma) energy, by thy own. O Brahmana, Vicwamitra of mighty strength hath been subdued by thee. Infallible is thy extraordinary might. Let the creatures now be relieved from their distress.' Thus addressed, that highly energetic one of rigid austerities, became pacified. And Vicwamitra, being put down, heaving a sigh, said,—'Fie upon the Kshatriya might: the strength begot of Brahma energy, is might indeed. By one Brahma staff hath all my weapons been put to the rout. Beholding this, I with a placid mind and senses will engage in mighty austerities,-which shall earn for me Brahmanahood.'

SECTION 57.

"Then with his heart burning, in consequence of the remembrance of his humiliation, and having made enemies with that high-souled one, Vicwamitra of mighty asceticism sighing, and sighing, went towards the south, in company with his queen, and became engaged in dreadful austerities, O Raghava. And subsisting on fruits and roots, and restraining his senses, he performed the most rigid austerities. And four sons engaged in observing truth and duty— Havishpanda, Madhushpanda, Drihanetra, and Maharatha ere born unto him. And when a thousand years had been completed, the Grand-sire of all, Brahma, addressed the ascetic, Vicwamitra in sweet words, saying,—'O son of Kucika, the regions of the Rajarshis have been won by thee through thy austerities. And

on account of this thy asceticism, we recognize thee as a Rajarshi.' Having said this, the highly energetic prime Lord of all creature went to the celestial regions in company with

Hearing this, Vicwamitra hanging down his head from shame and possessed by a mighty sorrow, said, in piteous accents, --'I have performed rigid austerities,—vet the deities and the saints recognise me only as a Rajarshi. I do not consider the fruit of my asceticism as gained.' Ascertaining this in his mind, that righteous and highly composed one of high austerities, O Kakuststha, again engaged in penances. And, O Raghava, it came to pass that at this time, that enhancer of Ikshwaku's line, the celebrated and truthful Trisanku of subdued sense made up his mind, saying,-'I will perform a sacrifice, and in body win the prime way of the celestials.' And summoning Vasishtha, he unfolded his mind into him. And on the high-souled Vasishtha saying,-'I am incapable of doing this,' and disregarded by the latter, the King went towards the southern quarter. And with the view of securing success to his endeavours, the king repaired where Vasishtha's sons had for a long time been performing austerities. And the highly energetic Trisanku saw the hundred exceedingly effulgent sons of Vasishtha engaged in austerities with fixed faculties. And approaching all those high-souled sons of his spiritual guide, and paying them reverence he, hanging down his head from shame, with clasped hands, addressed those mighty spirits, saying —'I seek protection of ye; and I take refuge in ye capable of conferring it. Disregarded have I been, good betide ye, by the highsouled Vasishtha. I have set my heart upon celebrating a mighty sacrifice: it behoveth ye to command me. And, with the view of propitiating ye, I, lowly bowing down my head, beseech the sons of my spiritual guide,-Brahmanas ever staying by asceticism, -do ye with collected minds officiate in this sacrifice, so that success may be secured unto me; and that in body I may attain the regions of the celestials. Disregarded by the ascetic Vasishtha, other way find I none, ye anchorets, except the sons of my spiritual guide. To the Ikshwakus, their preceptor is their prime way. Therefore after him (Vasishtha), even ye are the objects of my adoration.

SECTION 58. "Hearing Trisanku's speech, the hundred sons of the saint, O Rama, excited by wrath, said these words unto the king,-'Disregarded hast thou been, O thou of perverse understanding, by our truth-telling sire, - why, then, having passed him by, do thou seek for others' help? To the Ikshwakus, their spiritual guide is their prime way; nor art thou capable of setting at naught the words of that truthtelling one. That worshipful saint said, that he was incapable (of accomplishing this), -how can we then undertake that sacrifice? Thou art ignorant, O foremost of men. Do thou speedily retrace thy steps. And, O king, that adorable one is competent to officiate at the sacrifice itself of the three worlds. how can we then contribute to his dishonour?' Hearing those words of theirs, that king, with accents tremulous with passion, again addressed them, saying, —'Disregarded by that worshipful one as well as by the sons of my spiritual guide, I will go after another way,-so peace be unto ye, ascetics.' The saint's sons, on their part, hearing that speech couching a fierce intent, cursed him in exceeding wrath, saying,—Thou shalt come by Chandala-hood.' Having said this, those high-souled ones entered each into his dwelling. And when the night had gone by, the king came by Chandalahood. And clad in a blue garb, blue and rough of person, having a short head of hair, wearing a garland composed of materials culled from a cemetery, his body bedaubed with ashes from the same quarter, he was decked out with iron ornaments. And, O Rama, beholding him in the guise of a Chandala, his counsellors as well as followers, renouncing him, fled in a body. And, Kakutstha, maintaining himself in patience, the monarch burning day and night, all alone went unto the ascetic Vicwamitra. And beholding the disappointed king in the guise of a Chandala, the ascetic O Rama, was touched with pity. And from commiseration, that pre-eminently pious and exceedingly energetic one said unto that king frightful to behold, saying,-'Good betide thee, O heroic lord of Ayodhya, thou hast fallen into Chandala-hood through a curse, what is the purpose of thy coming, O highly powerful prince?' Hearing him, the king conversant with words, fallen into Chandala-hood, with folded hands, said unto that one versed in speech,—Disregarded had I been by my spiritual guide as well as his sons. And far from attaining my desire, I came by this calamity. O thou of placid presence, I had desired to repair unto heaven in body. By me have an hundred sacrifices been performed,-but yet do I not obtain the fruit thereof. I have never before told an untruth; and I swear by my Kshatriya morality, that albeit fallen on evil days, I will never do so in future, O gentle one. And sacrifices I have celebrated many,—and I have ruled my people in righteousness; and I have pleased my preceptors by my character and conduct. But, O best of ascetics, now endeavouring to do my duty and intending to perform a sacrifice, I have failed in enlisting the good graces of my

spiritual guides. Therefore do I consider Destiny as supreme; and action as nothing. Destiny overtaketh all: Destiny is the prime way. Therefore it behoveth thee to grant thy favour unto me extremely distressed, who crave thy favour, and, good betide thee, whose endeavours have been baffled by Destiny. Other way will I wend none; nor is there any other refuge for me. It behoveth thee to meet Destiny with exertion'.'

"When the king had spoken thus, Kucika's son, moved with pity, said these sweet words unto the king who had undergone Chandala-hood,—'O descendant of Ikshwaku, hast thou had a pleasant journey? I know thee well, O highly virtuous one. Refuge will I grant thee.—so fear not, O best of monarchs, I shall summon all the pious Maharshis, who shall assist at the sacrifice, O king, -and then thou wilt be able to accomplish thy purpose easily. And should the guise thou hast come by in virtue of thy preceptor's curse, cling to thee yet, thou wilt bodily repair unto heaven in this form. And since appearing before Kucika's son, thou hast taken his refuge, I consider heaven, O lord of men, as if within thy grasp.' Having said this, that exceedingly energetic one ordered his highly virtuous and profoundly wise sons to provide the sacrificial necessaries. And summoning his disciples, he said, -'Do ye by my command bring hither all the saints together with Vasishtha's sons; and our friends and their disciples and the family priests variously versed in lore. Aud should any summoned by my mandate, say aught, do ye fully represent unto me the expression of slight.' Hearing his speech, they set out in different directions; and Brahmavadis [That is someone who believes that all things are Spirit.] began to pour in from various countries. And the disciples (of Vicwamitra) returning, fully communicated unto that ascetic of flaming energy the words of the Brahmavadis, saying,—'Hearing thy message, the regenerate ones resident in every part will come -and some have already arrived- all save Mahodaya and the hundred sons of Vasishtha. Do thou, foremost of ascetics, listen to the words that they said with accents tremulous with emotion,-How can celestials and saints partake of offerings in the court of him that in addition to being a Chandala, hath for his priest a Kshatriya? And how can high-souled Brahmanas, patronized by Vicwamitra, attain to heaven, having partaken of a Chandala's fare?-These cruel words, O powerful ascetic, did Vasishtha's sons together with Mahodaya, utter with reddened eyes.' Hearing those words of theirs, that foremost of ascetics, with eyes reddened in anger, wrathfully cried,—'Since blameless as I am, those wicked-minded ones censure me practising fierce austerities, they shall, without doubt, be reduced to ashes. And this very day bound by the noose of Kala, meeting with destruction at the hands of Vivaswata's son [Yama.], they shall for seven hundred births range these worlds, procuring dead men's clothes, always feeding on dogs'flesh, going by the name of Mushtikas, void of abhorrence, and of frightful, distorted forms and foul practices. And wicked Mahodaya also hath blamed me although undeserving of blame; therefore, reproved of all, he shall undergo Nishadahood. And becoming cruel and engaged in taking life, he shall through my ire fare wretchedly for a long lapse of time.' Having uttered this in the assembly of saints, that mighty ascetic, the highly powerful Vicwamitra of fierce asceticism

And knowing (by virtue of his Yoga power) Vasishtha's sons together with Mahodava as destroyed in consequence of his ascetic energy, the highly powerful Vicwamitra said in the midst of the saints,—This descendant of Ikshwaku, the famous Trisanku, is virtuous and munificent and hath taken refuge in me, with the view of attaining the celestial regions in his own person. Therefore do thou engage with me in the sacrifice, so that he may bodily repair unto heaven.' Hearing Vicwamitra's words, the pious Maharshis readily spoke in harmony with duty, saying,—This descendant of Kucika is a highly irascible ascetic,—therefore what he saith should, without doubt, be performed. The worshipful one is like unto fire, and, if angered, may curse us. Therefore, let us engage in this sacrifice, so that Ikshwaku's descendant through the potency of Vicwamitra may repair unto heaven in person. Then let us engage in this sacrifice.' Saying this, the sages entered upon the ceremony; and in that sacrifice the highly energetic Vicwamitra acted as the priest. And Ritwijas versed in mantras performed every thing in order with mantras, in accordance with scripture and prescription. Then after a long time, Vicwamitra of mighty austerities invoked thither all the celestials for receiving their respective shares; but the deities did not come to receive them. Thereupon, getting into a wrath, the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra, lifting up a ladle, wrathfully spoke unto Trisanku, —'O lord of men, do thou witness the prowess of my self- earned asceticism. I shall by dint of my asceticism take thee bodily unto heaven. And, O king, do thou in person repair unto heaven hard to attain. Something yet remains in me of the self-earned fruit of my

asceticism; and, O king, through the energy of that asceticism, do thou repair unto heaven in person.' And on the ascetic saying this, Kakutstha, that lord of men bodily ascended heaven in the very sight of the anchorets. And beholding Trisanku risen to heaven, the subduer of Paka [Indra.] together with all the celestials said,-'O Trisanku, turn thee back. Thou hast not earned abode in heaven. O fool, thou hast been blighted by the curse of thy spiritual guide. Do thou therefore drop down headlong.' The great Indra having spoken thus, Trisanku fell down, crying unto the ascetic - 'Save me, save me.' Thereupon, hearing his Vicwamitra, distressful cries, Kaucika waxed mightily wroth, and exclaimed,--'Stay, stay.' And in the midst of the ascetics, like unto another Prajapati, he created other seven Rishis [The Ursa major star constellation, on the Southern way; and also, overwhelmed with wrath created another set of stars. And collied with passion, that illustrious one in the midst of the ascetics created another system of stars in the southern direction. And, saying,-'I will create another Indra, or the world (that I create) shall be without an Indra.' And in anger, he went the length of creating celestials. Thereupon, in trepidation, the saints and the celestials and the Asuras humbly addressed the high- souled Vicwamitra thus,--'This king, O highly exalted one, hath been visited with the curse of his preceptor,-therefore, O ascetic, he deserves not to ascend heaven in person.' Hearing those words of theirs, that best of anchorets, Kaucika, in company with the celestials, said these pregnant words,— 'Good betide ve, I have vowed unto this king, Trisanku's bodily ascension unto heaven,—therefore, I dare not falsify my vow. Let Trisanku evermore dwell in heaven in person, and let these stars created by me verily endure as long as the worlds. This it behoveth ye, ye gods, to ordain. Thus addressed, the deities answered that best of ascetics, saying,-'So be it, good betide thee! All these innumerable stars. O foremost of anchorets, shall remain in the firmament outside the path of Vaicwanara [The Zodiac.]; and shining in their splendour, Trisanku shall dwell with bended head, like unto an immortal. And all these luminous bodies shall follow that best of kings, illustrious and successful, as if he had attained heaven itself.' And the virtuous and exceedingly energetic Vicwamitra, thus assured by the celestials, said in the midst of the saints.— 'Ye gods, excellent well.' Then, after the sacrifice had concluded, the high-souled celestials and the saints of ascetic wealth went to their respective regions, O foremost of men."

SECTION 61

'And, O puissant one, seeing those saints gone, the highly energetic Vicwamitra addressed those inhabitants of the forest. saying,-'A mighty disturbance hath happened in regard to the southern quarter: let us therefore repairing to another region, carry on austerities. Ye high-souled ones, in the west there are extensive tracts; and there in Pushkara will we peaceably carry on our austerities. That asylum is really pleasant.' Having said this, that exceedingly energetic and mighty Muni [Ascetic.] began to perform terrible austerities subsisting on fruits and roots. And it came to pass that at this time that mighty lord of Ayodhya, Amvarisha, prepared for celebrating a sacrifice. And as he was sacrificing, Indra stole away his sacrificial beast. And on the beast being stolen, the priest said unto the king,-'O king, the beast hath been stolen (away); and it hath been lost through thy dereliction. And, O lord of men, his own fault destroyeth the king that faileth to protect (the subjects). And, O best of men, even this is the expiation: do thou, while the ceremony lasts, speedily bring back the beast, or bring a man (in its stead).' Hearing the priest's words, that highly intelligent king began to range various countries and provinces, cities, forests, and holy asylums, searching for the beast, with a thousand kine (as the price thereof). And, O child, it came to pass that arriving at Bhrigutunga [A mountain peak.], he beheld Richika seated, there in company with his wife and sons, O descendant of Raghu. And bowing unto that Brahmarshi flaming in asceticism, and propitiating him; the exceedingly energetic royal saint of unparalleled effulgence having enquired as to his complete welfare, addressed Richika, saying, -'O highly pious one, O Bhrigu's son, if, in order that I may have a substitute for my sacrificial beast, thou sell thy son, my desire I shall attain. I have ranged every country; but the beast I do not find. Therefore, it behoveth thee to part with one of thy sons for price.' Thus addressed the exceedingly energetic Richika replied,—'O best of men, my first-born I will in no wise dispose of.' Hearing the words of the high-souled Richika, their mother spoke unto that foremost of men, Amvarisha, saying,-The worshipful son of Bhrigu hath said that his first-born cannot be disposed of,-do thou, O lord, also know that the youngest, Sunaka, is my favourite. Therefore my youngest son will I not give unto thee. O foremost of men, the eldest sons are generally the best beloved of their fathers: and the youngest, of their mothers,—therefore the youngest I would retain.' And when the ascetic as well as his wife had spoken thus, the second son, Sunasepha, O Rama, himself said,- 'My father would not sell the eldest; nor my mother the youngest,-therefore I consider even the second as

disposable. Do thou then, O prince, take me.' When that one versed in the Veda had ended, that lord of men, O mighty-armed descendant of Raghu, taking possession of Sunasepha, by paying kotis of kine, and heaps of jewels, and gold and silver by hundreds and thousands, went away exceedingly delighted. And that royal saint, the exceedingly energetic and highly famous Amvarisha, placing Sunasepha on his car, speedily set out."

SECTION 62.

"And, O foremost of men, taking Sunasepha, that illustrious king at noon rested in Pushkara, O descendant of Raghu. And having arrived at the excellent Pushkara, as the king was resting, the famous Sunasepha with an aggrieved heart saw his maternal uncle Vicwamitra in company with some saints engaged in asceticism. Thereupon, with a woebegone countenance, and sore afflicted with fatigue and thirst, he, O Rama, flung himself into (Vicwamitra's) lap, and said-'I have neither father, nor mother, nor relatives, nor friends anywhere. It therefore behoves thee, O gentle one, to save me in the interests of virtue, O foremost of ascetics, And, O best of men, thou art the protector of all, and their refuge. May the king have his desire and may I at the same time, attaining long life, and undcteriorating, gain heaven, having performed meritorious austerities! Do thou with a delighted heart become a lord unto me that am without one. And, O righteous one, even as a father rescueth a son, do thou deliver me from this peril.' Hearing his words, Vicwamitra of mighty austerities, pacifying him by every means, spoke unto his sons. saying,—'That in view of which fathers beget well-wishing the compassing of welfare in the next world—is at hand. This youthful son of the ascetic craveth my protection. Do ye, ye sons, accomplish my desire by saving his life. Ye are all of virtuous deeds, ye are all engaged in the observance of righteousness,—do ve confer satisfaction upon Agni by one of ve becoming the (sacrificial) beast of the lord of men. Thus Sunasepha will obtain protection, the sacrifice will be freed from hinderance, the deities will be propitiated, and finally my word will be made good.' Hearing the ascetic's words, his sons, Madhuchchhanda and others, O foremost of men, haughtily and tauntingly answered,-'O lord, how, neglecting thy own sons, thou desirest to deliver that of another? This we consider as heinous, even like unto eating one's own flesh.' Hearing this speech of his sons, that best of anchorets, with eyes reddened with anger, said,-'Disregarding my words, ye have uttered this audacious and shocking speech, disclaimed by morality, and capable of causing one's hair to stand on end. Therefore, becoming Mushtikas, and living on dogs' flesh, do ye all, even like Vasishtha's sons, inhabit the earth for a thousand years. Having cursed his sons, that best of ascetics then, by all means cheering up the distressed Sunasepha as to his protection, addressed him, saying,-'Do thou donning on a zone made of Kuca, and wearing a garland of red flowers, and bedaubing thy person with red sandal paste, hymn Agni with mantras, approaching the Vaishnava sacrificial stake; and, O ascetic's son, (at the same time) chaunt these two verses in that sacrifice of Amyarisha. Then thou wilt attain success.' Thereupon, with a concentrated mind securing those two verses, Sunasepha speedily presented himself before that leonine monarch, saying,—'O lion of a king, O thou endued with high intelligence, let us without delay repair hence. And, O foremost of monarchs, do thou engage in the sacrifice and commence upon the initiation.' Hearing those words of the ascetic's son, the king, filled with delight, readily at once repaired to the sacrificial ground. And with the consent of his court, the king fastened Sunasepha with a Kuca cord, and investing him with a crimson apparel, tethered him to the stake as the (sacrificial) heast. And, being bound (to the stake). the ascetic's son first of all duly hymned Agni, and next those deities, Indra and his younger brother. Thereupon, gratified with the excellent eulogy, the thousand-eyed Vasava conferred upon Sunasepha long life. And, O foremost of men, that king also, having completed the sacrifice, obtained the manifold fruit thereof through the grace of the thousand-eyed deity, O Rama, And, O best of men, the righteous Vicwamitra of mighty asceticism again carried on austerities at Pushkara for ten hundred years.

SECTION 63.

And when the thousand years had been completed and the mighty ascetic had accomplished his vow, the celestials in a body desirous of conferring upon him the fruit thereof, appeared before him. And the exceedingly effulgent Brahma. addressed him in soothing words; saying,—'Thou art henceforth a saint, good unto thee,—and (this eminence) thou hast attained through thy own laudable exertions.' Having spoken thus unto him, the lord of celestials returned to heaven. And Vicwamitra of mighty energy became again engaged in rigid austerities. And, O foremost of men, it came to pass that after a long lapse of time that prime of Apsaras, Menaka, was at that time performing her ablutions in Pushkara, and she was observed by Kucika's son, like unto lightning among clouds. And coming under the control of

Kandarpa [Passionate desire.], the anchoret spoke unto her, saying,—'O Apsari, hath thy journey been a pleasant one t Do thou abide in my asylum. Do thou favour me; for, good betide thee, I have been rendered senseless by Madana [Passionate desire.].' Thus addressed, that one of shapely hips began to dwell there. And mighty was the hinderance that befell Vicwamitra as regarded his asceticism, as she, O Raghava, staying in that asylum of his, pleasantly spent five and five years. O gentle one. And after this period had gone by. overwhelmed with shame and afflicted with anxiety and grief, the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra impatiently thought, O son of Raghu, that all this mighty loss of austerities was the work of the celestials. And deprived of his senses by lust, the decade had passed away imperceptibly as if it were one day and night; and this impediment stood in the way of his austerities. And heaving a sigh, that best of ascetics burned in repentance. And with sweet words, renouncing the terrible and trembling Menaka standing wuh clasped hands, Kucika's son, Vicwamitra, O Rama, went to the northern mountains. And practising the Brahmacharyya mode of lite with the intention of subduing lust, that highly famous one engaged in arduous austerities on the banks of the Kauciki. And as he was thus engaged in profound austerities on the northern mountain, a thousand years, O Rama passed away. Then taking counsel together, the celestials and the saints appeared before (Brahma), saying,—'Let Kucika's son obtain the title of Maharshi.' Hearing the words of the celestials, the Grand-sire of all addressed the ascetic Vicwamitra, in these sweet words,—O mighty saint, hast thou had a pleasant journey? Satisfied with thy fierce austerities, O Kaucika, I confer upon thee the eminence of the foremost saintship.' Hearing Brahma's speech, the anchoret Vicwamitra bowing down thus answered the Grand- sire with clasped hands,--'The incomparable title of Brahmarshi is to be won by one by performing sterling works. And since thou hast not addressed me (by that title) it appears that I have not yet succeeded in subduing my senses. Thereupon Brahma said unto him, - 'Do thou exert thyself until thou conquer thy senses? Saying this, Brahma went to heaven. And when the celestials had gone, the mighty ascetic, Vicwamitra, with upraised arms, and without any support, and subsisting on air, began to perform penances. And in summer, the ascetic surrounded himself with five fires. and in rains remained in an uncovered place, and in winter day and night stood submerged in water. Thus passed by a thousand years of terrible penances. And on the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra being engaged in austerities, great was the agitation that exercised the celestials and Vasay, in particular. And Sakra together with the Maruts spoke unto Rambha these words, fraught with weal unto himself, and woe unto

SECTION 64.

"'O Rambha, this mighty service thou wilt have to perform in the interest of the celestials!-even to take Kaucika with the witchery of love.' Thus addressed by the intelligent thousand-eved deity, the Apsari, O Rama, with clasped palms, thus bashfully answered the chief of the celestials, the celestials, this mighty ascetic, Vicwamitra, is a terrible person; and, without doubt, he will, O divine one, waxing wroth, curse me. And O god, even this is ay fear, and therefore it behoveth thee to favour me.' Thus apprehensively addressed by her in fear, the thousand-eved one answered that damsel trembling and staying with clasped hands,-'Never fear, O Rambha, good unto thee! Do thou perform my bidding. Assuming the form of a coel, captivating the heart, I will in this spring crowned with graceful trees, stay by thy side in company with Kandarpa. And do thou adding unto thy beauty, diverse blandishments bewitch this ascetic. Kucika's son, O gentle one?' Hearing Indra's words, that comely damsel of luminous smiles, heightening her charms exceedingly, inspired Vicwamitra with desire. And he listened to the mellifluous strains of the coel; and with a delighted heart, he beheld the fair one. Anon, listening to the warbling of the coel and her own incomparable singing, as well as beholding Rambha, the ascetic began to entertain doubts. And knowing for certain that it was the thousand-eyed deity who had devised all that, that foremost of anchorets, Kucika's son, overwhelmed with anger, cursed Rambha, saying, -- 'Since, O Rambha, thou endeavourest to seduce me who is bent upon subduing his anger and lust, thou shalt, O luckless one, remain as a stone for ten thousand years. And a highly energetic Brahmana equipped with ascetic energy, will, O Rambha, deliver thee, stained because of my ire.' Thus said that exceedingly energetic and mighty ascetic Vicwamitra, and was filled with remorse unable to contain his anger of heart. And in consequence of his mighty curse, Rambha was turned into a stone. Hearing the curse of the mighty saint, both Kandarpa and Indra left the place. And, O Rama, on account of his anger, and his sense remaining still unsubdued he found no rest from deterioration of ascetic merit. And coming by decrease of ascetic merit, he thought within himself,-'No more shall I suffer anger to exercise me, -nor will I ever say anything to any. And I shall not breathe for an hundred years; and controlling my sense, I shall dry up my

body. And so long as I do not attain Brahmanahood as earned by my austerities, I shall suspending my breath and abstaining from food, stay for a long lapse of time. And engaged in austerities, my form will not undergo any deterioration.' That foremost of ascetics bound himself by this unparalleled vow to lead a life of such self-denial."

SECTION 65.

'And forsaking the northern direction, the mighty Muni, O Rama, betaking himself to the Eastern quarter, became engaged in dreadful austerities. And adopting the high vow of taciturnity for a thousand years, he, O Rama began to perform the most signal and arduous austerities. And when the thousaud years had been complete, many an impediment tried the mighty Muni staying like the trunk of a tree, vet could not anger enter his heart; and firmly determined to shut out anger, he, O Rama, kept his asceticism from deterioration. And, O foremost of the Raghus, when his vow of a thousand years had been observed, that one of mighty vows became desirous of feeding on boiled rice. And it came to pass O best of the Raghus that at this time Indra assuming the guise of a regenerate one, asked for the rice. Thereupon he gave it away unto the Vipra; and when the rice had been thus exhausted, that worshipful one of mighty austerities went without food. Nor, abiding by the vow of reticence, did he say aught unto the Vipra. And he then again resumed his dumb guise, restraining his breath at the same time. And that puissant ascetic did not breathe for a thousand years. And as he restrained his breath, vapours began to issue out of his head. And, at this, the three worlds being on fire became as if afflicted with fear. And bewildered on account of the energy of his asceticism, and shorn of their brightness, and afflicted with anguish, the Devarshis and the Gandharbas and the Pannagas and the Uragas and the Rakshasas in a body addressed the Pitamaha [Lit. grand-father. Here, a name of Brahma meaning, the great father of all.], saying,—'O divine one, various were the means by which we endeavoured to affect the mighty Muni Vicwamitra with covetuousness and lust; but for all that he increaseth in asceticism. Nor do we perceive in him ever so little of anger or lust. And if thou do not confer upon him what his mind desireth to have, he will annihilate the thre worlds with all that is mobile and immobile in them. And the ten cardinal points are disconsolate: and nothing can be discovered therein. And the seas are vexed, and the mountains riven. And the earth shaketh, and the winds keep steadily blowing. And, O Brahmana, we do not know how to remedy, this. And every one is inactive like an infidel. And the three worlds look as if stupified, with their minds exceedingly exercised. And by virtue of that mighty saint's energy, the sun itself hath been deprived of his splendour.

Therefore, god, against the mighty Muni bending his mind upon destruction, and consuming the three entire worlds like unto the fire raging at the universal dissolution, that exalted one of exceeding effulgence resembling a flame, should be pacified. Even should he desire the dominion of the celestial regions, do thou grant him his wish. Then the celestials with Pilamaha at their head, addressed the high-souled Vicwamitra in sweet-words, saying,-'welcome, O Brahmarshi! well pleased have we been with thy penances. And, O son of Kucika, in consideration of thy fiery asceticism. thou hast obtained Brahmana-hood. And, O Brahmana, I will in company with the Maruts confer on thee long life. Hail unto thee! Do thou accept this, good betide thee. Go thou, O gentle one, as thou likest? Hearing Pitamaha's speech, the mighty ascetic, bowing down unto the celestials, said in delight,--'If Brahmana-hood hath really been obtained by me together with length of days, let Omkara and Vashatkaraand the Vedas crown me; and let, ye gods, that foremost of those versed in Kshatra Veda as well as of those cognisant of the Brahmaveda, even Brahma's son, Vasishtha, recognize me. Having granted this prime desire of mine, do ye go away, ye gods.' Then pacified by the celestials, that best of reciters, the Brahmarshi Vasishtha, made friends (with Vicwamitra), saying,-'So be it.' 'Thou art a Brahmarshi. There is no doubt about this. And every thing hath been compassed in thy behalf,'-having said this, the deities went to their respective regions. And that Brahmarshi, the righteous Vicwamitra also, having attained excellent Brahmana-hood, paid his homage unto that best of reciters, Vasishtha; and having secured his end, began to range the entire world, staying in asceticism. In this wise. O Rama, was Brahmanya actually obtained by the high-souled one. This, O Rama, is the foremost of ascetics, this one is Asceticism incarnate. This one ever abideth by duty; and he is the stay of ascetic energy.'

Having said this, that best of regenerate persons paused. Hearing Satananda's narration delivered in the presence of Rama and Lakshmana, Janaka with clasped hands addressed the son of Kucika, saying,—'Blessed and favoured am I, that thou, O Kaucika, accompanied with Kakutstha, hast arrived at my sacrifice, O puissant anchoret. Purified am I, O Brahmana, by thy very sight, O mighty Muni. And from thy sight have I received various qualities. O Brahmana, thy mighty austerities have been related in detail; and myself as

well as the high-souled Rama have listened to the narration relative to thy formidable ascetic energy; and the assembled courtiers have heard of thy various perfections. Immeasurable is thy asceticism; and immeasurable thy power; and ever immeasurable thy qualities, O Kucika's son. I never, O lord, am tired of listening to that wonderful narration. Now, O foremost of ascetics, the hour for performing the daily devotions hath arrived, and the solar disc hangeth aslope. Tomorrow morning, O highly energetic one, thou wilt see me again. Welcome, best of reciters. It behoveth thee to favour me." Thus addressed, that best of ascetics, extolling that powerful one, well pleased, dismissed the delighted Janaka. Thus accosted, Mithila's lord, Vaideha, in company with his priests and friends, went round that foremost of ascetics. And the righteous Vicwamitra also together with Rama and Lakshmana, having been honoured by the high-souled ones, took up their quarters there.

SECTION 66.

The next morning, which happened to be bright, the lord of men, having performed his daily devotions, welcomed Vicwamitra and Raghava. And having, in accordance with the scriptures, paid homage unto the former as well as the two high-souled Raghavas, that virtuous one said,-"Hail, O worshipful sir! What shall I do unto thee, O sinless one?" Do thou command. Surely, I deserve to be commanded by thee. Thus addressed by the high-souled Janaka, that first of ascetics endowed with a righteous soul, well versed in speech, answered, —"These sons of Dacaratha—Kshatriyas—famed among men, are eager to behold that best of bows, that lies with thee. Do thou show it unto them, may it be well with thee! Having obtained a sight of that bow, the king's sons, their desires crowned with success, will return as they list." Thus accosted, Janaka replied unto the mighty Munisaying,—"Listen to why the bow lieth here. There was a king known by the name of Devarata. He was the elder brother of Nimi. And, O worshipful one, this bow was consigned unto the hands of that high-souled one as a trust. Formerly with the view of destroying Daksha's sacrifice, the puissant (Siva), drawing this bow, sportively spoke unto the celestials in ire, - 'Since, ye gods, ye deny me the shares (of this sacrifice), which I lay claim to, I will with my bow even sever those beads of yours.' Thereat, O powerful ascetic, with agitated hearts, the deities fell to propitiating that lord of the celestials,-and Bhava was pleased with them. And wellpleased with them, he conferred this upon those high-souled ones. And even this is that jewel of a bow belonging to the high-souled god of gods, and which was ultimately. O lord, consigned as a trust unto our ancestor. And as I was ploughing the mead, arose a damsel,-and as I obtained her while hallowing the field (for sacrifice), she hath come to be known by the name of Sita. And arising from the earth, she grew as my daughter. And unsprung from the usual source, she was then established here as my daughter, whose hand must be obtained by bending the bow. And O foremost of ascetics, many a king, coming here, had saught to obtain my growing daughter arisen from the earth. But, O worshipful one, in consideration of her being one whose dower must be prowess in bending the bow. I would not bestow my daughter upon those lords of earth seeking for the damsel. Thereupon O puissant anchoret, all the kings in a body began to flock to Mithila, desirous of being acquainted with the strength of the bow. And on their being curious (as to the bow), I showed it unto them; but they could neither hold nor wield it. And, O mighty Muni, finding those powerful kings to be but endowed with small prowess, I parsed them by. Hear what then befell, O thou of ascetic wealth. Then, O powerful anchoret, in high ire, the kings, doubtful as to their strength in stringing the bow, laid siege to Mithila. And those potent princes, conceiving themselves as frustrated by me, began to harass the city of Mithila, waxing wondrous wroth. And when a year had been completed, my defensive resources were entirely exhausted,-and at this, I was exceedingly aggrieved. Then I sought to propitiate the deities; and well- pleased, the celestials granted me a Chaturanga army. At length those wicked kings, meeting with slaughter, broke and fled in all directions, together with their adherents, bereft of vigor, and confidence in their strength. And, O puissant ascetic, this highly effulgent bow will I show unto Rama and Lakshmana, O thou of excellent vows. And, if, O ascetic, Rama succeeds in fixing string to it, I will confer upon Dacaratha's son my daughter Sita, unsprung from the usual source.

SECTION 67

Hearing Janaka's words, the mighty MuniVicwamitra said unto the king,—"Do thou show the bow unto Rama." Thereupon the king Janaka commanded his ministers, saying,—"Do ye bring the wonderful bow furnished with unguents and garlands." Commanded by Janaka, the ministers entered the city; and placing the bow in their front, those, endowed with immeasurable energy, came out And deposited in a case on a cart borne upon eight wheels, it was with difficulty drawn along by five thousand stalwart persons of well-developed frames. And having brought that case of

iron, wherein lay that bow, the royal counsellors spoke unto Janaka resembling an immortal, saying,—"Here is the best of bows, O king, worshipped of all sovereigns. O foremost of kings, O lord of Mithila, if you think it worth showing (shew it)." Hearing their speech, the king with clasped palms said unto the high-souled Vicwamitra well as Rama and Lakshmana.—"This best of bows, O Brahmana, hath always been worshipped by the Janakas; as also by mighty kings incapable (of wielding and stringing it.) And neither the celestials, nor the Asuras, nor the Rakshasas, nor the Gandharbas nor the Yakshas, nor the Kinnaras, nor the mighty Uragas,-how shall men fare?-have succeeded in stringing or stretching it, or fixing the arrow to it, or pulling its string, or wielding it. This foremost of bows hath been brought here, O chief of ascetics. Do thou, O exalted one, show it unto these sons of the king." Hearing Janaka,s words, the righteous Vicwamitra said unto Raghava,-"O Rama, do thou, my child, behold the bow." At the words of the Maharshi, Rama, opening the case, wherein lieth the bow took a sight of it and said,—"This divine bow will I touch with my hand,— and shall I also strive to wield and draw it?' Thereat both the king and the ascetic said,—"Excellent well." At the words of the anchoret, in the sight of countless thousands of spectators, the righteous son of Raghu with exceeding ease took hold of the bow by the middle, and fixed the string upon it, - and having fixed the string, drew it. And that foremost of men enjoying high fame, snapped the bow in the middle. And mighty was the sound that was heard on the occasion, like unto the bursting of a thunder-clap: and the earth trembled terribly, as it doth in the vicinity of a mountain splitting; and overwhelmed by the noise, all rolled head over heels, with the exception of that best of ascetics, the king, and the two Raghavas. And on the people being reassured, the king conversant with speech, his apprehension removed, with folded hands addressed that puissant ascetic, "O worshipful one, I have beheld the prowess of Dacaratha's son. This is verily wonderful and inconceivable; and I did not think this was possible. And my daughter, Sita, being united with her lord, Dacaratha's son, Rama, will shed lustre on Janaka's line. And my promise viz., that I will confer Sita upon him that will bend the bow, hath been fulfilled. O son of Kucika. And this Sita, this my daughter, dearer unto me than life will I confer upon Rama. And, O Brahmana, by thy permission let my counsellors speedily post hence, O Kaucika, good betide thee unto Ayodhya, in cars; and with humble speech bring the king unto my capital. And let them communicate unto him all about the bestowal of Sita upon Rama, in consequence of his having bent the bow. And let them acquaint the monarch with the welfare of the Kakutsthas protected by the ascetic; and let them, speedily posting here, bring the delighted king." And thereupon Kucika's son said,—"So be it." And the righteous king, summoning his counsellors, despatched them to Ayodhya with his letter, to communicate all duly unto the king, and bring him thither

SECTION 68.

Thus commissioned by Janaka, the envoys, having spent three nights on the way, entered the city of Ayodhya, with their conveyance afflicted with fatigue. And in accordance with the royal commission, entering the king's residence, they saw the aged king Dacaratha, resembling a celestial. And freed from apprehension, the envoys with clasped hands addressed the monarch in sweetly humble accents, saying,-"O mighty monarch, Mithila's lord king Janaka, in company with his priests, in sweet and affectionate words, repeatedly enquires after the complete welfare of thyself along with thy priests and servants. And having enquired after thy complete welfare, Mithila's lord, Vaideha, by permission of Kaucika addresses thee thus,-'Thou knowest the vow I had made formerly-viz, to confer my daughter upon him that would bend the bow,— and the kings, in consequence of their having been deprived of prowess, and being baffled, have come to entertain spite against me. And that daughter of mine, O king, hath been won by thy son arrived here at will, headed by Vicwamitra. And, O mighty-armed one, that divine, jewelled bow hath been snapped in the middle by the highsouled Rama in the midst of a large assembly. And upon that high-souled one should I confer Sita, having prowess assigned for her dower, And in this wise will I free myself from my vow; and this thou shouldst permit. And, O mighty king, do thou, good betide thee, come speedily, headed by thy priests. It behoveth thee to see the Raghavas; and, O foremost of kings, to see me delivered from this vow. And do thou attain the joy incident to the nuptials of both thy sons, -thus spoke sweetly the lord of Videha, permitted by Vicwamitra and staying by the opinions of Satananda." Hearing the words of the envoys, the king, exceedingly rejoiced, addressed Vasishtha and Vamadeva, as well as his counsellors, saying,-"Protected by Kucika's son, that enhancer of Kaucalya's joy stayeth in Videha in company with his brother Lakshmana. And the high-souled Janaka hath witnessed the prowess of Kakutstha; and he wisheth to bestow his daughter upon Raghava. If this alliance with the high-souled Janaka is

relished by ye, we shall speedily repair to his capital. Let there be no waste of time." Thereupon, the counsellors along with the Maharshis said,—"Excellent! And the king highly delighted, said unto the counsellors,—"Our journey commenceth on the morrow." And excellently ministered unto, the counsellors of that foremost of monarchs (Janaka), endowed with every excellent quality, spent that night in joy.

SECTION 69

Then when the night had been spent, king Dacaratha accompanied with his priests and adherents, well pleased spoke unto Sumantra, saying,—"To-day let the officers in charge of the treasury, taking plenty of excellent wealth, and furnished with various gems, go in advance under proper escort. And let the four-fold forces sally out with speed. And at my command let horses and conveyances and elegant vehicles march out. And let Vasishtha and Vamadeva and Javali and Kacyapa and Markandeya endowed with long life and the saint Katyayana—let these regenerate ones go forward. And do thou also yoke my car. Let not the proper time pass away; for the envoys urge speed upon me." At these words of the king, the four-fold forces together with the saints went in the wake of the monarch. And after bar- ing passed four days on the way, they arrived at Videha.

And hearing of Dacaratha's arrival, the auspicious king Janaka experienced great delight, and having obtained the aged king Dacaratha, he honoured him duly. And that best one (Janaka) spoke words unto that delighted chief of men. 'Hath thy journey been a pleasant one. O best of men? By luck have I obtained thee, O descendant of Raghu. Do thou experience the joy earned by the prowess of thy sons. And by luck it is that I have obtained the highly energetic and worshipful saint Vashistha accompanied by the foremost regenerate ones, like him of an hundred sacrifices, by the celestials. By luck it is that I have overcome the obstacle: by luck it is that my race hath attained renown in consequence of alliance with those endowed with prowess, the exceedingly potent Raghavas. O lord of men, to-morrow morning, after the completion of the sacrifice, do thou perform the nuptials, in company with the foremost of the saints." Hearing his speech in the midst of the saints, that best of those conversant with words, the lord of men, replied unto the monarch, saying, -"A gift should be accepted, -this I heard formerly. And what thou sayest, O thou cognisant of duty, will we accomplish." Hearing these words of the truthful (king), chiming in with morality and conducive to fame, the lord of Videha was filled with admiration. Then the ascetics experiencing great delight, passed the night happily in each other's company. And the king, overloved on beholding his sons, the Raghavas-passed (the night) in exceeding delight, splendidly entertained of Janaka. And the exceedingly energetic Janaka also, versed in men and things, having in accordance with the ordinance completed the sacrifice and performed all the preliminary rites relative to the nuptials of his daughters, reposed for the night.

SECTION 70.

Then next morning Janaka skilled in speech, having in company with the Maharshis performed his daily duties, addressed the priest Satananda, saying,-"My highly energetic, puissant and eminently righteous brother known by the name of Kusadhwaia dwelleth in the auspicious city. Sankacya, whose ramparts are ranged round with pointed weapons, and which is laved by the river Ikshumati, and which resembles the celestial regions or the aerial car, Pushpaka. I wish to see him, and he is in charge of my sacrifice. And that highly energetic one will partake with me the joy of this occasion." This having been said unto Satananda, some competent persons presented themselves; and Janaka commanded them (to set out) for Sankacya. And commanded by the monarch, off they went, mounting on fleet coursers, with the view of bringing over that best among men, like Vishnu at the mandate of Indra. And arriving at Sankacya, they presented themselves before Kucadhwaja, and faithfully delivered unto him the intention of Janaka. And hearing the tidings conveyed by those foremost of envoys endowed with great fleetness, Kucadhwaja set out at the mandate of the monarch. And on coming to Videha, he appeared before the high-souled Janaka addicted to righteousness. And saluting Satananda as well as the eminently virtuous Janaka, he sat down on an excellent and superb seat worthy of a king. And having been seated, both the heroic brothers of immeasurable splendour addressed that foremost of counsellors, Sudamana, -"Go, foremost of counsellors, and speedily bring over the irrepressible Ikshwaku of immeasurable splendour along with his sons and ministers." Thereupon, repairing to the camp he saw that enhancer of the race of the Raghus, and saluting him with bended head, addressed him.—"O heroic lord of Ayodhya, Vaideha, the master of Mithila, hath wished to see thee along with thy priests." Hearing the words of that best of counsellors, the king accompanied by the saints and his adherents came to Janaka. And in company with his counsellors, and preists and adherents, the king-foremost of those skilled in speech-spoke unto Vaideha, saying,-"O

mighty king, thow knowest that the worshipful saint Vasishtha is the spiritual guide of our race; and in every ceremony that we undertake, he it is who serves the function of a spokesman. And permitted by Vicwamitra along with all the Maharshis, even this one of a righteous soul will relate my genealogy." And on Dacaratha resuming silence, the worshipful saint Vasishtha, versed in speech, spoke unto Vaideha in company with his priests, saying—"The perpetual, everlasting, and undeteriorating Brahma sprang from the Unmanifest (Brahma). From him sprang Maricha; and Kacyapa is son unto Maricha. And from Kacyapa sprung Vivaswat; and Manu is son unto Vivasvvat. This Manu is otherwise called Prajipati; and Ikshwaku is Manu's son. And this Ikshwaku, thou must understand, was the first king of Ayodhya And Ikshwaku's son, it is well known, was the graceful Kukshi. And Kukshi's son was the graceful Vikukshi. And Vikukshi's son was the exceedingly energetic and powerful Vana. And Vana's son was the highly energetic and powerful Anaranya. From Anaranya sprang Prithu; and from Prithu, Trisanku. And Trisanku's son was the highly famous Dhundumara. And from Dhundumara sprung the Maharatha, Yuvanacya. And from Yuvanacya sprung Mandhata, lord of earth. And Mandhata's son was the graceful Susandhi. And Susandhi's two sons were Dhruvasandhi and Prasenajit. And from Dhruvasandhi sprung the famous Bharata. And from Bharata sprung Asita; to fight whom were born as hostile kings, those heroes, the Haihayas, the Talajanghas, and the Sasavindas. And engaged in conflict with them, that king fled (from his kingdom); and repairing to the Himavat in company with his two consorts, the feeble Asita there paid his debt to Nature. The story runs that his two wives were in the family-way; and that with the intention of destroying the embryo of the other, one of them administered poison unto the former mixed in her food. And it came to pass that at this time. Bhrigu's son, the ascetic Chyavana, had become addicted to the romantic Himavat -- foremost of mountains. And here one of these exalted dames with eyes resembling lotus-petals, saluting Bhrigu's son shining like a celestial, desired of him an excellent son. And drawing near unto that sage, Kalindi saluted him. And that Vipra said unto her, who was desiring of having a son born of her,—"In thy womb, O exalted one, will be speedily born an excellent son mixed up with poison, highly powerful, and exceedingly energetic, and possessed of mighty strength, and graceful. Therefore, do thou not grieve, O thou of lotus-eyes." And having paid reverence unto Chyavana, that chaste and worshipful princess, although bereft of her husband, gave birth to a son. And since intending to destroy her foetus she that was co-wife with her had administered poison unto her, Sagara [Gara, poison, Sagara means, with poison, i. e. here, one born with poison.] was born together with the poison.

And Sagara's son was Asamanja, and Asamanja's Ancumat. And Dilipa was son unto Ancumat, and Bhagiratha unto Dilipa. And from Bhagiratha sprang Kakutstha, and from Kakutstha, Raghu, And Raghu's son was the puissant Prayridha, feeding on human flesh; and he came finally to be known by the name of Kalmashapada. And from him sprung Sankhana. And Sudarcana was Sankhana's, and Agnivarna was Sudarcana's son. And Sighraga was Agnivarna's, and Maru was Sighraga's son. And Maru's son was Pracucruka, and from Pracucruka sprung Amvarisha. And Amvarisha's son was Nahusha, lord of earth. And Nahusha's son was Yayati, and Yayati's was Nabhaga. And Nabhaga's son was Aja, and from Aja sprung Dacaratha. And from this Dacaratha have come the brothers Rama and Lakshmana. And it is in the interests of Rama and Lakshmana belonging to the heroic and truthful and pious Sovereigns sprung in the Ikshwaku line, and possessing purity of race even from the time of their founder, that, O king, we solicit the hands of thy daughters. And, O foremost of men, it behoveth thee to confer like brides upon like bridegrooms.

SECTION 71

When Vasishtha had spoken thus, Janaka with clasped hands answered unto him, saying,—"It behoveth thee to listen unto our genealogy as related by myself. In the matter of disposal of daughters, O foremost of anchorets, one's own line should be described by one boasting of a noble ancestry. Do thou then, O mighty-minded one, listen to the same. There was a king famed over the three worlds by his own acts-Nimi-eminently pious and the foremost of those endowed with strength. And his son was named Mithi, and Mithi's son was Janaka. And from this king Janaka have we derived that word as applied to every one of us. And from Janaka sprang Udavasu; and Udavasu's son was the pious-souled Nandivardhana. And Nandivardhan's son was the heroic Suketu. And Suketu's son was the mighty and righteous Devarata, And the Rajarshi Devarata's son was Vrihadratha. And Vrihadratha's son was the heroic and puissant Mahavira. And Mahavira's son was Sudhriti, endowed with fortitude and having truth for prowess. And Sudhriti's son was the pious-spirited and eminently righteous Dhritaketu. And the Rajarshi Dhritaketu's son was Haryyacya. And Haryyacya's son was Maru; and Maru's son was Pratindhaka. And

Pratindhaka's son was the righteous king Kirtiratha. And Kirtiratha* s son was Devamirha, and Devamirha's, Vibudha. and Vibudha's Mahidhraka. And Mahidhraka's son was king Kirtiratha endowed with great strength. And the Rajarshi Kirtiratha had Moharoma born unto him; and Moharoma, the virtuous Sarnaroma. And the Rajarshi Sarnaroma had Hraswaroma born unto him. And this high-souled king conversant with morality had two sons: the elder, myself, the vounger, even my brother, the heroic Kucadhwaia, And installing in the kingdom myself, who was the elder son, and consigning unto my care Kucadhwaja, our father sought the forest. And on my aged sire ascending heaven, I righteously ruled the kingdom and cherished my brother Kucadhwaja resembling a celestial, with the eye of affection. And it came to pass that on one occasion a certain powerful king named Sudhanwa came from the city of Sankacya before Mithila intending to lay seige to it. And he sent word unto me, 'Do thou give me the all-excellent bow of Siva, as well as thy daughter, the lotus-eyed Sita'. And in consequence of my not granting him either, king Sudhanwa, O Brahmarshi, entered into hostilities with me; but he was both defeated and slain by me in the encounter. And, O foremost of ascetics, slaying king Sudhanwa, I installed in Sankacya my heroic brother Kucadhwaja. This one, O mighty anchoret, is my younger brother, and I am his elder. O powerful ascetic, well pleased will I confer on thee these as thy daughters-in-law,-Sita on Rama, good betide thee, and Urmila on Lakshmana And, I take oath thrice that, without doubt, I will with a glad heart confer upon thee. O potent ascetic, as thy daughters- inlaw my second daughter Urmila and also Sita resembling the daughter of a celestial, having prowess assigned for her dower. Do thou now, O king, perform the ceremony Godanaof the nuptials of Rama and Lakshmana; and also perform their ancestral rites, good unto thee; and then complete the marriage ceremony. To-day the star Magha is on the ascendant. On the third day, my master, when the Phalguna will be on north, do thou, O monarch, perform the marriage ceremony. Do thou now, however, dispense gifts for invoking blessings upon Rama and Lakshmana.

SECTION 72.

When Vaideha had spoken thus, the mighty ascetic Vicwamitra in company with Vasishtha addressed that heroic king, saying,--"O puissant one, the lines of the Ikshwakus and the Vaidehas are exceedingly noble and incomparable. No other race can by any means compare with them. And, O monarch, this youthful union of Rama and Lakshmana with Sita! and Urmila is fit by all means: and it is worthy of their wealth of grace. Now do thou, O foremost of men, listen to my words. This youthful brother of thine, king Kucadhwaja, O thou versed in morality, this pious-souled one, O king, hath, O prime of men, a couple of daughters, unparalleled on earth in beauty, whom we would ask for, to become wives unto the prince Bharata and the intelligent Satrughna; as we, O king, ask for thine own daughters in the interests of those highsouled ones (Rama and Lakshmana). And these sons of Dacaratha are endeued with youth and beauty, resembling the Lokapalas, and possessed of the prowess of celestials. Therefore do thou, O foremost of sovereigns, by this alliance with both the brothers, bind the Ikshwaku race. And in this may thy mind never waver!" Hearing Vicwamitra's words embodying' the sentiments of Vasishtha, Janaka with clasped hands addressed both the potent ascetics, saying,consider my line as blessed; since such puissant ascetics wish for such a desirable alliance. Whatever ye wish, even that shall be done, good betide ye. Let these daughters of Kucadhwaja together become the wives of Satrughna and Bharata. On the same day, O mighty Muni, let the four highly powerful princes espouse the hands of the four princesses. The learned consider bridal celebrated on the day succeeding those on which the Phalgunis are on the ascendant,-and having for its presiding deity Bhaga—as the most auspicious." Having said these amiable words, king Janaka arose, and with clasped hands addressed both the foremost of ascetics, saving, have reaped high religious merit (by these nuptials), and I also am your disciple. And do ve, ve anchorets, occupy these best of thrones, (belonging to us). And even as this kingdom is unto Dacaratha, is Ayodhya unto myself. Do ye not therefore entertain any doubts as to your lordship. Do ye therefore do as it behoveth ye." And as Vaideha Janaka was speaking thus, Raghu's son, king Dacaratha, well pleased answered that monarch, saying, -"Countless are the excellences that pertain to ye brothers, lords of Mithila"; and saints and sovereigns are ever honoured by ye, auspiciousness be yours. Good betide ye, I will repair unto my own quarters, there to duly perform the Sraddha ceremonies." Then having greeted that king of men, the illustrious Dacaratha, placing those foremost of ascetics in his front, went away. And reaching his quarters, the king performed the Sraddha according to the ordinance, arose the next morning, and completed Godana ceremony in consonance with the time. And to Brahmanas the monarch severally gave away kine by hundreds and by thousands, for the welfare of his sons. And that puissant one gave away unto the regenerate ones four hundred thousands

of kine furnished with horns plated with gold, and each having her calf,—together with bell-metal vessels for milking them. And that descendant of Raghu addicted to his sons made presents of various other valuables unto the Brahmanas, on behalf of his sons. And having given away kine, the king surrounded by his sons looked like unto the amiable Prajapati surrounded by the Lokapalas.

SECTION 73

And it came to pass that the day on which the king made excellent presents of kine, the heroic Yudhajit, son unto the lord of the Kekayas and maternal uncle unto Bharata, presented himself before Dacaratha. And having seen the king and enquired after his welfare, he said unto him,—"The lord of the Kekayas hath from affection enquired after thy welfare, saying,—They of whose peace thou art anxious, are at present well.' And, O foremost of kings, desirous of seeing my nephew (Bharata) that lord of earth repaired to Ayodhya, O descendant of Raghu. And learning at Ayodhya that thy sons for the purpose of marriage had, O monarch, come to Mithila with thyself, I have speedily hied hither, with the intention of seeing my sister's son."

Then king Dacaratha, on having that dear guest with him, rendered unto him all the respect that he deserved. Then having passed the night in company with his high-souled sons, that one versed in men and things arose in the morning, and having disposed of his daily duties, approached the entrance of the sacrificial ground, headed by the saints. Then at an auspicious moment called Vijava, Rama with Vasishtha as well as other Maharshis at his head, and accompanied by his brothers adorned with various ornaments, who had all performed the rites relative to their nuptials, (approached the entrance of the sacrificial ground). Then the worshipful Vasishtha, coming unto Vaideha, spake as follows,-"King Dacaratha, O foremost of sovereigns—that chief among the best of men-accompanied with his sons, who have performed all the rites relative to their nuptials, stayeth the orders of the bestower (of the bride); for the meeting of the giver and the receiver is indispensable to every transaction (of this nature). Do thou therefore maintain thy merit by accomplishing this excellent nuptial ceremony." Thus addressed by the highsouled Vasishtha, that exceedingly generous and energetic one versed in morality answered, saying,-"Who acts as my warder there? And whose commands doth he stay? And what need of exercising judgment in entering one's own house? As this kingdom is mine, so it is verily thine. O foremost of anchorets, my daughters resembling flames of fire, having performed all the rites relative to the incoming nuptials, are at the foot of the dais; and, sitting beside the dais, I myself had been expecting thee every moment. Do thou perform everything without let. What need of delaying further? Hearing those words uttered by Janaka, Dacaratha entered in together with his sons and the body of saints. Then unto the king of the Videhas, Vasishtha spake as follows,—"O saint, do thou, O pious one, in company with the saints perform, O master, the nuptial ceremonies of Rama charming unto all. Thereupon, saying,—"So be it" unto Janaka, the worshipful saint Vasishtha of mighty austerities with Vicwamitra and the pious Satananda in his front, constructed a dais agreeably to the scriptures, decking it out with fragrant flowers all around, and golden ladles, and variegated water- pots, and platters with ears of barley, and censers filled with Dkupa, and conchs, and sacrificial spoons, and vessels furnished with Arghyas, and those containing fried paddy, and sanctified Akshatas. And over the dais, Vasishtha with due mantras and rites spread an awning consisting of Darvas of equal proportions. And with prescribed rites and mantras placing fire upon the dais, the highly energetic one commenced upon offering oblations. Then bringing Sita adorned with various ornaments near the fire, and placing her before Raghava, king Janaka addressed the enhancer of Kaucalya's joy, saying,-"This Sita, my daughter, do thou accept, good betide thee, as thy partner in the observance of every duty: do thou take her hand by thine. May she be of exalted piety, and devoted to her husband; ever following thee like thy shadow!" saying this, the king sprinkled Rama's palm with water sanctified with mantras; with the celestials and saints exclaiming,-"Excellent! Excellent!" And the celestial kettle-drums sounded, and blossoms began to shower down copiously. Having thus given away his daughter Sita, with water and mantras, king Janaka overflowing with delight, said,—"Come forward, O Lakshmana, good unto thee. Receive thou Urmila ready to be bestowed by me upon thee. Do thou accept her hand: let there be no delay about it." Having addressed Lakshmana thus, Janaka spake unto Bharata, saying,-"Do thou, descendant of Raghu, take Mandavya's hand by thine own." And the righteous lord of Mithila spake also unto Satrughna, -"Do thou, O thou of mighty arms, take Srutakirti's hand by thine own. May ye all be good, and vowed unto excellent life! and be, ye Kakutsthas, ye united with your wives. Let there be no delay about it." Hearing Janaka's speech, those four perpetuators of Raghu's line, staying by Vasishtha's opinions, taking the hands of the four brides with their owil, went round the sacrificial fire, and the dais, and

the king, and the high-souled saints; and in company with their wives, agreeably to direction entered into matrimony in accordance with the ordinance. And there was a mighty shower of shining blossoms from the firmament accompanied with the sounds of celestial kettle-drums, and choiring and instrumental music. And the Apsaras danced and the Gandharbas sang melodiously, at the bridal of the foremost of the Raghus. And this seemed wonderful to witness. And to the blowing of trumpets, those exceedingly puissant ones, thrice going round the fire, in company with their wives went to the encampment. And the king, having seen that all the auspicious ceremonies were performed, went in their wake, accompanied by the sages and his adherents.

SECTION 74.

Then when the night had passed away, the mighty Muni Vicwamitra, having greeted the monarch, set out for the Northern mountains. And when Vicwamitra had gone away, king Dacaratha, greeting Mitbila's lord, Vaideha, actively prepared for setting out for his own capital. And then the king of the Videhas gave a dower consisting of various things. And Mithila's lord gave many hundred thousands of kine, and excellent woolen stuffs, and Kotis of common cloths; and elephants, and horses, and cars, and foot men, as well as an hundred damsels adorned, endowed with elegance, to form goodly waiting-maids. And well- pleased the king gave as a noble dower gold and silver and pearls and coral. And having given divers kinds of articles, that king, the lord of Mithila, bidding adjeu to the monarch (Dacaratha), re-entered his own capital. And the master of Ayodhya accompanied with his high-souled sons, and headed by the saints in a body, started on the journey, followed by his army and attendants. And as that tiger-like one was on his way, in company with Raghava and the saints, the fowls began to utter frightful cries all around, and the beasts on earth to stream in a Southern direction. And beholding them, that tiger like monarch asked Vasishtha, saying,-"Those birds of fierce aspects emit frightful cries and beasts stream in a Southerly direction. What is this? My heart trembleth and my mind is not at ease." Hearing the speech of king Dacaratha, that mighty saint spake sweetly, saying, "Hear what would be the result of it. These fowls of the air by their cries presage some dreadful impending evil; but these beasts betoken peace restored. Therefore do thou renounce anxiety." And as they were thus conversing, there blew a strong wind, shaking all the earth, and breaking down the trees. And a deep gloom enveloped the sun; and no quarter could be discovered. And enveloped in ashes, that host became stupified. And at that dreadful hour. Vasishtha and the other saints and the king with his sons alone retained their senses, all else were deprived of their senses, and the army was enveloped with ashes. And the king saw that repressor of kings, the decendant of Bhrigu, Jamadagni's son, dreadful to behold, wearing a head of matted locks, irrepresible like unto Kailaca, and unbearable like unto the fire at the universal dissolution, flaming fn energy, incapable of being looked at by the unrighteous, with his axe on his shoulder, equipped with a bow like unto the lightning, and fierce arrows, looking like Siva the slayer of Tripura. And beholding him of dreadful appearance like unto flaming fire, the Vipras headed by Vicwamitra, engaged in reciting mantras and offering oblations unto the fire,— those saints assembled together—began to converse with each -"Is this one, enraged because of the other., saving.slaughter of his sire, intent upon exterminating the Kshatriyas? Formerly, having slaughtered the Kshatriyas, he pacified his ire and mental ferment,-therefore, to annihilate the Kshatriyas once again can never be his endeavour. Having said this, the saints offered Arghya unto Bhrigu's son of dreadful appearance; and addressed him in soothing words, saying,—"O Rama! O Rama." Accepting that homage rendered unto him by the saints, that puissant one, Jamadagni's son, Rama, addressed Rama, the son of Dacaratha.

SECTION 75.

"O Rama, son of Dacaratha, I have, O hero, heard of thy wonderful prowess; and I have also heard all about thy breaking of the bow. And having heard of that wonderful and inconceivable breaking of the bow, I have bent my steps hither, taking another auspicious bow. Do thou stretch it, fix the arrow upon this mighty and dreadful bow, belonging to Jamadagni; and thus display thy prowess. Then, having witnessed thy might in stretching the bow, I shall offer thee combat, laying under contribution our utmost strength.' Hearing his words, king Dacaratha with a blank countenance, and clasped hands, said,-"Thou hast quenched thy ire against the Kshatriyas; and, moreover, thou art a Brahmana boasting of high austerities. It therefore behoveth thee to dispel the fears of my sons who are boys. Thou bringest thy life from the race of the Bhargavas engaged in observing vows and studying the Veda; and thou hast renounced arms vowing in the presence of the thousand-eyed one. And embracing a life of righteousness, thou didst confer the earth upon Kacyapa; and repaired to the forest, making the Mahendra hill thy

home. O mighty Muni, thou hast come here to compass the destruction of my all: but if Rama be slain, we shall never Thus addressed by Dacaratha, the powerful son of Jamadagni, disregarding his words, thus addressed Rama,-"These two foremost of bows, extraordinary, and worshipped of all the worlds, and stout, and powerful, surpassingly excellent, were constructed with care by Vicwakarma, And, one of these, O foremost of men, for the destruction of Tripura, the celestials gave unto Tramvaka, desirous of encounter,—even that which, O Kakutstha, thou hast snapped. And this second, which is irrepressible, was given to Vishnu, by the chiefs of the celestials. And, O Rama, this bow belonging unto Vishnu, capable of conquering hostile cities, is, O Kakutstha, equal in energy unto the bow belonging unto Rudra. Once on a time the deities, with the object of ascertaining the respective prowess of Vishnu and the bluethroated one, asked the great father, about it. Thereupon the great father, foremost of those abiding by truth -reading the intention of the deities, fomented a quarrel between them. And upon that quarrel breaking out among the deities, there took place a mighty contest capable of making one's hair stand on end, between Vishnu and the blue-throated one, each burning to beat the other down. Then on Vishnu uttering a roar, Siva's bow of dreadful prowess became flaccid. And thereupon the three-eyed Mahadeva became moveless. And upon the assembled gods with the saints and the Charanas beseeching those two foremost of celestials, they became pacified. And upon beholding that bow of Siva rendered flaccid by Vishnu's prowess, the deities with the saints acknowledged Vishnu as the more powerful. And the enraged Rudra of high fame made over the bow along with its shafts unto the hands of the Rajarshi, Devarata of Videha. And, O Rama, this bow belonging to Vishnu, capable of conquering hostile cities, Vishnu consigned to Bhrigu's son, Richika, as a worthy trust. And the exceedingly energetic Richika made over the divine bow unto his son of immeasurable prowess, my sire the high-souled son of Jamadagni. And once on a time, on my sire surcharged with ascetic energy, renouncing the bow, Arjuna, under the influence of unrighteous sentiment, compassed the death of my father. Thereupon, learning of the lamentable and untoward slaughter of my sire. I from ire. annihilated the Kshatriyas, springing up afresh by numbers, then bringing under sway the whole earth, I, O Rama, on the sacrifice being over, conferred it upon the righteous Kacyapa as Dakshina. Having made this gift, I was dwelling in the Mahendra hill equipped with ascetic energy, when, hearing of thy snapping of the bow, I have speedily come hither. Do thou now, O Rama, agreeably to the cannon of the Kshatriya morality, take this excellent and mighty bow of Vishnu, that had belonged to my father and grand-father. And do thou set upon this best of bows an arrow capable of conquering hostile cities. And, O Kakutstha, if thou succeed, I shall then offer thee combat.

SECTION 76

Hearing Jamadagni's words, the son of Dacaratha, in consideration of the presence of his father, said these words in subdued tone,-"O Bhrigu's son, I have heard of the deeds thou hast performed, resolved on avenging thy sire. O Brahmana, I acknowledge that. But, O Bhargava, thou insultest me abiding by the Kshatriya duties, as pusillanimous or devoid of prowess. Do thou to-day witness my energy and vigor." Saying this, the enraged Raghava, endowed with fleet vigor, took up Bhrigu's noble bow, together with the shaft, from his hand. And fixing the string upon it he set the arrow. And then Rama enraged addressed Jamadagni's son, Rama, saying,-"Thou art a Brahmana and through Vicwamitra, art worthy of my homage. Therefore it is, O Rama, that I cannot let go this life-destroying shaft. Which of these shall I reduce to aught, O Rama,—thy aerial course, or the merit thou hast attained through thy asceticism of ascending unto certain incomparable regions? This celestial arrow sprung from Vishnu, capable of conquering hostile towns, never hiteth fruitless, with energy destroying the pride of prowess of foes." And with the object of beholding Rama holding that foremost of weapons, there assembled in a body the celestials and the saints, with the great father at their head. And the Gandharbas and the Apsaras and the Siddhas and the Charanas and the Kinnaras and the Yakshas and the Rakshasas and the Nagas assembled to behold that mighty wonder. And on Bhargava's energy having passed into Rama bearing that best of bows, Jamadagni's son became bereft of prowess, and Rama (Paracurama) kept steadily eying Rama. And rendered inert in consequence of his energy having been dispelled by Rama's own, Jamadagna mildly addressed Rama of eyes like lotus petals, saying,-"When formerly I gave away the earth unto Kacyapas he said unto me, -Thou must no longer stay in my dominions. And in consonance with the words of my spiritual guide, ever since that time I have never spent a night on earth. Even this had been promised by me, O Kakutstha. Therefore, O hero, it behoveth thee not to destroy my course, O descendant of Raghu. With the speed of the mind shall I now wend my way to the Mahendra, best of hills. And, O Rama, the regions I have conquered by my asceticism

do thou destroy with that foremost of arrows: let there be no delay about it. Even from thy handling of this bow I know thee to be the chief of the celestials even that eternal one, the slayer of Madhu. Hail to thee, O vanquisher of foes! And all these celestials assembled are beholding thee, of unparalleled deeds, and without an antagonist in fight.-And, O Kakutstha, neither ought I to be ashamed (because of this discomfiture); I have been baffled by the lord himself of the three worlds. And it behoveth, O Rama to disengage this peerless shaft (from the bow), O thou-of noble vows; and on thy shooting the shaft, I shall repair to that foremost of mountains, the Mahendra. When Jamadagni's son, Rama, had said this, the puissant and graceful son of Dacaratha shot that excellent arrow. And witnessing the destruction by Rama of his regions earned by his own austerities. Jamadagni's son speedily started for that best of mountains, the Mahendra. And then all the quarters became cleared of gloom; and the celestials and saints fell to extol Rama when he had shot the arrow. And that lord, Jamadagni's son Rama, having gone round Rama, the son of Dacaratha, and honoured (by all), set out (for his own quarters).

SECTION 77

"When Rama had departed, Dacaratha's son the illustrious Rama, of serene soul, made over the bow unto the hands of Varuna of immeasurable strength. Then saluting the saints headed by Vasishtha, Rama, the descendant of Raghu, seeing his father stupified, addressed him, saying-"Now that Jamadagni's son Rama hath gone away, let the four-fold forces maintained by thee as their lord, march in the direction of Ayodhya." Hearing Rama's words, king Dacaratha embraced his son with his arms, and smelt Raghava's crown; and hearing that Rama had gone, the monarch became exceedingly delighted, - and considered himself and his son as having attained a second birth. And he urged on his army, and speedily arrived at the city, graced round with standards bearing pennons, and lovely to behold, and resounding with the sounds of trumpets, with its high-ways watered, and beauteous, and sprinkled around with flowers, crowded with citizens looking cheerful on account of the king's approach, bearing auspicious articles in their hands, and beautified with the vast concourse of people. And received by the citizens as well as the regenerate ones inhabiting the city coming forward a long way, and followed by his graceful sons, the handsome Majesty of ilustrious name, entered his own dear residence, like unto the Himavat. And entertained by his own relatives with all objects of enjoyment, the monarch rejoiced exceedingly And Kaucalya and Sumitra and the slender waisted Kaikevi, together with other wives of the king, were busy, receiving the brides, with the necessary ceremonies. And the royal spouses received the exalted Sita and the famous Urmila and both the daughters of Kucadhwaja, graced with silken apparel, with homasperformed and blessings invoked, on their behalf. And having paid reverence at the abodes of the gods, and rendered homage unto those that deserved the same, the daughters of the kings, well pleased, in private, took joy with their husbands. And having attained brides, and arms, with wealth and friends, those foremost of men, engaged in ministering unto their father.

And once on a time that descendant of Raghu, king Dacaratha addressed Bharata, saying,—"O son, this son of the king of the Kekayas thy uncle, Yudhajit stayeth here, that hero, having come to take thee over." And hearing these words of Dacaratha, Kaikeyi's son, Bharata, prepared for the journey, together with Satrughna. And having greeted his father, and Rama of unflagging energy, and his mothers, that foremost of men, the heroic (Bharata) departed with Satrughna. And having Bharata as well as Satrughna, the heroic Yudhajit, with a delighted heart, entered his own city; and his father rejoiced exceedingly. And on Bharata having departed, Rama and the exceedingly mighty Lakshmana, tended their sire resembling a celestial. And paying the utmost regard to the command of his father, Rama discharged all the duties of the city, having for his object the pleasure or welfare (of the citizens). And needfully rendering every service to his mothers, he on proper occasions observed the duties pertaining to his superiors. And Dacaratha was exceedingly delighted; as also the Brahmanas, and the traders, and the inhabitants generally, at the conduct and behaviour of Rama. And Rama having truth for prowess, by virtue of his excellence appeared unto every one the most meritorious of (Dacaratha's son's) like unto the self create Himself unto all being. And in the company of Sita, the wise Rama, bending his mind to Sita with his heart dedicated unto her, passed many a season in delight. And Rama's beloved Sita, as having been bestowed upon him by his sire, by her loveliness, and her perfections as much as by her loveliness, went on enhancing his joy. And her lord came to excercise a double influence on her heart. And by her own heart, the daughter of Janaka, Mithila's lord, resembling a goddess in grace, and like unto Sree (goddess of wealth) herself in loveliness, completely read his inmost sentiments. And experiencing delight, Rama, receiving the Rajarshi's daughter, exercising her own will-

the excellent princess— looked graceful, even like the lord Vishnu the chief of celestials on being joined with Sree.

AYODHYAKANDAM SECTION 1.

When Bharata set out for the home of his maternal uncle, he affectionately took with him the sinless Satrughna ever repressing his passions. And there he abode with his brother. being ministered unto in every respect and tended by his maternal uncle, Acwapati, with all the fondness of a father. Albeit thus staying, with every ministration extended towards them as much as they could wish, yet those heroic brothers failed not to remember the aged long Dacaratha. And the puissant king also on his part remembered his sons away from home. Bharata and Satrughna, resembling the mighty Indra and Varuna. All those four chiefs of men were dear unto him even as four hands issuing from his own body. Yet among them all, the highly energetic Rama was the favourite of his sire. He was the foremost of all in every virtue, like unto Sayambhu's [Brahma.] self in the esteem of creation. Solicited by the celestials wishing for the destruction of Ravana, he who is the eternal Vishnu, was born as Rama in the world of men. And with that son of immeasurable energy, Kaucalya looked graceful, even as Aditi, with that foremost of the celestials, the weilder of the thunder-bolt. He was furnished with grace, and possessed of prowess; and he did not seek for defects in others in the midst of virtues. That son of Kaucalva was incomparable on earth and in worth fully equal to Dacaratha himself. He was aye of quiescent soul; and always preluded his speech with an amiable phrase; and although he might be addressed in a harsh manner, yet he returned no corresponding reply. He was gratified even with a solitary instance of benefit; and from freedom of soul did not remember an hundred injuries. In the intervals of martial exercises, he always discoursed with persons of character, or wise men, or the aged, or the virtuous. He was intelligent, and sweet-speeched, and spoke first (to visitors,) and used grateful words, and was possessed of prowesss, withal not proud of his mighty native virtue. He never spoke an untruth; and he was learned; and he rendered homage unto the aged. He felt kindly towards the subjects; and the subjects on their part held him in dear regard. He was kind to the poor; and he had conquered his anger; and he regarded the Brahmanas; and he commisserated the wretched; and was versed in morality; and always chastised the wicked; and was pure in spirit; and possessed the thoughts and sentiments of his race; and regarded highly his own Kshatriya duties; and considered that heaven was to be attained through the glory acquired by performing them. He was never engaged in forbidden practices; and never relished improper talk; and argued in chain even like the lord of speech himself. And he was free from ailment; and of young years; and endued with eloquence; and of an excellent person; and versed in season and place; and discerned character,—the one honest person ever created. Endowed with supreme excellence, that son of the monarch was by virtue of his merit dear unto the subjects like their life ranging externally. He had performed his ablutions after having mastered all learning; and was properly versed in the Vedas with their branches. In all weapons either inspired with mantras or otherwise, Bharata's eldest brother was superior even to his father. And he was the spring of all good; and was saintly; and of undisturbed souls; and truth-telling; and candid; and humble towards the aged twice-born ones congnizant of virtue and interest. He was congnizant of virtue, profit, and interest; had an excellent memory; and was possessed of genius. He was an adept and was well versed in social usages and customs. He was lowly; and of close counsel; and used to keep unto himself his purposes; and was resourceful. Neither his pleasure nor his displeasure went for naught. He knew the season of amassing riches, and of giving them away. And he was ardently reverential; and his wisdom never wavered; and he accepted no improper present; and he used no rough speech. He knew no idleness; and was vigilant; and had a knowledge of his own as well as of others' failings He was conversant with the scriptures; and was grateful; and could read the hearts of others. He had sagacity to perceive the seasons for duly showing favour or disfavour. He understood all about the reception of the righteous, the maintenance of family, and the occasion for chastising evildoers; and he was an expert in collecting dues (from the people); and knew the manner prescribed (by the authorities) for expending money. He had attained proficiency in all the scriptures and literary works composed in both Sanskrit and Prakrit. He sought pleasure wdthout sacrificing either interest or morality; and he was never dilatory in duty. He understood the arts of those who entertained others. He knew the various heads on which wealth was to be expended. He was skilful in riding and training up horses and elephants. He was the foremost of those accomplished in archery; and was acknowledged among men as an Atiratha [The warrior destroyer.]. He led his forces in the direction of the foe; and he slew his enemies; and was accomplished in marshalling the troops. He was incapable of being repressed in fight even by the enraged gods and Asuras. He was not given to carping,

and had subdued his anger, and he was never elated, or malicious. He did not disregard any creature; he was no slave to the times. That son of the monarch was furnished with such qualities. And he was liked by the subjects as well as by the three worlds. In forgiveness he was like unto the Earth; and in intelligence like unto Vrihaspati; and in prowess like unto the Sachi's lord. Furnished with such qualities acceptable to the people as well as gratifying unto his father, Rama looked beautiful like the effulgent Sun surrounded by his rays. And the Earth desired for her lord even him (Rama) possessing an excellent character and of prow'ess incapable of being repressed—like unto Lokanatha105 himself.

And finding his son crowmed wdth so many incomparable qualities, that subduer of his enemies, king Dacaratha, thought within himself. The long-lived aged monarch reflected, saying,—"How can Rama become king, I living; and how can this delight be mine?" And this supreme desire "When shall I behold my beloved son rolled in his heart.installed in the kingdom? Surely he always wisheth for the prosperity of the people; and he showeth kindness to all creatures. And like unto the showering rain-cloudy he is dearer unto the people than myself. He is like unto Yama and Sakra in prowess, and unto Vrihaspati in intelligence; and in forbearance, unto a mountain,-yea, he is far more qualified than myself. Therefore in this age, beholding my son established in (the dominion of) this entire earth, I shall repair unto heaven." Seeing him (Rama) thus crowned with all these various as well as other sterling and immeasurable virtues rare among other princes, the king then took counsel with his ministers, and made up his mind to confer upon Rama the dignity of heir-apparent. And that intelligent (king) mentioned (unto his minister) the dreadful evils portended by appearances and phenomena in heaven and the air and on the earth; and also pointed out the circumstance of decrepitude having taken possession of his person. He therefore gave them to understand that the installation of the high souled Rama of countenance resembling the full moon would dispell his grief, at the same time that it would be universally hailed by the people. Therefore, influenced by his affection (for his subject,) and with the view of compassing his own as well as their welfare, the righteous monarch urged expedition (upon his counsellors:) and that lord of earth brought together the prime and noble from the Various regions and countries of the earth. Like unto Prajapati's self before all creatures, the king appeared before them, who had been received respectfully, and had, as befitted their ranks, various ornaments conferred upon and quarters assigned unto them. But that lord of men did not on account of haste bring over either Janaka or the king of the Kekayas, concluding that a little while after they would receive the glad tidings.

Then when the king—that captor of hostile capitals—had sat down there, began to pour in all the princes popular with their subjects—all save (the two afore-mentioned rulers.) Facing and eying the monarch, those kings sat them down on different seats pointed out by the former. Surrounded by those prime and noble of the various provinces, and all those lowly rulers, who had been received honourably and who generally resided at Ayodhya, the sovereign appeared like unto the adorable thousand-eyed (one) surrounded by the immortals

SECTION 2

Then facing his whole court, that lord of earth, the king, resounding all sides as if with thunder, in a mighty voice, echoing, and solemn, and like unto the sounds of a kettledrum, spake words fraught with welfare, and capable of creating high rapture, and worthy of the attention of all. And in tones overflowing with royal signs; and mellifluous; and peerless; and surcharged with the sentiment of surprise, the monarch addressed the princes, saying,—"It is known to ye that the (people of this) spacious empire now governed by me was governed like unto children by those sovereigns that were my predecessors. Now it is my intention to bring welfare unto this entire earth worthy of being rendered happy, which had been governed by all those sovereigns, Ikshwaku and the rest. Following the path trod by my predecessors, I have, heedless of my own happiness, to the best of my power, always protected the people. And under the shade of the white umbrella, I effecting the good of the entire community, have brought decrepitude upon my body. Having attained an age extending over many thousands of years, and lived for a long period, desire rest for this decrepit frame. Bearing in the interests of the people the heavy burden of duty incapable of being borne by even those that have controlled their senses, and requiring (in the bearer) right royal qualities, I have become fatigued. I therefore wish for rest, after in the interests of the subjects installing my son, with the permission of all these excellent twice-born ones around me. My worthy son, like unto Purandara himself in prowess—Rama, the conquerer of hostile cities, hath been born, endowed with all my virtues. Him, like unto the moon while in conjunction with the Pushya constellation—the foremost of those maintaining righteousness, the chief of men, will I, in the morning with a delighted heart, install as the heir-apparent

to the throne. And that auspicious elder brother of Lakshmana will make a fit ruler for ye,—yea, the very three worlds might consider themselves as having a lord, by possessing him. Through his agency I shall this day bring about the welfare of the world; and shall renounce my toil by reposing in him the task of government. If what I have devised be meet, and also recommend itself to ye, do ye accord approval to it,—proposing what I am to do besides this, together with the how of effecting it. If I have thought thus solely because I find delight in it, do ye look about any other way to welfare. For different is the thought of the dispassionate; and by friction becomes far more efficacious."

As the king had said this, the princes, exceedingly delighted,

seconded him even as peacocks dance at sight of a mighty mass of clouds showering down rain. Then there arose a pleasant resonance (from the assembly of the potentates;) and next from the vast concourse inspired with high rapture arose an echo generated by their voices, which seemed to shake the earth. Then being in complete possession of the views of that one (the king) versed in morality and interest, the Brahmanas and the principal personages of the army, in company with the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces, took counsel together, and became unanimous, and, having again revolved the matter individually in their mind, spake unto the aged king Dacaratha, saying,- "O. king, being many thousand years old, thou last become aged. Do thou then install Rama as the heir-apparent to the throne. We wish to behold the exceedingly Strong and mighty-armed hero among the Raghus, riding a huge elephant, his countenance underneath an umbrella." Hearing those welcome words of theirs, the monarch, as if not knowing their minds, asked them, saying,-"Ye have wished for Raghava, soon as ye have heard my speech. This, ye kings, raiseth my doubts. Do ye, therefore, speak out your minds truly. Why, while I am righteously governing the earth, do ye wish to see the highly powerful Rama as the heir- apparent?" And those high-souled ones together with the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces said unto him, -"O king, many are the virtues of thy son, having for their object the welfare of the people. Today we will recount unto thee in detail the merits making even enemies happy of the meritorious and intelligent (Rama) resembling a celestial. O monarch, furnished with the choicest qualities, Rama having truth for prowess is like unto Sakra's self; and he towereth above Ikshwaku and all. Rama is the one excellent person among men; and is true and devoted to truth. And in very Rama is established morality with prosperity. Touching the good of the subjects, he is like unto the moon, and in the quality of forgiveness he is like unto the Earth: in intelligence like unto Vrihaspati; and in prowess like Sachi's lord. He is cognisant of duty, and true in promise, - and honest; and not given to detraction. He is forgiving, and soothing, and sweet-speeched and grateful, and of subdued senses. He is pliable to entreaties and staid, and of agreeable carriage, and uncalumniating. Raghava speaketh everyone fair, and is of truthful speech. He minstereth unto variouslyversed aged Brahmanas. It is for this that in this world his fame and renown and energy go on increasing. He hath mastered all the weapons that are extant among the gods, the Asuras, and human beings. He hath performed his ablutions after having acquired learning; and knoweth the Vedas with their branches. And Bharata's elder brother is a proficient in music. He is the home of the good, and is saintly, and hath conquered his grief, and is magnanimous. He is lowly unto those twice born ones that are worthy and are conversant with morality and interest. And when in company with Sumitra's son he wendeth to the fight with the view of protecting a city or a province, he cometh not back without conquering the foe. And even as a father enquireth after the welfare of his sons, he, returning from the field on horse or elephant, exhaustively and consecutively enquireth after the weal of the citizens, concerning their sons, or their (sacrificial) fire, or their wives, or their servants, or their disciples. And that tiger-like Rama always asketh the Brahmanas,-'Do your disciples tend you' and the Kshatrivas-'Do your disciples always remain mailed?' When calamity befalleth the people, he experienced excess of sorrow; and on their festal occasions, he rejoiceth ever like their own father. He speaketh the truth, and is a mighty bowman. He ministereth unto the aged, and hath controlled his senses. He. preludes his speech with a smile, and is established in righteousness with his whole soul. He entirely bringeth about good, and he taketh no delight in bandying words after a quarrel. In reasoning in chain, he is like unto the lord of speech himself. His eye-brows are graceful; and his eyes expansive and coppery; and he is like unto the very Vishnu. Like Kama he is charming unto all by virtue of his heroism, prowess and might. He is ever engaged in protecting the people: and the desire for the good things of the world cannot perturb his mind. He is capable of bearing the burden even of the three worlds.—what then is this Earth? Neither his pleasure nor his displeasure even goeth for naught. He slayeth those that deserve to be slain; but he is never enraged with those that ought not to be slain (i.e. the unoffending),with whom, he is pleased, he bestows wealth upon. In virtue of his self-control and other qualities; dear unto the subjects and

capable of exciting the delight of mankind, Rama shineth even like the effulgent Sun surrounded by his rays. And even that Rama, crowned with such qualities and having truth for his prowess,-like unto a Lokapala, the Earth wisheth to have for her lord. By our good luck it is that thy son hath acquired competence in the task of administration; and also by thy good luck it is that Raghava hath been born endowed with sonly qualities, like unto Maricha's son Kacyapa. The gods, and the Asuras, and men, with the Gandharvas, and the Uragas, and the inhabitants rural and urban, pray for the strength, health, and long life of self-knowing Rama. And whether inmates or outsiders, citizens or natives of provinces, everyone speaks high of him. Women, old and young, in both the morning and evening, with intent minds, bow down unto all the gods on behalf of the intelligent Rama. Let their desire. O worshipful one, be fulfiled, through thy grace. And we would behold the son of the foremost of monarchs, the foedestroying Rama dark-blue like a lotus,-installed as the heir-apparent to the kingdom. Therefore, O bestower of boons, it behoveth thee, for the sake of our well-being, with a delighted mind to speedily instal thy son furnished with noble qualities resembling the god of gods, and ever intent upon the welfare of the entire community.

And when they had raised unto their heads their clasped hands resembling lotuses, the king responding unto them addressed them in welcome words fraught with their good; 'Exceedingly pleased am I, and incomparable also is my influence,—because ye wish to behold my dear first born installed as heir-apparent." Having greeted them thus, the king in their hearing spoke unto Vasishtha, Vamadeva, and other Brahmanas saying, —"This is the holy month of Chaitra; and the groves look beautiful with blossoms. Do ve now prepare for the installation of Rama." When the king paused, there arose a mighty tumult from the multitude. And when it subsided, that lord of men, the king, addressed that foremost -"It behoveth thee, O of ascetics, Vasishtha saying,worshipful Sir, to order for things, necessary for the installation of Rama." Hearing those words of the monarch, Vasishtha-chief of anchorets-ordered the counsellors staving before the king with clasped hands, saving.—"Do ve early in the morning in the Agnihautric ball of the monarch provide and store up-gold, and gems, and articles for worship, and Sarvaushadhi and white garlands, and fried paddy, and honey and clarified butter in separate vessels, and cloths fresh from the loom, and a car, every kind of weapons, and the fourfold forces, and an elephant with auspicious marks, and a couple of chowris, and a sceptre and an umbrella, pale coloured, and an hundred furnished golden pitchers of water, and a bull with horns plated in gold, and an entire tiger-skin, together with all othet necessary articles. And do ye embellish all the door-ways of the inner apartment as well as those of the entire city with garlands, with sandal paste and fragrant Dhupa. Do ve on the morning of the morrow bestow upon the principal Brahmanas goodly and refined rice mixed with curds and milk.—so that hundreds of thousands may be fed, and gratified, bestowing on them at the same time clarified butter and curds, and fried paddy, and moire than sufficient Dakshinas. To-morrow as soon as the sun will rise, the Swastivachana will be finished. Do ye invite the Brahmanas, and prepare seats (for them). And do ye set up flags, and water the high ways, and let courtezans whose profession is music, adorning themselves stay in the second apartment of the king's residence. In the abodes of the gods and under the Chaityall1 trees, should be separately placed fragrant blossoms, together with boiled rice and other edibles, and with Dakshinas. And let the warriors properly arrayed, enter the courtvard of the monarch which is welling up with festal glee mailed, and accoutred with leather fences and long swords." Having issued these orders, those two Vipras entered upon their work (as priests;) and did what remained to be done after making that known unto the lord of the earth. When everything had been got ready those foremost of the twice- born ones gladly and well-pleased presented themselves before the master of the earth, and said unto him, "Everything as ordered has been done." Then unto Sumantra, the effulgent monarch spake, saying,—"Do thou speedily bring the virtuous Rama hither." Thereupon saying, "so be it," Sumantra at the mandate of the king brought thither in a car Rama the foremost of car-warriors. The kings of the North, and the South and the East and the West, together with the Mlechas and the Arya princes, with those inhabiting mountains and forests were then paying homage unto him (Dacaratha) even as the celestials do unto Vasava. Stationed in his palace, the royal saint Dacaratha in the midst of those princes, like Vasava in the midst of the Maruts, saw his son, resembling the king of the Gandharvas, approach, gladdening the subjects like a shower, when they were oppressed with the heat of summer—even Rama of redoubtable prowess among men, long armed, and of mighty strength, and bearing the gait of a mad elephant, "with a countenance fair as the moon, of presence prepossessing to a degree, and captivating men's sight and hearts by reason of his beauty generosity and other

qualities. And as he was approaching, the lord of men eyed him steadily, without experiencing satiety.

Making Raghava descend from that excellent car, Sumantra followed him with clasped hands as he proceeded to the presence of his father. Accompanied with Sumantra, Raghava, the descendant of the Raghus, for the purpose of beholding the monarch, began with rapid steps, to ascend the palace resembling a peak of the Kailasa hill. Rama humbly approaching his father with clasped hands, and announcing his name bowed low and worshipped his father's feet. Thereupon seeing Rama at his side with clasped hands, and in lowly guise, the king took hold of Rama's clasped hands, and drawing his beloved son, embraced the latter. Then the king desired Rama to sit upon a seat prepared expressly for him, excellent, and flaming and garnished with gold and gems. Raghava shed lustre on that noble seat, as the unclouded sun at his rising lighteth up the Sumeruhill with his rays. That entire assembly looked beautiful in his presence, like the cloudless, autumnal sky crested with stars and planets, in the presence of the moon. The king experienced delight, beholding his dearly beloved son, like unto his own image, richly adorned, reflected on mirror. And even as Kacyana addresseth Indra of the celestials, the king-the best of those possessing sons— addressed his son, well seated, in these words, saying. "Born of my eldest wife worthy of myself, thou crowned with the best qualities, art my worthy son, O Rama dear unto me. Thou hast by thy virtues drawn unto thyself the hearts of the people, therefore do thou during the conjunction of the moon with the Pushva constellation, receive the office of heir-apparent. Thou art by nature crowned with virtues. Notwithstanding thy great virtues, I will, 0 son, from affection tell thee what is for thy profit. Practicing greater humility, do thou constantly restrain thy senses. Do thou renounce the ills that come through anger and lust. Replenishing thy exchequer and arsenal do thou, acquainting thyself with the state of things personally and otherwise. administer justice and thereby enlist the affection of the courtiers and other subjects; for the friends of him that swayeth the earth, pleasing the people to his satisfaction, rejoice even as did the immortals on obtaining ambrosia. Therefore, do thou, O son, disciplining thyself thus address thee to thy task." Hearing this, Rama's well wishers, ever doing his pleasure, speedily going out, acquainted Kaucalya with everything. Thereupon that foremost of her sex Kaucalya ordered gold and kine and various kinds of gems to be given to the tellers of the glad tidings. Then Raghava, having been honoured by the multitude and saluted the sovereign, ascended a car. and repaired unto his shining residence. And the citizens, hearing those words of the monarch, as if fraught with some speedy good fortune unto them, made their obeisance unto that lord of men, and repairing to their homes, with delighted minds, worshipped the gods.

SECTION 4

When the citizens had gone away, the king versed in the time and place of ceremonies, after deliberating with his counsellors fixed the time (of the installation.) And his conclusion was even this: "To-morrow the Pushya will be in; and to-morrow should my son, Rama of eyes like lotus-leaves be installed as heir-apparent." Then entering the inner apartment king Dacaratha said unto the charioteer "Do thou again bring Rama hither." In Sumantra. response to those words, the charioteer again speedily went unto Rama's residence, for bringing him thither. His fresh approach having been announced unto Rama by the warders, the latter, filled with apprehension, became anxious. And bringing Sumantra in, Rama with eagerness said "Tell me fully the reason of this thy fresh visit." Thereupon, the charioteer told him. — "The sovereign wisheth to behold thee. Thou hast known the occasion; and now decide whether thou wilt go thither or not." Hearing the charioteer's speech, Rama also in haste repaired unto the king's palace, with the view of again beholding the lord of men. And on hearing of Rama's arrival, king Dacaratha made him enter his own chamber, with the view of communicating unto him something exceedingly agreeable. Aud immediately on entering his father's residence, the graceful Raghava seeing his father from a distance, bent low with clasped hands. Thereupon raising Rama as he was bending down, and embracing him, and pointing out a seat, the protector of the earth again spake unto him, - "O Rama, enjoying at my will the good things of life. I have grown old; and have attained great age. I have worshipped the deities by celebrating hundreds of sacrifices with numerous Dakshinas and gifts of boiled rice; and incomparable on earth, thou hast been born unto me for a son after my heart. I have given whatever bad been wanted (by others); I have finished my studies, O foremost of men. I have. O hero, acted and enjoyed, I have been emancipated from my obligations unto the celestials and saints, and the Pitris, and the Vipras, and myself. And naught now remaineth to be done by me save thy installation. Therefore it behoveth thee to do even what I say unto thee. To-day the subjects in a body have expressed their desire of having thee for their sovereign. Therefore, O son, I shall

install thee as the heir-apparent. O Raghava, to-night I have dreamt inauspicious dreams. Stars with tremendous sounds. shoot by day, accompanied with thunder-claps. The astrologers say that the star of my life hath been invaded by those terrible planets, the Sun, Mars, and Rahu. It generally happens that when such signs manifest themselves, the king cometh by a terrible calamity, and may meet with death itself. Therefore, O Raghava, my thoughts change, be thou installed (in the kingdom), for fickle is the mind of all creatures. Today, before meeting Pushya, the moon, has entered the Punarvasu asterism; and the astrologers say that to-morrow it will certainly be in conjunction with Pushya. My heart urgeth me to instal thee during the Pushya conjunction, so Oh! afflicter of foes, I shall instal thee to-morrow as heir-apparent. Therefore do thou along with my daughter-in-law commencing from sun-set, serving the prescribed restrictions, and lying down on a bed of Kuca grass, spend the night in fast. And let thy friends vigilantly protect thee all around, for many are the impediments that happen in affairs like this. In my opinion, during the interval that Bharata is away from the city, should thy installation be effected most opportunely; even though thy brother Bharata ever stayeth entirely by the course of the honest; he followeth his elder brother; and is righteous-souled; tender-hearted; and of subdued senses. But in my opinion, the hearts of men are inconstant,-and, O Raghava, the hearts even of the virtuous change by the action of the natural impulses." Having been thus addressed in the matter of his coming installation in the next day, Rama, with the king's permission embodied in "Go thou," greeting his father, repaired unto his quarters. And entering his residence in the interests of the installation ordered by the monarch, he immediately issued out, and went to the inner apartment of his mother. There, Rama found his mother in the temple, clad in silk, adoring the gods, and silently praying for his royal luck. There, hearing of the welcome installation of Rama, had already come Sumitra, and Lakshmana and Sita summoned (by Kaucalya). Hearing of the installation of his son in the office of heir apparent during the influence of the Pushya, at that time, tended by Sumitra and Siti and Lakshmana, there stood Kaucalya, meditating the (triune) person Janarddana, through suspension of breath. Rama, approaching and saluting her engaged in auspicious observance, addressed her in excellent words, cheering her up,-"O mother, by my father have I been appointed to the task of governing the people. And, agreeably to the desire of my father, to morrow will take place my installation. To-night Sita will fast along with me. The priests have said thus; and this also hath been declared by my father. Do thou therefore even to-day provide those necessary auspicious things that will be required for myself and Vaidehi on the occasion of the coming installation."

Hearing of that for which she had ever wished, Kaucalya, her voice choking with the vapour begot of delight, addressed Rama, saying,—"Rama, my child, be thou long lived; and may thy enemies find destruction! Furnished with this good fortune, do thou gladden Sumitra's as well as my own relatives. Oh! thou wast born under an auspicious star: thou hast. O son, by thy virtues gratified thy sire Dacaratha. Ah! not unfruitful has proved my disinterested observance of vow unto the lotus-eyed Person; for this royal fortune of the Ikshwaku race shall rest upon thee."

Having been thus addressed by his mother, Rama looking at his brother (Lakshmana), seated in humble guise with clasped hands, with smile spake unto him, saying,—"O Lakshmana, do thou together with me rule this earth. Thou art my second self; and this good fortune hath taken possession of thee (as well). Do thou, O Sumitra's son, enjoy every desirable thing and the privileges pertaining to royalty. My life and this kingdom I covet for thy sake alone." Having said this unto Lakshmana, and paid reverence unto his mother, Rama with their permission went with Sita to his own quarters.

SECTION 5.

Having given his directions unto Rama as to his incoming installation on the morrow, the king, summoning his priest, Vasishtha spake unto him, saving,—"O thou, having asceticism for thy wealth, go, unto Kakutstha, and for his welfare and obtaining the kingdom, make him fast along with tny daughter-in-law." Thereupon, saying, "So be it," that best of those versed in the Veda, the worshipful Vasistha conversant wdth mantras, that one practicing excellent vows, mounting a Brahma car, himself went unto the residence of Rama cognisant of mantras, for the purpose of making him fast. And that foremost of ascetics, having readied Rama's sable hued residence resembling a mass of clouds, passed through three several apartments, mounted on the car. With the view of honouring the saint worthy of honour, Rama swiftly issued out of his abode. And nearing the car of that intelligent one, Rama, personally taking him by the hand, made him descend. Finding Rama so humble and dear, the priest addressed him, gratifying and delighting him with words that were acceptable,—"O Rama thy father hath been well pleased with thee; since thou achievest the kingdom (through him). Do thou to-day fast with Sita. And in the

morning, the king, thy father Dacaratha, will, well-pleased install thee as heir-apparent like Nahusha installing Yayati." Having said this, that pure spirited one, observing vows with mantras, made Rama fast along with Sita. Then having been duly worshipped by Rama, and taken Kakutstha's permission, the spiritual preceptor of the king, went away from Rama's residence. Rama, having passed sometime with sweet-speeched friends, and been honoured by them, with their permission entered his apartment. At that time Rama's residence was filled with joyous men and women; and it was like unto a lake containing lotuses and graced with maddened birds.

(On the other hand) Vasishtha, issuing from the palace of Rama like unto the king's palace itself, found the street filled with people. On all sides, Ayodhya's high-ways were crowded with groups of men full of curiosity. The tumult that arose in the high-ways in consequence of the concourse and noise, was like the roaring of the ocean. The streets were cleared and washed and hung with garlands; and that day Ayodhya had her dwellings furnished with upraised flagstaffs. In the city of Ayodhya men with women and children eagerly expected the rising of the sun (next day), and Rama's installation; and the people burnt to behold in Ayodhya the august festivity, that was like unto an ornament unto the subjects, and that enhanced the joy of the people. Dividing the crowd thronging the high-way, the priest slowly proceeded to the royal family. And ascending the palace like unto a peak of the Himavat, he met with the lord of men, like Vrihaspati meeting with Sakra. Seeing him come, the king rising up from his royal seat, asked Vasishtha whether his intention had been carried out. whereupon Vasishtha answered that it had. The courtiers who had all along sat with Dacaratha, rose from the seats, for worshipping the priest. Then with the permission of his spiritual guide, leaving that assembly of men, the monarch entered his inner apartment like a lion entering his den. Even as the moon illumineth the firmament crowded with stars, the handsome king entered his mansion, like unto the abode of the mighty Indra, and thronged with females excellently attired,—gracing it (by his presence).

SECTION 6.

When the priest had gone away, Rama, having bathed and with a collected mind, began to adore Narayana, in company with his wife having expansive eyes. Then raising the vessel of clarified butter unto his head (by way of paying reverence), he in accordance with the ordinance began to offer oblations unto the flaming fire on behalf of that mighty deity. Then, having partaken of the remaining quantity of the clarified butter, Rama prayed for his own welfare, and meditated on the god Narayana. The son of the best of men with a collected mind, and restraining his speech lay down on a kuca bed together with Vaidehi within the graceful dwelling of Vishnu.

When a single watch only remained of the night, Rama awoke, and made his residence well decorated. Now he hearing the melodious utterances of genealogists and panegyrists and Brahmanas versed in the Puranas, Rama finished devotions for the prior twilight, and with an intent mind began to recite (Savatri) And clad in a clear silk dress, he with bended head hymned the destroyer of Madhu, and made the regenerate ones perform the Swastivachana ceremony. Already resounding with the blares of trumpets, Ayodhya became filled with the sweet and solemn tones of the expression "Holy day" uttered by them. The denizens of Ayodhya, hearing that Raghava had fasted with Vaidehi, rejoiced exceedingly.

Then the citizens, hearing of the installation of Rama, and seeing that the night had departed, fell to adorning the city. Standards with pennons were beautifully reared up in the abodes of the gods resembling a peak, enveloped with white clouds, and at the crossing, and on high-ways; and over the chaitya tree; and edifices; and over the warehouses of merchants abounding in goods and the goodly and prosperous mansions of householders; and over all the council-houses; and conspicuous trees. The multitude then heard the music, soothing unto the ear and heart, of stage managers, dancers and singers chanting. The people began to talk with each other anent the installation of Rama; and the time for his installation having arrived, on terraces and houses, and doorways boys playing in bodies, conversed with each other concerning the installation of Rama. On the occasion of the investiture of Rama, the goodly high-ways were adorned with garlands, and scented with dhupa incense—by the citizens. And fearing lest Rama should come out over night (to behold the beautified capital), the inhabitants of the city, by way of ornamentation as with the view of beholding Rama himself, had by the road side reared up lamp-stands in the form of (branched) trees. Eagerly expecting the investiture of Rama as the heir apparent, all having thus ornamented the city and assembling themselves on terraces and in council-halls, talking with each other, extolled the lord of men, saying,—"Ah high-souled is this king-the perpetuator of the Ikshwaku race; for, knowing himself as old, he will install Rama in the kingdom. Obliged we have been, since good Rama capable of reading character, will be the lord of earth, and our protector. He is of a heart devoid of arrogance, and is learned; and righteous-souled; and affectionate to his brothers. Raghava loveth us even as he doth bis own brothers. May the sinless and pious king Dacaratha live long; for it is through his grace that we shall behold Rama installed. The inhabitants of the provinces, who having heard the tidings, had come from various regions, heard the citizens conversing thus. Desirous of beholding the installation of Rama, they coming into the city from various directions, filled Rama's city. As the vast concourse entered (the city), there was heard an uproar like unto the roaring of the heaving ocean during the fullness of the moon. Then that city resembling the regions of Indra, being filled on all sides with tumult raised by the dwellers of the provinces who had come to behold (the installation), resembled the ocean when its waters are agitated by the aquatic animals inhabiting it.

SECTION 7.

A woman, brought up with Kaikeyi, who formerly served as a maid-servant, the family of her maternal uncle, at her own will, ascended the palace resembling the moon. Manthara beheld from the palace the high-ways of Ayodhya well watered all round, and strewn with lotuses, and adorned with standards bearing gay pennons; with thoroughfares and roads leading along undulating lands; sprinkled with sandal water, and crowded with men who had performed their ablutions; and echoing with the accents of regenerate ones bearing garlands and sweetmeats in their hands; and having the doorways of the temples painted white; and resounding with the sounds of musical instruments; and filled with many folks; and singing with Veda chantings; and with its horses and elephants delighted, and cows and bulls emitting roars; and with standards displaying flags erected by the exhilarated citizens. Upon seeing Ayodhya (in such excitement) Manthara was seized with exceeding surprise, Manthara, seeing a nurse hard by clad in white silk, with her eyes expanded with delight, asked her, saying,—"What for Rama's mother although close-fisted, is cheerfully and with the greatest possible alacrity dispensing wealth unto the people? And what for is the general overflow of joy? And what doth the delighted monarch purpose to do?" Thereupon bursting with very great delight, the nurse communicated unto the humpbacked woman the high fortune awaiting Rama, saving, To-morrow under Pushya, king Dacaratha will install the sinless Raghava having his anger under control, as heir-apparent to the throne." Hearing the words of the nurse, the hump-backed one, speedily growing angry, descended from the edifice resembling a summit of the Kailaca hill. Burning in ire, the sin-seeking Manthara addressed Kaikevi. lving down. saying,—"Up, ye senseless one! What for art thou down? A great danger approacheth thee. Thou understandeth not that a mighty grief overfloweth thee. Thou boastest of good fortune while misfortune is thine in the shape of luck. Thy good fortune is surely unstable like the tide of a river during summer. Thus addressed by the sin-seeking hump-backed (hag) in exceedingly harsh language, Kaikeyi became afflicted with great grief. And Kaikeyi said unto the hump-backed one,-Is any evil present, O Manthara? I do not find thee with countenance fallen and sore distressed with grief." The humpbacked Manthara, skilled in speech, who really sought Kaikeyi's welfare, hearing the latter's sweet-accented words, displaying sorrow greater than Kaikeyi's own, lamenting, and enlisting Kaikeyi's feelings against Rama, uttered words inflamed with anger, saying,-"O worshipful one, an enduring and terrible destruction is imminent unto thee. King Dacaratha will install Rama as heir-apparent. I have been sunk in a fathomless fear; and am afflicted with grief and heaviness. And as if burning in fire I, seeking, thy welfare, have come unto thee. For, O Kaikeyi, great waxeth my grief on witnessing thy sorrow; and my advancement progresseth along with thine. There is no doubt about this. Born in a race of king thou art the queen of this lord of earth. Why dost not thou then realise the sternness of royal morality. Thy maintainer speaketh most morally; but is crafty for all that: he speaketh blandly, but hath a crooked heart. Him thou takest as of blessed condition; and therefore art gulled. Speaking unto thee soft words bare of substance, he will, his heart on the alert, to-day compass the welfare of Kaucalya. Having sent Bharata unto the home of thy relatives, that wicked- minded one will establish Rama in his ancestral kingdom rid of its thorn. Thou,0 girl, in consideration of thy welfare, hast like unto a mother taken unto thy lap a venomous snake in the form of thy husband. Even what is done by an enemy or a serpent left alone, is being done by Dacaratha of wicked ways and false soothing speech, unto thee and thy own son. And, O girl, deserving as thou art of happiness, the king having established Rama in the kingdom; thou wilt be annihilated along with thy own. The time hath come. O Kaikavi.—do thou on the spur enter upon that which would turn to thy advantage. And O thou, influenced by surprise, do thou deliver thyself, me and Bharata also."

Hearing Manthara's words, that one of graceful countenance filled with delight, and looking like the autumnal moon-light, rose up from her bed. Inspired with exceeding joy, Kaikeyi, struck with surprise, made unto the

hump-backed woman a present of an excellent and elegant ornament. And having given her the ornament, that paragon among the fair Kaikeyi joyfully, addressed Manthara, saying,—"O Manthara! highly welcome is the news that thou hast communicated unto me. And surely thou hast told me what is dear unto my heart, what shall I do for thee? Difference find I none between Rama and Bharata. Therefore delighted am I that the king purposeth installing Rama in the kingdom. There is no other ambrosial speech that is excellent and acceptable unto me, compared with the installation of Rama. Therefore do thou ask of me whatever reward dost thou want and I shall give thee."

SECTION 8

Manthara, making Kaikeyi the object of her wrath, threw off the noble ornament, and spoke these words, in anger and grief,-"Thou senseless girl, wherefore dost thou display thy joy on such an unfit occasion. Thou dost not see that thou art in the bosom of an ocean of grief. Being grieved at heart do I laugh at thee inwardly, O worshipful lady, because thou having met with signal calamity, rejoicest even in what should be lamented. I lament thee for thy perversion of sense. What sensible woman can rejoice in the advancement of a co-wife's son, like unto death itself? From Bharata proceeds Rama's fear concerning the kingdom to which both have an equal claim. Thinking of this, I am pressed down with sorrow, because fear proceeds from the person who fears much. The mighty armed Lakshmana hath for certain in all ways taken refuge in Rama: and Satrughna like unto Lakshmana hath taken refuge in the Kakutstha, Bharata. With reference to gradation of birth, the probability is in favour of Bharata's attempting the kingdom; yet by reason (of Rama's being the elder) of the two. Bharata hath been thrown off. Anticipating the peril that might spring unto thy son from Rama, learned and versed in the functions of the Kshatriya, and of quick decision, I tremble. Surely Kaucalya is of blessed fortune, for to-morrow under Pushya the foremost of the twice- born ones will install her son as the mighty heir-apparent unto the empire. Thou wilt, with clasped hands, serve as a slave the illustrious Kaucalya, mistress of the world, and brimming over with joy, with all her foes discomfitted. Thus along with us thou wilt attend her commands, and thy son also will await the pleasure of Rama. And Rama's wives* together with their hand-maids will be filled with delight; and in consequence of Bharata's name, thy daughters in-law will be afflicted with sorrow." [* Historically Rama had but one wife. Manthara here anticipated that Rama would marry many wives like his father after the installation.

Seeing Manthara dead set against Rama, and speaking in this wise, the noble Kaikeyi praised the virtues of Rama. "Rama is cognisant of morality, and filled with perfections, and accomplished, and grateful, and endowed with truth, and pure. And as he is the eldest son of the king, he deserveth the kingdom as heir-apparent. That long-lived one shall maintain his brothers and his retainers even like a father. Why then, O hump-backed one, do thou grieve, hearing Rama's installation. And for certain, that foremost of men, Bharata also, an hundred years after Rama, will attain the kingdom bequeathed by his father and grand-father. O Manthara, thou burnest (with grief) in this auspicious time. Our good fortune will come (after this in the shape of Bharata's installation); why then dost thou grieve. Surely Rama is dearer unto me than Bharata; and he also loveth me more than he doth Kaucalya. And if the kingdom be Rama's it will be also Bharata's at the same time. Rama regardeth his brothers even as his own self."

Hearing Kaikeyi's words, Manthara exceedingly aggrieved, sighing hot and hard, thus addressed Kaikeyi, saying,-'Regarding that to be evil which is thy good, thou dost not through thy want of understanding know that thou art going to be drowned in a sea of grief and peril. Raghava will become king, and after Raghava his son,—so that, O Kaikeyi, Bharata will come to be at once cut off from the royal line. O emotional one, surely all the sons of the king do not obtain the kingdom. And if all were placed on the throne, mighty would be the disturbance therefrom. Therefore it is that kings. O Kaikeyi, lay the task of Government on the eldest son if worthy, or else upon a younger most meritorious. This thy son, O affectionate one, cast off from the royal race, and deprived of happiness, will fare like one forlorn. Thou dost not understand that it is for thee that I am taking such pains; and it is evident that thou dost not understand that I have come to thee for thy good. Thou art conferring on me rewards on the advancement of thy co-wife. For certain, Rama having attained the kingdom without let, will send Bharata either to a distant land, or to the other world. Bharata is a mere boy, and by thee it is that he hath been sent unto his maternal uncle's mansion. Even in immobile objects attachment grows by virtue of nearness. Satrughna also ever following Bharata hath gone with him. He is attached unto Bharata as Lakshmana is attached unto Rama. It is heard that once upon a time the woodmen had intended to cut down a tree; but it was relieved from the high peril because of the proximity of prickly shrubs around it. Sumitra's son protects Rama and

Raghaya protects Lakshmana. Their fraternal love like that of the Aswins is celebrated in the world. Therefore Rama will never do any wrong unto Lakshmana; but he will do wrong unto Bharata, there is no doubt about this. Therefore let that son of Raghu be sent unto the woods from the palace. This pleaseth me; and this also is for thy supreme welfare; and in this wise also will be realised the good of thy relations. But if Bharata can get at his ancestral kingdom by just means, that would also be welcome to thy kindred. That boy deserving of happiness is the natural enemy of Rama. How can he live under the prosperous Rama being deprived of all wealth? Therefore it behoveth thee to save Bharata about to be overcome by Rama, like a lion pursuing the leader of an elephant herd in a forest. Thy co-wife, Rama's mother, had formerly through pride and good fortune been slighted by thee. Why will not she upon thee wreak her revenge now? When Rama will obtain the earth furnished with many oceans and mountains, then, O proud dame, thou rendered forlorn, wilt along with Bharata, sustain sorry discomfiture. And when Rama will obtain the earth, Bharata will certainly meet with destruction, therefore do thou ponder as to how thou canst place thy son on the throne, and banish thy enemy."

SECTION 9.

Thus addressed, Kaikeyi, with her countenance flaming in wrath, sighing hot and hard, spoke unto Manthara, "Even this very day will I speedily send Rama into the forest and without delay install Bharata in the royal heirapparentship. Do thou now see by what means I can effect this Bharata must obtain the kingdom and never Rama.' addressed by the noble one, the. wicked-minded Manthara, envious of Rama's interest, thus spoke unto Kaikeyi,-"Ah! O Kaikeyi, consider: Listen to my words, telling thee how thy son alone will obtain the kingdom. Dost thou not remember O Kaikevi, or concealest although remembering, wishing to hear from me of the means for thy welfare which thou thyself hadst before communicated unto me? If, O dalliance loving damsel, it is thy wish to hear it as told by me, listen thou, I will tell it thee. And having heard it, do thou act accordingly." Hearing Manthara's words, Kaikeyi raised herself a little from her tastefully spread bed, and said,-"Do thou tell me the means. By what means, O Manthara, Bharata will gain the kingdom, and in no wise Rama." Thus addressed by the worshipful one, the wicked- minded Manthara,envying Rama's interest, thus spoke unto Kaikeyi:-"Formerly during the wars of the gods and Asuras, thy husband taking thee along, went with the royal saints for the purpose of assisting the king of the celestials. O Kaikeyi, in Dandaka, situated towards the south, there is the city known by the name of Vaijayanta, where dwelt Timidhvaja, otherwise called Samvara, -possessed of an hundred conjurations, and a mighty Asura. That unreproved one gave battle unto Sakra accompanied by the celestials. And in that mighty conflict the Rakshasas during the night used to drag by main force persons asleep having their bodies cut all over, and kill them. Then King Dacaratha warred with the Asuras most heroically. And that mighty armed one, O worshipful lady, losing his senses in consequence of wounds received from weapons, was removed from the field by thee. In that imminent danger, thy husband, sadly cut by weapons, was preserved by thee. Thereupon gratified, he, O, thou of gracious presence, granted thee two boons. Whereupon thou didst say,—'I shall receive from my lord the boon whenever I shall wish.' Thereupon that high-souled one said,—'So be it.' I did not know anything about this, O respected one; and it was thou who didst formerly communicate this (unto me). And it is because I bear affection unto thee that I have not forgotten it. Now do thou forcibly make the monarch desist from installing Rama; and ask thy husband for these two boons,-the installation of Bharata, and the exile of Rama into the woods for fourteen years. On Rama having been banished into the woods for fourteen years, thy son securing the affections of subjects, will be firmly established (on the throne). Entering the anger-chamber to day, do thou, O daughter of Acwapati, clad in soiled garment, lie down on the uncovered floor. Do not look at him, nor speak to him aught, Do thou on beholding the lord of the earth, over-whelmed with grief, weep only. Thou hast always been the favourite wife of thy husband. Of this I have not the least doubt. For thy sake the monarch can enter into a flame. He can never anger thee, nor can he eye thee when angered. For compassing thy pleasure the king can renounce life itself. Therefore the monarch can never set aside thy word. O senseless lady, do thou now reflect upon the strength of thy good fortune. King Dacaratba will offer thee rubies and pearls and gold and gems of various kinds; but do not thou bend thy heart to them. Do thou, exalted dame, bring into Dacaratha's recollection the two boons which he had granted thee at the time of the war between the gods and Asuras, and thou shalt not fail to achieve thy objects. And when that descendant of Raghu, raising thee will go to bestow the boons, do thou then binding him fast by oath, unfold unto the monarch the boons, saying, - 'Send Rama unto the forest for nine and five years, and let Bharata, becoming on earth the foremost of

monarchs, carry on the Government.' And Rama having been banished for fourteen years, thy son growing (in the interval) firm and fast, will remain (on the throne) during the rest of his life. Do thou, therefore, O worshipful one, demand even the banishment of Rama; for by this it is, O damsel, all interests will be secured unto thy son. Thus banished Rama will no longer maintain possession of the hearts of the people; and thy Bharata with his foes put out, will be the king. By the time that Rama returns from the forest, thy son, thy prudent son along with his friends, securing the hearts of the people externally and internally, will have been firmly established on the throne. Now is the time, I apprehend. Renouncing fear, do thou forcibly make the monarch remove from his mind his intention of installing Rama."

Having been thus made to accept that for good which was really evil, Kaikeyi, desirous of obtaining the boons, was filled with delight. And at the words of the hump-backed woman, that exceedingly beautiful Kaikeyi experienced the height of pride, and betook herself to this wrong course, like a mare attached to her young, (springing up after it). And she said to Manthara.—"O excellent wench. O speaker of things fair, thy wisdom I do not dishonour. In ascertaining the propriety or otherwise of actions, thou art the very first of hump- backed women on earth. And ever intent on my interest, thou seekest my welfare. I had not, O hump-backed one, (ere this) apprehended the endeavours of the king. O hump- backed one, there are many deformed, crooked and unsightly women (on earth); but thou alone down, lookest beautiful like a lotus bent by the breeze. Thy breast weighed down by thy hump, is high near the shoulders; and beneath is thy belly graced with a goodly navel, which hath grown lean from shame (on holding the attitude of thy bust.) Thy buttocks are spacious; and thy breasts are firm. Thy countenance is like the bright moon, Ah! O Manthara, how lovely dost thou look! Thy hips are smooth, and is decked with chains; and thy thighs and legs are of large proportions. O Manthara, O thou clad in linen garment, O graceful damsel, with thy pair of spacious humps, thou goest before me like a she- crane. In thy heart reside all those thousand-conjurations belonging to that lord of the Asuras, Samvara; and besides thousands there are many more. Intelligence and policy and conjurations reside in thy elevated hump resembling the nave of a chariot- wheel. When Bharata hath been installed and Rama gone to the woods, I will, O hump-backed one, furnish thy hump with a garland made, O beautiful one, of well melted gold. And when I shall have attained my object and be happy, I will smear thy hump with sandal paste. O humpbacked one, I will prepare for thy face an excellent tilaka of gold; as well as other ornaments. Wearing elegant apparel, thou wilt go about like a very goddess. With an incomparable countenance challenging the moon himself, thou wilt attain pre-eminence, defying thy foes. Even as thou servest me, other hump-backed women adorned with every ornament will serve thy feet.'

Thus praised by Kaikeyi, as she was lying down on a white bed, like unto fire upon the sacrificial dais, Manthara addressed her, saying,—"O blessed one, when water has flown out, it is not proper to set up a dyke. Arise. Do thy welfare. Show thyself unto the king." Puffed up with the pride of good fortune, that noble lady of expansive eyes thus encouraged (by Manthara), went with her to the anger- chamber. (Having entered the chamber), that exalted lady put off her pearl necklace priced at many hundreds and thousands of gold, together with other elegant, beautiful and rich ornaments. Then sitting down upon the ground, Kaikeyi, comparable unto gold, under the influence of Manthara's words, spoke unto her, saying—"Do thou, hump-backed one, tell the monarch, that I am dead at this place. On Raghava having gone to the forest, Bharata will obtain the earth. I do not require gold, or gems, or repasts; this will be the end of my existence if Rama be installed."

Again the hump-backed woman addressed Bharata's mother in exceedingly cruel language fraught with good unto Bharata and evil unto Rama,—"If Raghava attaineth the kingdom, thou wilt surely grieve along with thy son. Therefore, O blessed one, do thou strive so that thy son Bharata be installed."

Thus momentarily pierced by the wordy shafts shot by Manthara, the queen exceedingly surprised, laying her hand on her bosom, wrathfully broke out,—"Either beholding me gone unto the regions of Death, thou wilt apprize the king of it, or Raghava repairing unto the forest for a long time, Bharata will attain his desire. If Raghava doth not repair hence into the forest, I will not desire beds, nor garlands, nor sandal paste, nor colyrium, nor meat, nor drinks, nor life." Having said these cruel words, and thrown off every ornament, the wrathful dame lay down on the ground having no covering, like a fallen Kinnari. Casting away her excellent garlands and ornaments with her countenance clouded with the gloom of wrath, the King's wife became sunk in thought looking like a sky enveloped in darkness, with the stars hid.

SECTION 10.

Thus perversely advised by the exceedingly wicked Manthara, the noble and sagacious lady, influenced by passion, having completely decided in her mind as to her course, was lying down on the ground like a Kinnari pierced with poisoned shafts, and gradually told everything unto Manthara. And having made up her mind, that lady wrought up with ire, being under the influence of Manthara's words, sighed hot and hard like the daughter of a Naga; and for a while reflected on the way which was to bring her happiness. Then her friend and well-wisher Manthara, hearing of her resolution, rejoiced exceedingly, as if she had already secured success. And, having fully ascertained her course, that weak one being angry, lay down upon the floor, knitting her evebrows. The ground was strewn with garlands and excellent ornaments which Kaikeyi had cast away; and they adorned the earth as the stars adorn the welkin. Like an enfeebled Kinnari she clad in a soiled garment, binding fast her braid, lay down in the anger-chamber.

The monarch having issued orders for the installation of Rama, entered his inner apartment after giving permission to the courtiers to repair to their respective abodes. "To-day it has been fixed to install Rama, but Kaikeyi has not yet heard of it"-thus thought the monarch. Therefore with the view of communicating the welcome news unto that lady deserving of good, (Kaikeyi), that renowned one of subdued senses entered the inner apartment. Like unto the moon entering the sky covered with white clouds and with Rahu present in it, that one of high fame entered the excellent apartment of Kaikevi. having parrots and peacocks and Kraunchas and swans, resounding with the sounds of musical instruments,containing hump-backed and dwarfish women, graced with houses containing creepers, and pictures, and adorned with ashokas and champakas, furnished with daises composed of ivory and silver and gold, and adorned with trees bearing flowers and fruits always, and tanks, having superb seats made of ivory, silver and gold; rich with various viands and drinks and edibles, with costly ornaments, and resembling heaven itself; and the prosperous monarch having entered his own inner apartment did not see his dear Kaikeyi on the excellent bed. The lord of men not seeing his favourite wife, asked (within himself) and was struck with grief. Never before this that noble lady spent that hour (at any other place); nor had the monarch ever entered the empty apartment. Then the king entering the apartment asked (a sentinel) concerning Kaikeyi, not knowing that that unwise woman was hankering after her self-interest, as on previous occasions not finding her he used to ask. Thereupon hurriedly and with clasped hands, the warder said,— "Worshipful sire, the noble lady exceedingly angry, hath repaired unto the anger chamber." Hearing the warder's word, the king exceedingly anxious, with his senses agitated and afflicted, again grieved. There burning with grief, the lord of the earth saw her lying down on the ground in an improper guise. And the sinless aged (monarch) saw on the ground his vouthful wife dearer unto him than life itself. cherishing an unrighteous intention,—like a torn creeper, and lying down like a very goddess, resembling a Kinnari fallen from heaven because of sin, like a fallen Apsara, like unto an illusion spread to take another, and like an ensnared doe, or a she-clephant that has been pierced with an envenomed shaft shot by a hunter. And himself resembling a mighty elephant in the midst of a forest, the king, exceedingly aggrieved, out of affection, gently passing his hand upon Kaikeyi's person, thus addressed her furnished with eyes resembling lotus' petals,-"I do not know why thou hast been angry with me. O noble lady, who has reprimanded thee, or who has offended thee, that, O auspicious one, in this guise thou art lying down in dust enhancing my sorrow? And wherefore art thou down on the ground. I, who seek thy welfare, being yet alive? O thou that afflictest my heart, art like one under the influence of a malignant spirit, I have skilful physicians whom I have completely satisfied with gifts,-they will render thee whole. Do thou, O angry wench, mention thy malady. Whom dost thou wish to please; and whom to displease? Who shall to-day receive an welcome office, and who a highly unwelcome one? Do not conceal thy thoughts, nor, O noble one, afflict thy person. Who, that should not be slain, shall be put to death; and who that should, is to be set at liberty? Who that is poor is to be made rich; and who that is affluent is to be turned into a pauper? I and mine are at thy command. I dare not cross any wish of thine. Tell me thy mind, and I will satisfy thee by laving down life itself. Thou knowest the influence thou hast upon me,therefore, it behoveth thee not to entertain any apprehension. By all my good deeds I swear that I will compass thy pleasure. The space that is lighted up by the solar disc is mine—the Draviras, and the Sindhus, and the Sauviras, and Shurashtras and the Dakshinapathas, and the Bangas, and the Angas, and the Magadhas, and the Matsyas, and the flourishing Kasis and the Kocalas. In these are produced many things, wealth and corn and animals. Do thou, O Kaikeyi, ask for those things that thy mind may take a fancy to. What,0 timid one, is the use of afflicting thyself thus? O beauteous damsel, arise, arise. Do thou, O Kaikeyi, unfold unto me the cause whence hath

proceeded thy fear. On hearing the reason, I will dispell it, even as the sun drieth up the dew."

Thus addressed and encouraged, she desirous of saying that disagreeable thing with the view of afflicting her lord still more, spoke unto him thus.

SECTION 11

Unto that ruler of the earth extremely under the influence of passion, Kaikevi spoke cruelly, saving.— "O worshipful one, none has wronged or reprimanded me. I have a certain intention, which I wish that you will, carry out. If thou wilt execute that, do thou then promise to that effect, Then only will I express my desire." Thereupon, by his hands placing Kaikeyi's head upon his lap, the mighty monarch, under the influence of passion, smiling fairly, addressed her lying on the ground, "O thou that art swollen with the pride of good fortune, thou knowest that foremost of men, Rama excepted, there liveth not any that is dearer to me than thyself. I swear by that invincible prime of men even the high-souled Raghava— who is the stay of my existence. Do thou tell me thy heart's desire. By that Rama, Kaikevi, whom if I do not see for a moment. I die for certain, do I swear that whatever thou wilt say I will accomplish. By that Rama, O Kaikeyi, foremost of men-whom I hold dearer than my other sons, do I swear that, I will accomplish whatever thou wilt say. O gentle one, my heart is in what I say. Do thou, considering this, deliver me from this distress. Taking all this into consideration, do thou, O Kaikeyi, speak out what is in thy mind. Thou seest the power thou wieldest in me, therefore it behoveth thee not to fear. I will do thy pleasure by my good deeds do I swear this."

Thereat intent upon her own interests, that exalted dame seeing her own wish (almost) attained, assuming an attitude of intercession, being rejoiced, spoke harsh words (unto the monarch). And delighted at the king's speech, she unfolded that dreadful intention of hers like unto the approaching - "Thou swearest repeatedly, and conferrest on me a boon. Let the three and thirty deities headed by Indra, hear this. Let the Sun, and the Moon, and the Sky, and the Planets, and Night, and Day, and the Cardinal points, and the Universe, and the Earth, with the Gandharvas and Rakshasas. and the Rangers of the night, and all Beings, and the household gods residing in dwellings,-together with all other creatures,-know thy utterances. Let all the deities hear that a highly energetic one speaking the truth, and pure, and cognisant of morality, and abiding by his promise, has conferred on me a boon". Having entreated the monarch thus with a view to prevent him from swerving, and keeping him firm in his promise, she again addressed that mighty bowman. overcome by desire, who was ready to confer on her a boon, "Remember, O king, the incidents that took place formerly in the war between gods and Asuras. Incapable of taking thy life, thy enemy had rendered thee exceedingly feeble. Because, O respected Sir, I tending thee sleeplessly, preserved thee, thou didst grant me two boons. Entrusting the boons then with thee, do I now, O descendant of the Raghus, ask for them (at thy hands), O lord of the earth. If having religiously promised to that effect, thou dost not confer the boon, this very day, will I, coming by this disgrace from thee, renounce my life.'

When the king was completely brought under the influence of Kaikeyi, he was ensnared by her speech for his destruction, like a deer entering into the noose. Thereafter she thus spoke unto the king about to confer a boon, who was under the influence of passion, saying,—"Of the boons that thou hadst then promised me, I shall speak to-day: do thou listen to my words. Preparations are being made for installing Raghava. Do thou with the provisions made ready install Bharata in the kingdom. O exalted one, the time has also come for thee to confer on me the second boon which thou being pleased had promised in the war of the gods and Asuras. Let the gentle Rama, clad in deer-skin, lead the life of a mendicant in the Dandaka forest for the space of nine and five years. And let Bharata gain the heir-apparentship rid of thorns, Even this is my prime wish; and I beseech thee but to grant the boon thou hast already promised. Even this very day will I see Rama despatched to the woods. Do thou by proving true unto thy word, become the king of kings; and preserve thy race, character, and birth. Truthful speech, say the ascetics, is of supreme welfare unto men in the next world."

SECTION 12.

Hearing Kaikeyi's fell speech, the monarch bewailed for a time, and then thought,—"Is this a day-dream unto me or has bewilderment befallen my senses? Is this owing to influence of some evil spirit or has my mind been affected?" Thinking thus, the king could not arrive at the. origin of (this phenomenon); and then he swooned away. Then regaining his senses, he was filled with grief on recollecting Kaikeyi's words; and pained and woe-begone, like unto a deer at the sight of a tigress, he fetched a deep sigh, and sat down on the uncover ed ground. Like a venomous snake confined by power of incantation within a circle, the lord of men, in indignation exclaimed, "O fie!" And deprived of his senses by grief, he again swooned away. After a long while, regaining his senses, he extremely

aggrieved, wrathfully, and as if burning in energy, addressed Kaikevi, saving.—"Thou cruel one! Thou of vile ways! Thou destroyer of this race! O wicked woman, what has been done by Rama unto thee; or what wrong have I done thee? Raghava ever serveth thee as a mother. Why thou art then bent upon wronging him? It is to bring down destruction upon myself that through ignorance I brought unto this house thee like unto a serpent of virulent poison. When all men show their regard for Rama's virtues, for what transgression shall I forsake my dear son? I may renounce Kaucalya or Sumitra or the kingdom, or life itself; but Rama, filled with affection for his father, will I not renounce. I experience supreme delight on beholding my first-born; and when I see him not, I lose my senses. The world may exist without the Sun; and corn without water; but this life doth not exist in this body without Rama. Do thou then that entertainest unrighteous aims, abandon this intention of thine. I lay my head at thy feet. Be propitious unto me. Why dost thou, O sinful one, cherish in thy mind such a frightful idea? Thou (often) asked me whether I love Bharata or not. Be that which thou hadst formerly told me in favour of that descendant of Raghu 'That blessed one is my eldest son, and the most righteous of them all' even this, with the view of pleasing me, thou sweet speeched one had said. Now hearing of the installation of Rama, thou thyself filled with grief, art making me exceedingly aggrieved. Or in this empty chamber having been possessed, thou hast come under influence not thy own. And this signal lawlessness, O exalted lady, has befallen the race of the Ikshwakus: the cause of which, 0 Thou versed in moral laws, is thy mental derangement. Thou didst not formerly do unto me aught that was improper or disagreeable; therefore, O thou of expansive eyes, I cannot rely upon thee (as sane). Thou didst, O girl, many a time tell me that Rama was equal unto thee with the high-souled Bharata. Wherefore then, O bashful one, dost thou like that the illustrious and righteous Rama. O exalted dame, should reside in the forest for five and nine years? Why dost thou like that the exceedingly tender Rama with his soul established in virtue, should dwell in the woods, undergoing terrible hardship? Why dost thou, O thou of graceful eyes, wish Rama, captivating all creatures, and engaged in ministering unto thee, to be banished? Rama verily serveth thee far more than doth Bharata; and I do not find that Bharata regardeth thee more than Rama. Who will, save that foremost of men, so devotedly minister unto thee, regard thee, enhance thy influence, and do thy will. Not one of the many thousands of females and the innumerable retainers (in the palace), has been able to fasten reproach upon Rama for real or false misconduct. Soothing all creatures with a pure heart, that great soul by means of good officers secureth the affections of the inhabitants of the kingdom. He conquers all the twice-born ones by gifts; and that hero conquers his superiors by ministrations; and his enemies by encountering them with the bow. For certain, in Raghava are truth and charity, and asceticism, and selfrenunciation, and friendship, and purity, and sincerity, and learning, and the disposition to tend his superiors. How, O respected one, canst thou ask for this that will bring thee sin, touching Rama endowed with candour, and energetic like unto a Maharshi, and resembling a celestial? I do not recollect to have heard Rama, who ever speaks sweet words, to have used any unpleasant speech to any one; how can I then for thy sake unfold this disagreeable matter unto the beloved Rama? And what stay have I save him in whom abide forgtveness, and asceticism and renunciation, and verity, and righteousness, and gratitude, and harmless towards all creatures. It behoveth thee, O Kaikeyi, to have pity on me, aged and on the verge of death, and afflicted with grief, and distressed, and engaged in lamentations. Whatever can be obtained in this earth bounded by the ocean I will confer on thee—do thou not bring about my death. O Kaikeyi, 1 clasp my palms, I fall at thy feet, be thou the protector of Rama, so that sin may not taint me.

When the terrible Kaikeyi in still more terrible language addressed the mighty king, who was burning in grief, and bewailing, and deprived of his senses, and feeling a sensation of whirling, and overwhelmed with woe, and again and again beseeching for crossing this ocean of sorrow, saying. "If, O having conferred the boon, thou repentest afterwards how, O hero, wilt thou speak of thy righteousness in the world? When,0 thou versed in duty, the Rajarshis assembled around thee, shall ask thee regarding this matter, what wilt thou answer? Wilt thou say, 'by whose favour do I live and who had tended me, unto that Kaikevi have I broken my promise?' Surely, O lord of men, thou wilt bring disgrace unto all the monarchs (of thy line), since having conferred the boons this very day, thou speakest otherwise. Saivya granted his own flesh unto the bird in the matter of the hawk and the pigeon. [The story goes that desirous of testing the charity of Saivya, Indra and Agni assuming the forms of a hawk and a pigeon respectively, went to the king, the former pursuing the latter. The pigeon in a fright asked the protection of the monarch, whereon he granted it. But the hawk urged, 'why dost thou retain the food that has been appointed by Providence?' But the king declined, and cut off his own flesh and gave it unto the hawk.] And Alarka, having granted his eyes (unto a blind Brahmin) attained excellent state. And the ocean, having bound himself by promise, never passes beyond his shores. Remembering these old stories render not thy promise nugatory. O thou of perverted understanding, renouncing righteousness, and installing Rama in the kingdom, thou wishest ever to give thyself up to pleasure with Kaucalya. Whether what I have proposed be righteous or otherwise, whether thou hast promised truly or falsely, swerve not from thy word. If thou install Raima, this very day drinking poison, I will surely die before thee. If I for a single day behold Rama's mother receiving homage rendered with clasped hands, I will consider death even as welcome, O lord of men, by Bharata's self dear unto me as my own life, I swear that eave the acid of Rama, nothing shall satisfy me."

that save the exile of Rama, nothing shall satisfy me.' Having said this, Kaikeyi paused; and maintained silence disregarding the bewailing monarch. The king with his senses overwhelmed with grief, hearing Kaikeyi's exceedingly bitter words, reflected on Rama's abode in the woods, and the advancement of Bharata, and being bewildered for a while spoke not unto Kaikeyi; but gazed steadfastly at that exalted dame, his beloved wife, who had uttered disagreeable things. And having heard that speech resembling a thunder-bolt, and unpleasant to the heart, and surcharged with grief, the king was extremely pained. Then recollecting that revered lady's resolve, and his own terrible oath, he, sighing forth,-"O Rama," dropped down like a felled tree. And then that master of the earth being deprived of his sense, was like a mad man, or a patient with his faculties wildered, or a serpent whose energy has been exhausted. In sad and distressful words, he addressed Kaikeyi, saying,-"Who is it that has convinced thee that this exceedingly heinous course is a proper one? Dost thou not feel shame to speak thus unto me, like one whose faculties have been possessed by an evil spirit? I did not know before, when thou wast youthful that thy nature was so perverted; but now I find the very reverse of what I then thought. Whence proceedeth thy fear that thou askest for such a boon-the establishment of Bharata in the kingdom, and the banishment of Rama into the woods? Do thou cease to urge such a suit that is fraught with evil unto thy wifely virtue, and that will render my word untrue, if thou wishest for the good of thy husband, of the people, and Bharata. O cruel woman: O thou that intendest sinfully. O base wretch, O doer of impious deeds, how have I and Rama conspired against thy happiness; and what offence dost thou find in us? Bharata will by no means accept the kingdom, depriving Rama of it, for I consider Bharata a still more grounded in righteousness than Rama himself. When I shall say,—"Repair unto the forest," and Rama's countenance will fall, like unto the moon overwhelmed by Rahu, how shall I behold it? How shall I, having in consultation with my friends come to this decision, retract the same, like unto an army defeated by the enemy? And what will the monarchs coming from various quarters say concerning me,- "Alas! how has this puerile descendant of Ikshwaku reigned so long?' And when many aged folks, endowed with virtues, and accomplished in various lore will ask me concerning Kakutstha, what then shall I sav unto them.-'Sore pressed by Kaikeyi, have I banished Rama? Even if I speak this truly, yet none will lend credence to it. And what will Kaucalya say unto me, when Rama shall have gone to the forest? Having dpne her this mighty wrong, what shall I say unto her? Kaucalya serves me at the same time like a slave, and a friend, and wife, and sister, and mother. Ever studious of my welfare, dearly loving her son, and speaking every one fair, that exalted lady, although deserving of homage at my hands, has up to this time not been regarded by me, because of thee. That I have so long sought thy welfare, afflicteth me now, even like rice partaken by a sick person with curries that are unhealthful. Beholding Rama deprived of his kingdom, and banished unto the forest, why will Sumitra alarmed believe in me. Ah! woe to me! Vaidehi will have to hear of two evil events,-my death and Rama's journey unto the woods. Alas! my Vaidehi, indulging in grief, will renounce her existence, like a Kinnari on the side of the Himavat, who has been forsaken by her kinnara. When I shall witness Rama repairing to the mighty forest, and Sita weeping (in grief), I shall not hope for a long life; and thou, becoming a widow, will reign along with thy son. Like unto a goodly liquor, which people having partaken it, subsequently find to contain poison, I have found thee, who had passed for a chaste woman, to be now really unchaste. Having soothed me with soft but false words, thou speakest thus. Thou hast killed me like a deer that has been entrapped by a hunter. having been allured into the net through the sound of a song. Surely gentle folks will on the high-way censure me as one lost to gentility,-as one who has sold his son (for buying his wife's good graces), even like a Brahmana given to drinking. Alas! alas! having promised thee the boon, I have to bear these words of thine; and have come by this grief like unto evil consequent upon misdeeds in a previous existence. Wretch as I am, like a halter set round one's neck, have I, O vile woman, cherished thee through ignorance. Not knowing thee for my death, I have sported with thee, like an infant dallying in solitude with a venomous snake. Surely, people will be justified in con- demning me wicked-minded that I am, for my

son having been deprived of his ancestral kingdom by me; "Alas! king Dacaratha is foolish and lustful; for he sends his beloved son to the woods for the sake of his wife." Rama has grown emaciated by study ng the Vedas, leading the Brahmacharyya mode of life, and serving his preceptors,will he again undergo this mighty toil at this time of enjoyment? My son is incapable of uttering a second word unto me; and commissioned, he will repair to the woods, saying, 'Very well.' if ordered with 'Go to the forest,' Raghava does not consent, even that would conduce to my pleasure; but he will do nothing of the kind. And Raghava having gone to the forest, Death will surely summon me away to his abode who am of exceedingly reprehensible character, and who am universally execrated. And I having been dead and that best of men, Rama, having gone to the woods (I do not know) to what a plight thou wilt bring my kindreds. And if Kaucalya loses me and Rama, and Sumitra loses her two sons and me and Rama, then tormented with the extreme of grief, those exalted ladies will follow me. Do thou, O Kaikeyi, casting into hell Kaucalya and Sumitra and myself with our three sons, attain happiness. Renounced by me as well as Rama, this lkshwaku line existing from a time immemorial, and ennobled by excellent qualities, and incapable of coming by grief, thou wilt rule, when it shall have been overwhelmed with misfortune. If the banishment of Rama, be agreeable to Bharata let him not, when I am dead, perform my funeral obsequies. When I am dead, and when that foremost of men has gone to the forest, do thou, a widow, rule the kingdom along with thy son. O daughter of a king, when by chance thou residest in my mansion, I must come by signal infamy and discomfiture in the world, and meet with general disregard, like unto a sinful person. How having always gone on cars and elephants and horses, will dear Rama range in the forest on foot? How will my son, at the approach of whose meal-time, cooks wearing ear-rings and emulating each other prepare excellent meats and drinks, pass his days, living on fare furnished by the woods, of astringent, or bitter, or pungent taste? How will he, who has always been clad in costly attire, and who has always enjoyed happiness, will dwell on the bare earth, wearing a piece of red cloth? From whom hast thou received this inconceivable and dreadful advice.— Rama's journey to the woods and installation of Bharata? Fie upon women, crafty and selfish! But I must not name all women-I mean only the mother of Bharata. O thou that art intent upon doing mischief unto all, O thou addicted to selfishness, O cruel one, has God made thy mind so very vile, only to torment me? What wrong hast thou come by either through me, or Rama ever engaged in thy welfare? On beholding Rama plunged in sorrow, fathers will forsake sons. and wives attached unto their husbands will forsake them, and the entire earth will be affected with ill-humour. When I hear him coming, adorned like unto a son of the celestials, I rejoice on casting my eyes on him, and I feel as if I had regained my youth. Men may do without the Sun, and the wielder of the thunder-bolt not raining, but none, I apprehend, can live, on witnessing Rama repairing hence. I have kept in my mansion, like unto my own death, thee that desirest my destruction, and art intent upon doing me wrong, and art my foe. I have for a long time held thee on my lap, like unto a she-snake of virulent poison; therefore in consequence of my folly, I now meet with destruction. Now dissevered from me, and Rama together with Lakshmana, let Bharata govern the city and the kingdom along with thee. Destroying thy relatives, do thou enhance the joy of my enemies. O thou cruelly-disposed, O thou bringer on of calamities, since banishing all sense of the relation in which we stand to each other as husband and wife, thou hast spoken thus, why reduced to thousand fragments thy teeth drop not from off thy mouth down to the ground? Rama has not used any harsh speech towards thee. Indeed Rama knows no harsh speech; why then dost thou seek to inflict upon Rama (ever) pleasant spoken, and endowed with agreeable qualities-such wrongs. O thou that renderest infamous the king of the Kekayas, whether thou becomest miserable, or enterest into fire, or killest thyself (by taking poison), or divest into the bowels of the earth opened at a thousand places. I will not execute thy fell intention that is fraught with evil unto me. I do not wish, that thou, like unto a razor, and ever speaking pleasant falsehoods, and possessed of a vile heart, the destroyer of thy own race,-thou that wishest to burn my heart and life, thou unbeautiful one, mayst remain alive. My life itself is in jeopardy,-where then is my happiness? Where is the happiness of parents without their sons? It behoveth thee not, O noble dame, to do evil unto me. I take hold of thy feet; be thou propitious unto me." As bewailing thus like one forlorn the ruler of earth whose heart was captivated by Kaikeyi on account of her supreme beauty proceeded to take hold of her feet, who having banished all self respect, sat with her legs stretched, he, without being able to come at them fell down in a swoon, like one enfeebled with disease.

SECTION 13.

Then as the mighty king was lying down in this unbeseeming and improper guise, like Yayati dropped from the celestial regions when his religious merit had been exhausted, that lady, personating the ruin of the race, not fearing public odium, who had discerned danger from Rama unto Bharata, not having attained her wish, again addressed the monarch, concerning the boon he had promised unto her.—Thou describest thyself. O mighty monarch, as speaking the truth and firm in vow. Why then dost thou hesitate to confer this boon on me?" Thus addressed by Kaikeyi king Dacaratha, remaining stupified for a while thus answered her in wrath,-"O ignoble one! O enemy of mine! On my being dead, and that chief of men, Rama, reparing to the woods, do thou, thine wish attained, become happy. When in heaven, questioning me as to Rama's welfare, the celestials, learning of his banishment to the woods, will tax me on this score, how shall I also bear that reproach of theirs? If I shall truthfully say I have sent Rama to the woods for compassing Kaikeyi's pleasure, that will count for a falsehood. Sonless first, I have obtained the exceedingly energetic and mighty Rama by great pain.—how can I then renounce him? How shall I banish Rama having eyes resembling lotus' petals, who is heroic, and accomplished and of subdued anger, and forgiving. How shall I dismiss unto Dandaka the charming Rama of dark blue hue like that of a blue lotus, possessed of mighty arms, and having great strength? How shall I behold the intelligent Rama in evil plight, who has never known suffering, and has always enjoyed felicity? If without inflicting injury upon Rama, I meet with death, I shall then attain happiness. O cruel Kaikeyi, O thou of evil purpose, why dost thou do this wrong unto my beloved Rama having truth for prowess? If I banish Rama, an unparalleled obloquy will surely darken (my fair fame).

As king Dacaratha was bewailing thus with a heart wrought up with grief, the sun set and night came on. But although crested with the lunar disc, the night failed to bring comfort unto the king, distressed, and indulging in grief. Then the old king Dacaratha, with his eyes fixed at the sky, sighing hot, lamented in this strain—"O night studded with stars, I beseech thee, let not the morning appear. Do thou, O gentle one, do me this kindness. I do thus clasp my hands (by way of supplication). Or do thou speedily repair for I do not wish to see the hated and relentless Kaikeyi, who has brought this calamity upon me". Having spoken thus, the king conversant with the duties of Sovereigns again endeavoured to propitiate Kaikeyi, saying,—"O noble dame, do thou show favour unto me who am of honest ways who am distressed, who have made myself thine, who have finished his life, and who, in especial, am thy king. That I have spoken to thee thus was because, O thou of shapely hips, I had been deprived of my senses (through grief). O girl, do thou show thy favour unto me,—be thou generous,—be thou propitious. Let my Rama obtain the kingdom in fact conferred by thee. Thereupon. O thou having the outer corner of thy eyes of dark blue hue, thou wilt attain high fame (among men). O thou of well-developed hips, do thou do this act of benefit unto me and Rama and the people and the superiors, and Bharata".

Having heard the exceedingly piteous words of her husband, the king of pure sentiment, who was distressed, with his eye rendered coppery and flowing with tears, that wicked minded and merciless woman spoke not. Thereat seeing that his favourite dissatisfied wife persisted in urging the banishment of his son, the king struck with grief, again fell down to the earth, senseless. As the wise king afflicted with sorrow was sighing hot and hard, the night passed away. Then as the eulogists attempted to sing his praises for awakening him, he prohibited them to do so.

SECTION 14.

Then that sinful woman, seeing the descendant of Ikshwaku distressed on account of his son, and deprived of conciousness, and lying inert on the ground, spoke unto him, saying, "Having promised to grant me the boon, how distressed dost thou lie on the ground, as if thou didst commit some sin? It behoveth thee to keep untainted thy dignity by performing what thou hast promised. Truth, say persons cognisant of it, is the prime virtue. And it is in the interests of virtue, that I have been exhorting thee. Having promised his own person unto the hawk, that lord of earth, Saivya, having granted the same unto the bird, went the excellent way. In the same manner, Alarka, being asked, plucked out his eyes readily and bestowed them on a certain Brahmana versed in the Vedas. And the lord of rivers, having promised, even on occasions of Parvas, does not pass over his bounds for the sake of truth. The one syllable (Onkar) signifying Brahma. is the truth itself, In truth is established righteousness. Truth is the undecaying Vedas, and through truth people attain the foremost state. If thy mind is established in virtue, do thou then follow truth Since, O excellent one, thou hast promised the boon, let that boon bear fruit. Do thou, incited by me with the view of maintaining virtue, banish Rama. Thrice, do I tell thee. If thou dost not fulfil this noble vow, O worshipful Lord, thou

hast made unto me, forsaken by thee will I even in thy very presence renounce my life."

Thus fearlessly urged by Kaikeyi, the king could not take off from himself the noose (of promise), even as Bali could not take off the noose that had been fixed upon him (by Upendra) at the instance of Indra. Thereupon, the king looked blank, and his heart became agitated, like unto a beast of burden moving tortuously when placed within the voke and wheels. Then calming himself with a great effort, the king, as if not seeing Kaikeyi, with his haggard eyes, addressed her, -"I do here, wicked wretch, renounce that hand of thine which I had held with mantras before the sacrificial fire, and I do also renounce along with thee own-begotten thy son Bharata. O exalted one, the night has departed; and as soon as the Sun rises, the superiors will surely urge me for installing Rama with the provisions that have been procured for the purpose. But if, O thou of auspicious ways, hinderest the installation of Rama, Rama will perform my funeral obsequies, when I am dead, - and not thou accompanied by thy son shalt perform the same. That countenance of Rama which I have once seen expanded in delight. I shall never be able to behold bereft of joy and cheerfulness, and down, with melancholy clouding it.

As the high-souled ruler of earth was speaking thus unto her, the night engarlanded with the moon and stars was succeeded by the morning. Then Kaikeyi of vile ways versed in speech, rendered senseless by wrath, again addressed the monarch in harsh language, saying,—"What words, O king, dost thou say, comparable unto poison or painful indispositions. It behoveth thee to summon hither thy son, the energetic Rama. Having established my son in the kingdom, and rendered Rama a ranger of the woods and made myself rid of rivals, I shall attain my end." Thus urged by Kaikeyi, the king like unto an excellent steed stung by a sharp goad, again spoke unto her,—"I have been bound fast by the ties of virtue,—therefore have I lost my senses. I now only wish to behold my beloved eldest son—the righteous Rama."

Then when the night had gone by and day broke and the Sun arose, and when the sacred astral hour had arrived, Vasishtha endowed with many virtues, surrounded by his disciples and furnished with the provisions, entered that foremost of cities, whose streets had been swept and watered and which had been decorated with streamers, and which was filled with people rejoicing, and whose stalls overflowed with articles, and which resounded with the noise of festivity, and which was populous with folks eager for the installation of Raghava, and which was every where scented with sandal and dhupa and aguru. Having entered the city, like unto the metropolis of Purandara himself, he saw the graceful inner apartment decked with innumerable standards, and which was thronged with citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces, and graced with Brahmanas cognisant of sacrifices, and crowded with highly worshipful assistants at sacrifice, entered the inner apartment and passed by that press. Vasishtha exceedingly delighted, surrounded by great saints, saw at the gate of the charioteer of that great one,-who at the same time was his counseller of gracious looks. Therefore the highly energetic Vasishtha said unto the skilful son of the charioteer,-"Do thou speedily acquaint the mighty monarch that I have come. Here are golden vessels filled with water from the Ganga and the ocean; and for the installation, an excellent udumvara seat, and all kinds of seeds, and scents and various gems, and honey, and curds and clarified butter and fried paddy, and milk, and sacrificial grass, flowers and milk, and eight good-looking maids, and an excellent mad elephant, a car yoked with four horses, and a sword, and an elegant bow, and a carriage containing men, and an umbrella like unto the moon, and two white chowries, and a golden vase, and a palecoloured bull tethered with a golden chain and bearing a hump adorned with ornaments, and a mighty lion—the best of his race-furnished with four teeth, and a throne, and a tiger-skin, and sacrificial fuel, and fire, and all kinds of musical instruments, and courtezans decked out with ornaments, and preceptors and Brahmanas, and cows, and various kinds of pure animals and birds—have been brought. The foremost citizens and inhabitants of the provinces and the merchants with their retinue,-all these and others, with hearts filled with joy, and mouth speaking pleasant words, stay with the sovereigns to witness the installation of Rama. Do thou urge expedition upon the mighty monarch, so that this day under the influence of the Pushya star Rama may obtain the kingdom.

Hearing these words of his, the charioteer's son possessed of mighty strength, eulogizing that powerful monarch, entered his quarters. And advanced in years, he had before this been granted free access everywhere,—so that the warders, loved of the king and seeking his good, could not prevent his entrance. Not knowing the plight that had befallen the king, Sumantra presenting himself before him, endeavoured to gladden the latter with pleasing speech. And having entered the apartment of the king, the charioteer Sumantra with clasped hands, pleasing the monarch as he proceeded, said,—"Do thou please us delightedly and with a glad heart, even as the strong ocean pleases people at the rising of the sun. The charioteer

Matuli used to hymn India at this season, and (encouraged by that eulogy) he conquered the Danavas. Even so do I hymn thee. And even as the Vedas with the Angas and other lore indoctrinate the self-create lord Brahma, so do I enlighten thee. As the tan in company with the moon enlightens the fair earth containing creatures, so do I to-day enlighten thee Arise, O foremost of monarchs, clad in excellent attire and decked with ornaments, like unto the sun issuing from the (mount) Meru. All the articles necessary for the installation of Rama are ready. And the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces and the merchants stay with clasped hands. And the worshipful Vasishtha stays with the Brahmanas. Do thou, O king, immediately order the installation of Rama. Like unto catties without their keeper, like unto an army without its commander, like unto a night without the moon, like unto kines without their bull, is a kingdom without a king.

Hearing these words of Sumantra, bland and appropriate, the lord of earth was afresh overwhelmed with grief. Then the graceful and virtuous king, waxing disconsolate, on account of his son, and with his eyes reddened with the effect of grief, seeing the charioteer, said,—"This eulogy of thine pains me the more."

Hearing those sorrowful words and finding the lord of earth aggrieved thus, Sumantra with clasped hands went off a little. Seeing, the king utterly incapable of speaking any thing personally owing to his heavy sorrow, Kaikeyi, the best counsellor in matters like these, addressed Sumantra with the following words:—"Sumantra, being elated with joy on account of Rama's installation, the king has kept up the whole night, and being tired therefore, is overpowered with sleep. Go ye therefore speedily, O charioteer, and bring Rama here, the praiseworthy son of king. This will do you good—do not hesitate in this. "How can I go," replied Sumantra, "without the permission of the king?"

Hearing these words of the counsellor, the king spoke to him "Sumantra, bring the beautiful Rama here—I want to see him." Thinking that some good would accrue to Rama, he was pleased at heart and away he went speedily delighted at the royal mandate. Being asked again by Kaikeyi to hurry on at the time of departure Sumantra thought within himself—"Evident it is that the Queen has become impatient to sea Rama's installation and hence is the hurry—and the king will now take rest." Thinking this the energetic charioteer with great delight, intent on seeing Rama, issued out of the city great delight, intent on seeing Rama, issued out of the presence of the king suddenly, he saw the warders, various citizens and great personages sitting at the gate.

SECTION 15.

The Brahmana, versed in Veda, the counsellors, the commanders of military forces and the leading merchants, together with the royal priest, all brimming with joy on account of Rama's installation, were waiting at the royal gate all night long. On the appearance of the bright Sun, on the approach of the day under the astral influence of Pushva and on the ascension of Karkata, the presiding star of Rama's birth, they brought all articles necessary for the installation and as ordered by the best of Brahmanas-namely; gold, earthen jar (for preserving water,) well ornamented excellent seats, chariot with a coverlet of splendid tiger-skin, water brought from the sacred confluence of the Ganges and Jamuna from other holy streams, lakes, wells, ponds and rivers full of water flowing in the East, over mountains, and from the North to the Sooth; and waters brought from all the oceans, honey, curd, clarified butter, fried paddy, sacrificial grass, milk, flowers, eight unmarried girls exquisitely beautiful, a road elephant, gold and silver jars, adorned with fig leaves and lotuses and filled with holy water, a best yellow chowri for Rama crested with jewels and resembling the bright rays of the moon; a brilliantly ornamented beautiful umbrella of yellow colour, resembling the disc of the moon, and the most important of all the articles necessary for installation; a well adorned yellow ox and horse; and all musical instruments, bringing these and all other things necessary for the installation of the descendants of Ikshaku, in accordance with the king's permission, the panegyrists and other persons were assembled there. Not finding the king present there, they began to speak amongst themselves:—"Who will intimate the king of our arrival? The Sua is up and we do not see the king amongst us as yet. All articles necessary for the installation of the intelligent Rama are ready." While they were thus conversing, the charioteer Sumantra, well respected by the king, reached there and spoke unto all those persons and the kings the following words. "With the king's permission I am going to bring Rama speedily here. Worshipful you are all to the king and specially to Rama, I shall with your words, ask the king of his sound sleep, and then of the reasons for his not coming here as yet though up from the bed." Saying thus, Sumantra, versed in legends, arrived at the gate of the royal seraglio. And he entered the palace with its open gates; and having entered the appartment of the lord of earth he went into his sleeping room, and placing himself behind a screen near at hand, addressed the descendant of Raghu thus, pleasing him with blessings fraught with good unto him"Oh! Kakutstha, may the Moon, Sun, Siva, Vaisravana, (the god of wealth), Varuna, (the god of water), Agni and Indra grant thee victory. The worshipful night is gone and blessed morn has arrived; arise, Oh! thou great king, and perform morning ablutions. Brahmanas,commanders and merchants are assembled at the palace gate, desirous of seeing thee, do thou therefore arise. Oh descendant of Raghu."

Peiceiving from the voice that it was charioteer Sumantra versed in good counsels, who was thus eulogising, the king rose up from his bed and thus addressed him:—"O Charioteer 'Bring Rama here' was the order I gave thee; what is it that makes thee neglect my command? I am not asleep; go and bring up Rama here instantly." Saying this, king Dacaratha despatched Sumantra again.

Hearing the words of the king and bowing him with his head down,he issued out of the king's residence,thinking that some great good was awaiting. And having reached the public roads adorned with flags and pennons, he, filled with an excess of joy, began to wend his way, casting his look around. There on his way he heard the passers by, all talking about Rama and his installation, as if brimming with joy on that account. Then proceeding a little. Sumantra saw the beautiful palace of Rama towering like the Kailaca hill and resembling the abode of Sakra. It was closed with two big pannels at the gate way (of which the trap-door was flung open), and adorned with hundreds of terraces, on its top were many idols made of gold, and arches crested with pearls and diamonds; its colour was white as the autumnal cloud and bright as the golden cave of Sumeru: it was ornamented with highly brilliant jewels set in the garlands of gold flowers and strewn with pearls and diamonds and sprinkled with sandal and Aguru, the fragrance of which captivates the mind like the summit of the hill Dardura; it was graced with the presence of Sarasas and peacocks emitting pleasant sounds; and covered with well-made figures of wolves and pictures of artistic excellence, the splendour of which captivates the mind and the eye as well; bright as the sun and moon, resembling the abode of Kuveraand the capital of the king of the celestials; filled with brids of various kinds and high as the summit of Sumeru, Sumantra saw the palace filled with people coming from different quarters with clasped hands, and adorned with citizens approaching with various presents and eager (to see the installation of Rama; and (standing at the gate) being prevented by the warders to enter; resembling a huge cloud, of picturesque situation, spacious, strewn with pearls and diamonds and crowded with servants. That charioteer, in his chariot with its wooden ledge and horses, beautifying the crowded streets and pleasing the citizens, entered the abode of Rama. There- upon arriving at this abode filled with wealth, and having its beauty greatly intensified with deers and peacocks, moving to and fro, resembling the exqusitely splendid palace of the lord of the celestials, that charioteer was extremely enraptured, having the hairs of the body erect. Then that charioteer entering several apartments, well adorned and resembling the Kailaca hill and the abode of the celestials and passing by many persons, dear unto Rama and abiding in his purpose, entered the apartment of the ladies. And he became exceedingly pleased on hearing pleasant words, meaning well unto the son of the king, from all persons, engaged in some sort of service for the installation. He saw the pleasant abode of Rama, resembling that of Mahendra, and filled with deers and birds, having its top high as the summit of Meru and situated well in splendour, and the gateway filled with millions of citizens with clasped hands keeping their conveyances outside and coming from various quarters with presents for Rama. He saw there a wild elephant by the name of Satrunjaya or the conqueror of foes, having a huge boly resembling a mountain enveloped in dark clouds, beautiful, capable of bearing the goading hook and intended as Rama's conveyance. He saw well adorned ministers dear unto the king with horses, chariots and elephants; and leaving them all on either side, entered unprevented, like unto the marine monster Makara entering the ocean containing many pearls and diamonds, the splendid apartment of the ladies, resembling the clouds that hover over the summit of the Hill Himadri. and having a number of beautiful houses comparing with great celestial cars.

SECTION 16.

Sumantra, well versed in legends, after passing by the gateways crowded with people, reached the solitary apartment (of Rama), having youthful warders, carrying darts and bows wearing ear-rings, cautious, attentive and devoted, and saw (seated at the gate) several old men, commanding female warders, mindful of duty, wearing red cloths and excellent ornaments, and having rattans in their hands. They all seeing Sumantra, ever wishing good unto Rama, approach, rose suddenly up from their seats with due respect. The bumble-minded charioteer then said to them:—"Go and speedily communicate unto Rama that Sumantra is waiting at the gate." At this the warders, desirous of doing good unto their master, nearing Rama, speedily comunicated these words unto him who was in the company of his wife. Rama hearing of the arrival of his father's charioteer, ordered

him to enter into the apartment, having his father's pleasure in view. He (on entering) saw Rama resembling Vaisravana, well adorned and seated on a gold sofa, with a beautiful coverlet on; having his body sprinkled with holy and fragrant sandal of the best kind, red as the blood of a hog; and having by him Sita with a chowri in her hand, like Moon himself in the company of Chitra.

Whereupon Sumantra, acquainted with decorum, humbly saluted him (Rama), the conferrer of great boons, and resplendent like the mid-day sun; and he well honoured by the king, seeing the king's son seated on the sleeping sofa with a delighted countenance, spoke these words unto him with clasped hands:--"Oh, Rama, great son of Kaucalya, thy father and the queen Kaikeyi want to see thee; so it behoveth thee to go there without delay." Being pleased with these words the mighty hero of great effulgence, honoured his father's behest and spoke unto Sita thus,- "Ob, darling, doubt there is none that my father, going to Kaikeyi, parleying with her regarding my installation. Concieving the king's intention that clever lady, of dark eyes and desirous of doing good unto the king, that mother, the daughter of the king of Kekaya, pleased and intent upon king's welfare as well as upon that of mine, is hastening the monarch for my installation. Fortunately for me, the monarch in the company of his Queen has despatched Sumantra, intent upon my welfare. Worthy of the meeting at the inner apartment, the messenger has come, and I doubt not that the monarch shall install me to-day as the heir-apparent of his throne. Therefore I shall speedily go hence and see my father. Do thou remain and enjoy here the company of thy friends."

Regarded by her husband, Sita, of dark eyes and intent upon her husband's welfare, followed him to the entrance and said:- "May the great monarch bestow upon thee first the heir-apparentship, and afterwards the dignity of the Paramount power like Brahma granting kingdom unto Vasava. I shall be ministering unto thee, seeing thee initiated, engaged in ceremonies, wearing excellent deer skin for cloth and carrying horns in the hands. May Indra protect thee on the East, may Yama (Death) protect thee on the South, and Varuna (God of water) on the West and Kuvera (God of wealth) on the North." Being greeted with benedictory ceremonies, Rama, bidding farewell to Sita, issued out of his house like unto a lion, living in the den of a mountain. He saw Lakshmana standing at the gate with clasped hands, and met all his friends assembled at the middle apartment. Then that great son of the king, casting a glance upon them all who were present there to see him and pleasing them with sweet words ascended like unto the thousand-eved Indra the splendid chariot, made of silver and coated with tiger-skin, and bright like the fire itself, making a noise (when going) like the roaring of clouds; defying all obstacles, adorned with jewels, and gold, dazzling the eye-sight and bright like the golden peaks of Sumeru. It had two excellent horses tied to it like unto two young elephants, and was of quick motion, resembling that of Indra's chariot carried by his horses. Ascending the car, Raghava, of great effulgence, went speedily on, making (the space)resounded like unto the muttering cloud on the sky. He issued out of his abode like the beautiful moon passing through a huge cloud. And Lakshmana, the younger brother of Raghava, standing behind him on the car with a splendid Chowri in his hand, began to guard his body. And there was caused a great tumult by the crowd gathering around on the issuing out of Rama. Then followed in his train many hundreds and thousands of beautiful horses and elephants resembling hills in their appearance; and went before him hundreds of heroes, well accoutered, and having their bodies sprinkled with sandal and Aguru and holding swords and arms in their hands, and other persons uttering benedictions. He heard on the way sounds of musical instruments, eulogy of the panegyrists and lion-like roars of the heroes. Exquisitely beautiful damsels, adorned with various ornaments and dresses, standing by the windows began to shower flowers upon the head of the foe-destroyer Rama, and those spotless beauties with a view to please Rama, some standing on the buildings and some on the ground began to praise him:—"Oh thou, delight of thy mother, surely has mother Kaucalya become exceedingly gratified, on seeing thee of successful journey to accept the neir- apparentship of the throne." Those ladies thought that Sita, the captivater of Rama's heart was surely the best of all women and for certain had she performed some great austerities in her past life or else she would not have been the companion of Rama, like unto Rohini, the companion of Moon. That best among men heard these pleasant words from those ladies standing on the buildings and on high-ways. Raghava then heard the people coming from different quarters and the well-pleased citizens, talking amongst themselves regarding him in the following strain. "This Raghava going shall obtain through the grace of the king great wealth, and all our desires will be gratified when he will become our governor. It is a great gain to the subjects that he is going to get for ever the entire empire at once; he being the lord of the people, no body shall witness any misfortune or unpleasant thing." Like unto Vaisravana he began to proceed,

being dignified by the horses and elephants going before sending forth great sound, and eulogised in various metres by persons singing his glory, by the panegyrists and by men tracing his noble ancestry. He saw the courtyard thronged with young and old elephants, horses, chariots, and the highways crowded all over with people, many pearls and various merchandises.

SECTION 17.

Rama, having his friends delighted, ascending the car, and viewing the city adorned with pennons and flags and incensed with Dhupa and Aguru, entered the high way, crowded with people and containing houses coloured as the pale white clouds, and the place between the two rows whereof scented with Dhupa and Aguru. It was a splendidly spacious road decorated with a collection of sandal, Aguruand other fine scents, with silk and red cloth, with pearls holed and other valuable crystals and strewn with various flowers and filled with edibles multiform. Like unto the lord of celestials in heaven he saw this high way and the court-yard covered with curd, clarified butter, fried paddy, Dhupa, Aguru and sandal, and embellished with garlands and other scents. Having heard benedictions uttered by many in the following strain and paying proper respects unto all, he wended his way. "Being installed this day do thou following in the footsteps of thy father and grand-fathers cherish and protect us. Thou taking the reins of government we shall live more happily than what we were under your ancestors. Seek not we earthly comforts or the highest things (in the life to come), if we can only see Rama installed in the kingdom issuing out from his father's abode. There is nothing more pleasant to us than the installation of the highly energetic Rama on the throne.' Rama, hearing these and other auspicious words from his friends eulogising his own self, went on his way without being moved. Raghava passed away, but not a single person could withdraw his eyes and mind from that best of men. In fact he who did not see Rama, and whom Rama did not see, was looked down by all. and he considered himself contemptible. That righteous one showed mercy unto all, old and young, of the four castes, and hence, thty were all obedient to him. He proceeded leaving on his left side the junctions of four roads, the paths leading to temples, the religious fig trees and altars. and reached after all the family dwelling of the king, with its palatial tops piercing the sky, looking beautiful, resembling mass of clouds, white as the celestial cars and high as the hill Kailaca, and with sporting houses adorned with pearls. And the son of the monarch, shining in beauty, entered into the palace of his father, the best on earth resembling the abode of Mahendra, Dacaratha's son, the best of men, crossed in his chariot three apartments guarded by warriors with bows in their hands, and other two on foot, and in this way passing by all, and ordering his followers to go back, entered the inner apartment. That son of the king entering into the presence of his father, all were extremely gladdened and were eagerly expecting his return like unto the lord of water expecting the appearance of the moon.

SECTION 18.

Rama saw his father, seated on a beautiful sofa with Kaikeyi, looking sorry and poorly and with his countenance dried up. And humbly bowing down at the feet of his father first, he saluted Kaikeyi with due solemnity. Uttering the word "Rama" only, the poor king with his eyes full of tears could not eye him nor could he speak to him. Seeing this unforeseen and terrible appearance of the king, like unto a serpent trampled under foot, Rama was exceedingly terrified. He was dejected and pulled down much with sorrow and penitence. He was sighing hot and hard and his heart was greatly pained. His heart was troubled like the wavy ocean agitating though incapable of agitation, and clouded like the Sun possessed by Rahu, and (that of) an ascetic speaking falsehood. Thinking of this unthought of sorrow of the king he became agitated like unto the ocean during the course of the full-moon. And clever Rama, intent on bis father's welfare, thought within himself:--"Why does not the king display joy on my arrival to-day? Angry though, he used to express joy whenever he saw me; then why does his sorrow prevail even seeing me to-day?" Being pressed with sorrow, Rama of pale countenance, like one miserable, saluting Kaikeyi, spoke unto her the following words. "Is it not that I committed some offence through ignorance that I see my father angry? Do thou propitiate him therefore. Why is his mind so aggrieved who was so kind to me, and why does he look poorly and of pale countenance who used to welcome me always with kind words? Is he subject to any physical or mental disturbance? Oh! happiness uninterrupted is very dear. Has any evil befallen the goodlooking Bharata or high souled Satrughana? Is it not all well with my mothers? Dissatisfying the king, disregarding his words and offending him, I do not want to breathe for a single moment. How can a man disregard him who is god himself seen and felt, and who is looked upon as a cause from whom he has sprung. Oh mother, hast thou spoken any harsh word to my father either through anger or through haughtiness for which his mind is thus pulled down? Oh

worshipful one, tell me all this, who am exceedingly anxious to get at the real truth. Why has this unforeseen sorrow overtaken the heart of the lord of men?"

Being thus addressed by the high-souled Raghava, that exceedingly shameless Kaikeyi spoke unto him the following impudent words, fraught with her self-interest. "Oh Rama the monarch is not angry nor has any danger befallen him. He has got something in his mind which he cannot speak out through thy fear. Thou art his most beloved son and word does not proceed from his mouth to speak thee things unpleasant. But it behoveth thee to carry out what the monarch has promised unto me. Formerly regarding me very highly he conferred on me two boons and he now repents for that like a common person. Promising 'I give thee' the lord of earth granted me these boons; in vain he wishes to set up a dyke when all the water has passed away. Oh Rama, it is known to thee that truth is the root of all religion and may he not renounce that for thee, being angry with me. If do thou carry out all that the king will speak to thee, good or evil, then I shall relate unto thee every thing. If what I, with the king's permission, speak to thee, does not go useless, I shall speak unto the all; thee king will not speak any thing.

Hearing these words uttered by Kaikeyi, Rama, pained at heart, spoke unto her in the presence of the king in the following way:-"Oh! shame to me. May it not please thee, Oh worshipful lady, to speak such words to me. I can at the king's words jump into the fire. Being ordered by him, who is my father and who is my king especially, I can drink virulent poison and drown into the ocean. Speak thou. Oh worshipful lady, what is the desire of thy king, and know that I shall carry it out-Rama does not contradict what he has once spoken." Then that wicked Kaikeyi spoke these highly cruel words unto Rama, simple and truthful. "Formerly in a great war between the gods and Asuras, thy father, being wounded with shafts was tended by me for which he conferred upon me two boons. Of these two boons I have asked of the king the installation of Bharata, and the departure of Raghava into the Dandaka forest even this very day. Oh thou, best among men, if do thou wish to keep thy father's vows as well as thine, hear what I say. Thy father is bound unto me by promise, obeying therefore thy father's mandate, do thou repair unto the forest for nine years and five. Bharata shall be installed, Oh Raghava, by all those articles which have been brought by the monarch for thy installation. Forsaking this installation, do thou repair unto Dandaka forest for seven and seven years and wear bark and matted hair. And here in this Kocala let Bharata govern the world, adorned with many pearls and diamonds with elephants horses and chariots. The king filled with pity and having his face marked with the affliction of sorrow, cannot cast a glance upon thee. Oh thou descendant of Raghu, do thou carry out these words of the Lord of men and save him by redeeming these great vows of his." Hearing these cruel words of her, Rama was not grieved; but the generous king afflicted with the thought of the approaching separation with his son, was greatly pained.

SECTION 19.

Hearing these unpleasant words like unto death, Rama, the destroyer of foes, was not pained, and spoke thus unto Kaikeyi. "Be it what thou sayst; carrying out the promise of the king, I shall repair unto the forest from this place wearing bark and matted hair. Now I want to know only why that lord of the earth, invincible and the conqueror of foes, does not receive me in the same way as he used to do on previous occasions. Be not angry, Oh worshipful one, I speak before thee, be thou propitiated well, and I shall go to the forest wearing bark and matted hair. What is there that I cannot perform, considering it good without suspicion, if I am ordered so by my well-wisher, spiritual leader, father and king, who acknowledges thy service (rendered in time of danger). But this one sorrow burns my heart, why king did not tell me personally of the installation of Bharata. What of the command of the king, my father, I shall even at thy mandate joyfully make over unto Bharata, my kingdom, Sita. wealth and even my life, thereby satisfying thee, and fulfilling my promise. Do thou now console the bashful king; why has he, with his eyes steadily fixed on the ground, been shedding tears slowly? Let messengers, with fast going steeds go to-day at the command of the king to fetch Bharata from his maternal uncle's house. And I shall, not even judging the propriety of my father's words, speedily repair unto the forest of Dandaka for fourteen years." Hearing those words of Rama, Kaikeyi was pleased, and being certain about his departure, hurried on Raghava. "Let it be that messengers with fast going steeds shall go to bring Bharata from his maternal uncle's residence. I do not think it proper for thee, O Rama, to delay, when thou art so anxious; it behoves thee therefore to depart from this place speedily unto the forest. The king being abashed, does not himself address thee, there is nothing else than this. Do thou, Oh best of men, dispel this wretchedness of his. As long as thou shalt not hurriedly depart froth his presence, Oh Rama. thy father shall not bathe, or eat anything." 'Oh fie!' 'what affliction' sobbing hard with these words, the monarch, filled with sorrow, swooned away and

fell down upon the sofa, embellished with gold. Raising the king up, Rama, being directed by Kaikeyi, began to hurry on his departure to the forest, like unto a steed struck sharp with a whip. Hearing those cruel and unpleasant words of the wicked Kaikeyi, Rama, not being distressed, began to address her with the following words. "Oh worshipful one, being addicted to wealth do I not long for living in this world; like unto Rishis, know me, to be well established in pure religion. If I can, even at the sacrifice of my own life, satisfy my worshipful father rest assured it is to be done first in all manner. There is no virtue greater than the serving of the father and carrying out his words. Even though not commanded by him, I shall; for thy words, live in a solitary forest for fourteen years. Oh Kaikeyi, certain it is that thou art not acquainted with my foremost virtues, inasmuch as possessing full authority to rule me, thou hast requested the monarch for this. Excuse me until I ask my mother, and comfort Sita; even this very day shall I wend my way unto the great forest of Dandaka. It behoves thee to do that by which Bharata may govern the kingdom and tend our father, for this is the virtue eternal." Hearing these words of Rama, his father, greatly afflicted and incapable of speaking anything on account of sorrow, began to cry aloud. Worshipping the feet of the king lying insensible, and those of vicious Kaikeyi, that greatly effulgent one went out. And reverentially going round his father and Kaikeyi, and issuing out of the female apartment. Rama saw his own friends and relatives. Then followed him Lakshmana, the enhancer of Sumitra's joy, greatly angry and with his eyes full of tears. Going round with reverence the house of instalation full of necessary articles, not turning away from it his wistful look, Rama began to proceed slowly. Loss of kingdom could not diminish the great beauty of that beloved of the people on account of its everlasting pleasantness, like unto the wane of the moon. There was manifest in him no change of mind, who was about to fly as an exile to the forest and leave the world, like unto one emancipated while yet living. Leaving aside the excellent umbrella and well adorned chowries, forsaking his relatives, chariot, citizens and other people, calmly bearing the affliction in mind and not manifesting the outward signs of sorrow. Rama, with a view to communicate this unpleasant news to his mother, entered her abode. All persons, who were present there and who adorned themselves on account of the installation, did not percieve any sign of mental agony on the face of Rama. Like unto the rays of the fully brilliant autumnal moon, that hero of mighty arms, having control over himself, did not forsake his native cheerfulness. The pious Rama, having high fame, entered into the presence of his mother, manifesting great regards for the people with sweet speech. Then followed him, the son of Sumitra, of mighty prowess, of equal accomplishments with his brother, and bearing the mental sorrow. Rama, entering the abode of his mother, saw it filled with all sorts of amusements; and even though his mind was not agitated with any mental disturbance seeing the impending calamity of loss of wealth, he was anxious lest the lives of his dear relatives might be in danger.

SECTION 20.

There arose a great uproar of cry in the apartment of the females, when that best of men went out with clasped hands. That Rama, who used to serve all the females in all matters even without his father's permission, who was our stay and protector, is going to the forest. Raghava from his birth pays as much attention to us as to his mother Kaucalya. He, who being cursed, does not get angry, pacifies the wrathful and studiously avoids words and deeds that excite anger in others. will repair hence this day unto the forest. Senseless is our king, who forsakes Raghava who is the stay of all people, and thus kills his subjects." Thus the queens of Dacaratha, like unto the cows that have lost their young ones, began to blame him and cry aloud. Hearing this terrible uproar of cry in the female apartment, that lord of earth, racked with sorrow on account of his son, hid himself in the seat (with head hanging downdards). Rama too, having control over his own self, experiencing sorrow (for his relatives) and sobbing like an (enchained) elephant, entered into his mother's apartment together with his brother. He saw a venerable old man, sitting at the gate and many other persons. All those present, seeing Rama, began to shower benedictions on him, the best of all victorious heroes, saying, "Victory unto thee." Having passed through the first apartment he saw in the second, many old Brahmins, versed in the Vedas and honoured by the king. Having bowed down unto them, Rama saw in the third apartment, women, boys, and old men, all engaged in watching the gate. The female warders honoured Rama rejoicing, and entering his mother's apartment, communicated unto her speedily this pleasant news. Worshipful Kaucalya, seeking her son's welfare, kept up the whole night being absorbed in meditation, and was, in the morning, worshipping the God Vishnu. Wearing silk-cloth, pleased, and accustomed to the performance of religious rites every day, she, performing benedictory ceremonies, was offering oblation unto the fire. Rama entering the auspicious

abode of his mother beheld her thus engaged in the sacrifice to the fire. The descendant of Raghu saw there, brought for the service of the celestials, curd, grains, clarified butter, sweetmeats, things fit for oblations unto the fire, fried paddy, white garlands, rice boiled in milk and sugar, rice sesamum and pea mixtures, sacrficial fuels and jars full of water. He saw his virtuous mother wearing white silk, pulled down by the austere performance of religious rites, and engaged in propitiating the deities with the offering of water. She seeing her son, ever advancing the joy of his mother, approach, became pleased, and stepped forward like unto a mare beholding her young one. Seeing his mother approach, Raghava bowed low, and (Kaucalya) embracing him in her arms smelt his head. Kaucalya, out of motherly affection, spoke these sweet and beneficient words unto her own invincible son, Raghava. "Mayst thou obtain the life and fame of the pious, old Rajarshis, and the virtue worthy of thy family. See, Oh Raghava, how truthful is your father the kingl That virtuous- souled one shall install thee this day as the heir-apparent of the throne." Raghava, humble by nature, who was offered by his mother a seat and asked by her to eat something, streching forth a little his clasped hands, and with his head downwards with a view to show respects towards his mother, touched the seat, and began to relate unto her the object of his repairing unto the Dandaka forest. "O worshipful one, certain it is that thou knowest not the great impending calamity. It is for the distress of thine, Lakshmana and Vaidehi, that shall I wend my way unto the Dandaka forest. What is the use of a seat to me then? Now is the time come when I deserve a seat made of Kusa grass. I shall live in the forest for fourteen years abstaining from animal food and living on tuberous roots and fruits like unto the ascetics. The king shall confer upon Bharata the heir-apparentship and shall banish me as an ascetic into the forest. And I shall live in that solitary forest for eight and six years, feasting on roots, and fruits and performing the duties of a hermit." Like unto the stem of a sala tree cut asunder by an axe in a wood, like unto a female celestial fallen down from the abode of the gods, she fell down suddenly (hearing these heart-rending words.) Rama seeing his mother, who deserved no distress, fall down like a plantain tree and insensible, raised her up, and finding her covered with dust all over her body like unto a mare risen up after rolling on the ground on account of toil of bearing heavy burden wiped oflf (her body) gently with his hand. She, deserving happiness, being racked with the destruction of her delight spoke thus unto Raghava, that best of men, in the presence of Lakshmana. "Oh! my son, Oh! Raghava, hadst thou not been born for my grief I would have been sonless only, but would not have been subject to this greater grief. A sonless woman has only one cause of mental affliction. Her only sorrow is "I have no child" and nothing else my son. I have not experienced in my life that blessing and pleasure which women generally feel when their husbands are devoted to them. I have sustained my life so long, O Rama, only with the hope that I shall witness this and other happiness when I shall have a son. Myself, being the eldest of all the queens, shall have to hear unpleasant and heart-rending words from the co-wives who are all younger than I. There can be no greater misery for women than this my boundless grief and lamentations. Thou being present, they have reduced me to this miserable plight, I do not know what else they will do, thou being away: there is death certain for me. Oh my darling Being disregarded by my husband I have been greatly insulted-I am equal to the maid-servants of Kaikeyi or even inferior to them. Those who serve me or are obedient unto me, shall not even speak with me when they will see the son of Kaikeyi (installed). She is always of fretful temper, how shall I, reduced to misery (on account of thy exile), eye the face of Kaikevi, uttering harsh words. I have spent, Oh Raghava, ten years and seven from thy (second) birth* expecting a termination of my sorrow. [* Here the commentators differ in fixing the age of Rama at the time of his going to the forest. Rama's age was under sixteen at the time of marriage, and after he was married to Sica he enjoyed her company for twelve years, when the proposal of installation was made. This makes totally an age of twenty-seven. In the text 'dasa saptacha' (ten and seven) ten years fall short which are to be made up by taking into account the age of ten being left out, preceding Rama's entering into the second birth which begins at maunji-bandhana or initiation into the mysteries of the Vedic literature. Following the example of Bhashyakara Patanjali, the commentator, Ramanuiu has in the sentence 'dasa saptacha' supplied another (dasa) (ten) by means of ellipsis, thus giving an age of twenty-seven. This, however, contradicts the statement of Sita to Ravana in guise of an anchorite, informing him of the age of her husband being twenty-five. A modern annotator with great ingenuity has devised ways to make up this discrepancy. The age of Rama was under sixteen, when Visvamitra asked his assistance in destroying Taraka. 'Under sixteen' may mean fifteen or twelve as well. After marriage at twelve, Rama enjoyed twelve years more the pleasure of home. This giving in total twenty-four, it is to be supposed that when he was exiled he stepped at twenty-five. The text 'dasa saptacha' is correct, considering

the age of eight being left out preceding his second birth at the initiation into the mysteries of the Veda.] Even though worn out, Oh Raghava, I shall not be able to suffer this great misery cosequent upon thy unending exile and the contempt of the co-wives. How shall I, of miserable life pass my days in grief not seeing thy face, effulgent like unto the full-moon. Wretched as I am, in vain have I brought thee up with fasts, contemplations and many other toilsome austerities. Surely, I consider my heart is very hard, as it does not rend like unto the bank of a great river in contact with new water in the rainy season. There is no death for me- no vacant place in the abode of Yama; otherwise why does not Death take me away like unto a lion snatching away a weeping hind; certain it is that my heart is made of iron, as it does not rend nor does my body being pressed down with this sorrow and falling) down on earth, break into pieces; verily have I no death before time. This distresses me that all my religious vows, alms givings, self-restraint and austerity, performed with a view of obtaining a son, have been fruitless, like unto the seeds thrown on a barren soil. If any body in this life, being pressed down with some great calamity, could meet with death of his own accord. I would have instantly gone to the abode of death. being cut off from thee like unto a cow from her young one. Oh, thou, having a countenance of moon-like splendour, wretched indeed is my life without thee-I shall follow thee to the forest out of great affection, like unto an enfeebled cow following her young one. Kaucalya like a Kinnari unable to bear this great calamity, anticipating some great misfortune and seeing Rama bound (with a great vow), began to lament in various ways.

SECTION 21

At this time Lakshmana sorely distressed addressed the weeping Kaucalya, the mother of Rama with the following words suitable to that occasion. "I like it not, Oh worshipful one, that Raghava, should repair unto the forest, renouncing this grandeur of sovereignty. The king is uxorious, old and therefore of perverted judgment and is addicted to worldly affairs; being under the influence of his wife and passion what could he not speak? I do not see any such fault or sin in Rama that he should be banished from the kingdom to range in the wood. I do not find any such man in this world, even amongst great enemies, who, forsaken for heinous sins, can cite, even in his absence, any fault of him. Observing what law of righteousness does the monarch, without any cause, renounce such a son who is like unto celestials, simple, well disciplined and beloved even of the enemies? What son, remembering his father's conduct, shall carry in his heart these words of the king, who has again gone back to childhood? Ere people come to know this proposal of exile, do thou secure the government of the kingdom unto thyself with me. Who can disturb the installation, Oh Raghava, myself protecting thee by thy side with my bows, like unto Death himself. If any body stands here as an enemy, surely shall I, Oh best of men, depopulate the whole city of Ayodhya with sharp arrows. I shall immolate all who shall stand by Bharata or wish him well-certainly mildness brings about discomfiture. If father being propitiated and excited by Kaikeyi, turns out to be our enemy, he shall be slain, without any hesitation. Even a spiritual leader deserves chastisement if he is puffed up with pride, and is devoid of the power of judging good actions and bad, and when he is gone astray. Tell me, Oh best of men, by what law of virtue and what reason does he purpose to confer this kingdom upon Kaikeyi, which has devolved upon thee (by the law of inheritance). Who dares conferring on Bharata the kingdom, carrying hostility with me and thee? Oh worshipful one, verily am I attached at heart to my brother. By truth, bow, gifts and things dear unto me, do I swear unto thee; if Rama shall enter into the wood, know me. Oh worshipful one. to have entered into the fire before that Like unto the sun dispelling darkness, shall I remove thy sorrow by dint of my power; may your worshipful self and Raghava witness it. Readily shall I despatch my father, whose heart is unduly attached unto Kaikeyi and who is therefore vile and being old contemptibly playing the child." Hearing these words of the high-souled Lakshmana, Kaucalya weeping and being pressed with sorrow spoke these words unto Rama. "You have heard, Oh my son, what your brother Lakshmana said; and if you like, do what seems reasonable unto thee. It does not behove thee, hearing the sinful words given vent to by the co-wife, to repair hence, leaving me who is sore distressed with sorrow. Oh thou pious one, having knowledge of religion, if do thou wish to acquire righteousness, serve me here and continue practising the best of all virtues. Hear, Oh my son, the great ascetic Kasyapa, lived in his house, serving his mother continually and being crowned with best moral merit reached heaven. As the monarch is worshipful unto thee in veneration so am I. I do not permit thee, to repair hence unto the forest. Separated from thee I do not need life or happiness: with thee I would prefer faring on grass. If do thou depart unto the forest leaving me troubled with sorrow, I shall resort to the vow of fasting and shall not be able to sustain my life. And then thou shalt receive the penalty of hell, well known to the people, as did the ocean, the lord of rivers, for like,

unrighteousness, suffer the agony of Brahminicide." Whereupon unto his mother Kaucalya, sorrowful and weeping, spoke Rama, virtuous-souled, these words of righteousness. "There is no power in me to transgress my father's behests; bend low I my head unto thee-I want to proceed to the forest. The learned Rishi Kandu, who lived in the forest keeping the word of his father, killed a cow, knowing it to be unrighteousness. In our line the descendants of Sagara, at the command of their father, met with signal destruction, while digging the earth. Rama the son of Jamadagni, at his father's words, decapitated his mother in the forest. These and other god-like personages, Oh worshipful one, obeyed heroically the orders of their father; and I shall do my father's welfare therefore. It is not I alone who am carrying out my father's commands: those whom I have mentioned now, O worshipful one, have done so. I am not introducing some such righteousness, unfavourable unto thee, that has been never practised before. I am simply treading the path, that has been upheld and followed by worthies gone before. Surely shall I accomplish that which is worthy of being performed in this world and nothing elseone going by his father's behests is not certainly degraded.

Saying these words unto his mother, that best of men versed in speech and best of archers, again spoke unto Lakshmana all these words. "I know full well, Oh Lakshmana, thy affection towards me and thy power, strength and unconquerable force. Not knowing my settted conviction in regard to truth and peace, my mother, Oh beautiful Lakshmana, is so disturbed with incomparable sorrow. Righteousness is the prime object in this world and in righteousness is established truth, and this excellent utterance of my father is in keeping with righteousness. It does not become them, O hero, who abide in righteousness to fail to carry out the commands of father, mother or a Brahmin. While I have been, Oh warrior, ordered by Kaikevi at my father's words. I shall not be able to transgress those behests again. Do thou relinquish therefore this unrighteous purpose of thine consequent to the virtues of the Kshatriyas; do thou abide by righteousness but not cruelty, and follow my decision." Saying these words unto Lakshmana out of fraternal affection, spoke again Rama to Kaucalva with clasped hands and with his head bending low. 'I do bind thee with an oath of my life. Oh venerable one, to allow me to wander away hence into the wood. Do thou perform benedictory ceremonies for my welfare. Like unto the royal saint Yayati in the days of yore once falling on earth going again to the abode of celestials, I shall, fulfilling my vows, again return home from the forest. Do thou, Oh mother, assuage thy grief within thy heart; lament not thou, I shall return home again from the wood after making good my father's words. Myself, Lakshmana, Vaidehi, Sumitra and thyself shall abide by father's words, and this is the virtue eternal. Desisting from the ceremonies of installation and allaying thy sorrow in thy heart do thou, Oh my mother, follow my pious decision about retiring to the forest". Hearing those pious, sober and reasonable words of Rama, the venerable mother, regaining her sense like unto the dead, and casting her look upon him, spoke to him again the following words. "I am equally worshipful unto thee, Oh my son, with your father, for like him have I brought thee up with pains and like him do I love thee. I shall not allow thee to repair unto the forest and it does not behove thee to go leaving me behind sore distressed with grief. Without thee, of what avail to me is my life, my relatives, the worship of the manes and the deities and the knowledge of divine truth on this earth? Prefer do I thy company even for a moment to the presence of all creation." Hearing these sorrowful words of his mother. Rama was again inflamed with ire, like unto an elephant goaded with a fire-brand, when entering into darkness. He, abiding in righteousness spoke such pious words unto his mother, almost insensible, and unto the son of Sumitra, bewailing and racked with sorrow, as he was justified to utter on that occasion. "I know, Oh Lakshmana, thy deep respects unto me and thy power. It is not proper for thee to pain me along with my mother, not being cognisant of my intention. Righteousness, wealth, and the objects of desire are looked upon with great esteem in this world of the created but when the occasion for obtaining the result consequent upon the virtuous deeds of a prior life appears, all these three, I have no doubt, are fulfilled in righteousness, as the wife alone, obedient, charming and having a son (fulfils them all). It is not becoming for us to perform all those things where these three do not combine—whence results righteousness that we should resort to. A man seeking wealth becomes despicable, and one subject to desires is not admired by any (when bereft of righteousness). Who of us, having no tendency to wickedness, shall not obey the command of our father knowing it to be righteousness, who is old, our monarch and preceptor in military training, be it an outcome of his desires. anger or joy. For this it is that I am unable to act against my father's vow-he is our father and therefore can command us both like a master; and he is the husband of this venerable one, therefore her stay and righteousness itself. The righteous monarch is still living and continues in his own path when ready to redeem his vow even by renouncing me-how can

this worshipful one accompany me like other insignificant widows? Do thou permit me therefore, to repair unto the forest and perform benedictory ceremonies for me so that I may again return home like unto Yajati regaining heaven by truth. I cannot neglect eminent fame being impelled by avarice for kingdom alone. Life is but of short duration, Oh worshipful one, and as such I do not long for acquiring this nether earth by means unrighteous." Rama, that foremost of men, with a view to range into the forest Dandaka after patiently propitiating his mother and instructing fully his younger brother the mysteries of righteousness, went round his mother with reverence and made up his mind to repair unto the forest.

SECTION 22. Hereafter holding the equanimity of mind with patience self-possessed Rama spoke thus unto the son of Sumitra, his dear brother, and friend, who was greatly sorry, had lost his patience and was pressed down with this misfortune of Rama, and had his eyes inflated with anger like unto an infuriated elephant;—"Subduing this anger and sorrow, taking recourse to patience only, brooking the insult and resorting to joy, do thou set aside all those things that have been collected here for my installation and make preparations speedily for my repairing to the forest. Oh son of Sumitra, do thou take that amount of trouble for preventing now the collection of materials for installation, as didst thou take beforehand for collecting them. Do thou act therefore in such a way as will remove the apprehension from the mind of our mother (Kaikeyi), who is troubled at heart so greatly on hearing of my installation. O son of Sumitra, I cannot neglect for a moment the trouble which hass arisen in her mind on account of this fear. I do not remember to have done on any occasion wilfully or unwilfully any thing that is displeasing onto my father or mothers. My father is of truthful words and vows and he has been greatly terrified by the fear of the next world; may his fear disappear now. If this work of installation be not stopped, my father shall be greatly pained at heart thinking that his vows shall not be fulfilled and his sorrow will also ache me. And it is for this reason, Oh Lakshmana. that I purpose speedily to retire from this city to the forest, renouncing the preparations for my installation. On my wandering away unto the forest to-day, the daughter of Kekaya shall have her ends attained and shall install Bharata on the throne without any disturbance whatsoever. Myself going to the forest, wearing bark, tiger-skin and matted hair, Kaikeyi shall attain the happiness of her mind. That great One who has inspired Kaikevi with this mode of mind and has kept it firm, I cannot offend. I shall repair hence without any delay. Do thou regard, Oh Lakshmana, Destiny as the only cause of this transfer of the kingdom, although attained, and of my banishment. Had not Destiny been instrumental in bringing about this determination in Kaikeyi, she would not have been so much persevering in the infliction of misery upon me. Knowest thou. Oh gentle Lakshmana, that I have never made any distinction in my mind between my mothers, nor did Kaikeyi make any such thing before between me and her son; consequently it is Destiny only that has made her press for the prevention of my installation and for my exile with harsh and cruel words, or else why should she, a daughter of a king and possessed of an excellent temper and high accomplishments, speak painful words unto me in the presence of her husband like unto an ordinary woman. That which is above comprehension is Destiny and it is beyond the power of creatures to avert its consequences; and evidently it is through this Destiny that have sprung up this distemper of Kaikeyi and my loss of kingdom. What man dares withstand Oh son of Sumitra, this (terrible) Destiny hidden from our view until known by the consequences of action. Destiny is the prime source of those inconceivable causes which occur with reference to happiness misery, fear, and anger, profit and loss, birth and deliverance. Seers of great austerity being influenced by this Destiny, succumb to the attack of anger and desire, renouncing all their hard disciplines. The hinderance in this world to the completion of works taken in hand, and the origination of an unthought of event in its stead, is nothing but the action of this Destiny. The mind brought under discipline by this true rationale, there remains no cause of sorrow regarding my installation being put a stop to. Do thou therefore assuage thy grief and follow me and intercept speedily the collection of materials for my installation. The bathing ceremony, necessary before taking the vows of asceticism, shall be performed, O Lakshmana, with all these jars full of water brought for my installation. Or what necessity have I with all these articles of installation; water drawn from the well by myself shall do for entering into the vow of exile. Do not grieve, Oh Lakshmana, for the loss of this kingdom. Of kingdom and exile into the forest, exile is fraught with glorious results. Knowest thou now the mighty power of Destiny and do not blame therefore my younger mother and my father labouring under the influence of SECTION 23

Being addressed by Rama thus, Lakshmana, the mighty hero, hanging down his head with half reluctance, pondered for sometime, and, placed midway between joy and grief, with frown drawn in between his brows, began to sob hot and hard, like unto an angry serpent in a cave belonging to another. No body could eye his face, having terrible frowns, which looked like that of an angry lion. Moving the extremities of his hands like unto the trunk of an elephant, variously altering the altitude of the neck above his frame, glancing a look awry, thus spoke he unto his brother. "To avoid the transgression of righteousness, and the degradation of the people (consequent upon a bad example), thou art eager to repair unto the forest. This thy eagerness is certainly misplaced. Wast not thou under error, how could one like thyself, being heroic among the Kshatriyas, and capable of overcoming Destiny, speak in such a strain as behoves one that is impotent. Why dost thou extol Destiny which is powerless and weak. For what reason dost thou not apprehend (unrighteousness) in those two (Dacaratha and Kaikeyi), addicted to vice. Dost thou not understand that there are many people who feign piety outwardly (to deceive the simple). With a desire to renounce thee by fraud, they simulate piety which is but selfishness. Had they not purposed thus, Oh, Raghava, things would not have taken such a turn. If this story of the vows be true, then why had it not been declared before. Surely has the monarch engaged in an action hateful to the people, namely the installation of a younger brother neglecting thee (the eldest one). Pray, pardon me. Oh great hero. I cannot brook all this. Even that so called virtue do I loathe, which has, O highsouled one, fascinated thee, and made thy mind run from one extreme to another. Why shalt thou, being capable of work, conform these impious and cursed words of thy father, who is sadly under the influence of Kaikeyi. Here lies my sorrow that thou dost not admit that this disturbance of the installation has arisen out of the pretext of boon giving; thy idea of virtue is indeed an object of censure. People will mark this thy forsaking of the kingdom for redeeming the vows of thy father, with opprobrium. Who else, save thee, even thinks of compassing the desires of the monarch and the queen Kaikeyi, who are of unrestrained habits, ever intent on our mischief and are our enemies known by the name of parents. Even if their throwing obstacles in the way of thy installation thou considerest, as the inevitable action of Destiny-pray disregard it, that does not please me. He, who is tremulous, weak and powerless, follows the track of Destiny; they pay no regard to it who are mighty heroes and whose prowess is held in esteem by the people. He, who can avert the consequences of Destiny by dint of his manliness, does not lose heart even in the face of his interest being endangered by it. People shall witness to-day the power of Destiny and manliness; this day shall appear which of them is more powerful. Those who have witnessed before the prevention of thy installation by the evil agency of Destiny, shall see it defeated, even this very day, by my manliness. Thwart shall I that assailing Destiny by my prowess like unto a terrible elephant, freed of its shackles past the restraining power of a goading hook and inflamed with the juice issuing out of its temples. What of the father, not even all the protectors of the regions nor the entire population of the three worlds shall be able to present any obstacle in the way of Rama's installation. Those who have, with one voice, Oh king, settled about thy exile unto the forest, shall be banished to day for fourteen years. Burn shall I down that hope of my father and Kaikeyi that they want to place Bharata on the throne by hindering thy installation. Influence of destiny shall not bring my opponents that amount of happiness, as the misery inflicted on them by my terrible prowess. Thyself retiring unto the forest after governing the people for a thousand years, thy sons shall resume the administration. Dwelling into the forest is permitted after making over (the charge of the subjects unto (the hands of the) sons, as did the Rajarshis of old. The monarch changing his mind, the kingdom shall be transferred into another's hands-dost thou, being afraid of this, want to fly as an exile unto the forest? And is it for this, that thou Oh virtuous souled Rama, dost not wish to have kingdom for thee? I do promise unto thee, Oh great hero, that I shall protect thy kingdom like unto shore protecting the sea, or else I shall not attain to the region of heroes. Do thou perform the rites of installation with things necessary for benediction-do thou engage in these affairs—myself alone shall be able by force to thwart the opposition of the kings. These hands of mine are not intended for enhancing the beauty of my body—this bow is not meant for an ornament only, this sword is not for binding woods together with, and these arrows are not for carrying the weight of woods-these four belonging to me are for the use of killing the enemies. Never do I desire that I shall not cut them into pieces with sharp edged swords. brilliant as the lightning, whom I do consider as my enemies. though they be redoutable as Indra, the wielder of thunderbolt. Cover thick shall I the field of battle and make it impassable by cutting assunder the trunks of the elephants, thighs of the horses and heads of the infantry. Being beheaded

blood resembling the clouds with lightning, my enemies shall fall down to the ground. Who is there, proud of his own prowess, that shall be able to withstand me when I shall appear at the battle field with bows and leathern fences of fingers. Killing one with a number of arrows, and sometimes many with a single one, I shall drive shafts into the vital organs of men, horses and elephants. To-day shall I display my skill in arms in destroying the supremacy of the monarch and establishing thine. That hand, which is fit for the smearing of the Sandal, for wearing armlets, distributing wealth and maintaining relations, shall be engaged to-day, Oh Rama, in performing its worthy action—the discomfiture of them who want to throw obstacles in the way of thy installation. Pray tell me now, which of your enemies shall be cut off by me from wealth, life and relatives? I am thy servant: do thou give me instruction that the whole earth may be brought under thy subjection". That descendant of Raghu, wiping tears off the eyes of Lakshmana and consoling him repeatedly, spoke unto him saying "Oh gentle one, I have thought it to be the best way by all means that I shall abide by my father's orders

SECTION 24

Seeing Rama determined upon carrying out his father's behests, Kaucalya with her voice choked with vapour begot of tears, spoke unto him the following pious words. "How shall this virtuous-souled one, beloved of people and who has never experienced misfortune before, live on grains gleaned, being born of me to Dacaratha? How shall that Rama live upon fruits and roots, whose servants and attendants fare on well cooked rice? Who shall believe, or believing who shall not be afraid, that this highly accomplished descendant of Kakuthstha, favourite of the king, is going to be exiled? Certainly Destiny, who crowns or afflicts people with happiness or misery, is the most powerful agency in the world, or why shalt thou. Oh pleasing Rama, fly as an exile unto the forest? This great and incomparable fire of sorrow issuing from my mind, inflamed by the wind of thy absence, increased by the fuels of lamentation and pain, kindled by hard sobs, obtaining the oblations of tears, vomiting the smoke of vapour begotten of anxious thoughts-the result of counting upon the days of thy return, shall consume me, making greatly lean, when deprived of thy presence, as does the fire burn the dry grass in summer. Like unto a cow following its young one shall I follow thee, Oh my darling, wherever shalt thou go." Hearing those words of his mother, Rama that best of men, spoke the following words unto her, who was greatly troubled with sorrow. "The monarch has been duped by Kaikeyi; myself resorting to the forest, surely shall he resign his life, if cast off again by thee. There is nothing more cruel for women than the forsaking of their husbands; it does not behove thee therefore, to think even of this opprobrious action. Do thou serve this descendant of Kakuthstha, my father, and the lord of the earth as long as he lives-know thou this to be the eternal virtue."

Thus addressed by Rama, Kaucalya of auspicious looks, being gratified greatly; spoke unto him, the remover of her sorrows. "Truly it is." Rama, the foremost amongst religious men, being spoken thus, said to his mother, who was greatly disturbed with sorrow, again in the following strain. "Proper it is both for thee and me to carry out father's words: he is thy husband, and my best preceptor and the lord and master of all people. With great pleasure shall I abide in thy words after passing these nine and five years in the great forest." Thus addressed, Kaucalya, bearing great affection for her son, sorely pained and having her eyes full of tears, spoke unto her beloved son the following words. "Oh Rama, I shall not be able to live amongst these co-wives, if art thou resolved to go to the forest for the discharge of thy father's behest; do thou take me with thee, Oh Kakuthstha, like unto a wild hind. Rama, supressing his feeling, spoke unto his mother who was lamenting, thus, saying:-"Husband is the deity and master of the wife as long as she lives; so the monarch being the lord can deal with thee and me in any way he likes. That highly intelligent lord of men living, we should not consider ourselves as without a master. Bharata is also pious and beloved of all people in speech-he, intent on the performance of religious services, shall attend upon thee always. Do thou now take care that on my retiring the monarch does not wear away by the pangs of my separation, that this terrible sorrow may not kill him. Do thou look after the welfare of the old king always. The woman, who serves not her husband being engaged in excellent religious rites and fasts, shall fare wretchedly in the life to come; and a woman gets at the excellent abode of the celestials by serving her husband. Even those who do not worship and bow unto the celestial's should serve their husbands alone being intent upon their welfare Such is the virtue that should be always pursued by women according to the Vedas and Smritis. Do thou beguile thy time, Oh worshipful one, expecting my return, by worshipping the celestials with flowers and oblations unto the fire and serving well the Brahmins. Engaged in discipline and fasting and devoted to the services of thy husband thou shalt attain thy best desire, on my return, if this foremost of pious

men lives then. Being thus accosted by Rama, Kaucalya being distressed with the thought of separation from her son spoke unto him with tears in her eyes the following words "Oh my darling! it is beyond my power to dissuade thee from thy firm resolution for going to the forest; it is impossible to avoid this hour of separation. Go thou my son, with an earnest heart; may thou fare well; my anxiety shall be removed on thy return Attain shall I then great happiness, when thou, Oh great one, shalt return after satisfying your vows and making thyself freed of debts unto thy father. Incomprehensible is the action of Destiny in this world, Oh my son, as it drives thee away unto the forest, Oh Raghava, neglecting my request. Do thou now repair, Oh mighty hero, and come back in peace, and console me with soul-soothing, tender words. Oh my darling, shall that day ever come, when I shall see thee return from the forest, wearing bark and matted hair." With great earnestness, the worshipful one began to eye Rama, determined to go as an exile unto the forest and spoke unto him auspicious words and became desirous of performing benedictory ceremonies.

SECTION 25

Kaucalya subduing her sorrow, and touching holy water, began to perform auspicious ceremonies for Rama, and spoke unto him saying "Do thou, Oh best amongst the descendants of Raghu, repair now, as I cannot dissuade thee, but do thou return speedily and, follow the footsteps of great ones. Let that virtue, Oh best of Raghavas, protect thee, which thou hast followed with gladness and self-discipline. Let the deities. whom you worship every day in the temple, together with the Maharshis protect thee in the forest. Let those weapons conferred upon thee by the great Visvamitra protect thee always, gifted with good qualities. Do thou of mighty hands live forever, being protected by the truth and merit of thy continual services to thy father and mothers. May the holy fuel, sacrificial grass, sanctified altars and court-yards, the sacred ground of medicant Brahmins, mountains, trees great and small, lakes, birds, serpents and lions protect thee. Oh best of men, may Sidhya [An inferior deity, demigod, or angel.], Bishvadeva [Deities of a particular class in which ten are enumerated; their names are Vasu, Satya, and so forth.], Maruta [A deity personifying wind.], the great ascetics, the sustainer, and the preserver of the creation Pusa [The Sun.], Bhaga [The Moon.], Aryama [A class of manes or deified progenitors or ancestors.—In the ancient Roman religion, the Manes (Latin) or Di Manes are chthonic deities who are thought to represent souls of deceased loved ones. Chthonic (Greek: "in, under, or beneath the earth") literally means "subterranean" the word in describes deities or spirits of the underworld, especially in the Ancient Greek religion. The whole idea sounds as if it was directly taken out of the Ramayana and exported to Greece and Rome. It is no secret that Hindu and Buddhist missionaries were sent to Egypt and Greece.], the Lokapalas [Those deities who protect the regions, vis., the son, moon, fire, wind, Indra, Yuma, Varuna, Kuvera.], headed by Indra and others, the six seasons, the months, day, night, moments Srutis [The Vedas severally or collectively.], Smritis*, and virtue protect thee, Oh my son, on all sides. May the great deity Skanda, Soma, Vrihaspati, Saptarshi, Narad, Moon and other ascetics protect thee. [The body of laws as delivered by Manu or others, also called dharmashastra (dharma = righteousness + shastra = treatise). The texts include discussion of ashrama (stages of life), varna (social classes), purushartha (proper goals of life), personal virtues and duties such as ahimsa (non-violence) against all living beings, rules of just war, and other topics.] May the encircled regions with their lords, being pleased with my eulogy, protect thee, Oh my son, always in the forest. When shalt thou repair unto the wood, may the mountains, oceans, Varuna, the heaven, sky, earth, air, things movable and immovable, planets and stars with their presiding deities, day, night, and evening protect thee. May the six seasons, months, years and all the divisions of time confer upon the pleasure always, when thou of great intelligence shalt wander away into the forest in the attire of an ascetic. May the deities and demons ever minister unto thy happiness and may not fear proceed unto thee, Oh my son, from the terrible Raksashas and Pisachas intent on committing cruel deeds, and other animals living on flesh. May the apes, scorpions, wild gnats, reptiles and insects make thee no harm; may not the elephants, tigers, terrible looking bears, hogs, buffalos and other horned animals hurt thee. Being worshipped by me from here may the ferocious cannibal races of all kind bring thee no injury. May thy course be crowned with auspiciousness and thy powers with success. Do thou, Oh my son, repair unto the forest, being profusely provided with fruits, roots and other things. May all the creatures of the sky, all those who breathe on this Earth, and all those deities who are hostile unto thee, contribute to thy welfare. May Sukra Soma, Sun, the lord of wealth and Death, protect thee, Oh Rama, resorting to the forest of Dandaka. May fire, air, smoke and the mantras uttered by the Rishis protect thee, Oh descendant of Raghu, at the time of thy bathing. May the lord of creation, Rishis and all the remaining deities defend thee when dwelling in the forest

That best of women Kaucalya, of great renown and having expansive eyes, after propitiating the celestials with garlands, fragrant odours and praises, began to offer oblations unto the fire by the help of eminent Brahmins for the welfare of Rama, collecting clarified butter, white garlands, religious fig trees and white mustard seeds for this purpose. The spiritual preceptor, after offering oblations unto the fire with due rites for his peace and health, presenting what was then left as offerings unto the lords of the four cardinal points and others*, and giving the Brahmins a dish of curd, ghee and honey, made them utter benedictory prayers for Rama who was going unto the forest. [* The Garhyastabali or the daily offering of the householder, meant here, may be thus explained. After the performance of oblation unto the fire, the householder should present offerings to the lords of the four cardinal points.—Indra, Yama, Varuna, Soma and to their retinue. The offering for the Marutas should be placed on the threshold; for the presiding deities of the water in water; for the lords of the forest unto the wooden pestle arid mortar; for Sri and Bhadrakali on the grounds adjacent to the beddings on the side of the head and that of the feet respectively; for Brahmanspati and Vastupati on the site of the habitation: for Visvadeva and for day and night thrown in the air of the house, for Sarvatmabhuta scattered on the terrace. After offering to all these what remains should be thrown on the south for the manes. The offerings to the dogs, the fallen, the dregs of the people, the lepers, the crows and the worms and the insects should be placed on uncovered ground.] Then that renowned mother of Rama, after conferring upon the Brahmins dakhshinas in accordance with their desires, accosted Raghava with the following words. "May that blessing crown thee, which was attained by the thousand eyed Indra, honoured of all the deities on the occasion of killing the mighty Asura Vetra. May that blessing attend thee, which was invoked in olden times by Vinata, for that king of birds Garuda, praying for nectar. Do thou attain that blessedness, to which Aditi prayed, on behalf of the weilder of thunderbolt intent on the discomfiture of the giants at the time of ransacking the ocean for nectar. May that prosperity wait upon thee, Oh Rama, which crowned the mighty Vishnu, while perambulating with his three steps the heaven earth and the regions as a dwarf. May the Rishis, the great oceans, islands the three worlds, Vedas, the regions, lend their might in the advancement of thy welfare." Saying this Kaucalya, the foremost of all women, having expansive eyes, placed the grains on Rama's head; sprinkled his body with fragrant substances, and tied to his hands, as amulet, twigs of such auspicious plants as visalvakarani, with due mental repetition of mantras. That excellent one of high renown embracing Rama and smelling his head, with her voice choked, as if all pleased, though placed under the influence of dire distress in reality, uttered mantras and spoke unto him thus. "Oh my son, Oh Rama, have thy desires attained—and do thou go, wherever thou likest. I shall see thee, Oh my darling, with great delight, when shalt thou, returning Avodhya in excellent health and having all thy ends satisfied, resume the administration of thy kingdom. Myself having sorrows removed and having my face glowing with joy, shall see thee coming from the forest like unto the rising of the full moon. Continually shall I eye thy good self, Oh my son sitting on an auspicious seat, and returning from the forest after making good thy father's behests. May thou returning from the forest and being dressed with royal robes and ornaments, satisfy the desires of my daughter-in-law. Worshipped have I deities headed by Siva and others, the great ascetics, the genii and the snakes; may they all and the four cardinal points, Oh Raghava, contribute to thy welfare, who, art going unto the forest for a long time." Kaucalya, having her eyes full of tears, and performing the benedictory ceremonies with due rites, went round Raghava with solemnity, and seeing him again and again sighed hot and hard. Being gone round by his mother thus, Raghava, of great fame, and resplendent with the splendour of beauty, proceeded towards the abode of Sita, after bowing down unto the feet of his mother repeatedly.

SECTION 26

Rama, intent on repairing unto the forest, and treading in pious tracks, after duly saluting Kaucalya and beautifying the royal road, crowded with people, captivated their hearts by means of his high accomplishments. Vaidehi, ever engaged in ascetic rites, did not hear of all these affairs; there was in her heart only the thought of Rama's installation. That daughter of the king, after offering her service unto the deities according to the proper royal rites, was eagerly awaiting the approach of Rama with a grateful and pleased heart. Entered Rama this beautiful abode, excellently furnished and filled with people highly delighted, having his head hanging down a little with shame. Sita, seeing her husband, racked with sorrow and troubled in mind with anxiety, rose up trembling from her seat. Seeing her, that virtuous soulcd Raghava, could not bear his internal sorrow, which manifested itself by external signs. Finding him with face pale and perspiring, and incapable of containing grief within, Sita sore distressed with sorrow addressed him, saying, "Oh my lord, why do I perceive such a change in thee? Today the constellation Pushya is in conjunction with the moon, -and planet Vrihaspati is presiding over this conjunction, this day has been declared as the most auspicious one by the learned Brahmins, then why do thou cherish such a sorrow in thy mind? Why has not thy charming face been placed under the shade of an umbrella, having hundred ribs and white as a watery foam? Why do not the servants fan thee, having eyes like lotus' petals, with chowries white as the moon or a goose? I do not see thee, Oh best of men, eulogised with auspicious songs by the panegyrists, encomiasts and family bards. Why do not the Brahmins, versed in the Vedas, observing the formal rites, sprinkle on thy head honey and curd, after washing it duly? Why are not thy subjects, citizens, urbans, and leading members of society dressed and adorned, willing to follow thee? Why does not that excellent sport-chariot go before thee, having four fast going steeds, adorned with golden ornaments tied unto it? Why does not that excellent elephant precede thee, Oh great hero, which is gifted with auspicious marks and resembles a mass of dark clouds and a mighty hill? Why do not the servants run before thee, Oh mighty hero, with a pretty looking royal seat embroidered with gold? Why do I perceive thy face so pale as never seen before, and why therein is no mark of gladness, when every thing for thy installation has been made ready?" Wereupon spoke unto that weeping Sita, the descendant of Raghu thus:—"Oh Sita, Oh thou born of a great family, versed in the knowledge of religion and intent on the performance of religious rites, my father has banished me unto the forest! Do thou hear, Oh daughter of Janaka, how has this calamity befallen me. In the days of yore was granted unto my mother, Kaikeyi two boons by my father, king Dacaratha of truthful vows. When every thing was made ready by my father for my installation, Kaikeyi reminded him of his promise and gained over him for his righteousness. I shall live in the forest of Dandaka for fourteen years and Bharata shall be installed by my father as the heir apparent of the throne. And myself bound to fly as an exile unto the wood, come here to see thee; do thou not praise me ever before Bharata. Those who are crowned with prosperity cannot bear another's praise; it therefore behoves thee not to extol my virtues in the presence of Bharata. Thou shouldst not extol me even in the company of thy friends; thou shalt be then able to live with Bharata as one favourable to his party. The monarch has granted him this lasting heir apparentship; it is therefore proper for thee, Oh Sita, to please him specially for he is the king now. To day shall I repair unto the forest for redeeming my father's vows; do thou, Oh high-minded one, live here in undisturbed mind. Do thou Oh sinless and auspicious one live here engaged in religious rites and fasts, when I shall wend my way unto the forest inhabited by the great ascetics. Rising from the bed early in the morning, adore the deities every day, and then bow down unto the feet of my father Dacaratha, the lord of men. My mother Kaucalya is old and much pressed down with sorrow; do thou show proper respects unto her, considering it to be a pious deed. Thou shouldst then bow down unto my other mothers who all minister unto me, with equal love and affection. Shouldst thou specially regard Bharata and Satrugna like unto thy sons or brothers, who are dearer unto me than my life itself. Thou shouldst not do, Oh Vaidehi, any such thing as might be unpleasant unto Bharata, for he is the king of the land as well as of the family.

The monarchs are always propitiated by being served with assiduity and good temper; they are offended when any thing contrary to it happens. They renonnce even their own son, born of their loins, when they find him bringing about their mischief, and admit into their favour persons devoted to their welfare bearing no relationship whatever. It therefore behoves thee, Oh auspicious one, to live here, abiding by Bharata's commands and being engaged in religious rites and truthful vows. I am going unto the forest, Oh my darling, and thou shalt live here. Oh excellent lady, abide by my word as didst thou never formerly falsify it.

SECTION 27.

Being addressed thus, Vaidehi, beloved and sweet speeched, spoke unto her husband the following words, offended as it were on account of her great affection. "Is it that thou speakest me thus, thinking me, no doubt, mean minded? I can not but laugh at thy words, Oh best of men; what thou hast said is not becoming of a mighty prince versed in military arts and is really very opprobrious and infamous. What more, it is not proper even to hear them. Oh dear husband, father, mother, son, brother, daugther-in-law, all of them abide by the consequences of their own actions, it is the wife alone, Oh best of men, that shares the fate of her husband; it therefore that ever along with thee I have been ordered to live in the forest. Neither father, mother, son, friends, nor her ownself is the stay of a woman in this or in after life, it is the husband alone that is her only support. If dost thou repair to-day unto the forest impregnable, I shall go before thee, Oh Raghava, treading upon the thorns and prickly grass. Confident do thou take me with thee, Oh great hero, renouncing jealousy and indignation, like unto water left after drinking; there

exists no sin in me that could justify forsaking. Unto woman is preferable under all circumtances the shade of her husband's feet to the tops of a palace, the celestial car or excursion in the airy path. [It was generally believed that by certain processes of Yoga one acquired power to fly in the air.] I have been taught by my father and mother to follow my husband in all conditions of life; and I shall carry out now what I have been taught; I shall not abide by any other counsel. I shall wend my way unto the forest impassable, devoid of men, inhabited by various deers, tigers and other voracious animals. Happily shall I live there as if in my paternal house, giving no thought upon the prosperity of the three worlds, thinking only of the services that are to be rendered unto my husband. I shall sport with thee, Oh great hero, in that forest impregnated with the fragrance of flowers, tending thee constantly, having my senses subdued, and being engaged in austere performances. Oh great hero, capable art thou to maintain many thousand others in the forest, what of me. Surely shall I go to-day to the forest with thee; there is no doubt about it and thou shalt not be able, Oh great hero, to dissuade me from so doing. Undoubtedly I shall always live upon roots and fruits; living with thee always I shall not bring about thy affliction. Always I shall precede thee when walking, and shall take my repast after thou hast taken it. Willing am I to view mountains, rivulets, lakes and ponds. Being fearless in thy company, Oh my intelligent husband and great hero, I shall behold on all sides ponds filled with wild geese and ducks and beautified with a collection of fullblown lotuses, and shall bathe there every day, pursuing the same yow with thee. And greatly gratified, I shall, Oh thou having expansive eyes, amuse there with thee, in this manner, even for hundred or thousand years. I shall never experience the reverse of fortune, inasmuch as I do not like to live in the abode of celestials, Oh Raghava, if I am to dwell there without thee; no, it is not pleasing unto me, Oh best of men. I shall go there in that dense forest full of deers, monkeys and elephants and live there as if under my paternal roof cleaving unto thy feet and abiding in thy pleasure. Do thou accept my entreaty whose heart is entirely thine, knows none else, and is ever attached unto thee, and who am resolved to die if forsaken by thee; thus repairing I shall be in no way a burden unto thee". That best of men. reluctant to take Sita with him, who had spoken thus and who was greatly attached to virtue, related unto her about the many miseries consequent upon dwelling in the forest, with a view to prevent her from following him.

SECTION 28

That lover of virtue, thinking of the miseries of the forest, resolved not to take Sita with him, who was versed in religious lores and had spoken thus. And consoling her whose eyes were stained with tears, that virtuous-souled one spoke unto her the following words with a view to prevent her from going. "Oh Sita, thou art born of an illustrious family and ever intent on the performance of religious deeds; do thou practise virtue here as it may conduce to the happiness of my mind. Oh Sita, Oh thou of the weaker sex, do thou act up to my counsels; there are evils enough in the forest, do thou learn them from me who am about to dwell in it. Renounce therefore. Oh Sita, thy intention of flying as an exile unto the forest, which for its impenitrableness is said to abound in evils It is for thy welfare that I give utterance to these words; happiness there is none, it is always covered with miseries. The roarings of the lions living in the caves of mountains, swelling with the sounds of the waterfalls, produce a very painful impression upon the ears; so the wood is full of misery. Animals, all maddened, sporting in solitude, seeing (man), approach to attack him; so the wood is full of misery. The rivers are full of crocodiles, sharks, and other fearful animals. muddy and impassable and always infested with infuriated elephants; the wood is full of misery. There the wayfares are covered with creepers and thorns: they are void of drinking water and ever resounded with the noise of the wild fowls; so the wood is full of misery. Being exhausted with the toil of the day, the dwellers of the wood have to sleep in night on the bed made of leaves fallen from the trees on the surface of the ground; so the wood is full of misery. With the (supply of) fruits that have fallen from the trees man of self discipline must content himself morning and evening; so the wood, O Sita, is full of misery. One has to fast, O Maithili, according to his might, to wear matted hair and bark, to adore the deities and his ancestors according to due rites, every day to serve the guests that come to him, and observing the rules of asceticism, to bathe every day thrice, namely, in the morning, in the mid-day and in the evening; so the wood is full of misery. One has to offer presents of flowers collected by his ownself unto the altars, O Sita, according to the rites of the ascetics; so the wood is full of misery. Those that dwell in the forest will have to remain content, having practised moderation in food, O Maithili, with whatever edibles are attainable in the forest; so the wood is full of misery. There are always violent winds, darkness, hunger, and great fear; so the wood is full of misery. Reptiles, many and of various kinds, creep there on the path, O excellent lady, with haughtiness; so the wood is full of misery. And snakes living in the rivers and

of crooked course like them, always await the wayfarers, hindering the passers-by: so the wood is full of misery. Birds, scorpions, insects mosquitos and wild gnats, always disturb the dwellers, O fair one of the weaker sex; so the wood is full of misery. There are trees full of thorns, having their branches moving to and fro, and the kusa and kasagrasses with thorny blades constantly undulating; so the wood is full of misery. There are various physical afflictions and divers fears and great misery consequent upon living in the forest. Anger and desires are to be renounced, the heart is to be set on ascetic austerities, fear in the fearful objects is to be cast off; so the wood is full of misery. Thou shouldst not therefore go unto the forest-it forebodes no good unto thee. Weighing well, have I concluded that the forest abounds in innumerable evils." While the high-souled Rama, resolved thus not to take Sita with him unto the forest, she, greatly sorry, did not accept his words and spoke unto him in the following way.

SECTION 29

Hearing these words of Rama, Sita greatly sorry, with tears in her eyes, spoke gently unto him the following words. "The evils, thus enumerated by thee of living in the forest, do thou know, appear as so many good qualities unto me, who have been made forward by thy affection. Deer, lions, elephants, tigers, saravas [A fabulous animal supposed to have eight legs and to inhabit particularly the snowy mountains.], chamaras [A kind of deer, or rather the Bos Gruriniens erroneously classed by the Hindu writers amongst the deer which is called Yak. It is a kind of boyid (a bison or cattle) with long hair and the weight of about one tonne each.], srimaras [A young deer.], and other animals which have not seen thee before, seeing thee, Raghava, will stand off, for they all fear thee. I shall follow thee, taking the permission of the respected ones; without thee, O Rama, I will renounce my life. If I live by thee. O Raghaya, Sakra, the lord of celestials, shall not be able with his mighty power to defeat me. 'A woman, without her husband, cannot live'; this truth has been pointed out by thee, O Rama, unto me. Besides, I heard before, thou of great intelligence, in my paternal house from the Brahmanas that I should live in the forest. I have heard this from the Brahmanas versed in palmistry, and I have all along been anxious, O mighty hero, to go to the forest; shall therefore obtain permission and go, O dearly beloved, unto the forest with thee; nothing can make it otherwise. I shall secure permission and follow thee; the time has arrived; may the Brahmanas be of truthful words! I know, O great hero, that there are many evils incident to living in the forest; but they generally befall those men who have not their senses subdued. I heard, when I was a girl, that an ascetic woman of well-disciplined character. came to my mother and apprised her of my future abode in the forest. I had requested thee, O my lord, many times before in this house to take me to the forest with thee for enjoyment, and thou wast pleased to agree. For thy welfare, O Raghava, having received thy permission to follow thee, I like to serve thee, O great hero, while living in the forest.

O thou, pure-hearted one, surely shall I become sinless if I follow my husband, out of affection; for my husband is my Divinity. I have heard this pious report from the Brahmanas of great fame that even in after life thy company is greatly beneficial unto me. She, who has been given away as wife by her father to one, with due rites of gift peculiar to each class, touching holy water, shall be his, even in her after life. For what reason then dost thou not wish to take thy wife with thee who is of good character and devoted to her husband? Do thou take me, O Kakuthstha, who am poor in spirit, devoted to my husband, ever given to thy service, and participating equally in thy joy and sorrow. If thou dost not purpose to take me with thee, surely will I do away with my life by drinking poison, entering into fire, or drowning myself in water." She begged Rama in these and various other means to take her with him, but that mighty hero did not consent to lead her into the lonely forest. Being accosted thus, Maithili was wrapt up in thought and bathed her breast with tears trickling down from her eyes. And Kakuthstha having control over his ownself, with a view to dissuade her who was angry and engrossed in anxious thoughts, began to console her in divers ways

Being consoled thus by Rama, Maithili, the daughter of Janaka, tearing separation, lovingly and haughtily laughed at Raghava of spacious breast, and spoke unto him, her husband. the following words with a view to follow him to the forest. What thought of thee, O Rama, my father, the king of Mithila, accepting thee as his son-in-law, who was a man in form but (in deeds) a woman? Henceforth if people through ignorance say that the sun has not that burning flood of light which in Rama does shine forth, woe is them, it is falsehood. Why art thou so dejected and whence is thy fear that thou art willing to leave behind thy wife who has none else but thee? Know me to be perfectly under thy influence like unto Savitri, following her husband Satvavan, the son of Dumat Sen. I have not, like one bringing stigma on her line, ever in my life thought of a second person, but of thee whom I must follow

into the forest. Dost thou, like unto an ordinary actor, wish to hand me over to others, who am chaste, pure as a virgin, and long held in conjugal affection? O sinless one, do thou become subservient and serviceable to him whose pleasure thou biddst me seek, and for whom thou hast suffered thyself to be impeded (in the installation). It does not behove thee to repair unto the forest without taking me along with thee. Be it the austerity of an ascetic, the forest or heaven, with thee will I be everywhere. No toil shall I suffer on the way, as if lying on a bed of luxury, while following thee in thy footstep. When with thee, the various thorny grasses, the Kusa, the Kasa, the Sara, and the Ishika, and the thistles and brambles on the way, shall be unto me in touch like unto linen and deerskin. The dust that will cover me, thrown up by the gush of wind, shall be. O ravisher of my heart, regarded by me as the finest sandal dust. When I shall lie down on the bed of green grass in the forest, it shall appear to me more pleasant than one covered with a coloured blanket. Fruits, roots and leaves which thou wilt bring thyself and give me, be they great or small in quantity, shall be to me like unto the ambrosia-juice. I shall never think of my father, mother, or my abode; I shall enjoy fruits and flowers growing in various seasons. Thou shalt not witness any thing disagreeable there; for me thou shalt not experience any sorrow, nor shall I be a burden unto thee; do thou take me with thee, O Rama, conceiving with pleasure that thy company is a heaven unto me and thy absence a hell. If thou dost not take me unto the forest which I count freed from all evils, surely I shall drink poison and never come under the influence of my enemies. When through affliction I shall not live after separation, better it is, O Lord, that I die immediately at the time of my being forsaken by thee; I cannot bear this grief even for a moment. How shall I be able to live without thee for fourteen years?"

Thus lamenting, Sita, racked with sorrow, embraced her husband and began to cry aloud. Like unto a she-elephant,she being pierced by the poisonous shafts of Rama's words, began to shed tears, long kept off, as an Arani wood emits fire continually. Tears caused by her sorrow and white as the crystal began to trickle down from her eyes, like unto water falling in drops from lotus petals. And that beautiful face having expansive eyes and resembling the full moon in its splendour, with tears became pale and parched, like unto a lotus taken out of its watery bed. Finding her almost insensible with sorrow, Rama flung his arms round her and reviving her (with consolation) spoke the following words unto her; "I do not long for, O worshipful one, even the abode of celestials gained through thy affliction: fear there is none for me like unto the self-create Brahma. Not apprised of thy full intention. O thou of beautiful countenance. I could not. though capable of escorting thee, desire thy abode in the forest. When thou art determined O Maithili, to repair unto the forest with me, I cannot leave thee behind, as one possessing self knowledge cannot renounce munificence. O thou, having thighs resembling the trunks of an elephant, I shall resort to that virtue which was exercised by great and good men going before; do thou follow me therefore like Suvarchala following the Sun. I cannot but go unto the forest, O daughter of Janaka, the truthful word of my father leads me thereto. Obedience unto his parents is the virtue of a son. Disobeying the command of my father I am not eager to live. Why should we with meditations and adorations worship Destiny, which is not cognizable to the worshippers, neglecting our parents, who are ever present to our senses? In the worship of the parents are fulfilled the triple object of religious pursuit, and the adoration of the three regions; there is nothing equal to it, conducing to purity; so do I, O thou of excellent look, resort to it.

Truth, almsgiving, honour, and sacrifices with profuse gifts are not so strengthening (in the life to come) as the services rendered unlo the parents. Heaven, wealth, grains, learning, son, and happiness,—nothing remains inaccessible unto us. Great souls following the desires, and resorting to the service of their parents, get at the abodes of celestials, Gandharvas, the seats of Brahma and Vishnu, and other excellent regions. Therefore do I desire to follow what my father commands me, treading in the path of truth.— and this is the virtue eternal. My resolution of not taking thee, Sita, unto the forest of Dandaka is now rent asunder, as thou hast prepared thyself to live in the forest and follow me. Permitted by me, O fair one of exquisite beauty, to repair unto the forest, do thou follow me, O thou timid one, and the partner of my righteousness. Thy determination to follow me, O beautiful one, is very excellent and is in perfect keeping with myself and my family. Do thou address thyself to repairing unto the forest, for without this now even heaven itself does not please me. Do thou give away jewels unto the Brahmanas and edibles unto the beggars longing for them, and make haste without delay. Confer upon the Brahmanas, valuable ornaments, excellent clothes, pleasant toys, beds, conveyances and other fine things in thy possession and then what remains do thou distribute amongst the servants." Convinced that her going to the forest was desired by her husband, Sita began to distribute them speedily with a delighted heart.

SECTION 31

Hearing this conversation, Lakshmana, who had gone there before, with tears in his eyes and being unable to bear this terrible sorrow, took hold of his brother's feet and spoke thus unto that greatly renowned Sita and Raghava. "If thou art resolved to repair unto the forest filled with deer and elephants, I shall accompany thee, always going before with bows in my hands. Thou shalt range with me in that charming part of the forest which resounds with the music of the birds and the humming of the bees. Alienated from thee I do not long for the abode of the celestials, nor for eternal life, nor for the wealth of the three regions." The son of Sumitra, who spoke thus and was determined upon going to the forest, being repeatedly requested by Rama with consoling words to desist from his purpose, spoke unto him the following words. 'Formerly thou didst order me to follow thee; and why dost thou prevent me now from accompanying thee to the forest? I want to learn, O sinless one, why thou dost prevent me now from following thee. I entertain a grave doubt in this." Then the highly effulgent Rama spoke thus unto that sedate Lakshmana, who stood praying before him with clasped hands. "Thou art sedate, fond of virtue, of peaceful temper, and thou walkest always in the paths of righteousness. I hold thee dear as my life and thou art obedient unto me and art my friend. If thou dost accompany me unto the forest, O son of Sumitra, who shall serve Kaucalya and the highly renowned Sumitra? That highly effulgent lord of earth who will satisfy the world with the fulfillment of its desires like unto rain spreading in showers over the earth, is himself now shackled with desires unto Kaikeyi. That daughter of Acwapati obtaining this kingdom from the monarch, there will be no end of the miseries of these co-wives. Bharata attaining the throne and siding his mother, Kaikeyi will never think of Kaucalya or Sumitra sore distressed with grief. Do thou therefore, O son of Sumitra, live here of thy own accord or by the favour of the monarch, and maintain these worshipful ones. If thou dost act thus, it will be showing thy best regard in me. O thou, versed in the knowledge of religion, real virtue consists in the adoration of superiors. Do this, O son of Sumitra, for my sake; if we all go away leaving her aside, she will not be happy in any way."

Accosted thus by Rama, Lakshmana, well versed in speech, spoke unto him the following humble words. "Be afraid of thy power, O hero, Bharata shall adore Kaucalya and Sumitrathere is no doubt about this. If that wicked Bharata obtaining this excellent kingdom, does not maintain and take care of them, being impelled by haughtiness and wicked impulses, surely shall I kill him that wicked-minded one though he be assisted by the entire population of the three regions. Besides. that worshipful Kaucalya, who has made grants of many thousand villages unto her servants, can maintain thousands of people like us, and has enough to maintain herself as well as my mother. Do thou therefore permit me to follow thee; there will be no breach of virtue in this and I shall have my desires attained and thy interests shall be secured. I shall go before thee pointing out thy course, with stringed bows, a hoe, and a basket in my hands. I shall bring for thee every day various roots and fruits and other things that grow in the forest and which the ascetics use in their sacrifice. Thou shalt amuse thyself with Vaidehi on the sides of the hill, and I shall perform everything for thee whether thou art asleep or awake.

Being extremely gratified with these words, Rama spoke unto him, saying,-"Do thou follow me, O son of Sumitra, obtaining permission from all thy relatives. The high-souled Varuna himself offered two terrible-looking bows of etherial temper, two sets of weapons at the great sacrifice of the royal Janaka-namely, impenetrable mail, two quivers, two inexhaustible arrows, and two swords burnished with gold and bright as the Sun. These things were offered unto me as bridal presents, and I have kept them at the house of my preceptor. Do thou, O Lakshmana, paying homage unto my preceptor, taking all those weapons, swiftly bring them hither. Determined upon going unto the forest, Lakshmana, taking leave of his friends, went to the abode of the spiritual preceptor of the Ikshwakus and took from him those excellent weapons. And that best of princes, the son of Sumitra, showed Rama those heavenly arms-worshipped and well adorned with garlands. Seeing Lakshmana arrive there, Rama, having control over his ownself, greatly pleased, spoke unto him the following words. "Thou hast arrived, O Lakshmana, just when I wanted thee. I want to distribute with thee these my riches amongst the Brahmauas and the ascetics. There are many excellent Brahmanas having firm reverence in their preceptor. I want to distribute my wealth amongst them and many other personages who depend upon me for their maintenance. Bring here speedily the worshipful Sujajna, the son of Vasishtha; I want to repair unto the forest after duly adoring him and other excellent Brahmanas.'

SECTION 32

Receiving this pleasant and beneficial mandate of his brother, Lakshmana speedily went unto the abode of Sujajna, and finding that Vipra in the chamber where the sacrificial

fire was maintained, worshipped him and addressed him, saving: "Friend, come and behold the abode of that one of arduous deeds (Rama) renouncing his incoming installation. Finishing his prayers, Sujajna accompanied Lakshmana and arrived at the splendid mansion of Rama, filled with riches. No sooner Rama found that Brahmana versed in the Veda (Sujajna) arrive there, shining in effulgence like unto the blazing fire, than he rose up from his seat along with Sita, with clasped hands, and received him as if he had been the sacrificial fire itself, and offered him excellent golden Angadas, shining ear-rings, necklaces of jewels fastened together with golden strings, Keyuras, bracelets, and various other ornaments, and spoke unto him, being desired by Sita, the following words. "O my gentle friend! do thou by some servant send unto thy wife this necklace and Hemasutra. And Sita, the friend of thy wife, also intends to give this Rasana unto thy wife, And on the eve of her going to the woods, she presents thyself and thy wife with Angadas of curious workmanship and elegant Keyuras. And Vaidehi wishes to present thee with this fine bed-stead with its coverlet studed with various precious jewels. And I offer thee, O great ascetic, with a thousand gold coins, this excellent elephant, called the destroyer of foes, which had been bestowed upon me by my

Being addressed thus by Rama, Sujajna accepted all those offers, and showered benedictions upon Rama, Sita, and Lakshmana. Thereupon Rama spoke unto his beloved, considerate and fair-speaking brother, the son of Sumitra the following pleasant words, like unto Brahma addressing the Lord of celestials. "O son of Sumitra, do thou invite the excellent Brahmanas, Agastya and Viswamitra, and adore them, O Raghava, by conferring upon them gems, as people cherish corn with water. And O mighty armed one, do thou worship them, O Raghava, with a thousand cows, gold, silver, and various precious jewels. Do thou confer upon that good Brahmana, the preceptor of the Tittiriya portion of the Vedas, who crowns Kaucalya with blessings every day, silk cloth, conveyances, maid-servants, and such other things, till the twice-born one is satisfied. Do thou propitiate the worshipful Chitraratha, who is our charioteer and counsellor and of advanced years, with precious jewels clothes, wealth, with all kinds of beasts and a thousand cows. Do thou confer upon those Brahmanas, O son of Sumitra, who live under my protection, studying the Katasection of Yayur Veda, with staffs in their hands, a grant of eighty mules loaded with jewels, of a thousand miles of pines, and of a thousand cows, for curd and clarified butter. They are always inactive, being constantly engaged in Vedic studies, and are greatly slothful though having a taste for delicious food, and are always esteemed by great men; to each of all those Brahmanas, who always come to Kaucalya, do thou, O Lakshmana, make a grant of a thousand gold coins, and offer unto them all such gifts as may please my mother." Thereupon Lakshmana, that best of men, distributed amongst all these Brahmanas all the entire riches as ordered by Rama like unto the Lord of wealth Seeing his dependants in a wretched plight, shedding tears continually, Rama proferred unto them various articles for their maintenance, and said :-- "Do ye occupy in turn until our return my rooms as well as Lakshmana's." Having spoken thus unto all those dependants who were racked with great sorrow, Rama ordered the Treasury officer to bring his riches there. Thereat, the servants brought all his riches and collected them in great heaps. Rama, the best of men, together with Lakshmana, distributed them amongst the Brahmanas, boys, the old, and the poor. There lived in that quarter a Brahmana of a tawny colour, by name Trijata, descended from the line of Garga, earning his livelihood by digging the earth with spades and ploughs. His young wife with her little children, struggling with poverty, spoke thus unto the old Brahmana. "Throwing aside thy spades and ploughs, do thou hear my words. Go and see the virtuous-souled Rama, and thou art sure to get something from him now." Hearing these words of his wife, Trijata, shining in effulgence like unto Vrigu and Angira, covering his body with a torn piece of cloth, proceeded towards Rama's abode with his wife, and going on in a speedy and uninterrupted course, reached at last the royal abode and spoke unto Rama thus:-"O mighty son of the king! a poor man am I, having a number of children. I maintain my family by digging the earth; do thou therefore look upon me mercifully. Whereupon Rama replied laughing:—"I have not distributed as yet even one thousand of my cows. Do thou hurl this rod, and thou art the master of all those cows occupying the space at the extremity of which this rod shall fall." Upon this, swiftly tightening the cloth Upon this, swiftly tightening the cloth around his waist, Trijata firmly grasping the rod hurled it with a mighty force. The rod, hurled off his hands, fell on the other side of the river Saraju in the midst of many thousand bullocks. Seeing this, the virtuous-souled Rama despatched to the hermitage of Trijata all the cows that lay extending up to the banks of the river Saraju, and consoling him afterwards accosted him with the following words. "Be not offended, I acted thus only as a matter of joke. I asked thee to do this only with the object of knowing whether thou hadst the power to hurl this rod. Do thou ask of me now any thing thou likest.

Truly do I speak that thou shouldst not hesitate. I am ready to devote my wealth to the services of the Brahmanas. And the wealth I have earned will conduce to my favour, if. I can apply it to your service."

Then Trijata, being pleased with the accession of cows, went away along with his wife, showering happiness and joy. Rama of great manliness afterwards distributed with proper respect and due welcome all his wealth amassed by righteous means amongst the Brahmanas, friends, servants and the poor, according to the recomendation of his friends.

SECTION 33

Having distributed much wealth to the Brahmanas, the Raghavas set out with Sita for the purpose of seeing their father. And the two looked beautiful with a couple of handmaids (following them), taking the weapons that had been decked by Sita with flowery wreaths. Then crowds of elegantly-attired citizens, mounting on the terraces of threestoried and seven-storied houses, looked on the scene with hearts filled with sorrow. And unable to tread the streets because of a vast concourse, they ascending the terraces of the buildings, eved Raghava with woe-begone eyes. And deprived of their senses by grief, the multitudes, beholding Rama proceeding on foot in company with Sita and his younger brother, said,—"He that used to be followed by the vast body of the four-fold forces, proceeds now along with Sita, followed by Lakshmana alone. Knowing every kind of enjoyment, that magnanimous one who has tasted of every luxury, for maintaining the dignity of morality, does not wish to falsify (his father's) word. And that Sita whom formerly the very rangers of the sky could not see, is to-day beheld by the passers-by. Now summer's heat and winter's cold and the rains of the wet season will speedily stain Sita, whose person is worthy of being dyed, and who used to daub her limbs with red sandal paste. Surely to-day Dacaratha speaks thus, possessed by some evil spirit; for the king ought by no means to banish his beloved son. Who ever exiles his son, albeit he be worthless? And what is to be said concerning a son that has fast secured all men's hearts by his behavior? Universal benevolence, kindness, learning goodness, the restraint of the senses, and the control of the faculties,—these six qualities adorn that best of men, Raghava. Therefore the subjects will be afflicted in consequence of his separation, even as aquatic animals are, when summer dries up the waters of a tank. The entire earth is distressed on account of the distress of this lord of the earth, even like a tree bearing blossoms and fruits, when its roots have been severed. Surely this highly effulgent one with virtue for his chief good is the root of humanity and the latter represents its flowers, fruits, foliage, and boughs, Therefore, accompanied by our wives and friends will we like Lakshmana follow the departing Raghava by the same way that he takes. And leaving aside our gardens and fields and abodes, will we, making the righteous Rama's happiness and misery our own, follow him. Let Kaikeyi possess herself of our deserted mansions, deprived of their buried treasures, with their unswept courtyards robbed of kine and wealth, and shorn of all substance, filled with dust, and abandoned by the deities, mansions where rats will run from hole to hole, which will neither emit smoke nor contain water, which will not be swept by broomsticks, from which sacrifices, and the slaughter of sacrificial beasts, and the offering of oblations and the recitation of sacred texts, and Yana, will be absent. and around which will be strewn broken earthenware, as they are on occasions of political commotions or the occurrence of natural calamities. Let the forest to which Raghava repairs resemble a city, and let this city renounced by us be converted into a wilderness. Inspired by the fear of us, serpents will leave their holes, and beasts and birds the caves of mountain, and elephants and lions the forest. Let them occupy the tracts left behind by us, and let them renounce such abounding in serpents, beasts, and birds, as yield grass, meat, and fruits. Let Kaikeyi (reign in this realm) along with her sons and adherents; we, renouncing homes, will dwell in the forest with Raghava.'

Raghava heard various words uttered thus by the populace: and having heard them, he did not suffer his mind to be agitated. And that righteous one of the prowess of a mad elephant, from a distance began to make for the residence of his father resembling in brightness a summit of the Kailaca mountain. Entering the king's mansion, he drawing nigh found the heroic Sumantra seated in dejected mood. Seeing that well-wisher of his thus depressed. Rama endeavouring by all means to do his father's bidding, cheerfully went on, desirous of beholding his sire. And with the view of meeting the aggrieved king before repairing to the forest, the magnanimous son of the Ikshwaku race, seeing Sumantra, stayed there,-so that that noble-minded one might inform his father of his visit. And making up his mind to go to the woods in accordance with the command of his father Raghava seeing Sumantra, said unto him; "Do you inform the king of my arrival."

SECTION 34.

Then the mighty and incomparable Rama of eyes resembling lotus-petals said unto the charioteer, announce me to my father." Thus commissoned by Rama, the charioteer entering the apartment, found the king heaving sighs, his senses overwhelmed with grief. And he saw the monarch like the sun afflicted by Rahu, or like fire enveloped in ashes, or like a tank deprived of its water. Thereupon concluding that the king agitated by sorrow was bewailing Rama, the charioteer said with joined hands. And first paying homage unto the king, invoking victory upon him, the charioteer, perplexed with fear, softly and sweetly addressed the monarch thus:--"O foremost of men, your son waits at the entrance, after having distributed wealth to Brahmanas and his retinue Let that one having truth for prowess, good betide you, see you. Having greeted all his friends,he now wishes to see you. Know that he is about to set out for the mighty forest. Do you, O Lord of earth, see him furnished with every perfection, like the Sun himself surrounded by his Thereupon, that virtuous and truthful (king) resembling the ocean by virtue of his gravity, and motionless like the welkin, answered Sumantra, saying,-"O Sumantra, do thou bring hither my wives." Reaching the inner apartment, the charioteer said unto the ladies,—"The worshipful king calls you. Do you come speedily." Thus addressed by Sumantra at the mandate of the monarch, the ladies in a body, informed of their husband's command, went to the king's apartment. And three hundred and fifty females furnished with coppery eyes and observing yows, surrounding Kaucalya, proceeded slowly. On the females coming there, the monarch seeing this, said unto the charioteer,-"O Sumantra, do you bring hither my son." Thereat the charioteer taking Rama, Lakshmana and Mithila's daughter, speedily came before the lord of earth. The king seeing his son drawing nigh with joined hands, hastily rose up from his seat in company with his wives. And casting his eyes on Rama, the king rushed towards him, but before reaching his son, the aggrieved monarch fell down to the earth in a swoon. Rama and that migthy car-warrior Lakshmana swiftly neared the king striken with grief and rendered senseless by sorrow. And there arose in the palace cries of women by thousands of "Ah Rama," mingled with the tinkling of ornaments. Then both Rama and Lakshmana along with Sita took the king up with their arms, and with tears in their eyes laid him upon the couch. When the lord of the earth oppressed with the vapour begot of grief and overwhelmed with emotion, had regained his senses, Rama with joined palms said-"I ask you, O mighty monarch, as you are the lord of all. Do you see me safely despatched to the forest of Dandaka. Do you permit Lakshmana, and let Sita also follow mc to the woods; for although prohibited by me with various reasons, they do not wish to be left behind. Do you, O bestower of honour, permit us all, renouncing sorrow-Lakshmana and Sita and me,like Prajapati permitting his sons." Seeing Raghava about to set out for the forest, the lord of earth said unto the calm Rama waiting for his orders,-"O Raghava, I have been deprived of my senses in consequence of my having conferred boons on Kaikeyi. Do you therefore confining me to-day become king in Ayodhya." Thus addressed by the monarch, Rama—the best of the righteous—well versed in speech, with joined hands addressed his father thus,-"O king do you rule this earth for a thousand years,—I will reside in the forest. I do not wish for the kingdom. Having spent five and nine years in the woods, I shall again embrace your feet, lord of men, after fulfilling your vow." Fettered in the net of promise, the king bewailing his beloved son, secretly spurred on by Kaikeyi, said,-"Do you, my darling, with the view of attaining welfare here and hereafter and auspicious fortune, go calmly your fearless way,-so that you may return hither (in time.) I dare not, O descendant of the Raghu race, forbid you who are established in truth and who are bent upon discharging your duty. But, O son, do not by any means depart to-night: beholding you even for a single day, I shall feed with you. Do you, seeing me as well as your mother, stay here to-night. Then ministered unto every way, you will set out to-morrow. O son, O beloved Raghava difficult is the task that you are going to perform,-for compassing my good in the next world, you are ready to repair to the very woods! But, O Raghava, I swear unto you, this is anything but agreeable to me, my son. I have been made to swerve from my purpose by the crafty Kaikeyi resembling a fire hidden under ashes. You are going to give effect to the deceit that has been practised upon me by this woman intent upon sullying her line. And as you are my eldest son, it is no wonder, O son, that you should wish to maintain your father's truth." Hearing these words of his distressed father, the humble Rama, along with his brother Lakshmana, said, -- "Who will confer on me the merit tomorrow that I shall reap by going to-day? Therefore, I prefer even the journey to the woods to enjoying comforts here. Do you bestow upon Bharata this earth renounced by me- this kingdom abounding in corn and kine and filled with people; my mind determined upon dwelling in the forest, does not waver. Do you, O bestower of boons, grant Kaikeyi everything that you had promised unto her at the time of the

war (you had waged against the Danavas), and thereby do you follow truth. Obeying the mandate that you have issued, I will dwell in the forest for fourteen years in the company of the rangers of the woods. Do you without feeling any compunction confer the earth on Bharata. Mine is not the desire to obtain the kingdom for enjoying happiness or attaining any benefit. I will, O descendant of the Raghu race, do your bidding. Banish your grief, and suppress your tears. That lord of streams, the irresistible ocean, never forsakes his own magnanimity. I desire neither dominion, nor happiness, nor the earth, nor any object of enjoyment, nor heaven, nor life. O foremost of men, all I wish for is that you may not come by falsehood, and abide by truth. I truly and in good sooth swear before you that I cannot, O lord, remain here for a moment longer, O my father. Do you bear this grief, I cannot for certain act contrary to my promise. Directed by Kaikeyi saying,— 'Do you, O Raghava, go to the forest,' I had -'I will go,'-That promise I must accomplish. Do you not, O revered one, feel aggrieved. We will abide in the forest abounding in mild deer and resounding with the notes of various birds. The father is a very God,—even the celestials say this. Therefore will I look upon your word in the light of divinity. And, O best of monarchs, after the fourteen years have been spent, you will see me again by your side,therefore do you banish this grief. Why do you, O foremost of men, who will suppress other's grief, undergo this alteration? Do you confer upon Bharata this city and this kingdom and the earth renounced by me. Doing your behest, I will repair to the forest, sojourning there for a long time. Staying at the auspicious frontiers, let Bharata barely rule this earth furnished with watery expanses, cities and forests, when it has been renounced by me. O king, let what you have said be as you wish it. I do not, O king, set my heart upon any great object of desire, nor do I seek my own behoof, as I am bent upon, O you beloved of the good, working out your will. O sinless one, you will not therefore reap any evil on my account. Associating you with untruth, I would not, O sinless one, wish even for your company who are agitated with anxiety, or this entire kingdom, or every object of desire, or the earth, or Mithila's daughter. Even this is my truthful vow,-let also your vow prove true. Living upon fruits and roots in the forest, and surveying mountains and tanks and streams and graceful trees, I shall be happy on entering the forest, Do you cease to lament." Thus benetted with calamities and exercised with grief and anguish, the king embraced his son,-and then deprived of his consciousness fell down on the ground and became motionless. Thereat all the queens save that wife of the monarch (Kaikevi) bewailed together; and crying Sumantra also went into a swoc And the place was filled all around with exclamations "O" and "Alas.'

SECTION 35.

Then shaking his head and sighing again and again pressing palm upon palm and grinding teeth upon teeth, with eyes reddened in wrath and an altered complexion, and suddenly waxing angry and moved with grief, Sumantra witnessing the mental condition of Dacaratha said, shaking Kaikeyi's heart with the sharpened shafts of his speech and piercing her mind all over with his harsh words resembling thunderbolts, "O worshipful one, since you have forsaken king Dacaratha, the maintainer of this world and the mobile and the immobile that it contains, there is nothing that is incapable of being done by you. I consider you the murderess of your husband and as one that has finally exterminated one's line; inasmuch as you have by your act afflicted the monarch invincible like Indra, firm as a hill, and imperturbable like the deep itself. You ought not to bring down your boon-bestowing lord and husband Dacaratha; for surely the wish of a husband to a wife outweighs a koti of sons. The princes will obtain the kingdom one after another according to age;— this custom it is your study to render nugatory even when the lord of the Ikshawaku race is still alive. Let your son be king; let Bharata rule the earth: we, however, will go where goes Rama. No Brahmana will dwell in your dominion —such is the ungracious deed you are going to do. [Surely we will go the way that is wended by Rama, and what happiness. O revered one, will you, forsaken by friends, Brahmanas and the saintly, reap by remaining here, allured by the lust of dominion? And you are going to do such an act!] A wonder it is that I perceive, viz,that the earth hid by a character like you is not riven this very day. And why doth not the flaming and dreadful censure uttered by the mighty Brahmarshis destroy you who are bent upon banishing Rama? Who having hewn a mangoe tree by his axe, tendeth a Nimba? It never turns sweet for him that waters it. Your birth is noble indeed; it is as much so as is your mother's. They say that sweet is never extracted from Nimba. I remember what I have heard from old men concerning the vicious inclinations of your mother.

Some one intent upon conferring boons conferred an excellent one on your father. In virtue of this, that lord of earth could understand the import of sounds emitted by all beings, and it is in consequence of this that he could understand the speech even of birds and beasts. One day as your father was lying down, he, understanding the thoughts

of a gold-hued Jrimbha bird, from its cries, laughed heartily. Thereat your mother getting angry, wishing for the noose of death, said,-'O king, O placid one, I ask you for the reason of your laughter.' The king replied,—'O worshipful lady, if I unfold unto you the reason of my laugh, then I shall without doubt die to-day.' But that revered one, your mother, again urged Kekaya, saying,—'Tell it to me, whether you live or die; for (when I have learnt all about it), you will not be able to laugh at me again.' Thus addressed by his beloved spouse, that lord of earth Kekaya went to the saint that had conferred the boon on him and related unto him everything faithfully. Thereupon that boon-giving saint said unto the kin; "Whether this one kills herself or be destroyed, do you not, O king reveal it." Hearing these words of his, the king well pleased summarily forsook your mother and began to divert himself like Kuvera. Even in the same way, you, O you that see only evil, staying in an unrighteous count befouling the king's sense, endeavour to make him commit this wrong. In this connexion I remember a saying, viz.,- men take after their fathers, and women their mothers. Do not be so,-do you even accept what the lord of earth says. Doing the will of your lord, do you become the refuge of us all. Do not incited by evil propensities, make your husband the lord of men endued with the prowess of the celestial chief, perpetrate an unrighteous deed. That sinless one will not for certain give practical effect to the promise jestingly made by you. O worshipful one, king Dacaratha is graceful, being furnished with eyes resembling lotuses. Let him install his eldest son, Rama generous and able, maintaining his own religion—the protector of all menand endued with might. O revered lady, great is the obloquy that will spread concerning you, if leaving his royal father, Rama repaireth to the forest. Let therefore Raghava govern his kingdom; and do you remove your agitation. Surely save Raghava none residing in the kingdom will prove friendly to you. On Rama being installed as the heir-apparent, that best of bowmen—king Dacaratha—will depart for the forest, remembering ancient examples." Thus in presence of the king, Sumantra with clasped palms, with soft yet cutting words endeavoured to strike Kaikeyi with regret. But that noble dame did not feel any compunction, nor was she touched with regret. And the complexion of her countenance remained as it was before.

SECTION 36

Then that descendant of Ikshwaku afflicted because of his promise, sighing and his heart filled with the vapour begot of sorrow, again addressed Sumantra, saying,-"O charioteer, do you speedily marshall the army consisting of the four kinds of forces for following Raghava. And let sweet- speeched courtezans and opulent traders grace the extensive army of the prince. And, giving them immense wealth, do you also send with him those that depend on Rama, as well as those with whom he delights to wrestle. And let the foremost weapons, and the citizens, and cars, and fowlers well acquainted with the forest go in the wake of Kakutstha. Killing deer and elephants, and drinking wild honey, and beholding various rivers, they will ultimately forget this kingdom. And let our granary and treasury follow Rama who is to reside in the forest. Performing sacrifices at holy spots, and dispensing the prescribed Dakshinas, let Rama happily reside in the forest in the company of saints. The mighty- armed Bharata will govern Ayodhya. Therefore, do you furnish the auspicious Rama with every object of enjoyment." When that descendant of Kakutstha said this, Kaikeyi was inspired with apprehension: her countenance became blank, and her utterance was choked. Losing her complexion and agitated with fear, with her countenance fallen. Kaikevi faced the king and said,—"O righteous one, like unto a liquor whose lees alone have been left, Bharata will not receive the kingdom tasteless and denuded of all substance." While the shameless Kaikeyi was speaking thus sternly, king Dacaratha said unto that one of expansive eyes,—"O worker of mischief, why having laid the load upon me, do you torment me? O ignoble one, why did you not ask for this, when you did first solicit the boon?" Hearing these wrathful words of the king, that beauteous one, Kaikeyi, waxing doubly wroth, addressed the monarch, saying,-"Even in this line of yours, Sagara deprived his eldest son Asamanja by name of the enjoyment of the kingdom. In this way this one deserves to go to the forest." Thus addressed, king Dacaratha said,-"O fie!" and all present were afflicted with shame; but Kaikevi feigned not to understand all this. Then a notable, aged, pure-spirited personage held in high esteem by the monarch, named Siddhartha, addressed Kaikeyi, saying,-"Asamanja by way of sport catching people on the way, used to throw them into the waters of the Sarayu, and that wicked-minded wretch made merry over the same. Seeing him do so, the citizens in a body, waxing wroth spoke unto the monarch,—'O enhancer of the kingdom's prosperity, do you either banish Asamanja or us.' To them he replied,—'Whence is this fear of yours?' Thus asked by the monarch, the subjects said, - 'Through his impudence this one of perverted sense by way of diversion throwing our sons into the Sarayu, finds extreme delight. Hearing these words of his subjects, that lord of men, with the

intention of doing good to them, forsook that mischievous son of his. Then swiftly causing a car to be yoked, he said unto his men,—This one is to be banished for life in proper garb along with his wife.' Thereupon that worker of iniquity went to the forest and went about seeing mountain fastnesses. Thus did the virtuous king Sagara renounce his son. But what offence has Rama committed that he is to be banished? We do not find any fault whatever in Raghava. Rare is his fault even like the spot on the Moon. Or it may be, O exalted lady, that you perceive some fault in Raghava, -Do you, if so, unfold it; and then let Rama be banished. But the renunciation of the honest ever constant in a righteous course, in consequence of its being opposed to virtue, destroys the splendour of Sakra himself. Therefore, O noble one, cease to persevere in this, for what good would the marring of Rama's good fortune bring you? And, O you of a fair countenace, you will by such a course escape odium." Hearing Siddhartha's words, the king, his voice waxing exceedingly feeble, addressed Kaikeyi in words surcharged with emotion,—"O Personation of sin, thou relishest not this speech. Thou knowest not either thy own good or mine. This wicked endeavour of thine, O thou that strivest after harm, which thou puttest forth adopting a narrow path, is surely divorced from the course of the good Forsaking my kingdom, forsaking happiness and treasures, I will to-day follow Rama. Do thou with Bharata for the king forever enjoy dominion according to thy heart's desire,'

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Hearing the words of that worthy, Rama conversant with modesty, humbly addressed Dacaratha, saying,king, have I, that am renouncing everything and am going to dwell in the forest subsisting on what the forest yields, to do with a following? Of what avail is a person's attachment for the tether of a goodly elephant, when the elephant itself is renounced by him? Thus it is with me. O foremost of righteous ones. What shall I do with the army, O lord of men? I will confer everything on Bharata. Let them bring me a vesture of bark, and for me who will go to the forest and reside there for fourteen years, bring a hoe and a basket." Thereupon Kaikeyi herself brought a bark dress and that shameless one said unto Raghnva in the presence of all,—"Do you wear this." On this, that foremost of men taking those two pieces of bark from Kaikeyi, left his fine attire and put on the ascetic garb. And Lakshmana also, renouncing his choice raiment, put on the dress of an anchoret before his father. Then Sita clad in silk apparel, eying the ascetic covering meant for her, became agitated, like a doe at sight of a noose. And afflicted with shame, that one graced with auspicious marks, Janaki, sorrowfully took from Kaikeyi the Kuca and bark; and with tears flooding her eyes, that one cognisant of virtue and having her gaze ever fixed upon it, thus addressed her lord resembling the king of the Gandharbas,-"How do the ascetics dwelling in the woods put on their dress?" Saying this, Sita, ill at ease became embrassed. And putting on one piece on her neck and holding the other in her hand, the daughter of Janaka, feeling uneasy, stood overpowered with shame. Thereupon that best of righteous persons, Rama, speedily coming up to her, fastened the monastic garb over Sita's silk attire. Beholding Rama fastening that goodly garb on Sita, the females of the inner apartment began to shed tears. And waxing exceedingly aggrieved, they spoke unto Rama flaming in effulgence:—"Child, do not take this virtuous one to the forest. So long as you will reside in the forest in accordance with the wishes of your father, we shall behold her; and by this means let our lives attain their object, O lord. O son taking Lakshmana for your help, go you to the forest. This auspuious one does not deserve to live in the woods like an ascetic. O son, grant our prayer. Let the fair Sita remain. Ever steady in virtue, you do not yourself intend to stay here. Hearing these words, Dacaratha's son tied the dress on Sita having a similar character with himself. When she had put on the upper and under garments, the preceptor of the king, Vasistha, his voice choked with the vapour of sorrow, dissuading Sita, said unto Kaikeyi,—"O thou whose desires outrun thy sense of honour, O thou of perverted understanding O befouler of thy line, deceiving the monarch, thou stayest not within the pale of the promise. O thou bereft of good behavior, that noble lady, Sita, should not go to the forest. Sita will occupy Rama's seat. Of all those that marry, the wife is the (other) soul. Sita will govern the earth, as she is Rama's self. But if Vaidehi goes to the forest with Rama, we will follow him, and the inhabitants of the city will also repair thither. And the warders of the inner apartment, and the people of the kingdom and the city taking with them their neccessaries and servants will accompany Raghava and his wife. And Bharata and Satrughna wearing ascetic clothes and ranging the forest will live like their elder brother resident in the woods. Then alone thou of vile ways and intent upon harming the people wilt govern this empty earth deserted by the inhabitants, along with the trees. That can never be a kingdom where Rama is not the monarch, and that forest where Rama will reside will flourish into a monarchy. Bharata never wishes to govern a kingdom that has not been conferred upon him by his father; nor, if he has really been

begotten by the monarch, wilt he any further act by you as a son. Even if you leaving the earth fly unto the air, that one cognisant of the character of his ancestry, will never act otherwise. Therefore although intent on advancing your son, you have really brought about his injury. There exists not a person in the world that is not partial to Rama. O Kaikeyi, do you to-day behold beasts and snakes and birds journeying in the wake of Rama, and even the trees stand with their heads turned towards him. Do you, O noble lady, removing the ascetic guise, confer elegant ornaments on your daughter-inlaw, for such a dress suits not this one." Saying this Vasistha prevented Kaikeyi. "O daughter of kmg Kekaya, you have asked for the abode of Rama in the woods; and decked out in ornaments let Sita daily engaged in adorning herself, reside in the forest with Raghava. And let the daughter of the King go to the forest, surrounded by excellent cars and servants, and taking with her attires and other necessary things. When you demanded the (fulfilment of the) promise, you had not your eye on Sita." When that foremost of* Brahmanas, that preceptor of the king possessed of unparalelled potency, had said this, Sita, desirous of serving her beloved lord, did not turn away from the ascetic dress (presented by Kaikeyi.)

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WHEN Sita, having a husband although seeming as if she had none, was putting on the ascetic guise, the people got into a wrath and exclaimed, "O Daaaratha, fie on you!" Aggrieved at the uproar that arose there in consequence, the lord of earth banished from his heart all regard for life, virtue, and fame. And sighing hot, that descendant Ikshwaku spoke onto that wife of his, saying,—"O Kaikeyi, Sita deserves not to go in a Kuca dress. Tender, and youthful, and worthy of happiness, she is by no means capable of living in the forest. My spiritual guide has spoken the truth. Whom has this one injured that, being the daughter of the foremost of kings, she like a female ascetic, wearing a meagre garb in the presence of all, will (repair to the woods and) remain there like a beggar destitute of everything? Let Janaka's daughter leave off her ascetic guise. This is not the promise that I had made to you before. Let the princess go to the forest in comfort, furnished with all sorts of gems. My sands run out; by me hath this cruel promise been made with an oath. But this (exile of Sita) has been thought of by you through your ignorance! Let it not, however, consume you like a bamboo flower destroying the bamboo. If, O wicked woman, Rama has happened to do thee something unbeautiful, what wrong, O base wretch, has Vaidehi done thee in the world? Of eyes expanded like those of a doe, endued with a mild temperament, and virtuous, what harm has Janaka's daughter done thee. Surely, O nefarious one, the banishment of Rama is enough for thee. Why then dost thou bend thy mind to perpetrate these atrocious sins? O noble dame, having heard you asking for the banishment of Rama, who had at first been intended by me for being installed, and who came here afterwards. I had promised you (his exile alone.) But since, going beyond that promise of mine, you behold Mithala's daughter dressed in mendicant garb, surely you wish to find your way to hell." Thus commissioned to the forest, Rama who was seated sealing his lips, said,-"O righteous one, this my mother is aged and famous and of a lofty spirit. May she not meet with improper treatment at your hands! It behoves you, O bestower of boons, to show greater honour to her when she shall be deprived of me and be plunged into a sea of grief and afflicted with unprecedented woe. O you comparable unto the mighty Indra, you should so behave with my mother smitten with my separation, that exercised by grief in consequence of my residence in the forest, she may not, renouncing life, repair to the mansions of

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Hearing Rama's words, and seeing him dressed like an ascetic, the king in the midst of his wives was deprived of his senses. And burning in grief, the king could not eye Raghava, nor seeing him could that one of afflicted mind answer anything. Then remaining unconscious for a while, the mighty-armed lord of earth oppressed by grief began to bewail, thinking of Rama. "I conclude that formerly I deprived many a cow of her calf, and took the life of many a creature, and it is for this that the present calamity has befallen me. (I infer) that life never departs from the body unless the time comes, for although sore tried by Kaikeyi, my life does not go out of me, and for I can see before me this one resembling fire, clad in the dress of an ascetic, having left his fine vesture. These people are in trouble in consequence of Kaikeyi alone striving by help of this craftiness to secure her interest." Having said these words, Dacaratha, his semes overpowered by the vapour of sorrow, exclaimed "Rama!" and could not proceed further. Then soon regaining consciousness the lord of earth with tearful eyes addressed Sumuntra, saying,-"Yoking a riding car with excellent horses, do you come hither; and take the exalted one to the south of the kingdom. The virtuous and heroic Rama is being banished by his father and mother. Even this methinks will be asserted as the fruit of the virtues possessed by the pious.'

Receiving the mandate of the sovereign, Sumantra endued with fleet vigour, yoking a car adorned with horses, came there. Then the charioteer with joined hands announced to the prince that the car adorned with gold was ready, yoked with excellent horses. The king, versed in time and place, and pure, speedily summoning his treasurer, said unto him these words firmly,— "Do you without delay bring unto Vaidehi excellent and costly attires and noble ornaments, counting these (ten and four) years." Thus desired by the foremost of men, that officer repairing to the treasury, procuring all those, speedily presented them to Sita. Thereupon that pure-sprung one, Vaidehi, ordered to the forest, adorned her goodly limbs with those rare ornaments. And thus decked out, Vaidehi graced that chamber like the effulgence of the Sun irradiating the welkin with his rays. Then embracing with her arms Mithila's daughter of noble behaviour, and smelling the crown of her head, Sita's mother-in-law said,-"Those women that although having always been carefully tended by their husbands, do not regard them during the incident of adversity, are in this world reckoned as unchaste.—Even this is the nature of women: having formerly tasted happiness (at the hands of their husbands), they, on the accession of an inconsiderable misfortune, take them to task,-nay, forsake them utterly. Those women that are untruthful, unmindful, of evil ways, heartless, intent on unrighteous acts, and whose love is evanescent, are unchaste. Neither lineage, nor benefit, nor learning, nor gift, nor forbearance of faults, can secure the hearts of females,-surely their hearts are unstable. But chaste women of good character, abiding in truth, acting in accordance with the precepts of superiors, and maintaining the dignity of their race, single out their lords as the prime means of compassing their spiritual welfare. Therefore although my son is going to be banished to the woods, you should by no means disregard him. Whether he be wealthy or poor, he is unto you like a god." Hearing her mother-in- law's words fraught with virtue and interest, Sita facing that lady, said with joined palms,-"I will do all that the noble one says. I know how I should act by my husband. I have heard all about that (from my parents.) The worshipful one ought not to place me on the same footing with unrighteous persons. As brightness doth not depart from the moon, so I cannot swerve from virtue. The Vina without strings does not sound; and the car without wheels does not move, - so although having an hundred sons, a woman without her husband cannot attain happiness. The Father gives in measure, the father and the son give in measure,-but who does not worship that bestower of 'riches fineless'-the husband? O exalted one, having learnt from my superiors the principal as well the minor duties, shall I disregard (my lord)? A husband is a deity unto the wife. Hearing Sita's words which went directly to the heart, Kaucalya endued with purity of spirit, out of fulness of bliss and bale suddenly shed tears. Then with joined hands that foremost of virtuous ones addressed his mother, who, duly honoured by all, was seated in the midst of his other mothers. saying,-"O mother, without indulging in grief, you should minister unto my father; and the term of my abode in the woods will shortly expire. You will find these five and nine years pass away as if in a sleep. Then again, getting me,you will see me surrounded by my friends and relatives." Having spoken out his mind unto his mother, Rama attentively eyed his three hundred and fifty mothers. And with joined hands Dacaratha's son spake words fraught with virtue unto his mothers afflicted like Kaucalya herseH "If I have said anything harsh to you in consequence a familiarity, or done any wrong through ignorance, do you forgive the same. I salute you all." These calm words of Raghava informed with piety were heard by the ladies overwhelmed with grief. As Raghava was speaking thus, then arose a loud wail proceeding from those wives of that chief of men, like unto the cries of Kraunchis. And the aboA of Dacaratha which formerly resounded with murajas, panavas, meghas [Musical instruments.], was now filled with cries of distress and lamentations.

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Then exceedingly distressed, Rama, Sita and Lakshmana, bowing down unto the king, circumambulated him. Then with the king's permission, the righteous Raghava stupified with sorrow, in company with Sita, paid respect unto his mother. Following his brother, Lakshmana saluted Kaucalya; then he again took hold of his mother Sumitra's feet. As the son of Sumitra, was thus engaged in honouring his mother. his mother smelling the crown of his head, thus spoke unto the mighty-armed Lakshmana,-"Although attached unto thy friends here, thou hast my permission to go to the forest. When Rama shall have gone (to the woods), do not, O son, show any negligence unto him. O sinless one, whether in prosperity or in adversity, even this one is thy way. That a younger brother should follow his elder is in this world the duty of the righteous. These are the legitimate duties ever observed by this race-charity, initiation into sacrifice, and renunciation of the body in the field of battle. Do thou consider Rama as Dacaratha, and Janaka's own-begotten as myself; do thou regard Ayodhya as a wilderness,-go my son,

at thy sweet pleasure." Having thus spoken unto that dear descendant of Raghu, who had made up his mind (to journey to the forest), Sumitra, again and again said unto him,-"Go! Go!" Then like unto Matali addressing Vasava, that one understanding humility, Sumantra, with joined hands humbly said unto Kakutstha,-"O illustrious prince, good betide you: do you ascend the car. O Rama, I will speedily take you to wherever you will tell me. You will have to spend fourteen years in the forest, and your stay must commence from this very day. So the noble lady has ordered." Then having adorned her person, that best of her sex, Sita, with a glad heart ascended the car resembling the sun. Counting the term of their stay in the woods, her father-in-law furnished Sita following her lord with attires and ornaments. And then he placed in front of the car various weapons, coats of mail, a basket bound in hide and a hoe. At length the brothers Rama and Lakshmana swiftly ascended the flaming car garnished with gold. And seeing them with Sita for the third, mounted, Sumantra drove the car yoked with goodly horses resembling the wind in celerity. On Raghava having left for the forest to stay there for a long period, the men and beasts within the city were deprived of their senses (by grief). And in the city there arose a mighty tumult in consequence of the hurrying of people, the elephants waxing mad and furious, and the neighings of horses. And the entire city containing young and old, extremely afflicted, rushed after Rama, like persons oppressed with the heat of the sun rushing towards water.

At his side and back, the people bending forward with their faces covered with the vapour of grief, and sighing hard, said unto the charioteer,--"O charioteer, rein in the horses,—do thou proceed softly. We will see the countenance of Rama, which we shall never see again. Surely the heart of Rama's mother is made of iron, for it does not burst on witnessing her son resembling Skanda repairing to the forest. Vaidehi, attaining her desire, follows her husband, like a shadow attached to virtue, she does not forsake him even as the Sun forsakes not meru. O Lakshmana, you are blessed, since you will serve your god-like brother ever speaking fair. This design of yours is great; this is your mighty good fortune; this the way to heaven that you are following him." Saying this, they could not supress their fears; and the men followed the beloved descendant of Ikshwaku. Then the king, his senses overcome by grief, surrounded by his distressed wives, went out of his house, saying-"I will behold my dear son." He heard before him a mighty noise proceeding from weeping women, like unto the roars of she-elephants, when a great elephant has been taken captive. Thereupon Rama's father, the graceful Kakutstha, became shorn of his splendour, like unto the full-moon enveloped at the appointed time during the eclipse. Then the auspicious son of Dacaratha of soul incapable of being comprehended, ordered the charioteer, saying,-"Do thou proceed more speedily Rama saying unto the charioteer,—"Go," and the people,— "Stay," desired on the way, the charioteer could not act both ways at once. As the mighty-armed Rama proceeded, the dust of the earth raised by the car-wheels were laid by the tears of the citizens showering down. And in consequence of Raghava's departure, the entire city filled with despair, and uttering with their senses lost exclamations of "Oh" and "Alas," became exceedingly afflicted. And the tears begot of heart's grief that flowed from the eyes of the females, resembled raindrops scattered around from lotuses shaken by the movements of fish. And beholding the citizens absorbed in one thought, the auspicious monarch fell down in grief like a tree whose roots have been severed. Then seeing the sovereign senseless and stricken with exceeding sorrow, the multitudes at the rear of Rama broke out into a loud tumult. And seeing the king weeping aloud with the inmates of the inner apartment, some exclaiming "Oh Rama," and others, "O Rama's mother, began to bewail. Then turning back, Rama saw that his sorrow-stricken and bewildered father along with his mother, was following his track. As a colt fastened in a snare cannot see its mother, so Rama fastened in the bonds of virtue could not look at his mother openly. And seeing his parents deserving of comfort and worthy of going in a carriage, going on foot, Rama said unto the charioteer,—"Go thou swiftly. And that foremost of men was incapable of bearing the looks of his father and mother, like unto an elephant afflicted with the hook, (not being able to look at what is placed on its

Rama's mother rushed after him like a cow having a calf which has been fettered, rushing towards the fold, for the purpose of seeing it. Rama beheld his mother Kaucalya running after the car, bewailing aloud, — "Rama, Rama, Ah Sita, Lakshmana," shedding tears for Rama, Lakshmana and Sita, and appearing as if she had been dancing incessantly. The king exclaimed, — "Stay," Raghava said, — "On, On." Sumantra's mind vascillated like that of one placed between two hosts burning to encounter each other. Rama said unto him—"When taxed by the monarch (on your return), you will say, 'I did not hear you.' But delay will impart me terrible pain." Thereupon, doing Rama's bidding, the charioteer, telling the people to desist, made the horses already coursing, run faster. The retainers of the king stopped after

circumambulating Rama, but their minds did not turn back. But the others did not return either bodily or mentally. Then the courtiers said unto that mighty monarch, Dacaratha,—"He that is expected back should not be followed far." Hearing their words, the king endued with every virtue, with his body covered with perspiration and his countenance woebegone, and exceeding distressed, stopped short and stood along with his wife looking at his son.

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When that foremost of men had gone out of the city with joined hands, there arose a chorus of cries proceeding from the females residing in the inner apartment. "Where goeth he that was the stay and refuge of the friendless, the feeble, and the helpless? He that although falsely accused, used not to be moved by anger, who pacified every enraged person by renouncing things calculated to fan anger and who felt equally for all, where goeth he? Where goeth that highly energetic and magnanimous one who conducted himself with us as he did with his mother Kaucalya? Afflicted by Kaikeyi and commissioned by the monarch unto the woods, where goeth the deliverer of these people—of the entire world? Ah! the senseless monarch is sending to the woods the stay of all creatures—the righteous and truthful Rama." Thus all the queens, oppressed with grief, burst out into lamentations like kine bereft of calves, and loud was the sound of their wailing. Hearing the loud tumult of lamentation in the inner apartment, the lord of earth burning in grief for his son was striken with sorrow. And oblations unto the fire had not been offered; and the Sun set; and elephants forsook their forage; and the kine did not suckle their calves. Trisanku, Lohitanga, Vrihashpati, Budha and the other Grahas getting at the Moon, remained with fierce aspects. The stars are shorn of their brightness; the Grahas deprived of sheen; and Vicakha appeareth enveloped in haze. And clouds driven by the wind resembled the sea mounting the welkin; and the city shook on Rama having departed for the forest. And the cardinal points are distressed, and appear enveloped in darkness. And no planet or star is to be seen. And all of a sudden the citizens have been striken with poverty: and no one turns his thoughts to eating or drinking. And ceaselessly burning in grief and heaving sighs, the people in Avodhya rage at the monarch. And with their faces washed in tears, the wayfarers betoken no delight, but all are being exercised with grief. And the cool air does not blow, and no moon of mild appearance is seen, and no sun heats the world, all the entire Earth is overwhelmed with woe. And sons depend not upon their parents, hurbands on their wives, and brothers on brothers; and all forsaking each other, think of Rama only, And deprived of sense, and oppressed by the load of sorrow, the friends of Rama forsook their rest. Like the Earth with her mountains bereft of Purandara, Ayodhya, bereft of Rama, shook, agitated by fear and grief; and the citizens with elephants and warriors uttered exclamations of distress.

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So long as he could see the dust raised by the car of Rama setting out for the forest, so long that best of the Ikshwaku race did not turn his eyes from that direction. And so long as the king could discover his exceedingly virtuous and favourite son, so long he raised himself (on his toes) on the earth with the view of beholding him. And when the ruler of earth could no longer perceive even the dust raised by Rama's car, then pierced with sorrow, and in heaviness of heart, he fell down to the ground. Then (raising him up), Kaucalya held his right arm and walked with him, while the slender-waisted Kaikeyi walked by his left. Endowed with a sense of justice and with virtue and humility, the king with afflicted senses steadily eveing Kaikevi, thus spake unto her.—"O Kaikevi, that hast decided for following sin, do thou not touch my person,—nor do I wish to see thee. Thou art no wife of mine—not even a maid-servant of a friend sharing his good graces. I am none to those that subsist on thy favour, nor are they anything to me. I renounce thee who solely seekest thy interest and hast abandoned virtue. I renounce all the advantages pertaining either to this world or the next which I am entitled to by virtue of having obtained thy hand and having made thee circumambulate the sacrifical fire. If Bharata is satisfied with receiving this entire kingdom, let not what he spends on account of my funeral obsequies find its way to me." Then raising the lord of men covered with dust, the noble Kaucalya pierced with grief, stopped (along with the monarch). The righteous one remembering Raghava repented himself, as if he had slain a Brahmana through inordinate desire, or as if he had placed his hand in fire. And having stopped again and again, the visage of the monarch lamenting on beholding the track of the car, appeared dim like the Moon invaded by Rahu. And stricken with grief, he lamented, remembering his beloved son; and thinking that by this time he had reached the precincts of the city, he broke out into the following,—"On the way are traced the foot-prints of those foremost of bearers that are carrying my son away; but that magnanimous one I do not find. And that meritorious son of mine, who, doubed with sandal, used to rest his head pleasantly upon a pillow,

fanned by beauteous damsels decked in ornaments, will to-day surely take refuge underneath a tree, and lay his head on a wooden plank or a stone. Covered with dust, he heaving sighs will rise from the ground in sad guise, like a leader of sheelephants rising from the side of a mountain. The rangers of the woods will now see the long-armed Rama resembling the lord himself of the worlds, rising from the ground and going like one forlorn. And that one so dearly loved by Janaka, worthy of being constantly ministered unto with comforts, is to-day going to the forest, fatigued in consequence of having been pierced with thorns. Unacquainted with the forest, she is certainly afflicted with fright on hearing the deep roars of ferocious beasts, capable of making one's hair stand erect. O Kaikeyi, do thou realize thy desire,-do thou becoming a widow, rule this kingdom. Without that best of men I cannot live." Thus lamenting, the king surrounded by the multitude, like one that had performed his bath after death, entered that best of cities filled with people enfeebled and smitten with grief, with its streets thined of men and its stalls closed. And beholding that entire city, with his mind fixed upon Rama, the king lamenting, like unto the sun entering clouds, entered that city like unto an unagitated sea rid of serpents by Suparna [Lit, fair-feathered, a name of Garura.], the city without Rama or Lakshmana or Sita. Then with tears in his eyes, the lord of earth, lamenting, in unintelligible accents said these sad and broken words,—"Do you speedily take me to the room of Rama's mother, Kaucalya; for in no other place shall I find rest for my heart." When the king had spoken thus, the ushers taking him to Kaucalya's chamber, made him lie down in lowly plight. And having entered Kaucalya's apartment, the king having laid himself on the bed, was overwhelmed with emotion. And the king surveyed the mansion deprived of his two sons as well as his daughter-inlaw, like unto the welkin deprived of the Moon. Beholding this, the puissant sovereign raising up his arm, burst out into lamentations, saying,— "Ah! Rama, thou forsakest us both! Ah me! surely those blessed people are happy, who having passed this gap of time, will behold Rama returned and will embrace him." Then when the night had come like unto his own fatal night, Dacaratha at mid-night addressed Kaucalya saying,—"I do not perceive thee, O Kaucalya. Do thou touch me with thy hand. My sight having followed Rama doth not return yet." Then seeing that foremost of men absorbed in the contemplation of Rama, that noble dame sat by him, and afflicted with greater grief, began to indulge a sorrow, sighing heavily

SECTION 43

Then seeing the king lying down stupified with grief Kaucalya aggrieved for her son, spake unto the lord of earth, saying,-'O best of men, having vented her venom upon Raghava, the crooked Kaikeyi will go about like a sheserpent that has cast off her slough. And that fortunate one having by her endeavours attained her end, will frighten me the more like a wicked serpent in one's house. If Rama had staved in this city subsisting himself by alms, or had I made my son as Kaikeyi's slave, even that would have been preferable (before his retirement to the woods). Like unto the sacrificial share cast unto the Rakshasas by the sacrificers on the occasions of Parvas, that wielder of the bow, the mightyarmed Rama, gifted with the gait of the prince of elephants, cast off by Kaikeyi, takes refuge in the forest in company with his wife and Lakshmana. Despatched by you to the woods at the command of Kaikeyi, to what a plight will they, not inured to the privations of a forest-life, be reduced! And bereft of elegant apparel, how will they of tender years, exiled in this time of enjoyment, pass their lives in misery, subsisting on fruits and roots! Will such a time present itself now that my grief removed and my desire attained. I shall here behold Raghava along with his wife and brother? When, hearing that those heroes have come, will Ayodhya adorned with standards and garlands, attain fame, with her populace filled with joy? When, seeing those foremost of men returned from the forest, will the city overflow with delight, like the ocean on the occasion of a Parva? When will the mighty-armed hero enter the city of Ayodhya, placing Sita" before him on the car, like unto a bull having his bovine mate before him? When will people by thousands shower fried paddy upon my sons on the road, as those repressors of foes will enter the city? When shall I behold those (two) wearing burnished ear-rings, entering Ayodhya, placing before them their weapons and swords, like unto two hills furnished with their summits? When accepting flowers from girls and fruits from Brahmanas, will they, filled with delight, go round the palace? When with his intelligence ripened by time, although resembling a celestial in age, will that righteous-souled one come here, rejoicing people like a Trivarsha? [Three consecutive showers, favourable to the crops. Doubtless, O hero, formerly of vile ways that I was, I had cut off the paps of kine and thus prevented their calves hungering after their mothers' milk, from drinking it. And it is for this sin that, O foremost of men, have I, attached to my son, been forcibly deprived of him by Kaikeyi, like a cow deprived of her calf by a lion. Having an only son, I dare not live without him endowed with every virtue and versed in

every branch of learning. Not seeing my beloved son and the mighty Lakshmana, I cannot live at all. As in summer the divine Sun furnished with fierce rays burns this earth, even so this raging fire of grief on account of my son consumes me."

SECTION 44

As that best of ladies, Kaucalya, was thus lamenting. Sumitra ever abiding in virtue, spake unto her these words consistent with righteousness.—"O worshipful one, your son is crowned with all qualities,—and is the best of men. Why then do you bewail thus, or weep bitterly? Since, O revered one, renouncing the kingdom, your mighty son wendeth (to the woods) with the view of fulfiling the intention of his highsouled and truthful sire, the worthy Rama staying in the duty that is completely observed by the good and the performance of which always bringeth welfare in the next world, should by no means be lamented. And that sinless one, Lakshmana, kind unto all creatures, will minister unto Rama in the best way possible, - and this is to the advantage of that high-souled one, And experiencing the hardships that come of living in the forest, Vaidehi deserving of happiness follows your righteous son. And what is wanting unto that maintainer of all, your son of subdued senses, intent upon truth and the observance of vows, who is spreading his banner of fame over the world? Acquainted with Rama's manifest purity and high magnanimity, the Sun himself will not dare burn his body with his rays. And issuing from the woods at all hours, the delicious air impregnated with heat and cold will serve Raghava. And when he will lie down at night, the Moon touching him with his beams and embracing him even like his own father, will gladden his heart. That hero of mighty energy on whom Brahma had conferred celestial weapons, seeing that foremost of the Danavas, the son of Timidhwaja, slain in battle,-that tiger-like one, relying on the native strength of his arms, will fearlessly abide in the forest as if in his own home. And why should not the earth remain in the sway of him coming within the range of whose arms enemies find destruction? Considering Rama's grace, heroism and auspiciousness, (there cannot be any doubt that) returning from the forest, he will speedily regain his own kingdom. He is the sun of the sun, the lord of the lord,—he is the auspiciousness of prime auspiciousness, the fame of fame, the forbearance of forbearance, the god of the gods, - and the foremost of creatures. What evil qualities, O noble lady, will be perceived in him, whether he remains in the city or in the forest? And that best of men, Rama, will soon be installed in the kingdom, in company with these three— the Earth, Vaidehi, and the goddess of victory. Although overwhelmed with grief, the people of Ayodhya, seeing that noble unvanquished one retiring to the woods clad in Kuca and bark, are shedding tears begot of sorrow; yet accompanied by that Lakshmi, what is there that is incapable of being attained by him? And what is there that is incapable of being obtained by him before whom goeth that foremost of bowmen himself bearing arrows, swords and other weapons? You will again see him returned from the forest. O exalted one, chase your grief and sadness, I tell you this truly. O blameless one, you will again, O auspicious lady, see your son, like onto the newrisen moon, paying homage unto your feet with his head. And again seeing him returned and crowned with great auspiciousness, you will speedily shed the dew of delight. O noble lady, do not grieve or lament. Evil cannot touch Rama. You will soon behold your son along with Siti and Lakshmana. O sinless one, it is for you to console these people. Why then, O revered one, do you suffer your heart to be thus overpowered? O eminent one, you ought not to bewail, inasmuch as Raghava is your son. In this world there is not another residing in honesty that is superior to Rama. Beholding your son surrounded by his friends, bowing unto you, you will soon shed blissful tears, even like a rain-cloud. And soon will your son conferring boons, returning (to this place), press your feet with those soft and plump hands of his. And even as a chain of clouds speaks unto a hill, you will speak onto worshipful and heroic son, surrounded by his friends, bowing unto you." Having thus addressed Rama's mother and inspired her with hope in various words, the noble pleasant and blameless Sumitra, clever in speech, paused Hearing those words of Lakshmana's mother, that wife of the best of men, Rama's mother, had her sorrow destroyed in her person, even like an autumnal cloud surcharged with slight

SECTION 45.

The people, who yarned after Rama having truth for prowess, followed him repairing to the forest Even when the king in the interests of his son had with much ado restrained himself, these, following Rama's car, did not desist. That illustrious one crowned with every perfection was unto the inhabitants of Ayodhya like unto the full moon himself. Although besought by the subjects, the truthful Kakutstha having pledged his word unto his father, kept on going to the forest. And affectionately eying them as if drinking them with his sight, Rama touchingly addressed those subjects as if they were his own,—"The love and regard which the inhabitants

of Ayodhya have for me, let them, for pleasing me, extend in full measure towards Bharata. That enhancer of Kaikevi's delight bearing an auspicious character, will duly compass your happiness and welfare. Aged by virtue of his wisdom, although young in years, and mild albeit furnished with heroic virtue, that remover of fear will make a fit ruler for ye. Crowned with every regal virtue and selected as the heirapparent (by the monarch), he is more meritorious by far than I am. It behoves ve to obey the order of your master. And seeking my good, it behoves ye to act so that when I shall have gone to the forest, the king may not grieve." But as Dacaratha's son was bringing home to the people that their duty lay in obeying the royal mandate, they desired that even Rama should rule them. And Rama in company with Sumitra's son attracted the inhabitants of the city subdued by his virtues, who stood with tears in their eyes. And the three kinds of the twice born ones, viz., those old by virtue, respectively, of age, wisdom, and ascetic energy, the old folks with their heads shaking through length of years,-cried from a distance,-"O ye fleet coursers boasting of exalted extraction that bear Rama away, do ye desist,-do not go; do ye do even what is for the good of your master. And more particularly being creatures furnished with ears, do ye, ye horses, knowing our prayer, desist. And pure of spirit and heroic and ever firm in noble promises, that master of yours should in justice be carried (unto the city) and not unto the forest away from it." Suddenly seeing those old Brahmanas thus lamenting distressfully, Rama speedily descended from his car. And along with Lakshmana and Sita. Rama bound for the forest, began to walk near them on foot. Endowed with kindness, that friend of the good, Rama, could not by proceeding on his car bear to part with the Brahmanas that were following on foot. Seeing him thus going, the Brahmanas with agitated hearts, and burning in grief, addressed Rama in these words,—"The Brahmanas in a body are following thee ever seeking their good, and mounting on the shoulders of the regenerate ones, the (sacrificial) Fires are walking in thy wake. And behold these raised umbrellas of ours got from the Vajapeya sacrifice, that like unto autumnal clouds follow at your back. With these umbrellas got at the Vajapeya sacrifice, we will afford shade unto Rama destitute of his own white umbrella, when he shall feel the heat of the (solar) rays. That intelligence of ours which ever followeth the Vedic Mantras, is now, O child, ready to follow thee unto the forest in thy interests. That best of treasures, the Vedas, resides in our bosoms; and our wives protected by their chastity abide in our homes. As we have already made up our minds to follow thee it is useless to fix our hearts afresh. But if thou overlookest virtue, what becomes of abiding by righteousness? O thou that art ever firm in virtue, we beseech thee by humbling unto the dust our heads covered with hair white like cranes, do thou desist. These numerous Brahmanas that have come hither have entered upon many a sacrifice. The completion of these, O child, depends upon thy return. All creatures mobile and immobile cherish thee with high regard All these beseech thee. Do thou show consideration unto those that regard thee. Tall trees deprived of motion in consequence of being fast rooted to the earth and incapable of following thee, are prohibiting thee by sounding with the wind. And birds staying upon trees and neither manifesting any motion nor seeking for their food, beseech thee to have compassion upon all creatures." While the Brahmanas were loudly demanding the return of Rama, he found the darkness to descend as if forbidding him. Then Sumantra unyoked the fatigued horses from the car, which at once fell to rolling in the dust. And then bathing them and making then drink, he soon as the dusk set in, set fare before them.

SECTION 46

Then Raghava pausing on the banks of the Tamasa, looked at Sita and spake unto Sumitra's son, saying,- "O son of Sumitra, this is the first night of our exile into the forest. From this day it behoveth thee not, good betide thee, to suffer thy mind to grieve (by dwelling on past joys.) The empty forest resounding with the cries of beasts and birds returned to their abodes, and covered with gloom, seems to weep on all sides. Doubtless to-day the men and women of Ayodhya, the metropolis of my father, are bewailing us retired to the forest. O foremost of men, the people are attached unto thyself, the monarch, Bliarata, Satrughna, and myself, because of our various good qualities. I bewail our father as well as my illustrious mother. I fear lest lamenting ceaselessly, they become blind. But surely the virtuous Bharata will console our father and mother with words fraught with virtue, interest and profit. Reflecting again and again on Bharata's sincerity of soul, I do not, O mighty- armed one, bewail either my mother or my father. O foremost of men, that thou hast followed me is what is thy duty. (If thou hadest not done so), I should have to seek elsewhere for the protection of Vaidehi. O Sumitra's son, I will spend here this night, subsisting on water alone. Even this recommends itself unto me, although the forest yields various kinds of fruits." Having said this unto Sumitra's son, Raghava spake unto Sumantra, saying, mild one, do thou now needfully tend the horses." Then at sunset, fastening the horses, Sumantra fed them plentifully with grass, and then came back. Then seeing the night arrived, the charioteer worshipped the beneficent Sandhya, and then in company with Sumitra's son, prepared Rama's bed. And looking at that bed on the shores of the Tamasa surrounded by trees, Rama along with his wife and the son of Sumitra, lay down. When Lakshmana found that Rama afflicted with fatigue had slept together with his spouse, he began to speak unto the charioteer concerning the various qualities of Rama. As remaining awake in the night, Sumitra's son was engaged in expatiating to the charioteer on the virtues of Rama on the banks of the Tamasa, the sun arose.

Rama abode that night along with the subjects at some distance from the banks of the Tamasa filled with kine. Rising (from his bed), that highly energetic one, Rama, viewing the subjects (asleep), addressed his brother Lakshmana graced with auspicious marks,-"O son of Sumitra, these for our sake have disregarded their own homes, are asleep beneath the trees. These citizens have determined upon making me turn back from the forest,- they would rather renounce their lives than give up their resolve. Let us while they are asleep ascending on our car, swiftly go our way without fear of molestation. Attached to me, the denizons of Ikshwaku's city will not again indulge in sleep underneath trees. A prince should deliver citizens from the calamity they bring upon themselves; but he should by no means drag them into those which he himself has brought on." Then Lakshmana spake unto Rama like unto manifest Virtue on earth.—"O wise one. even this is relished also by me. Do you speedily ascend (the car.)" Rama said unto the charioteer,-"Do thou at once yoke the car. I will repair to the forest. Do thou, my master, swiftly go hence." Thereupon the charioteer bestirring himself, yoking the excellent horses unto the car, said unto Rama with joined hands,- "Here, O mighty-armed one, is your car ready yoked, O foremost of car-warriors. Do you speedily ascend, good betide you, along with Sita and Lakshmana. Ascending the car after equipping himself, Raghava crossed the rapidly- rushing Tamasa abounding in eddies. Having crossed (the stream), the auspicious and mighty-armed one came upon a safe and goodly high way capable of inspiring even timid people with confidence. But with the view of deluding the citizens. Rama said unto the charioteer.—"0 charioteer, do thou ascending the car proceed northwards; and having proceeded swiftly for a while, do thou turn the car. Do thou carefully act so that the citizens may not perceive this." Hearing Rama's words, the charioteer did accordingly. and having returned said unto Rama to ascend the car.

Then on those perpetuators of the Raghu race having along with Sita been seated on the car, the charioteer drove the horses by that road which conducted to the hermitage. Then placing the car with its face northwards for the purpose of invoking auspiciousness on their journey, that mighty charioteer, Dacaratha's son, established on the vehicle, set out for the forest

SECTION 47

When the night had departed and day dawned, the citizens not finding Raghava, were overwhelmed with grief and were deprived of their senses. With tears of grief and afflicted with distress, they looked hither and thither, but they could not discover even the dust raised by Rama's car. And those intelligent ones, extremely distressed on being deprived of Rama endowed with understanding, with countenances betokening sorrow, spoke these piteous words,that sleep through which having been deprived of senses, we shall not to-day behold Rama of broad chest and mighty arms. How could Rama of mighty arms, resorting to this undesirable course, has gone into exile as an ascetic, leaving behind those that regard him dearly? Why has that foremost of Raghus, who has always cherished us even as a father cherishes his sons begot by his own loins, forsaking us, betaken himself to the forest? Here will we either renounce our lives, or direct our course to the north to meet death. Of what good are our lives, when we have been deprived of Rama? There are huge trunks of dry wood to be got here in plenty. Lighting the pile of woods will we all enter the fire. What shall we say (when people ask us?) How can we say,-'We took hence the mighty-armed, sweet-speeched and unavenging Rama'? Surely seeing us without Raghava, the forlorn city with her women, children and grown up folks will be plunged in grid We had issued with that high-souled hero. Deprived of him, how shall we behold that city?" Thus raising up their arms, they stricken with grief, indulged in lamentations, like unto kine deprived of their calves.—Then following for a while the track of the car, they, missing the track, become overwhelmed with woe. And then those intelligent ones came back by the track of the car. "What is this? What shall we do? We have been foiled by some supernatural agency." Then they returned to the city of Ayodhya with its good people oppressed with grief, by the self-same way by which they had come. Viewing the city, they with their eyes weighed down with grief, and minds oppressed with woe, shed plentiful tears. "This city deprived of Rama does not look beautiful, like a lake bereft of its serpent by Garura, or the firmament

deprived of the Moon, or the ocean without its waters." And they disturbed in mind beheld the city sunk in sorrow. And entering their wealthy mansions, they deprived of their senses by grief, could not recognize them for their own, nor could they with their hearts rendered absolutely cheerless, although looking at them minutely, distinguish their own from others.

SECTION 48.

THEN with depressed spirits, and exceedingly afflicted, with tears flooding their eyes, smitten with mortal grief, the inhabitants of the city went back from Rama unto the city. And with their lives appearing as ready to go out, those unsteady ones came to their respective homes, and surrounded by their wives and sons, washed their faces with copious tears. And they forgot to rejoice or make merry, and the traders did not spread (their stores), and stalls did not grace the place, and the householders drd not cook, and people did not rejoice on recovering lost property or gaining a profuse accession of wealth, and mothers did not feel any delight on beholding their first-born. And in every home females afflicted with woe, weeping chid their husbands, coming home, with the following words as (drivers) spur elephants with hooks, "Of what use are their houses, and wives, and wealth, and sons, and comforts, to those who see not Raghava (in their midst?) There is one only good man in this world even Lakshmana, who along with Sita is following Kakutstha Rama unto the woods. Those streams, assemblage of lotuses, and pools are blessed, by which bathing in the sacred waters, Kakutstha will pass. And romantic forests and woods, watery expanses of mighty volume, and mountains with flat spaces, will grace Kakutstha. And forests and hills to which will repair Rama cannot go without paying him homage like unto a welcome guest. And crested with flowers of various hues and putting forth frequent shoots, trees, swarming with bees will show themselves unto Raghava. And hills from regard will show unto Rama arrived there the choicest flowers and fruits even out of season; and will supply him with fountains of pure water. And presenting him with many a charming fountain, trees will delight Rama at the tops of mountains. Where Rama is, there is not fear or failure. That mighty- armed son of Dacaratha is heroic. Let us while he is vet ahead within a short distance of us, follow Raghava. Even the shadow of the feet of our master, so high-souled, would, bring us happiness. He is the lord of all these-he is the refuge-he is the accomplishment of our religious duties. We and you, will serve Sita, and Raghava." Thus afflicted with grief, the women of the city spake unto their husbands. "In the forest Raghaya will attain for you the unattainable and protect what is attained; and Sita being a female will do the same for these (women.) Who will take pleasure in residing in a dwelling where the heart dies within itself, which is devoid of delight, where the people are always agitated with anxiety and which is exceedingly disagreeable? If this kingdom devolves on Kaikeyi it will be divested of all virtues and will be like unto one without a master. And of what avail then is our life itself, not to speak of sons and wealth. Whom else will that stainer of her line, Kaikeyi, forsake now, who for the sake of wealth has forsaken her son and her lord? We swear by our sons that so long as Kaikeyi is alive, we living will never stay in her kingdom, although we may be maintained by her. What happiness can be ours by living with that wicked and unrighteous one who lost to every sense of shame is bent upon exiling the son of the foremost of kings? Troubled by disturbances, with all its sacrifices stopped, and having no master over it, the entire (kingdom) will meet with destruction because of Kaikeyi. On Rama retiring to the forest, the lord of earth will surely not live; and Dacaratha dying, it is evident everything will come to naught. Do you, your virtue exhausted, and oppressed with grief pounding poison, take it or follow Raghava, or remove to such a place that the very name of Kaikeyi may not reach your ears? Rama has been deceitfully exiled along with his wife and Lakshmana; and we are bound unto Bharata like unto a (sacrificial,) beast before one that is to slaughter it. Surely that mighty carwarrior, with deepest collar-bones having a countenance resembling the full moon, sable-hued, repressing his foes, with his arms reaching unto his knees and lotus-like eyes-Rama the elder brother of Lakshmana-always speaking first (to a visitor,) suave, truth-telling, endowed with prowess, amiable unto all men, and lovely like the moon himself, surely that foremost of men gifted with the strength of a mad elephant, will grace the forests, ranging it around." Thus lamenting in the city, the females thereof burning in grief became distressed like people stricken with panic on the occasion of a plague.

As the women were thus bewailing Raghava in their homes, the Sun set and night came on. And the city became enveloped in darkness, and the light (of the sacrificial fires) was extinguished, and the sounds of study and edifying discourse ceased. And the shops of the tradesmen being closed, and festive mirth having disappeared, and people becoming defenceless, the city of Ayodhya resembled the firmament deprived of the stars. And distressed for the sake of Rama as if it was a son or a brother of theirs that was banished, the women weeping forlorn, lamented with senses lost; and Rama

was to them more than a son. And the voice of song and festal glee and dance and sounds of instruments having died away, and mirth having disappeared, and the shops not displaying their wares, Ayodhya then resembled the mighty ocean emptied of its waters.

SECTION 49.

THAT best of men, Rama, remembering his father's command cleared a large tract of country before the night terminated. And as he went on, the auspicious night was spent. And then having offered up his devotions unto the beneficent Sandhya, Rama entered into another country. And seeing villages having ploughed fields on their skirts, and flowering woods, he by means of those excellent horses, proceeded very fast although seeming to go slowly. And as Rama proceeded. he heard the villagers speaking to each other, saying,-"Fie on king Dacaratha, who has yielded himself up unto lust! Ah! the rebutless, fell and sinful Kaikeyi intent upon impiety, having put by her honour, has resolved upon an exceedingly atrocious deed-she that exiles into the woods such a virtuous son of the monarch, endowed with high wisdom, kind, and having his senses under control. Alas! king Dacaratha has no affection for his own son, since he wishes to dismiss from hence Rama sinless and dear unto the subjects." Hearing these words of the villagers, that hero, the lord of Kocala, left Kocala behind him. Then crossing the river Vedacruti of sacred waters. Rama went in the direction of the quarter in which Agastya resided. (South)

Then proceeding for a good while, he crossed the coolflowing stream Gomati running in the direction of the ocean, with its banks filled with kine and inundating its edge. Having passed the Gomati, Raghava by means of fleetcoursing horses next crossed over the river Sandika resounding with the cries of cranes and peacocks. Here Rama showed unto Vaidehi those flourishing regions that had formerly been conferred by king Manu on Ikshwaku, and which teemed with populous tracts. Then frequently addressing the charioteer, saying, "O Suta", that best of men furnished with grace and endowed with a voice like that of a mad swan, spoke,-"When shall I coming back, range ahunting the blossoming groves of the Sarayu, along with my father and mother? I do not so much long for hunting in the woods of the Sarayu; but a relish (for the pastime) is considered as beyond compare being held in esteem by the Rajarshis. Hunting in the forest was introduced for the recreation of Raghavas. Yet do I not take beyond measure to the chase which has been followed in season by the descendants of Manu and which is ever coveted by bowmen Taking this subject, the descendant of Ikshwaku passed the way, addressing sweet words unto the charioteer.

SECTION 50.

Having passed the extensive and romantic Kocala, the intelligent elder brother of Lakshmana facing Ayodhya, said with joined hands,—"O best of cities, governed by Kakutstha, I address thee as well as the deities that inhabit and guard thee. Returning from my abode in the woods, I will, freed from my debt unto the lord of earth, behold thee again along with my father and mother." Then he furnished with graceful coppery eyes raising his right hand, with tears in his eyes and in forlorn guise addressed the people of the provinces, saying,-'Ye have shown due compassion and regret for me. To grieve long is not fit. Do ye therefore repair to look after your interests." Thereupon, saluting that high-souled one and going round him, bewailing all the while in heaviness of heart, they at times stopped on their way. And as they kept lamenting, unsatiated in beholding him, Raghava went beyond the range of their sight, like the Sun disappearing at night-fall. Then that powerful one mounted on his car left behind him Kocala bounding in wealth and kine, inhabited by charitable people, auspicious, free from every kind of fear, charming, containing altars and stakes, with gardens and mango groves, furnished with tanks teeming with burly and contepted people, filled with kine, worthy of being protected by monarchs and resounding with the sounds of Vedic recitations. Proceeding at a middling pace, that best of those endowed with fortitude passed through lands smiling cheerfully, prosperous, and crowded with elegant villas,realms worthy of being coveted by the foremost of kings. Then Raghava saw the celestial Ganga running in three courses with cool waters free from moss, beautiful to behold, frequented by the sages, adorned with graceful asylums close by, containing sacred watery expanses haunted at the hours of sport by delighted Apsaras, graced with celestials, Danavas, Gandharbas and Kinnaras, ever holy, attended by the wives of Nagas and Gandharbas, with hills serving as sporting-places for the celestials-the river surrounded by gardens of the immortals—that for the behoof pf the celestials had ascended heaven famous furnished with assemblage of celestial lotuses with the rocks laughing aloud in consequence of the dashing of water, laughing without blemish with foam, sometimes having her water flowing like a braid and sometimes decked by eddies, sometimes still and deep, and sometimes rushing furiously, sometimes sounding solemnly and sometimes

roaring dreadfully, with crowds of deities bathing in its water, embellished with fresh-blown lotuses, having spacious shoals and spots covered with glittering sand, resounding with the cries of cranes of various kinds, graced by Chakravakas, ever resorted to by maddened fowls, without blame, decked by trees on its banks resembling garlands somewhere covered with full-blown lotuses and somewhere containing multitudes of lotuses, at places decked with tracts of lilies, at others with opening buds, rife with the farina of various flowers, sometimes resembling a proud female, removing the dirt of sin, translucent like a gem to the view, with the elephants of the quarters, wild ones, mad ones, as well as those the best of their species, and those carrying the foremost of celestials, roaring in the neighbouring woods, adorned carefully with the choicest ornaments like unto a damsel, crowded with flowers and fruits and bushes as also with birds, flowing from the feet of Vishnu, divine, without sin, capable of destroying it, filled with porpoises, crocodiles and snakes, drawn out from the matted locks of Sankara by the energy of Sagara's descendant—the queen of the Ocean—resonant with the cries of cranes and kraunchas. The mighty-armed Rama came to the Ganga near Sringaverapura. And beholding (the river) with her surging eddies, that mighty car-warrior said unto the charioteer, Sumantra, "We will rest here to day. There is hard by the river a gigantic Ingudi tree, bearing a profusion of flowers and fresh leaves. Here, O charioteer, will we stay today. I see (before me) the foremost of streams, whose waters are honoured (by all) and which is sacred to celestials and men and Gandharbas and beasts and serpents and fowls.

Thereupon saying unto Raghava, "Very well," Lakshmana and Sumantra with the horses went to the Ingudi tree. And reaching the tree, that desendant of Ikshwaku alighted from the car along with his wife and Lakshmana. Then descending, Sumantra relieved those excellent horses, and with joined hands stood before Rama seated at the foot of the tree. There lived at the place a king named Guha, a friend unto Rama, dear as his own self, a Nishada by birth, powerful and famed as the lord of the Nishadas. Hearing that that foremost of men, Rama, had arrived at the place, he (Guha) surrounded by his aged counsellors and kindred came unto him. Seeing the lord of the Nishadhas at a distance, Rama came up unto him in company with Sumitra's son. Thereat touched, Guha embracing Raghava said unto him, "O Rama, as Ayodhya this kingdom is unto thee. What shall I do for thee? Who, O might-armed one, receives such a welcome guest?" Then speedily bringing various kinds of sapid rice and Arghyas, he said,-"O mighty -armed one, has thy journey been a pleasant one? This entire earth is thine. We are thy servants: thou art our master. Do thou rule here, accepting the eatables and drinkables and those that are to be sucked and excellent beds and fodder." When Guha had said this, Raghava answered him, saying,-"We have been well received by thee and are well pleased with thee, since coming here on foot thou hast shown us affection." Then pressing Guha hard with his arms, Rama said, "O Guha, it is by good luck that I see thee whole along with thy friends. Is thy kingdom in peace both as regards thy friends and the forest? The things that thou hast presented me with out of love I accept but cannot enjoy. Do thou know me as assuming an ascetic mode of life in the woods, in which I am to wear Kuca and bark and live upon fruits and roots. So, will the single exception of the food for the horses, things require I none; and these horses being well kept, I shall consider myself as entertained by thee. These are the favourites of my father, Dacaratha, and on these horses being well provided for, I shall be well received. Thereupon Guha on the spot commanded the men, saying, "Let the horses have without delay meats and drinks." Then putting his sheet over his person, he (Rama) performed his evening devotions. Having done this, he took as his sustenance the water that had been procured by Lakshmana himself. On Rama having lain down on the ground along with his wife, Lakshmana washed their feet, and then remained stationed under the tree. Then bow in hand and with his wits about him, conversing with Sumitra's son along with the charioteer, Guha remained awake, watching Rama. Thus the livelong night passed away with that illustrious, intelligent and high-souled son of Dacaratha, unacquainted with troubles and worthy of happiness.

SECTION 51.

As for the purpose of protecting his brother, Lakshmana was watching him out of sincere affection, Guha burning in grief addressed that descendant of Raghu, saying—"This O child, is the easeful bed that hath been prepared for thee. O prince, do thou as thou listest, lie down upon it. These (foresters) are inured to this hardship; but thou art worthy of ease. We will wake up during the night for guarding Kakutstha. There is none on earth dearer unto me than Rama. This I tell thee truly and I swear by truth itself. Through his grace I hope in this world to attain high fame, and great religious merit as well as completely secure profit and pleasure. I will bow in hand in company with my kindred adequately guard my dear friend reposing with Sita. Always ranging in this forest, nothing herein is unknown to me. I shall vanquish

even any mighty body of fourfold forces (that may come up against us.)" Thereupon Lakshmana said.— "O sinless one protected by thee ever having thy sight fixed on virtue, we do not fear to live in this place. But how with Dacaratha's son lying down on the ground along with Sita can I indulge in sleep or what is the use of my living and enjoying happiness? Him do thou behold with ease asleep on the grass in company with Sita, who was incapable of being borne in fight by the gods and the Asuras. Hfm do thou behold, who was obtained by Da\$aratha as his son through various kinds of prowess, mantras and asceticism, and who is crowned with virtues beseeming such austerities, etc. Rama being banished, the king will not live long and the earth will shortly be widowed." Having bewailed aloud, the women have, methinks, (by this time) ceased through fatigue, and the king's residence is still. I cannot hope that Kaucalya, the king, and my mother are yet alive. If they are, it is for this night only. Even if my mother live looking up to Satrughna, yet this is my grief that that mother of a hero, Kaucalya will breathe her last And that palace filled with people attached unto Rama and flooded with the light of delight, will, visited with the calamity that will befall the king meet with destruction. How will the life of that high-souled king not seeing his magnanimous son, his eldest son, remain in his body? And the king dying, Kaucalya will die after him and then my mother will depart this life. Frustrated in his desire, my father, foiled in his endeavours to confer the kingdom on Rama, will, exclaiming 'All is lost,' 'All is lost,' give up the ghost. Sirely they are blessed that when the time shall come when the king will die, will perform the funeral rites of that descendant of Raghu. They will happily range the capital of my father, furnished with fairlooking terraces, with its high ways laid out orderly, having lordly edifices and palatial residences, graced with excellent courtezans, abounding with cars, elephants and horses, resounding with the notes of trumpets—the abode of all auspiciousness—filled with portly and contented folks, rich in gardens and villas, and celebrating popular festivities. If Dacaratha live we shall returning from the forest, behold that high-souled one observing noble vows. If we remain in peace, we shall returning from the forest with that one firm in promise, enter Avodhva." As the high-souled son of the king oppressed with grief was thus lamenting sitting up, the day broke. When that son of the foremost of men, intent on the welfare of the subjects had spoken thus truly, Guha, out of extreme affection for (Rama), shed tears afflicted with grief and hurt like an elephant suffering from fever.

SECTION 52.

"When the morning broke, that illustrious one having a spacious chest, Rama, addressed Sumitra's son, Lakshmana, graced with auspicious marks,—"This is the time of sunrise: the reverend Night hath departed. O child, this gracefully sable-hued bird, the coel, has begun to warble, and I hear the cries of peacocks uttering notes in the woods. O amiable one, we will cross the Jahnavi, fast rushing to the ocean." Hearing Rama's words, that enhancer of the delight of friends, Sumitra's son, conveyed them unto Guha and the charioteer; and then stood before his brother. Hearing of Rama's speach and accepting it, that lord of the Nishadas speedily summoning his counsellors spake unto them saying, without delay bring to this bathing-place a strong and elegent boat furnished with a rudder and steered by a helmsman, such as is capable of ferrying (people) comfortably." Hearing this mandate of Guha. his potent counsellors procuring a goodly boat, informed him of it. Then with joined hands, Guha spake unto Raghava, saying,-"The boat is ready, worshipful one. What more shall I do in thy behalf? O thou that resemblest the son of a celestial, here is the boat for thee. O foremost of men. to cross over the river that goeth after the ocean. O thou of excellent vows, do thou ascend it." Thereupon the highly energetic Rama said unto Guha the following words,have attained my end through thee. Do thou at once get on board the baggage." Then donning on their mail and equipped with their bows, quivers and swords, the Raghavas along with Sita descended unto the Ganga. Then coming forward in humble guise before Rama cognisant of virtue, the charioteer said with joined hands,—"What shall I do (now)?" Thereupon Dacaratha's son touching Sumantra by his goodly right hand, said,— "O Sumantra, do thou again repair unto the monarch, but let thy senses be unclouded." "Do thou" said he unto the charioteer, "turn back. So far I have come (in obedience to the order of the monarch;. Now, renouncing the car, will I repair unto the mighty forest on foot" Finding himself thus commanded, the charioteer, Sumantra grieved at heart spoke unto that best of men, the descendant of Ikshwaku "That Destiny owing to which you will have to pass your days in the forest like a low person, along with your brother and wife, has in this world been withstood by none. I deem the Brahmacharyya mode of life, or study, or meekness or sincerity as attended with no fruit, since you have come by calamity. O Raghava, living in the forest with Vaidehi and your brother, you, O Lord, attain a state (of supreme excellence), having, as it were, conquered the three worlds. O

Rama, it is we, wretched that we are, that are undone, as we, deprived of your company, shall come under the sinful Kaikeyi expressing great misery." Having said this, the charioteer, Sumantra, seeing Rama intent upon going to a distant land, wept for a long while in heaviness of heart. Then when he had dried up his tears, and sanctified himself by touching the water of the Ganga, Rama again addressed the charioteer in sweet words, saying,—"I do not find any one that is a friend of the sons of Ikshwaku like unto thee. Do thou so act that king Dacaratha may not grieve (for me). The lord of earth hath been deprived of his senses by grief, hath grown old, and is oppressed by the weight of desires (thwarted). Therefore it is that I tell thee this. Whatever that noble- minded lord of earth commands for the pleasure of Kaikevi, should by us be done with alacrity. It is for this that those lords of men, kings, govern,—viz., that others may not thwart their purposes. O Sumantra, do thou act so, that the mighty monarch may not come across any thing unpleasant, or be attacked with chagrin through grief. Do thou saluting him for me say these words unto the aged monarch, who has his senses under complete control and who hath never seen misfortune before. 'Neither I nor Lakshmana grieve for being ejected out of Ayodhya, or that we shall have to abide in the forest. After these fourteen years have gone by, you will see Lakshmana, Sita. and myself come to you speedily.' Having thus, O Sumantra, in my name again and again spoken to the king, to my mother and to Kaikevi along with the other revered ladies do thou communicate unto Kaucalya our welfare conveying unto her at the same time Sita's and Lakshmana's salutations to her feet as well those of myself who am her eldest son. Do thou also tell the king,- 'Do you spedily bring Bharata; and when Bharata has come, let him be invested with royalty. And when you have embraced Bharata and installed him in the kingdom, you no longer be overpowered with grief on our account,' And tell Bharata,— As thou bearest thyself unto the king, so it behoves thee to bear thyself to all thy mothers, without making any distinction at all. As Kaikeyi is unto thee, so without distinction is Sumitra, and so also without distinction my mother Kaucalya. Governing the kingdom as the heirapparent with the view of compassing the pleasure of our father, he will be able to secure happiness both in this world and the next." Told by Rama to go back and instructed in this Sumantra having heard everything, addressed Kakutstha from affection, saying,-"It behoves you to forgive what I say plainly from affection, without letting myself be overwhelmed with emotion, and with due reverence for you. How can I. O child without you return to that city! which seems as if afflicted with the grief incident to the loss of a son? Having then seen my car with Rama on it, the hearts of the people and the palace now will in all likelihood burst when they shall see it without Rama. Surely the city will be distressed on beholding this empty car, like a host seeing a car with its hero slain and the charioteer alone left in the field. Thinking in their minds that you although actually at a great distance from them, are before them, the subjects (not finding you) will renounce food (and thus destroy themselves.) You yourself witnessed how the subjects overwhelmed with grief on your account, conducted themselves when you were being banished unto the woods. They will on seeing me with the car, burst out into lamentations exceeding a hundred times in bitterness those in which they indulged when you set out for the forest. Shall I say unto the worshipful one,conveyed your son to the home of his maternal uncle. Do you not grieve'. I will never tell such a lie. Yet how can I speak this truth which is so very unpleasant? And ever abiding by my command and used to carry your friends, how can these excellent horses bear this car without you? Therefore, O sinless one, I shall not be able to go to Avodhya without you; and it behoves you to permit me to follow you to the forest. But if you forsake me who beseech you, I will as soon as left by you, enter into fire along with the car. I shall, O Raghava, by means of this car, withstand all those impediments that shall present themselves against your ascetic austerities in the forest. have through your favour experienced the pleasure of driving the car. I expect at your hands the pleasure of living in the woods. Be you propitious. It is my wish to remain in the forest with you, and do you say, affectionately-'Do you remain by my side'. And these horses, O hero, will attain to a supreme state if they serve you during your abode in the forest. Living in the forest, I will serve you with the crown of my head; and I will entirely renounce Avodhya or the celestial regions themselves. Even as a doer of evil deeds cannot enter the metropolis of the mighty Indra, I am incapable of entering Ayodhya without you. And this is my desire that the term of exile over, I may carry you back to the palace on this very car. Remaining with you in the forest the fourteen years will pass away dwindled into a moment, but without you, they shall assume the proportions of an hundred years. O you bearing affection towards your servants, it does not behove you to forsake your servant having regard for you, ever abiding by the way that is wended by the son of his master, and observing the duties of his pesition." Thereupon Rama kind towards

thus humbly in various ways, "O thou that bearest attachment unto thy master. I know that thou regardest me highly. But do thou listen as to why I send thee to the city from hence. Seeing thee returned to the city, my youngest mother Kaikeyi will believe that Rama has gone to the woods. Then well pleased on my having repaired to the woods, she will not entertain any apprehension anent the righteous monarch, thinking that he is untruthful. This is my first wish that my voungest mother may obtain her son's kingdom, properous and well protected by Bharata. Do thou, O Sumantra, bear thyself unto the palace to compass the end of both the king and myself, and do thou communicate in the desired way what I have said unto the respective parties." Having said this unto the charioteer and consoled him again and again, the energetic Rama spoke unto Guha the following words fraught with reason, "O Guha, I should not now reside in a forest inhabited by men. I should certainly now abide in an asylum in proper guise. In harmony with the wishes of Sita and Lakshmana, I, imposing on myself in the interests of my father selfdenial and wearing that ornament of ascetics, a head of matted hair, will go (to the forest). Do thou therefore bring me starch from the banian." Thereupon Guha speedily brought the starch for the prince; and prepared matted locks for himself, Rama and Lakshmana. And that mighty- armed chief of men wore matted locks. And those brothers Rama and Lakshmana dressed as mendicants, and wearing heads of matted hair, appeared like saints. Then entering upon the Vanaprastha mode of life, Rama along with Lakshmana assuming the vow of that life, observed unto that adherent of his, Guha,—"Do thou, my friend, vigilantly protect the army, the exchequer, the fort and the provinces; for a kingdom demands all the exertions (of the king thereof)." Then taking the permission of Guha, the descendant of Ikshwaku, holding his soul in calmness, set out with his wife and Lakshmana. Seeing a boat at the river-side, that son of Ikshwaku desirous of crossing the swift-coursing Ganga, spoke these words,-'Do thou ascend, gently, O foremost of men, the boat that stayeth here, after the making the virtuous Sita ascend by taking her by the hand." Hearing his brother's command, that strong-willed one, furthering everything, having made Mithila's daughter ascend, ascended himself. That energetic elder brother of Lakshmana next ascended himself. Then the lord of the Nishadas, Guha, incited his kinsfolk. Having got on board the boat, the exceedingly puissant Raghava for securing his welfare, recited mantras fit to be recited by Kshatriyas and Brahmanas. Then that mighty car-warrior, Lakshmana, sipping water from the river as laid down in the scriptures, bowed down to it along with Sita in gladness of heart. Then telling Sumantra, Guha, and the forces, Rama ascending the boat, ordered the boatmen (to proceed). Then the boat decked out by the helmsman, moved by them, and urged on by the pulls of the goodly oars, proceeded apace in the water. Having arrived at the middle of the Bhagirathi, that blameless one, Vaidehi, with joined hands, addressed the river, saying,- "O Ganga, protected by thee, may the son of the intelligent and mighty monarch, Dacaratha, execute the mandate (of the latter.) Having spent complete fourteen years in the forest, he will return in company with his brother and myself. Then, O worshipful one, O thou of auspicious fortune, having returned safely, I will, O Ganga, worship thee, thou that crownst every desire. O thou that wendst in three ways, O revered one, thou envelopest the regions of Brahma. Thou appearest in this world as the spouse of the Ocean-king. I will, O respected one, bow down unto thee, O beauteous one, I will hymn thee, when, with good fortune returned, the foremost of men has obtained the kingdom, I will to please thee give away unto Brahmanas hundreds and thousands of kine, cloths, sapid rice, and vessels of wine by thousands, and pillaos. O worshipful one, I will worship thee on Rama having returned to the city. And I will worship all the gods that dwell on thy banks, as well as the holy spots and fanes, as soon as, O sinless one, that mighty-armed one without sin will, coming back from his abode in the forest, enter Ayodhya in company with his brother and myself." Having thus addressed the Ganga, that blameless one ever obedient unto her husband, swiftly went to the south bank (of the river). Going to the (other) bank of the stream, that best of men, and subduer of foes stood along with his brother and Vaidehi. Then that longarmed one spoke unto the enhancer of Sumitra's delight, saying,-"Be thou, whether in society or solitude, intent upon protecting Sita. Of course it behoves us to protect her in lone places. Do thou. O son of Sumitra, go ahead; and let Sita follow thee. I myself will go in your wake, protecting both yourself and Sita. Surely, O foremost of men, we should now protect each other. We have not yet performed any of the arduous tasks. Today Vaidehi will know the grief of a life in the woods. And today she will enter the forest destitute of the concourse of men, devoid of fields and gardens, uneven, and containing pits, etc." Hearing Rama's words, Lakshmana went ahead; that descendant of Raghu, Rama, followed Sita.

On Rama having speedily crossed the Ganga, the distressed Sumantra who had been gazing at him stedfastly, being no longer able to discern him, turned away his eyes and, overcome with grief, shed tears. And having crossed that

mighty river, that high-souled one, that bestower of boons, resembling in prowess a Lokapala, without delay entered the flourishing and smiling Vatsas crowned with goodly crops. And then the two (brothers) having slain the four kinds of beasts, viz., boars, risyas, prishatas and maharurus, and taking their flesh, in the evening took refuge under a mighty tree, feeling the demands of appetite.

SECTION 53

Having taken refuge under the tree and performed his evening devotions, that foremost of those capable of charming others, Rama, addressed Lakshmana, saying,-"To day is the first night (which we must spend) outside the inhabited tracts without the company of Sumantra. Thou ought not to suffer thy mind to be uneasy on that score. From tonight forth, we shall have to guard her vigilantly; for, O Lakshmana, the preservation of what she has as well as the securing unto her of what she has not, rests with us. We will, O son of Sumitra, anyhow pass the night; let us ourselves procuring (leaves) and spreading them on the ground, anyhow lie down on it." Saying this, Rama lying down on the ground although worthy of a costly bed, spoke these excellent words unto Sumitra's son,-"O Lakshmana, surely the king sleeps uneasily to day, and Kaikeyi having attained her end ought to be satisfied. Will not that revered lady, for the purpose of having Bharata established in the kingdom, take the king's life, when she shall see Bharata arrived? Forlorn and old and deprived of me, I do not know what he will do. his soul possessed by desire, and having come under the influence of Kaikeyi. Viewing this calamity (that has overtaken us) and the disorder that has taken place in the senses of the monarch, I deem even lust as more potent than either virtue or interest. O Lakshmana, what man is there ignorant though he be, who for the sake of a female forsaketh as my father has done me, his son following his foot-steps? Ah! Kaikevi's son Bharata with his wife is really happy—he that enjoys the sole sovereignity of the delighted Kocalas. Now that our father has grown old and I have taken refuge in the forest, he will alone experience the supreme felicity in the kingdom. He that renouncing interest and virtue, followes lust, speedily gets himself involved in troubles even like king Dacaratha. O amiable one. I think that Kaikevi has been born for making an end of Dacaratha, sending me into exile, and conferring the kingdom on Bharata. At present for imparting me pain, Kaikeyi intoxicated by the tide of good fortune, will afflict Kaucalya and Sumitra. Thy mother, the revered Sumitra, will be smitten with grief on our account. Do thou, Lakshmana, tomorrow morning repair unto Ayodhya: I alone will go unto Dandaka along with Sita. Thou wilt be the protector of the helpless Kaucalya. Kaikeyi is surely mean-minded, she perpetrates wrongs from malice. O thou cognisant of virtue, she may administer poison unto my mother. Surely, O child, in a former birth, women were bereft of their sons by my mother, O son of Sumitra; and it is for this that this misfortune has befallen her. Having been brought up and reared with great pains by Kaucalya, I have left her at the time when her labours ought to have borne fruit. Fie on me! Let no woman, son of Sumitra, give birth unto a son like me who have imparted such infinite pain unto my mother. O Lakshmana, I consider my mother's female parrot as more sharing her affection, since she is heard to say, 'O Suka, do you bite the foot of the foe?' What am I, O repressor of foes, now to do for her, bewailing, of slender fortune,-she that hath not profitted in the least by her son, and who stands in no further need of his good offices? Surely my unfortunate mother, Kaucalya, bereft of me, lies down on the ground, overwhelmed will woe, and plunged in an ocean of grief. O Lakshmana, enraged, I alone, without doubt, can rid Ayodhya—the Earth herself—by means of my arrows. But improper is the display of prowess for no reason. O sinless one, I am afraid of unrighteousness and of the next life; and for this it is that, O Lakshmana, I do not install myself in the kingdom.

Having in solitude for a long while piteously bewailed thus and in other ways, Rama sat silent in the night with tears in his eyes. Thereupon Lakshmana consoled Rama spent with lamentation, like unto fire deprived of its radiance or the ocean of its tide. "Surely, O Rama, O foremost of warriors, on your having come out, the city of Ayodhya is shorn of its splendour like the night deprived of the moon. This is not fit that you should grieve; for thereby, O foremost of men, you make both Sita and myself grieve. Raghava, deprived of you neither Sita nor I can live for a moment, like fish taken out of water: without you, O repressor of foes, I wish to see neither my father, nor Satrughna, nor Sumitra, nor heaven itself.' Then viewing from where they sat at ease their well-laid bed under the banian, those virtuous ones (Rama and Sita) went to it. Hearing Lakshmana's excellent and appropriate words with which he gladly assumed a life in the woods, that subduer of foes, Raghava, in the name of righteousness, at once folly granted him the permission to dwell with him for the entire fourteen years. Then like unto a couple of lions dwelling on a mountain-summit, at that lone spot of the

extensive forest, those powerful perpetuators of the Raghu race, began to dwell without fear.

SECTION 54.

Having passed the auspicious night underneath that mighty tree, they, when the sun had risen in unclouded splendour, went away from that place. Then diving into a mighty forest, they proceeded in the direction in which the Bhagirathi Ganga meets with the Yamuna. And those illustrious ones went on, viewing at intervals various fields and delightful lands which they had never seen before. And going on beholding various kinds of blossoming trees, Rama when the day had declined, spoke unto Sumitra's son, saying, "O son of Sumitra, do thou behold the beautiful wreath of smoke that rises in front of Pravaga—sign of the worshipful Fire, and I infer some ascetic to be near. For certain we have arrived at the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna; and it is for this that we hear the roar of the waters produced by the rushing of them. And all these various trees with their wood hewn away by foresters are seen in the asylums." Thus having proceeded at ease, those howmen when the sun stood aslant, arrived in the vicinity of the ascetic's residence on the delta of the Yamuna and the Ganga. And proceeding awhile on the way, Rama, in presence of the asylum, came up to Bharadwaja's place, frightening beasts and birds. And arriving at the hermitage, the heroes desirous of seeing the ascetic, stood at a distance with Sita behind them. And as soon as entering in, that exalted one saw that high-souled anchoret of accomplished vows, who had attained spiritual insight through austerities, sitting surrounded by his disciples after having finished the Agnihotra, Rama with joined hands saluted him along with Sumitra's son and Sita. Then Lakshmana's elder brother imparted unto Bharadwaja a knowledge of himself. "O worshipful one, we are the sons of Dacaratha, Rama and Lakshmana. This is my wife, the auspicious daughter of Janaka. This blameless one followeth me unto the solitary forest; and my dear younger brother, the son of Sumitra too, observing the vow, follows me, who have been exiled by my father. O revered one, commissioned by my father, I will enter the forest of asceticism, and there subsisting on fruits and roots will practise virtue." Hearing those words of the intelligent prince, that righteous (ascetic) brought a bull as well as arghya and water and divers kinds of edibles consisting of wild fruits and roots. And that one of fiery austerities assigned quarters, along with beasts and birds as well as ascetics, for Rama. Then paying homage unto Rama as he proceeded by short stages, and asking him,—"Has your journey been a pleasant one?"—the ascetic sat down. And when Raghava had sat down after receiving the homage, Bharadwaja spoke unto him these words fraught with "O Kakutstha, I behold thee come after a long time. I have heard of thy causeless exile. This spot at the meeting of the mighty rivers is lonely, sacred and charming. Do thou dwell here happily." Thus addressed by Bharadwaja, that descendant of Raghu. Rama intent on the welfare of all. answered in auspicious words,—"O reverend one, I apprehend that, living hard by, the inhabitants of the city and the provinces, thinking me as easily to be seen, will come to this asylum desirous of beholding me and Vaidehi. It is for this reason that living at this place does not recommend itself unto me. Do thou, O worshipful one, hit upon a retired and agreeable asylum where Janaka's daughter worthy of happiness, will pass her days pleasantly " Hearing this auspicious speech of Raghava, that eminent anchoret Bharadwaja said these words calculated to serve Rama's purpose,-"Ten Krosas hence, my child, is the mountain where thou shalt dwell. It is inhabited by maharshis, and is sacred, and picturseque throughout, abounding in Golangulas, monkeys, and bears,—known by the name of Chitrakuta—resembling Gandhamadana. On beholding the peaks of Chitrakuta, one reaps welfare, and ignorance does not envelope one's mind. There innumerable saints with the hair of their heads rendered white like skulls, having spent hundreds of years, have through austerities ascended heaven. That solitary spot I deem as one which will make a happy residence for thee. O Rama, do thou, for living out the term of thy banishment, dwell either here or with me." Bharadwaja entertained his welcome guest, Rama, along with his wife and brother by extending towards them every rite of hospitality. And at Prayaga Rama having obtained the company of that Maharshi, and discoursing on a variety of sacred topics, the night came on. And with Sita for the third, Kakutstha brought up in luxury, being fatigued, pleasantly spent that night at the romantic hermitage of Bharadwaja. When the night had passed away and day dawned, (Rama) approached Bharadwaja, and that chief of men addressed that ascetic of flaming energy,-"O reverend sire of truthful character, we have here in thy asylum spent the night. Do thou now permit us to set forward (for Chitrakuta)." On Rama having passed the night there, Bharadwaja spoke unto him,—"Do thou trace thy steps to Chitrakuta filled with delicious fruits and roots. I deem that, O mighty Rama, as a fit abode for thee, being, as it is, furnished with various kinds of trees, inhabited and frequented by gignantic elephants. Do thou repair unto the famed Chitrakuta, holy, fair to the view, and abounding in countless fruits and roots. And in those forests range herds of elephants and deer; and these, O Raghava, thou wilt behold. And ranging with Sita rivers and rills and plateaus, caverns and fountains, thy mind will experience delight. Delighted with the notes of joyous Koyastivas and coels, and the cries of deer and countless mad elephants, do thou, arriving at the auspicious mountain, reside at that romantic asylum.

Having spent the night there, those princes-repressors of their foes-- after paying their obeisance unto the Maharshi, set out for the mountain. And seeing them about to set forth, that Maharshi performed a propitiatory ceremony for them, even as a father does on behalf of the sons begot from his own loins. And that mighty ascetic, Bharadwaja having truth for his prowess, addressed them, saying,—"O best of men, do you coming to the confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna proceed along the Kalindi river flowing westwards. Arriving at the Kalindi running in a contrary direction, you will, O Raghaya, behold a goodly bathing place well-worn by footpassengers. There constructing a raft, do you cross over the river who is the daughter of the Sun. Next coming to a gigantic banian tree with green foliage, named Syama, surrounded by various trees and inhabited by ascetics of accomplished purposes, let Sita with joined hands offer humble supplications to it. Having come to the tree and, whether staying under it or proceeding along, after passing only a Krosa, you will, O Rama, see a wood abounding in Sallakis, Vadaris, and other wild trees belonging unto the Yamuna. I went to Chitrakuta many a time by that road, which is beautiful, sandy, and free from forest-fire." Having directed the way, the Maharshi paused. Thereupon Rama, saying,—"So be it" asked him to stop. On the ascetic turning away, Rama spoke unto Lakshmana, "We had surely acquired religious merit, good betide you, since, the ascetic has shown compassion unto us." Having thus conversed with each other, those foremost of men endowed with intelligence, placing Sita in their front, proceeded towards the river Kalindi. And having arrived at the Kalindi of rapid currents, they desirous of crossing over, began I think (as to the means). Then with heaps of dry wild wood covered with grass, they constructed a large raft. And the puissant Lakshmana tearing twigs from the ratan and the rose-apple, made a comfortable seat for Sita. Then Dacaratha's son, Rama, made his bashful wife (in power) inconceivable like unto Sree herself, ascend the raft, and carefully laid beside Vaidehi her attires and ornaments as well as the hoe and the basket. And first having placed Sita on the raft, those sons of Dacaratha ascended themselves, and with glad hearts began carefully to cross (the stream). Having come near the middle of the Kalindi, Sita prayed unto her, saying, -"Hail to thee, O goddess! I cross thee. If my husband can successfully perform his vow, I will worship thee with a thousand cows and an hundred vessels of wine hail unto thee upon Rama's return to the city ruled by Ikshwaku." Having thus prayed to Kalindi with joined hands, that virtuous lady, Sita, reached the southern bank thereof. And by means of that raft they crossed that fleet-coursing daughter of the Sun, heaving with billows-the river Yamuna with her banks abounding with innumerable trees. Then renouncing the raft, and passing by the woods adjoining the Yamuna, they came upon a banian Syama by name, of cool shade and verdant foliage. On coming to the banian, Vaidehi saluted it -"O mighty tree, I bow unto thee. May my husband fulfil his vow; and may we behold Kaucalya and the illustrious Sumitra." Having thus prayed with joined hands, the intelligent Sita went away. Seeing the blameless and beloved Sita ever conducting herself properly,-praying, Rama said unto Lakshmana, "Do thou, O younger brother of Bharata, taking Sita with thee, go forward. O best of men, furnished with weapons, I will go in thy wake. Do thou procure Vaidehi with whatever fruits or flowers may please her and she may wish to have." Seeing every tree and shrub crowned with blossoms unseen before, that one belonging to the softer sex questioned Rama about it. And hearing Sita's words, Lakshmana brought unto her (fruits and flowers) of beautiful and flower-scattering trees of divers kinds. And beholding streams with water flowing over glittering sands and resounding with cranes of various kinds, the daughter of king Janaka felt exceeding delight. And having proceeded just a Krosa, those brothers, Rama and Lakshmana, having killed many a sacred deer, began to range in the woods of the Yamuna. And having disported in the beautiful woods resounding with multitudes of peacocks and inhabited by elephants and monkeys, they looking as lively as ever, coming to the level banks of the river, took up their quarters there.

SECTION 56

When the night had been spent, that best of Raghus gently awakened Lakshmana from his light sleep. "O Sumitra's son, do thou hear the dulcet notes of the birds in the woods. Let us proceed. O repressor of foes, the time of our departure is present." Awakened at the proper time, Rama's brother left

off sleep and drowsiness and clinging fatigue. Then they all arising touched the sacred waters of the river, and began to proceed on the way to Chitrakuta inhabited by ascetics. Setting out in season with Sumitra's son, he of eyes resembling lotus-petals spoke these words unto Sita,-"O Vaidehi, behold these flowering trees, the Kinsukas in spring appearing engarlanded with their own flowers, and as if flaming.—Do thou behold the Bhallatakas and Vilwas bending beneath their fruits and flowers, with no man to enjoy them. Surely, we shall be able to live here. Behold, O Lakshmana, these honeycombs measuring about a Drona have been hung up on trees by the bees. In the charming woods overarched by flowers, the Datyuha cries, and is responded to by the peacock. Do thou behold Chitrakuta frequented by mad elephants and resonant with the voice of multitudes of birds—the mountain with its towering summits. O child, we will disport in the sacred woods of Chitrakuta with fine level plains,and covered with divers trees." Then they proceeding on foot along with Sita, arrived at the charming and beautiful mountain Chitrakuta. And arriving at the mountain inhabited by birds of various kinds, abounding in fruits and roots, and furnished with watery expanses, (Rama) said, "O amiable one, methinks this beautiful hill furnished with innumerable fruits and roots, is fraught with subsistence. And the hill is inhabited by high-souled ascetics. Let this, O child, be our abode. We will dwell here." Then Rama, Lakshmana and Sita with joined hands presented themselves at the asylum of Valmiki and saluted him. Thereat the Maharshi cognisant of morality said unto them, "Be seated!" and addressed Rama, saying,—"Has thy journey been a pleasant one?" Then having duly acquainted the saint with matters pertaining to himself, that lord, the mighty- armed elder brother of Lakshmana, said unto the latter, "O Lakshmana, bring thou wood good and strong. O amiable one, construct a dwelling. My mind is set upon staying here." Hearing his words, Sumitra's son procured wood of various descriptions, and then that subduer of foes reared a cottage thatched with leaves. Beholding that goodly dwelling walled with wood and furnished with doors, Rama addressed these words unto Lakshmana, intent upon ministering unto his brother. "Procuring meat, we will worship the deity presiding over this dwelling. O Sumitra's son, those who wish to live long, should pacify the household gods. O Lakshmana graced with auspicious eyes, do thou killing deer, swiftly bring it here. It behoves us to observe the rules prescribed by the scriptures. Do thou follow the ordinance." Acquainted with the words of his brother, Lakshmana, slayer of hostile heroes, did as he was told. Thereupon Rama addressed him again, "Do thou cook this meat. We will worship the presiding deities of this mansion. Bestir thyself,-the moment is mild and the day is styled Dhruva." Then Lakshmana the son of Sumitra endowed with vigor, having slain a sacred black deer, threw it into flaming fire. And seeing it well scorched and hot and free from blood, Lakshmana spoke unto that foremost of men, Raghava. saying,—"Here is the entire black deer roasted by me, capable of serving any purpose. Do you, O you that resemble a celestial, worship the gods." Having performed his ablutions, Rama conversant with the ritual and possessing a knowledge of Japa, restraining his senses, performed all the mantras that are necessary for completing a sacrifice; and having in a pure spirit communed with all the deities, entered the habitation. And (this having been done). Rama of immeasurable energy rejoiced exceedingly. And sacrificing unto Vaicya, Rudra and Vishnu, he performed some ceremonies for removing malign influences from the abode. And having duly performed Japa and bathed in consonance with the ordinance, Rama made an excellent sacrifice for removing sin. And then Raghava established a dais, and a chaitya proportionate to the abode. And as the celestials enter the hall entitled Sudharma, they together with the view of dwelling in it, entered the mansion beautiful to behold, thatched with the leaves of trees, built at a convenient site, well-made, and keeping out the wind. And having come to the charming Chitrakuta and the river Malyavati furnished with excellent bathing places, and haunted by beasts and fowls, they rejoiced with glad hearts, and forsook the grief incident to their exile from the city.

Having for a long time conversed with Sumantra, Guha distressed at heart on Rama reaching the southern bank, retraced his steps homewards. Learning from envoys at (Sringaverapura) all about Rama's visit to Bharadwaia at Prayaga and his reception (at Bharadwaja's place) as well as their destined journey (to Chitrakuta), Sumantra, taking the permission (of Guha), voked those excellent horses and with a heavy heart directed his course to the city of Ayodhya. And beholding perfumed woods and rivers and watery expanses and towns and villages, he eagerly proceeded on his way. And on the third day at dusk the charioteer arriving at Avodhya saw it bereft of happiness. And beholding it empty and still, Sumantra afflicted with exceeding sorrow, and overwhelmed with grief, thought, "Perhaps the city with her elephants and horses and men and king has been consumed by the fire of grief on account of Rama." Having thus reflected, the charioteer drawing up to the city- gate by means of those fleet-coursing horses, speedily entered the city. Thereupon, people by hundreds and thousands rushed after the charioteer, Sumantra, asking, "Where is Rama?" To them he replied, "Having asked Raghava on the Ganga and being permitted by him, I have been sent away by that high-souled righteous one." Learning that they (Rama and the rest) had crossed over (the Ganga), the men with tears in their eyes, sighed forth "O fiel" and began to bewail, exclaiming, "Ah Rama." And he heard crowds exclaim,—"Not seeing Rama in the car, we cease to exist. We shall no longer see the righteous Rama in the midst of mighty assemblies engaged in charity, sacrifice or nuptial rites. What was necessary for this body? What was dear to them and what did they delight in?-(constantly revolving all this in his mind). Rama ruled this city even as, a father. Then proceeding past the stalls, Sumantra heard the lamentations of females at windows, burning in grief for Rama. With his face muffled, Sumantra proceeded on the highway towards the palace of Dacaratha. Swiftly alighting from the car and entering the royal residence, he went past seven apartments thronged with people. And beholding Sumantra returned to the city crowned with edifices, sevenstoried houses, and palatial mansions, the women, stricken with the absence of Rama, set up a cry of "Oh" and "Alas." And waxing still more aggrieved, the females looked at each other with their expansive and transparent eyes fast flooded with tears. And then he heard the talk, as toned down it proceeded from the royal mansions, of the wives of Dacaratha afflicted with grief for Rama. "Going in company with Rama, and returning without him, what will the charioteer answer Kaucalya bewailing (for her son)? Surely life is miserable, yet is incapable of being renounced, since, although her son leaving (the installation) hath gone away, yet Kaucalya still liveth." Having heard those words of the queens, fraught with truth, Sumantra burning as it were in grief, at once entered the (next) apartment. And entering the eighth apartment he beheld in a gloomy chamber the king distressed and in a pitiable plight, woe-begone for grief for his son. Thereupon presenting himself before the monarch, Sumantra saluted him and then conveyed unto the king the words of Rama as he had uttered them. Hearing them silently, the monarch with his mind exceedingly wrought, dropped down to the ground in a swoon, afflicted with grief for Rama. On the lord of earth swooning away and falling to the ground, the inmates of the inner apartment raising their arms burst into lamentations. Kaucalya availing herself of the aid of Sumantra, raised up her fallen lord and addressed him, saying, "This, O eminently virtuous one! if the envoy of that one of an exceedingly arduous achievement, returned from the forest. Why do you not accost him? O descendant of Raghu, you are ashamed today, having done this wrong. Do you rise: merit be yours (arising from this act.) Let not your adherents come to naught (because of your sorrow). O worshipful one, she from fear of whom you do not speak to the charioteer. Kaikevi, is not here. Do you therefore speak to him without fear." Having said this unto the monarch, Kaucalya overwhelmed with grief, with her voice oppressed with the vapour begot of emotion, all on a sudden fell to the earth. Beholding Kaucalya fallen on the ground bewailing, as also their husband, the ladies seated around, began to lament. Hearing the sounds of wailing arise from the inner apartment, old and young as well as females, set up lamentations all round; and the city was again filled

When having been ministered unto and when his senses had returned after the swoon, the king summoned Sumantra for hearing tidings of Rama. Thereupon the charitoteer with joined hands spoke unto the mighty monarch, lamenting for Rama, influenced by grief and sorrow, aged, burning in grief, like a newly-taken elephant, sighing heavily, plunged in thought, and resembling an elephant that is indisposed. Then the king like one exceedingly distressed, spoke unto the charioteer, who had presented himself, covered over with dust, with tears starting from his eyes, and in pitiable guise, "Where stayeth that righteous one, taking refuge under a tree? Lapped in luxury, what, O charioteer, will Raghava feed on? Unworthy of privations, and worthy of excellent beds, how, O Sumantra, a king's son, he is sleeping on the ground like one forlorn? How is Rama passing his days in the lone forest-he who when he went out used to be followed by foot-men and elephants? How are the princes in company with Vaidehi, living in the woods, ranged by serpents and beasts and inhabited by black snakes? How, O Sumantra, having descended from the car, the princes along with the tender and unfortunate Sita are proceeding on foot? O charioteer, surely thou art blessed, for thou hast beheld my sons enter the forest, like the Acwins entering the Mandara hill. And what did Rama say? And what did Lakshmana? And O Sumantra arriving at the forest what did Mithila's daughter? Do thou, O charioteer, describe unto me what Rama lives on and where he lies down. Hearing this, I shall live, like Yayati in the midst of saints." Thus urged by the king, the charioteer spoke unto the king with his voice faltering and suppressed with the

vapour of grief, "O mighty monarch observing morality, Raghava with joined hands and bowing down his head, said, 'O charioteer, do thou in my name salute with thy head the feet of my high-soulded sire worthy of being saluted, and famed (in the world). And, O charioteer, do thou in my name as each deserves salute the ladies of the inner apartment and communicate to them tidings of my health. And having saluted my mother Kaucalya and conveyed unto her news of my welfare, as well as of my unswerving adherence to morality. do thou tell her the words,- Do you remaining steady in virtue, at the proper hour bestir yourself in behalf of the chamber of sacrificial fire. And, O revered one, do you minister unto the feet of that worshipful one, (the king), as if they were very deities. And banishing pride and self-love, do vou bear vourself towards my mothers. And, O mother, do you show respect unto Kaikeyi, who is followed by the king himself. And you should behave towards Bharata as one should towards one's king. Kings (although juvenile), are really senior by virtue of their royalty; and do you remember the duties touching sovereigns.'-Do thou communicate unto Bharata news of my welfare and say in my name,—Do you behave properly with all your mothers.—And unto that delight of the Ikswhaku line do thou further say,-Having been installed as the heir-apparent, be you, looking upon the king as the supreme authority in the state, obedient to him. Do you not deprive the king of authority, as he has grown old. O Prince, do you grant him satisfaction in the kingdom and do vou proclaim his mandates. - And shedding copious tears, he again addressed me, saving.—Do thou look upon my mother as on thy own proud of her son.—Having said this, the mighty-armed and illustrious Rama furnished with eyes resembling lotus-petals, shed plenteous tears. Thereupon Lakshmana waxing wroth, breathing hard, said,-For what fault of his has the Prince been banished? Observing the worthless command of Kaikeyi, whether the king has done well or ill, we have been exceedingly pained thereby. Whether Rama has been exiled through Kaikeyi's lust for dominion or through the exigencies of the bestowal of the boon, there cannot be any doubt that the king has acted most unrighteously. Even if this hath been done in harmony with the wish of the Lord, I do not perceive any reason for the banishment of Rama. The king through lack of sense has done heedlessly what is opposed to morality; and this banishment of Rama will but bring upon him woe here and hereafter. Fatherhood find I none in the monarch. My brother and feeder and friend and father is even Raghava. Renouncing one that is universally dear, and that is ever engaged in the good of all, how by such an act will the king please the people? And how by banishing the righteous Rama dear unto all the subjects, and thus withstanding the wishes of all, will he retain his royalty?—And, O mighty monarch, Janaki also, unfortunate that she is, sighing heavily, stood wildered like one that had been possessed. And not having experienced any calamity before, the famed princess weeping because of this misfortune, told me nothing. And looking up to her lord with a blank countenance, she suddenly let fail tears, perceiving the destruction of the subjects. And thus said Rama ministered unto by Lakshmana, with a tearful countenance; and thus stood the unfortunate and weeping Sita beholding the royal car and myself."

'On Rama having gone to the forest, my horses as I turned away, did not proceed vigorously on the way, and shed warm tears. And having (done homage) unto both the princes by joining my hands, I turned my back, bearing best I could that load of sorrow. Indulging in the hope that Rama might again summon me by any of the envoys (of Guha left there). I staved there with Guha for many days. In thy dominions, O monarch, exercised by the calamity that has befallen Rama, even trees bearing blossoms and buds and sprouts look sad; the rivers and pools and liquid lapses have their waters dried up; and the woods and groves have their foliage withered. Creatures do not move and beasts of prey cease to range about; and the forest appears to be dumb, stupified by grief on account of Rama. And streams containing lotuses with their leaves shriveled, have their waters stained; and lotuses have their leaves burnt; and fishes and (aquatic) birds have grown lean. And flowers both on land and water have been deprived of their freshness and fragrance; and they no longer retain their former condition. And the gardens are idle with their birds drooping. And, O best of men, I do not find the bowers beautiful (as before). And when I entered Ayodhya, none greeted me. And not seeing Rama, the people sigh momentarily. And, O revered one, seeing the royal car returned hither without Rama, the people on the highways from grief appear with tearful countenances. And from mansions, cars, and lorldly edifices, ladies seeing the car come back set up a chorus of 'Ah' and 'Alas' afflicted with the absence of Rama. And becoming more distressed than ever, the fair sex with their expansive and clear eyes filled with tears, began to eye each other indistinctly. And in consequence of the general grief that prevailed, I could not perceive any difference between friends and foes and persons indifferent. O

mighty monarch, distressed in consequence of the exile of Rama, men appear sunk in dejection, and elephants and horses are spiritless; and seized with cheerlessness, they utter doleful sounds and heave profound sighs. Ayodhya appeareth unto me joyless like Kaucalya deprived of her son." Hearing the words of the charioteer, the king like one exceedingly forlorn, addressed the former in words lost in the vapour of sorrow. "Exhorted by Kaikeyi of a sinful country, born in a sinful race and cherishing sinful designs. I did not take counsel with aged people capable of offering advice. Without consulting with friends or courtiers or persons versed in the Vedas, I have in the interests of a woman rashly done this thing through ignorance. Meseems, O charioteer, for the purpose of destroying this line entirely, this mighty disaster hath surely befallen us through the influence of Destiny, O charioteer, if I have ever done thee any good, do thou immediately take me to Rama: my life urges me on (in this direction). Or let my command make Raghava turn back. I cannot live for a moment without Rama. But if that mighty-armed one has proceeded far, do thou placing me on a car speedily show me unto Rama. Where is that elder brother of Lakshmana of a mighty bow, furnished with teeth resembling Kunda flowers? If I live so long, I will behold him in company with Sita. What can be sadder than this, that reduced to such a pass, I cannot see here that descendant of Ikshwaku, Raghava? Ah Rama! Ah thou younger brother of Rama! Ah thou unfortunate Vaidehi! You do not know that I am through grief lamenting like one deserted." Deprived of his consciousness through that sorrow of his, the king said, "I have plunged myself into this ocean of woe hard to cross, with grief for Rama as its mighty tide; separation from Sita, its other shore; sighs heaved, its furious billows and whirlpools; tears, rivers that rush into it; tossing of the arms, its fishes; lamentations its roar; my hair flung about, its moss; Kaikeyi, its submarine fire; my fast-flowing tears, its current; the words of the hump-backed one, its terrific ravenous animals; the boon, its continents; and the exile of Rama, its expanse. And, O Kaucalya, without Raghava, I shall sink in this ocean. O exalted dame, living, it is hard for me to cross over this ocean. It is surely owing to my sin that today wishing to behold Raghava and Lakshmana, I do not get them (before me)." Having thus lamented, the illustrious king all of a sudden dropped to the earth in a swoon. On the king swooning away lamenting, that exalted lady, Rama's mother, hearing his words doubly bitter and more piteous than eti uttered for Rama, was seized with fresh apprehension.

Then like one possessed by an evil spirit, and trembling again and again, Kaucalya lying down on the ground like one dead, spoke unto the charioteer, saying, "Do thou take me where Kakutstha is and Sita and Lakshmana: without them, I cannot live for a moment. Do thou without delay turn the car. Do thou take me also unto Dandaka. If I do not follow them. I shall repair to the mansion of Yama." Thereat the charioteer with joined hands comforted that exalted lady with ready words faltering and choked with rising vapour, "Do you leave grief and sorrow and the violent emotion. Renouncing grief, Raghava is living in the woods. And in the forest, the righteous Lakshmana, having his senses under control, is ministering unto Rama's feet and is thus adoring the gods for happiness in the next world. And even in the lonely woods. Sita as if remaining at home, having fixed her thoughts on Rama, is living a life of love. And there appears not the least trace of any distress afflicting her; and Vaidehi seems to me as if she were meant (by Nature) for a life away from home. And as formerly going unto urban villas she disported, she disports now even in the lonely forest. And although living in the lone forest, that one of a countenance resembling the infant moon, sports merrily like a girl, in the garden represented by Rama's self. Ayodhya without Rama would have seemed a wilderness to her whose heart is fixed on him and whose very life depends upon him. Vaidehi is now asking (Rama) concerning the villages and towns (in their way); and observing various trees and the courses of the rivers, Janaki, asking Rama or Lakshmana (for information), is learning all about them. And Sita sports as she used to do in arbours stationed at the distance of only one krosa from Ayodhya. This only I remember; but all that she had from sudden impulse communicated unto me concerning Kaikeyi, does not rise into consciousness." Suppressing this topic which had come up through heedlessness, the charioteer spoke sweet words cheering up that noble lady. "Neither through the fatigue of travel, nor the influence of the wind, nor excitement, nor the sun, hath Vaidehi's lustre resembling the lunar light suffered any diminution. The countenance of that fair-speaking one resembling the lotus and comparable unto the full moon in splendour, hath not waxed pale. Her feet now without the dve of the liquid lac, but naturally furnished with the roseate hue of the same, are gorgeous like lotus buds. Still Vaidehi decked in ornaments from affection for Rama, goes gracefully, rebuking with her bangles the wavy gait (of cranes). Supporting herself on Rama's arm, Sita arrived at the forest, is not inspired with fear on beholding either an elephant, or a lion, or a tiger. Therefore they are not to be bewailed, nor your own self, nor the lord of men. This history of Rama will endure for ever in this world. Renouncing grief and with cheerful hearts, well established in the life led by the Maharshis, they living in the forest on wild fruits as their sustenance, are maintaining the noble promise of their sire.' Consoled by the truth-telling yet sweeet- speeched charioteer, that lady oppressed with grief for her son, ceased not to wail -"My beloved." "My son." "Raghaya."

On that foremost of those capable of charming people, the righteous Rama, repairing to the forest, Kaucalya crying in grief said unto her husband, "Your great fame has spread over the three worlds; and the descendant of Raghu is kind. munificent and fair-speaking. Why then have you forsaken those foremost of men along with Sita? Brought up in happiness, and now brought to misery, how can they bear it? And how can the youthful daughter of Mithila of slender make, tender, and deserving of happiness, bear heat and cold? Having formerly partaken of (excellent) rice with curries, how will Sita feed on wild rice? Having heard excellent vocal and instrumental music, how will Sita hear the frightful cries of carnivorous lions? Resembling the gonfalon of the great Indra, where sleepeth the mighty-armed and exceedingly powerful Rama, making his arm like unto a mace his pillow? When shall I behold Rama's countenance hued like the lotus, with his hair ending beautifully (in curls), and his breath impregnated with the fine perfume of the lotus, and his eyes resembling lotus leaves? Surely my heart, without doubt, is made of the essence of the thunderbolt, since not beholding him, it is not cracked in a thousand fragments. It is because of your sad act that mine own, being thwarted, although worthy of happiness, are miserably ranging the wilderness. If after the expiration of the five and ten years, Raghava does return, it does not appear likely that Bharata will renounce the kingdom and the exchequer. Some on the occasions of the Sraddha (first) feast their own friends, and having done this, they mind the choice Brahmanas. But those twice-born ones that are meritorious, learned, and like unto celestials, do not at the last moment regard even viands resembling ambrosia. Brahmanas of high respectibility endowed with wisdom never bear being entertained after the other twice- born ones have been feasted, even as bulls never quietly bear to have their horns cut off. Why will not an elder brother and one who has sterling merits, O monarch, disregard a kingdom which hath been thus enjoyed by his younger brother? A tiger doth not like to feed on food procured by others. Even so that tigerlike personage does not regard anything that has come to be tasted by another. Clarified butter, sacrificial cakes, Kuca, stakes of catechu having been used in one sacrifice cannot be used in another,—even so this kingdom which hath been already enjoyed, like unto liquor deprived of its essence or a sacrifice whose soma hath been eaten, cannot be accepted by Rama. Such an ill treatment Raghava will not put up with, even as a powerful tiger cannot bear the rubbing of its tail (by another). This world aided by the gods fear to encounter him in high conflict; but he restrains himself, thinking any such action on his part as unrighteous. Indeed, that righteous one brings back people to morality. Surely, that mighty-armed one endowed with exceeding prowess, can with his golden shafts burn all creatures and the oceans, like the Day at the dissolution of all. But such a man of men, possessed of leonine strength, and graced with the eyes of a bull, has been destroyed by his father, like a fish destroying his offspring. If you had believed in the morality prescribed in the scriptures, and which is followed by the twice-born ones, you would not have banished your son. But disregarding such morality, you have banished your virtuous son. One of the refuges of a woman is her husband, a second is her son, and a third is her relatives; and a fourth she has none. But you cease to be mine; and Rama has been sent to the woods. I do not like to go into the forest; so I am entirely undone by you. This kingdom, your own kingdom, has been destroyed by you; destroyed are; along with the counsellors; destroyed am I with my son; and destroyed are the citizens: your son and your wife are alone delighted." Hearing these words uttered in heart-rending accents, Dacaratha exceedingly distressed, became senseless. And being afflicted with grief, he again remembered his evil

SECTION 62.

Thus harshly addressed by the indignant mother of Rama, the king aggrieved was plunged in thought. Having thought for a long while, that repressor of foes, the king, who had lost his senses through grief, regained consciousness. And having regained his senses, he sighing hot and hard, seeing Kaucalya beside him, was again lost in thought. As he was thinking, the sinful act which he had through ignorance formerly committed by means of the shaft which hits by sound, rose up (in his recollection). Afflicted with this grief as well as that on account of Rama, that lord, the king, burned in these two several griefs. Burning in grief and distressed, he trembling and with joined hands, with his head hanging down,

addressed Kaucalya, with the view of pacifying her, "I deprecate thy displeasure, O Kaucalya, with joined hands. Thou art ever affectionate and dost not treat harshly even enemies. Verily unto women cognisant of virtue, a husband, whether he has any merits or not, is a very deity. Ever virtuous, thou, that hast seen both the virtuous and the vicious, although aggrieved, ought not to say anything unpleasant unto me who am weighed down with woe. Having heard these piteous words of the distressed king. Kaucalya uttered words even as a water-way lets out fresh accession of rain. And weeping, she drew on her head the joined hands of the king resembling lotuses; and then flurried spoke these words hurriedly informed with extreme affection, 'Be thou propitious; I beseech with (bended) head. I bow unto thee, falling on the ground. O reverend one, besought by thee, I shall be undone. I do not deserve to be forgiven by thee. She cannot be reckoned a gentlewoman, who is propitiated by her intelligent husband, worthy of being extolled in both the worlds. I know duty, O righteous one; I know that thou art truth-telling. And it is because I was exceedingly distressed on account of my son that I spoke harshly to thee. Sorrow destroys patience, sorrow destroys knowledge of the scriptures, sorrow destroys every thing; there is no enemy like unto sorrow. One can falling down bear beating from an enemy; but one cannot falling down bear ever so little sorrow. This is the fifth night of the banishment of Rama, as calculated by me; and to me rendered cheerless by sorrow, this interval has assumed the proportions of five years. And fostered by thought on my part, this grief increases in my bosom, like the mighty waters of the ocean increased by the vehement discharge of rivers." As Kaucalya was thus speaking auspiciously, the rays of the sun grew milder, and the night arrived. Cheered up by the words of Kaucalya, the king overcome by grief, felt the influence of sleep.

Starting in a moment from sleep, king Dacaratha deprived (almost) of his consciousness by grief, (again) became a prey to thought. And in consequence of the exile of Rama and Lakshmana, the king resembling Vasava was overpowered by grief, like the darkness of Rahu enveloping the sun. Then on Rama's having gone along with his wife, the lord of the Kocalas, remembering his own misdeed, felt anxious to communicate himself to that lady having her eyes furnished with dark outer corners. And on the sixth night after Rama had repaired to the forest, the king Dacaratha, when it was midnight, remembered his own unrighteous act. And then unto Kaucalya aggrieved on account of her son, he spoke these words, "As are the actions of one, O auspicious onewhether good or otherwise— are the consequences, O gentle lady, reaped by the doer of them. He that on the eve of beginning an action either relating to this world or the next, does not take into consideration the fact that actions entail consequences light or grave, disagreeable (or otherwise), is styled a child. He that cutting down a mango grove, waters Palasa trees, beholding the flowers (blooming), will covet fruits; and grieve when their season arrives. The person that without apprehending (the principle of causation) rushes to action, grieves at the season of fruits, even like him that watereth kinsuka trees (hewing down his mango grove). And in this way, I fool that I am having hewn down my grove of mangos and watered Palacas,—having renounced Rama in the season of fruit, is grieving in the end. Having, O Kaucalya, earned the expression-The Prince can pierce his aim by sound alone, —I, a prince and bowman, did this offence. Therefore, O noble dame, I have myself brought this misfortune on me. like a child who has eaten poison through ignorance. And even like another person fascinated by the sight of some Palasa trees (and doing as mentioned above), I (did this act) not foreknowing the consequence that would follow my shooting by sound. O lady, thou wert then unwedded; and I was a youthful prince. And it was at this time that the rainy season increasing my desire set in. Drawing moisture from the ground and heated the earth by his rays, the Sun goes to the dreadful quarter whither repair the dead. The heat was immediately dispelled, and the gelid clouds showed themselves; and frogs and Sarangas and peacocks began to rejoice; and, finding it unpleasant, the feathered ones bathed and with the surface of their plumage shrunk up from the wet, took refuge in trees shaken by the wind and rain. And the hill graced by maddened Sarangas, covered by showers falling simultaneously looked like a mass of waters. And the waters although unstained, being mixed up with mineral substances and ashes from the mountain, flowed in serpentine torrents black and red. At such a sweet hour, I intent upon taking excercise, taking my bow and arrows and mounted on my car, sallied out for the river Sarayu, with the intention that I with my senses under control, should in the watery expense slay any bufifelo, elephant, or any other beast that might have come there in the night. And (coming there) while it was so dark that nothing could be discovered, I heard sounds of a filling pitcher proceeding from the waters; resembling the roars of an elephant. Thereupon raising up my shaft flaming and like unto a serpent of virulent poison, I

desirous of hunting the (imaginary) elephant, let fly my shaft in the direction of the sound. Thereupon from the spot whereto the sharpened shaft resembling a poisonous snake had been discharged by me in the twilight, proceeded cries of 'Oh' and 'Alas' uttered by a forester pierced to the quick by the arrow, and falling into the water. And when he had dropped down, words spoken by a human being became audible. 'Why doth the weapon light upon me? I had come to this lone stream for procuring water. By whom have I been wounded by this arrow? To whom have I done wrong? And how can the slaying of one like me bearing a load of matted locks, and wearing bark and deer-skin, who subsists on what the forest yields and never injures others, be sanctioned by the scriptures? Who can serve any purpose by slaying me? And how can I have injured such an one? Such a purposeless act cannot but end in evil. This can never be reckoned as righteous; even like unto violating the chastity of a preceptor's wife. I do not so much lament my end as I lament it on account of my father and mother. To what will the old couple, who have ever been maintained by me, betake themselves when I am gone? My father and mother are old and I their only son am slain. What boy is it of uncontrolled senses that has killed us all?

'Hearing his piteous words, I ever anxious to follow virtue, was exceedingly pained, and the bow with its arrow fixed fell down from my hand to the earth. Hearing in the night, the pathetic words of the saint thus lamenting, I became frightened, and was deprived of my senses through excess of grief. And coming to the quarter, I exceedingly unnerved and with an excited mind, discovered on the banks of the Sarayu an ascetic wounded with a shaft, with his matted locks scattered about, his pitcher of water lying by, his body smeared with blood and dust and afflicted by the dart. Gazing with his eyes at me who was extremely agitated and ill at ease he said these words sternly, as if consuming me with his energy, 'What wrong, O monarch, had I residing in the woods done thee, that coming to procure water for my parents, I have been thus afflicted by thee? By piercing my marrow with a shaft, thou hast slain both my aged and blind father and mother. Surely, they feeble and blind, who afflicted by thirst are remaining in expectation of me, will now bear (the stress and tension of) the expectation as well as the parching thirst. Surely asceticism and study carry no fruit with them, since I lying low on the ground, my father knows nothing about it. And what could he do, even if he knew it, being as he is incapable and unable to go about? One tree cannot rescue another that is being battered (by the winds). Do thou, O descendant of Raghu, thyself going to my father, speedily inform of him this that has occurred. But take care that like a fire waxing furious consuming a wood, he in his ire do not burn thee. This narrow way, O king, will lead thee unto my father's dwelling. Do thou going there, pacify him, so that getting wroth he may not curse thee. Do thou (now), O king, take out the arrow. Thy sharpened shaft afflicts my marrow like the tide of a river wearing away a hollow-heaving sand bank.' But touching the extracting of the arrow, this thought perplexed me: 'If the arrow is left alone, it pains; if extracted, death ensues.' As I was distressed, aggrieved and inflicted with sorrow, the son of the ascetic perceived my anxiety. Thereupon that one well versed in the scriptures sinking motionless, with his eyes rolling upwards, and waxing extremely weak, said with difficulty, 'Restraining sorrow, I by dint of patience become calm. Do thou remove from thy mind the grief caused by the consciousness of having slain a Brahmana. O king, I belong not to the twice-born race: let not thy mind be pained. O lord of the foremost men, I was begot by a Vaicya on a Sudra woman.' As he, his vitals afflicted with the shaft, his eyes rolling, inert and trembling on the ground, with his limbs drawn in, was speaking with difficulty, I drew out the arrow. Thereupon, looking at me, the ascetic, growing affrighted, gave up the ghost. On beholding him with his body dripping with water, and mortally wounded, and breathing hard without respite, after he had bewailed his mortal wound, lying on the banks of the Sarayu, I lamented him and was, O gentle lady, greatly aggrieved "

SECTION 64

Remembering the extraordinary death of the Maharshi, that righteous descendant of Raghu, lamenting his son, thus spoke unto Kaucalya, "Having unwittingly committed that great sin, I, with my senses oppressed through grief, thought within myself as to how I could mend it. Then taking up the pitcher filled with excellent water, I went by the way mentioned and (at last) reached the asylum. There I found his aged, infirm, forlorn, parents, without a one to help them in moving about,-like unto birds whose wings have been severed, keeping up a talk about (their son) without experiencing any fatigue, and like helpless ones feeding on a hope which had been blasted by me. My senses overpowered by grief, and my consciousness almost lost through apprehension, I, arrived at the hermitage, was again overwhelmed with sorrow. Hearing my footsteps, the ascetic said, 'Why, my son, delayest thou? Bring the drink at once. Thy mother, O child, was exceedingly anxious in consequence

of thy sporting in the waters. Do thou speedily enter the asylum. O child, it behoveth thee not to take to heart any unkind action that, O son, may have been done unto thee of high fame either by thy mother or myself. Thou art the resource of these helpless ones; thou art the eyes of these bereft of their sight. Our lives are bound up with thee. Why dost not answer?' Seeing the ascetic with a choked utterance indistinctly speaking thus with the letters not articulated clearly. I. dashed in spirits, yet concealing the real state of my mind by assuming a doughty tongue, communicated unto him the danger that had beffallen him in consequence of the calamity of his son: 'I am a Kshatria, Dacaratha (by name), and no son of thine, O magnanimous one. I have come by a misfortune in consequence of an act blamed by the good. O revered one, desirous of killing some beast of prev, an elephant (or some other), come to the waters, I went to the banks of the Sarayu bow in hand. Then hearing sounds from the water of a filling pitcher, I thought,-This must be an elephant.-I wounded it with a shaft. Next coming to the edge of the river, I saw an ascetic lying down on the ground almost deprived of life, with his heart pierced with an arrow. Then coming forward. I in accordance with the direction given by him as he lay in agony, suddenly extracted the arrow from his vitals. And as soon as the arrow had been extracted, he ascended heaven, O reverend sir, lamenting and bewailing you, both grown old. It is through ignorance that I suddenly wounded your son. This having been past, do you favour me with telling me what is now to be done, O ascetic.' Having heard these cruel words, the worshipful ascetic could well by his curse consume me to ashes. With eyes flooded with tears, and well nigh deprived of his senses by grief, that highly energetic one said unto me standing with joined hands, 'If, O king, thou hadst not of thyself immediately communicated unto us this unpleasant news, thy head would have been reduced to a thousand flaws. Not to speak of Kshatriyas, I can even drag the very weilder of the thunderbolt himself from his position, if he knowingly kills one, in especial, that has assumed the Vanaprastha mode of life. Thy head would have been severed in seven, if thou hadst discharged the weapon knowingly at such an asectic staying in austerities and versed in the Vedas. It is because thou hast done this through ignorance that thou (still) livest, else the race itself of the Raghavas should be not, - and where art thou?' He then said, 'Do thou, O king, take us to the scene. To day will we look our last on our son besmeared with blood, his deer-skin garb falling off (from his body), lying senseless on the earth, and come under the subjection of the lord of righteousness. Thereupon I alone taking them exceedingly disconsolate to the spot, made the ascetic and his wife touch their son. And having approached their son and touched him, those ascetics fell on his person, and then his father addressed him thus, 'Thou salutest me not to-day, nor dost thou speak to me. Why, my child, dost thou lie down on the ground? Art thou angry (with us)? If, my son, thou dost not feel kindly to me, do thou look up to thy virtuous mother. And why, O son, dost thou not embrace me? Do a thou speak tender words. At the small hours, from whom engaged in study, shall I hear the scriptures sweetly read in a way coming home to the listener's mind? Who, having performed his daily devotions and offered oblations unto the sacrificial fire, will bathe me, afflicted with grief for my son? And who procuring Kandas, fruits and roots, will feed me like an welcome guest, incapable of doing anything and furnishing provisions, and without any one to take care of myself? And, my son, how will I maintain this blind ascetic mother of thine, proud of her son, who is passing her days in misery? Do thou stay, my son, in my behalf. Tomorrow thou wilt go to Yama's mansion with me and thy mother. Distressed with grief and rendered miserable in the forest, both of us deprived of thee shall soon repair to the abode of Yama. Seeing Vivaswata's son, I will say unto him,-Do thou, O lord of justice, forgive me, and let this my son continue to maintain us, his parents. It behoves thee, O righteous and illustrious guardian of the worlds, to confer on me reduced to such a pass this one enduring dakshina capable of removing our fear. — Thou, my son, art sinless, although slain by this one who has done an unrighteous act; and by the force of this truth, do thou repair to the world of warriors. Do thou, O son, go the supreme way that is gone by heroes who without turning back from the fight, are slain in open encounter. Do thou, O son, go the way that has been gone by Sagara and Saivya and Dilipa and Janamejaya and Nahusa and Dhundumara. Do thou, O son, go the way that is gone by all creatures! even by ascetics engaged in the study of the Veda, by bestowers of lands, by those performing fire-sacrifices, by individuals each devoted to a single wife, men giving away a thousand kine, persons tending their preceptors, and individuals renouncing lives by fasting. He that is born in such a race cannot come by any evil case. Such a condition be his that has taken the life of thee my friend '

"Having thus piteously wept, he along with his wife set about performing the watery rites on behalf of his son. Thereupon speedily assuming a celestial shape, the virtuous son of the ascetic by his own actions ascended heaven in company with Sakra. Then (returning) along with Sakra, the ascetic comforting his aged parents, addressed them, saying, 'I have attained a high state in consequence of having served you. Do you also without delay come unto me.' Having said this, the ascetic's son of restrained senses ascended heaven by means of an excellent and commodious car. Having performed the watery rites, the highly energetic ascetic along with his wife speedily said unto me staying with joined hands, 'Do thou, O monarch, slay me on the instant. I do not grieve to die'-thou hast by thy shaft rendered me who had an only son, absolutely sonless. Since this sorrow arising from the calamity that has befallen my son, is at present mine (through thy instrumentality), I curse thee,—thou shalt even in this way find thy death from grief for thy son. As thou a Kshatriya hast through ignorance slain an ascetic, the sin, O lord of men, of slaving a Brahmana will not envelope thee speedily; but thou shalt shortly come by this dreadful and mortal condition, like a donor of Dakshinas (coming by the things given away). Having thus inflicted on me the curse and piteously lamented long, the couple ascended the funeral pile and went to heaven. O noble dame, the crime that I hitting by help of sound, had committed in my boyhood, has reverted to my recollection in course of thought. And, O exalted lady, even as a disease generated by one's taking rice with unhealthy curry, this danger is imminent in consequence of that act. O gentle one, the words of that noble- minded person are about to be verified in me." Having said this and weeping, the king said to his wife, "I shall renounce life through grief for my son. And I shall no more behold thee with my eyes. Do thou, O Kaucalya, touch me. People going to the mansion of Yama no more behold (their friends). If Rama touch me directly or otherwise, obtain the exchequer, and be installed as the heir-apparent, meseems, I may yet live. O noble lady, what I have done unto Raghava is not surely like myself; but what (on the other hand) he has done by me is worthy of him. What sensible man forsaketh his son, albeit he may be wicked? And what son being banished, does not bear ill will towards his father? But I do not see thee with my eyes, and my memory fails. These envoys of Vivaswata's son, O Kaucalya, urge speed upon me. What can be an object of greater regret than, that I during my last moments cannot behold the righteous Rama having truth for prowess? Even as the sun drieth up a drop of water, grief for not seeing my son of incomparable acts drieth my spirits. Those are not men-those are gods who in the fifteenth year shall again behold Rama's countenance graced with elegent and burnished ear-rings. O thou of graceful eye-brows, blessed are they who shall behold Rama's countenance furnished with eyes resembling lotus-petals, with excellent teeth and a shapely nose, like unto the lord of the stars himself. Blessed are they that shall behold that fragrant face of his like unto the autumnal moon, or the full-blown lotus. Thriceblessed they who with delighted hearts, shall behold Rama returned from the forest and come back to Ayodhya, like unto Sukra crowning the zenith? O Kaucalya, my heart is weighed down with grief; and I do not perceive objects of hearing, feeling, or taste. My senses are growing dim in consequence of the mental stupor, like the rays of a lamp reduced to smoke, becoming dim when the oil has been exhausted. As the violence of a river wears away its banks. my grief occasioned through my own agency is destroying me, who am helpless and insensible. O mighty-armed Raghava! O thou remover of my troubles! O thou that dost delight in thy father! thou art my stay, O my son, that hast gone away. O Kaucalya, I do not see. O wretched Sumitra! O cruel one, thou enemy of mine, thou Kaikeyi, who hast befouled thy line!" Having thus lamented in presence of Rama's mother and Sumitra, king Dacaratha breathed his last.

Thus that distressed lord of men, smitten with the exile of his beloved son, that one possessed of a gracious presence, when the night had been half spent, wrought up with the violence of his emotion, departed this life.

SECTION 65.

When the night had gone away, on the morning of the next day, eulogists, accomplished bards, genealogists skilled in reciting, and singers versed in musical permutation, presenting themselves at the place of the sovereign, began to perform separately. And as they eulogized the monarch with benedictions loudly uttered, the palace resounded with the sounds of the eulogies. And as the bards hymned the monarch, palm-players celebrating the deeds of the kings of the Raghu race, began to play with their palms. And awakened by those sounds, birds on boughs and in cages worthy of the royal race. uttered notes. And the sacred words uttered (by these), the notes of Vinas, and the valedictory songs of singers filled that mansion. And as on former occasions, men practising purity and well up in serving, with numerous women and eunuchs entered appearance. Persons acquainted with the ceremonials connected with bath, according to the ordinance and in due time, in golden vessels brought water impregnated with harisandal powder. Pure females together with many virgins brought kine etc, which were to be touched, Ganges water for sipping, mirrors, cloths, ornaments and other articles. All the things that were procured (for presentation unto the monarch) were worshipped in accordance with prescription, were

furnished with auspicious marks, and were of excellent virtues and possessed of auspiciousness. As long as the sun did not rise, all these people remained expecting the presence of the king; but then they were alarmed as to what had occurred.

Those ladies that were beside the bed of the lord of Kocala, were consoling their husband. And engaged in tending the monarch with mild and pliant words, those females knowing the condition of sleep, feeling him as he lay in his bed, did not perceive any action in the ever-moving pulse. Thereupon apprehensive for the king's life, they began to tremble like a blade of grass on a torrent. Filled with doubts at sight of the king, the ladies at last concluded that what had been apprehended (by the monarch) had certainly taken place. Overcome by grief for their sons, Sumitra and Kaucalya were sleeping as if they were dead, and had not yet awaked. Deprived of lustre, pallid, stricken by sorrow, and lying with her limbs contracted, Kaucalya looked like a star enveloped in darkness. And after Kaucalya, the king, and after him, Sumitra; and with her countenance faded from grief, this noble lady did not look particularly lovely. Finding these two ladies asleep and the king seeming as if sleeping, the inmates of the inner apartment showed themselves as if their lives had departed out of them. Thereupon exceedingly distressed, those paragons of their sex, like she-elephants in the forest deprived of their leader of the herd, broke out into wailing. At the sounds of their lamentations, bpth Kaucalya and Sumitra suddenly regaining consciousness, awoke from their sleep. And Kaucalva and Sumitra looking at the king and feeling him, felt down to the earth, exclaiming, "Ah lord." As the daughter of Kocala's lord rolled on the ground, she covered with dust did not appear in all her loveliness, like a star fallen from the sky to the earth below. And when the king had departed this life, the women saw Kaucalya fallen on the earth like the slain mate of an elephant. Then all the wives of the monarch headed by Kaikeyi, burning with grief and weeping, were well nigh rendered senseless. And the loud sounds emitted by these, mingling with those (who had been lamenting before them), attained greater proportions and filled the hall. And the mansion of the king became filled with people exceedingly excited and frightened, eager to know all about the matter,-became filled with lamentations, with friends afflicted with distress, its joy instantaneously vanished—a scene of distress and dole. Knowing that the lord of earth had departed, his wives surrounding that illustrious one, smitten with excess of sorrow and weeping bitterly and piteously, holding the king's hands indulged in lamentations, like forlorn ones.

SECTION 66.

Seeing the king had ascended heaven., like unto a fire that has cooled, or an ocean deprived of its waters, or the sun shorn of his splendour, Kaucalya afflicted with woe, taking on her lap the head of the king, with tears in her eyes, said, "O Kaikeyi, attain thou thy wishes: do thou enjoy this kingdom rid of thy thorn. O cruel one. O thou of wicked ways, thou that forsaking the king had set thy heart (on having thy son crowned), Rama had gone away, forsaking me; and now my lord has ascended heaven. I can too longer bear to live, like one left lone in a wilderness by her companions. What other woman except Kaikeyi lost to righteousness, having lost her deity, her lord, wishes to carry on existence in another's kingdom? As a covetuous person taking poison (through anger or some other passion), does not consider himself guilty, (so Kaikeyi) having done this evil through Manthara's incitement, does not bring her guilt home to her mind. It is through the instrumentality of the hump-backed woman that this race of the Raghavas has been destroyed by Kaikevi. Hearing that the king being made to do an unrighteous action. has banished Rama together with his wife, king Janaka will be filled with grief as I have been. That virtuous one does not know that to-day I have become helpless and been widowed Rama of eyes resembling lotus-petals has living been removed from my sight. The fair daughter of Videha's king unworthy of hardship, in ascetic guise is leading a life of trouble and terror in the woods. Hearing at night the dreadful roars of birds and beasts crying, she exceedingly frightened takes shelter with Raghava. Old and having an only daughter, he revolving in his mind thoughts of Vaidehi, shall, smitten with grief, surely renounce his life. I ever faithful to my lord will die this very day, embracing this body; I will enter fire." As embracing the (dead) body, that unfortunate lady was bewailing, the courtiers had the distressed (queen) removed from there. Then placing the corpse of the king in a (capacious) pan with oil, the courtiers performed the mourning rites of the monarch. But well versed in every thing, the counsellors, in the absence of his son, did not perform the funeral obsequies of the king; and therefore they placed his body stretched in the pan of oil. Alas! at length concluding it for certain that the king was dead, the ladies burst out into lamentations. And raising their arms, with tears trickling down their faces, they in dire affliction and extremely exercised with grief, lamented, "O monarch, why do you forsake us, who have been already deprived of Rama ever speaking fair and firm in promise? Renounced by Rama, how

shall ye, rendered widows, stay with the wicked Kaikeyi, cowife with us? That one of free soul is our master, as he is the lord of yourself. Rama has gone to the woods, forsaking regal dignity. Deprived of you as well as that hero, and overwhelmed with misfortune, how shall we live reprimanded by Kaikeyi? She that has renounced the king, Rama, and Lakshmana along with Sita— whom can such a one not renounce?" Thus with tears in their eyes, the wives of that descendant of Raghu, joyless and convulsed with a huge passion, displayed signs of sorrow. Like a night without stars, like a fair one forsaken by her husband, the city of Ayodhya without the magnanimous monarch did not appear delightful as it had done before, with the populace filled with tears, the ladies uttering exclamations of distress, and the terraces and courts deserted. On the lord of men having ascended heaven from grief, and the wives of the king remaining on the earth, the sun, his journey done, set, and the night began her course. The idea of consuming the king's corpse in the absence of his son did not recommend itself to the assembled adherents (of the departed). Thinking this, they in that way laid the king endowed with an inconceivably dignified presence. And with her terraces overflowing with tears that flooded the throats of the mourners, the city appeared like the welkin without its splendour in the absence of the sun, or the night with the stars enveloped. And on the demise of that illustrious personage, in the city men and women in multitudes, censuring Bharata's mother, became extremely distressed, and did not attain peace of mind.

SECTION 67.

AT length the weary night in Ayodhya. rendered cheerless by lamentations, and populous with men with voice choked with tears, was spent. And when the night departed and the sun had arisen, those officers of the royal house-hold belonging to the twice-born order, Markandeya, Maudgalya, Vamadeva, Kacyapa, Katyayana, Gautama, and the highly famous Javali, assembled together along with the the counsellors, spoke each on different topics. Then facing the royal priest, the eminent Vasistha, they said, "That night that had appeared like unto an hundred years has at last been painfully passed. The king racked by sorrow for his son has breathed his last, the mighty monarch has ascended heaven. Rama has taken refuge in the woods, the energetic Lakshmana has gone with Rama, and both Bharata and Satrugnarepressors of foes-are staying in Kekaya in pleasant Rajagriha, the abode of their maternal grandfather. Do you select some one this very day from the descendants of Ikshwaku, be king here. Verily doth a kingdom go to ruin, when without a king. He that goes garlanded with lightning. and has a mighty voice, even the cloud-doth not with skyey shower drench the Earth in a kingdom without a king. In a kingless kingdom no one sows corn. In a kingless kingdom the son does not obey his sire, or the wife her husband. A kingless kingdom possesses no wealth, and wives are hard to keep in such a place. This great fear attends a kingless country. And where is other morality (besides that detailed above) to be found at such a place? In a kingless country men do not form themselves into associations, nor do they, inspired with cheerfulness, make elegant gardens or sacred edifices. In a kingless country, the twice-born ones do not celebrate sacrifices. In a kingless country, in mighty sacrifices wealthy Brahmanas do not confer (on the officiating priests) the dakshinas (which they receive according to the ordinance), In a kingless country, neither social gatherings, nor festivities characterised by the presence of merry theatrical managers and performers, increase. In a kingless country disputants cannot decide their point; nor are persons given to hearing Puranic recitations pleased by those delighting in the practice. In a kingless country, bevies of virgins decked in gold do not repair to gardens for purposes of sport. In a kingless country, the wealthy are not well protected; nor do shepherds and cultivators sleep with their doors open. In a kingless country pleasure-seeking people do not in company with females go to the woods by means of swift vehicles. In a kingless country long-tusked elephants sixty years old, bearing bells on their necks, do not walk the highway. In a kingless country one hears not the clappings of persons engaged in shooting arrows constantly. In a kingless country traders coming from distant lands, loaded with various kinds of merchandise, do not with safety go along the roads. In a kingless country the ascetic with his subdued senses, himself his sole protector, who makes his quarters wherever evening overtakes him, cannot walk contemplating the Deity. In a kingless country, one cannot protect what one has, or procure what one has not. In a kingless country, the forces cannot bear the onslaught of the foe. In a kingless country men cannot at will go on excellent and high-mettled horses and ornamented cars. In a kingless country persons well versed in learning can not engage in controversy, repairing to woods and groves. In a kingless country, persons with intent hearts do not offer garlands, sweets, and dakshinas, for worshipping the gods. In a kingless country, princes smeared with sandal and aguru, do not look graceful like trees in spring. Even as a river without water, a wood without grass, a herd of kine without a keeper, is a

kingdom without a king. The sign of a car is its pennon, of fire is smoke, and our banner the king, has gone to heaven. In a kingless country a person hardly preserves his life; and like fishes people eat up one another. Even those heretics who having disregarded the dignity of social morality had met with chastisement at the hands of the king, their fear removed—give themselves airs. As the sight is engaged in the welfare of the body, the king-that fountain of truth and religion—is engaged in compassing the good of the kingdom. The king is truth, the king is morality, the king is the racial dignity of those possessed of the same, the king is the father, the king is the mother—the king compasseth the welfare of men. By virtue of magnanimity of character, a king surpasses Yama and Vaicravana and Sakra and Varuna endowed with mighty strength. If there were not a king in this world to adjudge fair and foul, darkness would overspread (the face of the earth) and people could not distinguish anything whatever. As the ocean keepeth within its continent, we even while the monarch lived, did not disregard your words. Do you, O best of Brahmanas, beholding our acts rendered nugatory, and this empire become a wilderness for want of a king, install that descendant of Ikshwaku or any other as king of this realm.

SECTION 68.

Hearing their words, Vasishtha said unto the Brahmanas and the adherents and counsellors (of the king), "Bharata, on whom the king has conferred the kingdom, along with his brother Satrughna, is living happily in the house of his maternal uncle. Let envoys by means of fleet couriers speedily repair thither and bring those heroic brothers. What shall we decide?" "Let them go"—said all unto Vasishtha. Hearing their words, Vasishtha spake unto them, saying,— "Come here, thou Siddhartha, and Vijaya, and Jayanta, and Acokanandana. Do ye hear. I will tell you what ye are to do. First going speedily to the royal residence by means of swift horses, do you, renouncing grief, by my order speak these words of mine unto Bharata, 'The priest as well as the counsellors have enquired after your welfare. Do you at once set out. A business is at hand that brooketh no delay on your part.' But ye must on no account communicate unto him the exile of Rama, or the demise of the monarch, or the destruction that hath befallen the Raghu race through this occasion. Do ye, speedily taking silk apparel and excellent ornaments for king Bharata, set off." Thereupon, having been furnished with the necessaries for the journey, they bound for Kekaya went to their respective abodes, mounted on goodly horses. Then having supplied themselves with the necessaries of the journey, the envoys in consonance with Vasistha's injunction, speedily went away. Having proceeded by the west of Aparatala, they in the middle crossed the Malini, and went towards the north of Pralamva. Then crossing the Ganga at Hastinapura, and arriving at Panchala, they proceeded westward through Kurujangala. And beholding watery expanses filled with blown blossoms and rivers containing pellucid waters, the envoys proceeded apace on account of the errand they had on hand. And they darted past the Saradanda overflowing with delightful water, beautiful, and haunted by fowls of various kinds. Then on the western bank of the stream, coming upon a tree called Satyapayachana presided by a deity, and bowing down unto the tree and going round it, they entered the city of Kulinga. And having passed Teyobibhabana and arrived at Abhikala, they crossed the sacred stream Ikshumati belonging to the Ikshwakus for generations. Beholding here Brahmanas versed in the Vedas drinking water with their joined hands, they went through Vahllika towards the mount Sudaman. There seeing the footprint of Vishnu, they, desirous of doing the bidding of their master, proceeded a long way, viewing the Vipaca and the Salmali and rivers and tanks and pools and ponds and sheets of water and various kinds of lions and tigers and deer and elephants. And with their vehicles fatigued, the ambassadors, on account of the great distance of the way, speedily reached that best of cities, Girivraja. And for pleasing their master, for the preservation of the people, and enabling Bharata to assume the reins of government, those envoys, casting aside negligence, swiftly entered the city in the night.

SECTION 69.

The very same night that the envoys entered the city, Bharata saw an evil dream. And seeing that evil dream during the short hours, the son of that king of kings exceedingly burned in grief. And rinding him aggrieved, his sweet speeched associates, endeavouring to chase the heaviness, began to converse on a variety of subjects. Some played on instruments; some for the purpose of pacifying his mind, danced (the courtezans); others performed scenes variously fraught with the sentiment of mirth. But although his friends intending to allay his agitation set about enacting passages calculated to amuse family circles, that magnanimous descendant of Raghu did not indulge in laughter. Then a dear friend addressed Bharata, as he sat surrounded by his friends, "Surrounded by your friends, why do you not, my friend, join in the mirth?" Thus asked by his friend, Bharata answered,

"Listen why this depression has overtaken me. In a dream I beheld my father, pale, with his hair loosely flowing about, plunging from the summit of a mountain into a dirty pool filled with cow-dung. And I saw him floating on a sink of cow-dung, and yet with a momentary laugh drinking oil by means of his joined hands. Then feeding on rice mixed with sessame, he again and again hanging his head down, dives into oil with his limbs rubbed with oil. And in my dream I saw the ocean dried up, and the moon fallen on the earth, and the earth as if invaded by enfolding darkness, and the tusk of the elephant on which the monarch rides falling in fragments, and flaming fire suddenly extinguished, and the earth rent, and the trees withered, and all the mountains befching smoke. And I saw the king seated on a sable seat of iron, clad in a sable garb; and women black and vellow beating him. And bearing a garland of red flowers, with his body daubed with red sandal, he was fast proceeding to the south in a car yoked with asses. And women clad in red garment were laughing at him, and a grim-visaged Rakshasa was seen by me as dragging him. This was the dream that I saw this terrible night. Either I, or Rama, or the king, or Lakshmana is to breathe our last. The smoke of the funeral pyre of him will be shortly visible that goes in the car yoked with asses. It is for this reason that I am poor of spirit, and that I do not respond to your words. Further, my throat is parched, and my mind ill at ease. Ground of fear find I none, yet am I subject to fear. My voice is untuned, and my grace fled, and I begin to despise my life, nor know I the reason why. Bringing to mind this variouslooking dream which I had not thought of before, and remembering the king of incomprehensible presence, this fear goeth not from my heart."

SECTION 70

Bharata was speaking thus when the envoys with their vehicles fatigued, entered the splendid royal residence surrounded by a strong rampart. Presenting themselves before the king, they, well received by him as well as the prince, bowed down unto the feet of the monarch. Then they addressed Bharata, saying,—'The priest and the counsellors have enquired after your welfare. Do you set out speedily. A business is on hand that brooketh no delay on your part. And, O you of expansive eyes, do you take these costly raiments and ornaments, and present them unto your maternal uncle and grand-father. Twenty Kotis are intended for the king and complete ten for your maternal uncle, O son of the monarch.' Taking all these, Bharata attached to his relatives, made the articles over unto them; and receiving the envoys with goodly gifts, spoke unto them, "Is my father, king Dacaratha, well? And is it well with Rama and the high-souled Lakshmana? And is the mother of the intelligent Rama, the revered Kaucalya, conversant with virtue and ever practising it, well? Is the virtuous Sumitra.-mother of Lakshmana and of the heroic Satrughna-well? And that wrathful one ever intent on her interest and setting immense store by her wisdom, my mother Kaikevi—is it also well with her?" Thus addressed by the magnanimous Bharata, the envoys spoke unto him these humble and brief words, "Those of whose welfare you are enquiring after, are, O foremost of men, all well. Sree seated on the lotus asks for you. Let your car be yoked." Thus addressed, Bharata said unto the envoys, "Let me tell the king that the envoys are urging speed on me." Having said this, that son of the king. Bharata, communicated unto his maternal grand-father what the envoys had told him. "Asked by the envoys, I shall, O monarch, go to my father. I shall come again whenever you will remember me." Thus accosted by Bharata, his maternal grand-father, the king, smelling Bharata's head, spoke these auspicious words unto that descendant of Raghu, "Go, my child; I permit thee. Kaikeyi is mother of a worthy son through thee. Do thou, O subduer of foes, communicate our welfare unto both thy father and thy mother. Do thou likewise communicate the same unto the priest and the other principal Brahmanas; as also, my child, unto those mighty bowmen, the brothers Rama and Lakshmana." Then honouring Bharata. king Kekaya Then honouring Bharata, king Kekaya conferred on Bharata wealth consisting of choice elephants maintained (at the palace) and woolen sheets and deerskins. And the king presented him with dogs brought up in the inner apartment, resembling tigers in strength and prowess, furnished with teeth representing weapons, and large of body And honouring the son of Kaikeyi, Kekaya gave him two thousand nishkas and six hundred horses. And for following Bharata, Acwapati without delay assigned a number of goodly, trustworthy, and qualified courtiers. And Bharata's maternal uncle conferred on Bharata wealth in the shape of graceful elephants sprung in the Iravat mountain and the country called Indracira; as well as fleet and well-broken horses. But owing to the hurry of his departure, Bharata the son of Kaikeyi did not appear to be so very much gratified with the gifts. Owing to his having seen the dream and the post haste speed of the envoys, a mighty anxiety was present in his heart. Then issuing from his abode, that one possessed of exceeding grace passed the goodly thoroughfare thronged with men, horses, and elephants. Having left it behind, Bharata saw (before him) the inner apartment (of the king);

and thereupon the handsome Bharata entered it without let. Then after speaking with his maternal grandfather and uncle, Yudhajit, Bharata ascending a car, set out with Satrughna Thereat servants by means of an hundred cars, furnished with circular wheels, and yoked with camels, oxen, horses, and asses, followed Bharata. Protected by the forces and the courtiers of his material grandfather dear unto him like his ownself, the magnanimous Bharata who had his foes removed. taking with him his brother, Satrughna, departed from the abode (of the king), like a Siddha issuing from the regions of

Issuing from the palace, the blazing Bharata endowed with

prowess went in an easterly direction, and seeing before him

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the river called Sudama, crossed it. Then the auspicious descendant of Ikshwaku crossed the broad Hradini coursing westwards, as also the river Satadru. Then crossing a river at Eladhana [Eladhani.], and coming to Aparaparvata, 154 he crossed the Sila* and the Akurvati, and arrived at Agneya** and Salyakarshanam. [* Geographical names have the greatest resilience and are in use for thousands of years with only minor changes. The River Sila could be the today's River Silley (also called Siang) in Assam. The Silley forms the eastern most boundary of Dhemaji district of Assam. The Silley river drains into the Dihang. Assam is a state in the north eastern region of India. There is one major river, the Brahmaputra, that flows through the length of the state. The Brahmaputra, is called "Yarlung Tsangpo" in Tibet, River Siang / Dihang" in Arunachal Pradesh and "Luit", "Dilao' in Assam. In other words: the River Sila is another name for the Brahmaputra. ** Some make agneya an epithet to Salyakarshana, meaning, relating to the south-east or the south of the East, refering to Bangladesh and some regions south of it. These two names might be a hint that the Ramayana story plays in the northeast of ancient India. And that the big river bears the name of Brahma, one of the most important Hindu gods, emphasises its significance.] And having purified himself and seen Silavaha [The Silavaha (which is just another name of the "Sila Stream") is a stream having Agneya on one side and Salyakarshana on the other.], that one of truthful purposes passed the Mahacailas [Lit., the Great Mountains, meaning the Himalaya.], and entered the forest of Chaitraratha [The northeast India rain forests]. Then coming upon the confluence of the Ganga [River Ganges]. and the Saraswati, Bharata entered the forest of Varunda lying to the north of Viramatsya. Next crossing the rapid river Kulinga and the Hradini surrounded by hills, as Well as the Yamuna, he ordered the forces to halt. Then cooling the limbs of the fatigued horses (with water) and refreshing them, Bharata himself bathed there and drank of the water; and then resumed the march, furnished with the water. Then the gentle prince by means of an excellent car, like unto the windgod himself, entered the mighty forest inhabited by various races of men. Seeing that the mighty river Ganga was hard to cross at Ancudhana, Bharata speedily went to the famous city of Pragvata. And having crossed the Ganga at Pragvata, he went over to the Kutikoshtika. Having with his forces crossed that river, he proceeded to Dharmavarddhana. Then proceeding by ie south of Torana, he came to Jamvuprastha. Then Dacaratha's son went to the beautiful village of Varutha. Having for a while stayed at that romantic wood, he proceeded eastwards, and presented himself at the villa of Ujjihayana, where abound trees (called) Priyaka. Coming to the Priyakas, Bharata speedily yoking the horses, set out without delay, issuing his orders to the forces. Then sojourning at Sarvatirtha and crossing the river there flowing northwards as well as others abounding in various kinds of mountainous horses. Bharata arrived at Hastiprishthaka. And at Lohitya that foremost of men crossed the Kapivati, at Ekasala, the Sthanumati, and at Vinaya, the Gomati. And Bharata arriving at a forest of Sala trees in the city of Kalinga, speedily passed it with his forces way-worn. And having passed the forest swiftly over night, he at sunrise saw Ayodhya built by king Manu. Having spent seven nights on the journey, that chief of men beheld Ayodhya before him and thus addressed the charioteer, "O charioteer, from the distance Ayodhya seemeth like a mass of black earth, albeit she boasts of sacrificial priests crowned with every virtue, Brahmanas versed in the Vedas and opulent people, and albeit she is maintained by Rajarshis. Formerly one could hear a great and mighty tumult all round Avodhya proceeding from men and women; but I do not hear this to-day. The gardens wherefrom persons having sported in the evening used to rush out (at day break) wear a different aspect now. Forsaken by the pleasure seekers, the gardens appear to weep. And, O charioteer, the city appears to me like a wilderness. And I do not as formerly behold the flower of the city leaving or entering her on cars or elephants or horses. Gardens which frequented by people inebriated with the honey of love, met together for purposes of sport, looked charmingly blooming, I find as utterly void of cheerfulness, with the trees as if lamenting with tremulous leaves. Still do I not hear the inarticulate though sweet and delicious voice of beasts and birds crying in chorus. Why, as

before, doth not the blameless and bland wind blow mixed with (the perfume of sandal and faint with dhupa? And why. again, have the sounds of Vinas and Mridangas developed by beating sticks, which continually flew in a never-ceasing vigorous course, ceased to-day? And I witness various evil, unsightly, and unpleasant omens, and hence my mind is depressed. O charioteer, complete good fortune with my friends is hardly to be realised. Bui although no apparent cause exists for my depression of spirits, yet my heart droopeth." Then Bharata depressed and cast down and with his senses afflicted, speedily entered the city ruled by Ikshwaku. And Bharata having his vehicles fatigued, entered by the Vaijayanta* gate, and went on, followed by the gate-keepers, who enquired after his welfare. [* Vaijayantena. Another meaning is. By the gate resembling that of Indra's palace.] Then courteously telling the warders to desist, he with an agitated heart spoke unto the tired charioteer of Acwapati, "0 sinless one, why have I been brought in this haste without any (adequate) reason? My heart apprehendeth some evil; and my disposition gives way. O charioteer, I see around me all those signs which I had heard told as occurring on the occasion of the deaths of monarchs. I behold the houses of the citizens unswept and unsightly with the doors flung open,-and destitute of grace, without sacrifices and other religious ceremonies, without the incense of dhupa, the citizens fasting, and the people appearing with faded countenances, displaying no flags, etc. The abodes of the deities are not decorated with garlands, and their courts are unclean; and remaining vacant, they look no longer beautiful as formerly. And the images are not worshipped; and the places of sacrifice are in a like condition. And garlands are not displayed in the shops where they are sold. And traders looking anxious, with their business stopped, do not look as before. And in temples and Chaityas birds and beasts appear dispirited. And in the city I behold men and women pale and woe-begone and emaciated and anxious, with tears filling their eyes." Having said this unto the charioteer, Bharata, beholding these inauspicious sights, entered the palace of the king with a depressed heart. Beholding the city resembling the city of Indra, with her crossings and houses and roads void of people, and the doors and hinges covered with dust. Bharata was filled with greater grief. And witnessing many unpleasant things which he had never seen during the life of the monarch, that high-souled one entered the mansion of his father, bending his head, depressed in spirits, and with his mind extremely aggrieved.

SECTION 72

Not having seen his father in his father's quarters, Bharata went to his mother's apartment for seeing her. On seeing her son before her after his sojourn from home, Kaikeyi delighted, rose up from her golden seat. On entering his own quarter which he found deprived of grace, the virtuous Bharata took hold of his mother's auspicious feet. Then smelling the crown of his head and embracing him and taking that illustrious one on her lap, Kaikeyi addressed him, saying, "How many days hence did you leave the residence of the revered one? Hast thou felt any fatigue on the way incident to the car proceeding swiftly? And is the revered one well, and thy maternal uncle, Yudhajit? And, my son, hast thou passed thy time pleasantly during thy sojourn? It behoves thee to tell me all this." Thus asked, that son of the king, Bharata, furnished with eyes resembling lotuses told his mother that all was well. "Seven nights hence I took leave of that revered one's residence. My mother's sire is well, as also my maternal uncle, Yudhajit. My vehicles had got tired in consequence of bearing the wealth and jewels which that subduer of foes, the king, had bestowed on me. And it is for this reason that I have come in advance of them. Urged by the royal emissaries, I have come here so swiftly. But it behoves my mother to tell me what I wish to ask. This sleeping bedstead of yours adorned with gold is empty. I do not see the race of Ikshwaku in their usual good spirits. The king generally remains in this apartment of my mother. But coming here with the desire of seeing him, I do not today find him at this place. I would take the feet of my father. Do you tell me who ask you. Is he in the apartment of my eldest mother, Kaucalya?" Blinded by the lust of dominion, and looking upon that as desirable (unto Bharata) which was exceedingly disagreeable (to him), Kaikeyi replied unto him, who did not know what had transpired, "That high-souled and energetic one ever engaged in sacrifice—the refuge of the good-thy father, the king, has come by the state which pertains to all creatures." Hearing these words, Bharata of pure ways sprung from a righteous race, smit with the vehemence of sorrow on account of his father, suddenly fell down to the earth. And exclaiming in the anguish of spirit and in the excess of grief, the words, "Ah me! I am undone!" that mighty-armed one endowed with prowess, fell down, tossing about his arms. Then, overwhelmed with sorrow and distressed at the death of his father, that highly energetic one, with his senses distracted, indulged in lamentations, "This bed of my father used to look like the speckless welkin at night crowned with the moon, after the clouds have gone off. But to-day, deprived of that intelligent one, it ceases to shine, like the firmament without the moon or the sea devoid of its

waters." Exclaiming with tears trickling down, that foremost of victorious ones, extremely afflicted at heart, wept, muffling his graceful countenance. Seeing that one resembling a celestial fallen to the earth, striken with sorrow, like unto a bough of the Sala that had been severed in the wood by an axe, his mother raising up his distressed son like a mad elephant or the sun or the moon, addressed him, "Arise, arise. Why dost thou lie down, O illustrious son of the king? Persons like thee having their senses under perfect control, and approved by men of culture, do not grieve. O thou endowed with understanding, like the halo of the Sun in the solar disc, thy sense, entitled to dispensing gifts and celebrating sacrifices, ever follows morals, the Sruti, and asceticism."

Having wept for a long while with his body rolling on the earth, Bharata. afflicted with manifold grief, answered his mother, saying, "The king will install Rama and celebrate a sacrifice' concluding this for certain, I had joyfully gone from hence. But it has fallen out otherwise. That I do not behold my father ever engaged in the dear welfare (of his subjects) cleaves my heart, mother. Of what ailment hath the king breathed his last during my absence? Blessed are Rama and others who have personally performed my sire's last rites. Surely the renowned monarch doth not know that I have come. (If he had done so), pressing down my head, my father would at once have smelt it. Where is now the soft hand of that energetic one which used to rub my person when it was covered with dust? Do you now without delay convey the news of my arrival unto the vigorous Rama, who is at once my father, brother and friend, and whose beloved servant I am. The eldest brother of one that is noble and cognisant of morality, becomes his father. I shall take hold of his feet: he is now my refuge. And, noble lady, what did that virtuous one cognisant of virtue, that pre-eminently pious one, firm in his vow, and having truth for prowess-even my father, say? I wish to hear news concerning us relative to the last moments of the monarch." Thus asked, Kaikeyi related all as it had happened, saying, "Bewailing 'Ah Rama!' 'Ah Sita!' Lakshmana!' that magnanimous one, the foremost of those that have attained to excellent state (after death), has gone to the next world coming under the law of time. Thy father like a mighty elephant fast bound with a cord, said unto me these words during his last moments,-Blessed are they that shall see Rama and the mighty-armed Lakshmana returned along with Sita." Hearing this, Bharata apprehending a second misfortune was deeply moved; and with a sad countenance, he again asked his mother, "Where hath gone that righteous* souled one, the enhancer of Kaucalya's joy, along with Lakshmana and Sita?" Thus questioned, his mother at the same time duly said in words, which although highly unwelcome, she took as agreeable to Bharata, "O son, that son of the king wearing bark has repaired to the forest of Dandaka, along with Vaidehi and followed by Lakshmana.' Hearing this, Bharata apprehending some moral lapse on the part of his brother from the dignity of his race, asked in agitation, "Has Rama deprived any Brahmana of his wealth? Or has he wronged any innocent person, whether rich or poor? Has the fancy of the prince gone after the wife of another? For what reason hath brother Rama been banished?" Thereat his volatile mother, influenced by her feminine nature, related faithfully unto him her own doings, Thus asked by the magnanimous Bharata, Kaikeyi vainly turning herself on her wisdom, joyfully said, "Rama has deprived no Brahmana of his property, nor hath any innocent person rich or otherwise been wronged by him, - nor doth he ever with his eyes look at the wife of another. O son, as soon as I heard of Rama's (coming) installation, I asked for the kingdom to be conferred on thee, and Rama to be banished. Thereupon, he, staying by his promise, did accordingly: Rama hath been banished along with Sumitra's son and Sita.' Not seeing his beloved son, the illustrious lord of earth, stricken by grief on his account, has breathed his last. Do thou now, O thou cognisant of duty, take charge of the kingdom. I have done all this in thy interests. Do not give way to sorrow. O son, assume patience This city is subject to thee, as well as this peaceful kingdom. Having with the help of the principal Brahmanas headed by Vasishtha, duly performed the funeral obsequies of the king, do thou, without suffering thy energy to depart, install thyself in the kingdom."

SECTION 73.

Hearing of his father's death and the exile of his brothers, Bharata burning in grief, said these words, "Deprived of my father as well as my brother like unto a father, what shall I bewailing them and undone by thee do with the kingdom? Thou, like one throwing alkali on a sore, hast, by bringing about the death of the king and making Rama an ascetic, heaped grief on grief. Thou hast come like the fatal night for the destruction of this race. Not understanding it, my father embraced live coal. O thou that hast thy gaze fixed on sin, it is through thee that my sovereign has come by death; and that, O stainer of the line, this race has by thy infatuation been deprived of its happiness. Having got thee, my illustrious sire intent upon truth, king Dacaratha, afflicted by extreme sorrow, has departed this life. Why hath the king, my father,

ever loving virtue, been deprived of life? Why hath Rama been banished; and wherefore hath he gone to the woods? Afflicted with grief for their son, even if Kaucalya and Sumitra live, it will be hard for them to do so in the presence of thee, my mother. Surely the noble and virtuous Rama, well knowing his duties towards his superiors, regards thee as highly as he doth his own mother. In the same way, my eldest mother, the far-sighted Kaucalva, doing her duties by thee, bears herself like a sister. Why, O sinful one, having sent to the woods her magnanimous son, clad in bark, dost thou not grieve? Having exiled the famous and heroic Rama seeing no sin, clad in bark, what benefit dost thou perceive as thine? I deem that thou didst not know how very highly I regarded Raghava; and therefore it is that thou hast brought this mighty calamity. Not seeing those chiefs of men. Rama and Lakshmana, by virtue of whose energy can I venture to rule the kingdom? The monarch was ever protected by that powerful one possessed of mighty energy, as Meru is protected by its forest. Like a calf burdened with a load capable of being borne by a mighty ox, by what energy shall I bear this burthen which was borne by an exceedingly strong person? And even if this strength be mine through yoga or vigor of intellect, I will not crown with success the hopes of thee, proud of thy son. Nor, had Rama not always regarded thee as his mother, would I hesitate to renounce thee, whose heart hath been set on sin. O thou that viewest unrighteousness, O thou who hast fallen off from the way of the good, how could such thoughts unworthy of our line, arise in thy mind? In this race, the eldest brother of all is installed in the kingdom: the other brothers remain under him. O fell one, thou dost not, I think, know the morality of kings, or the consequence that attends its faithful observance. Of all the princes, the eldest is always installed as the king. Even this is the accepted principle of all sovereigns—specially the descendants of Ikswaku. But to-day the pride of character of those whose virtue was their sole concern, and who shone in the character of their line, has been humbled through thy instrumentality. And how, O highly exalted lady, O thou that wast born in a royal race, could such reprehensible fatuity take possession of thy senses? But, O thou bent upon sin, I will by no means fulfil the wish of thee by whom hath been brought in the first instance this calamity calculated to end my existence. Further, O sinless one, I will do this at present to displease thee: I will bring from the forest my brother dear unto his relatives. And having brought back Rama, I will in a perfectly contented spirit, become the slave of that one of flaming energy." The high-souled Bharata afflicted (his mother) with multitudes of words causing pain; and distressed with grief emitted sounds like unto a lion in the cave of Mandara.

SECTION 74.

Having thus reproved his mother in great wrath, Bharata said again, "Do thou bear thyself from this kingdom, O heartless and wicked Kaikeyi. Having been lost to righteousness, do not thou lament me dead. What qualities of thine were taxed by the king or the exceedingly virtuous Rama, that both of them simultaneously have come by death and exile respectively through thy agency? O Kaikeyi, thou hast been guilty of homicide in consequence of the destruction of this race. Do thou go to hell, never to the world attained by my father; since, renouncing Rama dear unto all, thou hast committed this sin by thy grim act and brought me into fear. Through thee hath my father met with his end, and Rama hath taken refuge in the woods; and it is through thee that I have come to ignominy among all creatures. O thou enemy of mine in the guise of a mother! O fell one! O thou that covetest the kingdom! do thou not speak to me, O wicked wretch! O slaver of thy husband! it is because of thee, stainer of thy race, that Kaucalya, Sumitra, and other mothers of mine have been overwhelmed with a mighty sorrow. Thou art never the daughter of the pious and intelligent Acwapati, thou art a Rakshasi born in that race, thou that hast destroyed my father's race, inasmuch as the virtuous and heroic Rama ever observing truth hath been sent to the woods and my father hath ascended heaven through thy agency; inasmuch as thou that hast perpetrated this arch offence, hast laid this sin on me. who have been forsaken by my sire, renounced by my brothers, and come by universal disfavour. O thou of sinful ways, having separated the virtuous Kaucalya (from her son), what world, O thou that repairest to hell, shall be thy portion? Dost thou not, O tortuous one, know that that one sprung from Kaucalva's, self, my eldest brother Rama, who is like a father unto me, has ever been the refuge of his friends? A son born from all the limbs of his mother, comes out from her heart; and therefore it is that he is far dearer unto his mother, albeit her friends are dear to her. Once on a time, it is related by persons cognisant of morality, Surabhi regarded by the celestials, beheld two of her sons toiling on earth and seeming to be deprived of their senses. And, when the day had been half spent, seeing her sons fatigued on earth, she stricken with grief for them, began to weep with tears flooding her eyes. And it came to pass that as the magnanimous sovereign of the celestials was passing below, her fine and fragrant tear-drops fell on his person. Turning his eyes up, Sakra found Surabhi

stationed in the sky, distressed and weeping in extreme anguish of spirit. Seeing that illustrious one burning in grief, the wielder of the thunder-bolt, Indra the lord of the celestials, waxing anxious, with joined hands said, 'Is there any great danger in any quarter? Do thou, O thou that art intent on the welfare of all, say, whence is this grief of thine?' Thus addressed by the intelligent king of the celestials, that one well skilled in speech, the sedate Surabhi answered, 'Auspiciousness, O lord of celestials! No sin is yours. But I mourn my sons fallen into evil plight, having seen them lean, distressed, and burnt by the rays of the sun-- Valivarddhas afflicted by the wicked-minded ploughman. Seeing those that have been born of my body, cast down and in trouble, I grieve: there is none that is dear like unto a son.' Seeing her the whole earth is filled with whose sons by thousands, weeping, Indra understood that none is an object of greater affection than a son. And that lord, Indra, also considered Surabhi of a person breathing a sacred odour, whose tears had dropped on his body, as the foremost being on earth. Even that one yeilding whatever is asked, auspicious, crowned with the choicest virtues, although having all natural functions, showing equal kindness unto all, and of unequalled character, who maintaineth all creatures, she who hath a thousand sons, grieves (for her sons). How can then Kaucalya carry on existence without Rama? Chaste and having an only son, that lady has through thee been separated from her son, (like a cow separated from her calf). For this, thou wilt always have to suffer misery alike in this world and the next I shall for my part completely minister unto my brother and father; and shall, without doubt, increase my fame. Bringing hither the mighty-armed lord of Kocala endowed with immense strength, I myself will repair to the forest inhabited by ascetics. O thou that hast delivered thyself over to iniquity! I, looked at by the citizens with their throats oppressed with the vapour of grief, cannot bear this (burden of) sin heaped on me by thee. Do thou enter fire, or dive into Dandaka, or wound a cord round thy neck: other desirable way there is none for thee. On Rama having truth for prowess, obtaining the earth, I, my disgrace removed, shall be blest." Grieving thus, Bharata, like an elephant in the forest afflicted with a tomara or ankusa [Names of instruments.], fell to the earth sighing like an enraged snake. With his eyes reddened, and his cloth falling off, and his ornaments cast away, that subduer of foes, the king's son fallen on the earth, resembled a banner of Sakra after the festival is over.

SECTION 75.

Arising after a long while when he had regained his consciousness. Bharata endowed with prowess, regarding his distressed mother with eyes filled with tears, began to tax her in the midst of the courtiers: "I had never desired the kingdom. I had never consulted my mother. Nor did I know the installation that had been thought of by the monarch. I was then living in a far country in company with Satrughna. I did not know the banishment of the magnanimous Rama to the woods, or the exile of Sumitra's son; nor did I know how Sita came to be banished." As the high-souled Bharata was thus wailing, Kaucalya recognizing his voice spoke unto Sumitra, "Come is Bharata, the son of that one of crooked ways. I am desirous of seeing the far-sighted Bharata." Having said this unto Sumitra, that one emaciated and with a pallid countenance, trembling and almost deprived of sensation, went to where Bharata was. And it came to pass that the king's son, Bharata, along with Satrughna had just then by the way that led to the same, been proceeding to Kaucalya's quarter. Then Satrughna and Bharata seeing the aggrieved Kaucalya, embraced the stricken and fallen lady well nigh deprived of her senses. Thereupon, weeping from grief, the noble and intelligent Kaucalya exceedingly afflicted, embracing them as they indulged in sorrow, said unto Bharata, "Thus hast thou, that hadst desired the kingdom, received it rid of its thorn. Alas! it has been speedily obtained through the crooked act of Kaikeyi. What is the good that is perceived by Kaikeyi of tortuous sight in sending away my son clad in bark to the woods? It behoveth Kaikeyi to send me also speedily to where is staying my illustrious son furnished with a gold-gleaming navel. Or first performing the firesacrifice, I followed by Sumitra, will myself happily seek the way by which Raghava (has gone to the woods). Or it behoveth thee to thyself bring me unto the place where that foremost of men, my son, is performing austerities. This spacious kingdom abounding in corn and wealth, and filled with elephants, horses, and cars, is thine, having been conferred on thee (by Kaikeyi)." Thus reproached by many a harsh word, the sinless Bharata felt exceeding pain like unto that produced by pricking a sore with a needle. Exceedingly agitated, he fell at Kaucalya's feet, lamenting much, and well nigh deprived of his senses. Bharata then regained his consciousness, and with joined hands answered Kaucalva lamenting thus and overcome with excess of sorrow, "O noble lady, what for dost thou censure me who am without sin and who know nothing of this? Thou knowest that profuse is my delight in Raghava. May the sense of him never follow scripture, that had approved the exile into the

woods of that foremost of the good, the noble Rama intent on truth! May such a person as had approved the exile unto the woods of the noble one undergo servitude at the hands of the sinful, answer the calls of nature facing the Sun, and kick a sleeping cow with his feet! May he that had approved the exile of the noble one into the woods come by the sin that is reaped by a master who withholds salary from servants after the ceremony is over! May that one that had approved the exile of the noble Rama to the woods, be guilty of the sin that is his that injures a sovereign engaged in ruling his subjects like sons! May the person that had approved the exile of the noble one to the woods, reap the sin of his that having taken a sixth part of their incomes, does not protect his subjects! May he that had approved the exile of the noble one to the woods. come by the demerit that is his that denies dakshinas unto ascetics in a sacrifice, after having promised them the same! May he that had approved the exile into the woods of the noble one, never discharge the duty of the good in the field thronged with elephants and horses and cars, and bristling with arms! May the wicked wight that had approved the exile of the noble one to the woods bring to naught the subtle scriptural knowledge which has been carefully taught him by his intelligent preceptor! May that one that had approved the exile of the noble (Rama) to the woods never behold the longarmed and broad-shouldered (Raghava) resembling the Sun and the Moon in energy seated (on the throne)! May that one void of aversion, that had approved of the exile of the noble one to the woods feed on Payaca, Krisara, and goat's flesh, which have not been offered in sacrifice; and may be insult his spiritual preceptor! May he that had approved the exile of the noble one to the woods touch a cow with his feet, revile his superiors, and injure his friends! May that one of wicked soul that had approved of the exile of the noble one into the woods divulge any defects (of another's character) that have been communicated to him in strict confidence! May he that had approved the exile of Rama to the woods, never repay any good act, be ungrateful abandoned by all,— the object of universal execration! May he that had approved of the exile into the woods of the noble one, eat alone in his home, although surrounded by sons and wives and servitors! May he that had approved of the exile of the noble one, die without obtaining wives worthy of him, without sons, without any good works performed! May he that had approved the exile of the noble one into the woods, never see his own offspring, and not attaining ripe age, may he mourn his wives! And may he come by the sin that is reaped by slaying a king, a woman, a boy, or an old man, or by renouncing those who have claims on his maintenance! May he that had approved the exile of the noble one into the woods always feed his family with lac, honey, meat, iron, and poison! May that one that had approved the exile of the noble one into the woods, while flying from the engagement while it is waxing furious with the foe, come to be killed! May he that had approved of the exile of the noble one into the woods, clad in tatters with a skull in hand, like a madman range the earth abegging! May he that had approved the exile of the noble one into the woods, be always addicted to wine, to women, and to dice; and may he be swayed by lust, anger, etc! May he that had approved of the exile of that noble one into the woods, never relish virtue, and go after unrighteousness; and may he shower his wealth on the unworthy! May he that had approved the exile of the noble one into the woods, have his various accumulated riches by thousands carried off by robbers! May he that had approved of the exile into the woods of that noble one, come by the demerit that is his who sleepeth during both the twilights! May he reap the sin that is reaped by an incendiary or him that lieth with his preceptor's wife; or him that wrongs his friend! May he that had approved the exile of that noble one into the woods, never serve the gods or the manes of the ancestors or his father and mother! May he that had approved the exile of that noble one into the woods, be speedily shot out from the world of the good, from their fame, and from their acts! May he that had approved the exile of that long armed and broad breasted one, renouncing the ministration of his mother, turn his thoughts to evil! May he that had approved the exile of the noble one, becoming impoverished yet having to support a large family, and suffering from fever, be always miserable! May he that had approved the exile of that noble one render fruitless the hopes of poor people cherishing them and looking up (wistfully)! May he that had approved the exile into the woods of the noble one remaining (always) wicked, cruel and impure, leading an unrighteous life and being in (continual) fear of his sovereign, maintain himself by deceit for ever and a day! May that wicked person that had approved the exile into the woods of the noble one disregard his chaste wife remaining near, after she has performed her ablutions at the end of her season. May his that had approved the banishment into the woods of that noble one be the sin that is incurred by a Brahmana that has rendered himself sonless. May that one of befouled senses that had approved of the exile into the woods of that noble one disturb the worship of Brahmana and milch a cow that has a calf. May that foolish person that had approved the exile of that noble one forsaking all pleasure in virtue, seek others wives, renouncing his own

wedded with sacred rites! May he that had approved the exile into the woods of that noble one come by the sin that attaches to a wine biber or one that administers poison to another! May he that had approved of the exile into the woods of the noble one bear the sin that is his that serves a thirsty soul with deceit. May he that had approved the exile into the woods of that noble one reap the demerit of them that from devotion to their respective faiths wrangle from their own points of view, as well as that of them that listen to the disputation!" Having thus consoled Kaucalya bereft of her son and husband, the prince afflicted with distress fell down. Then Kaucalya addressed the aggrieved Bharata (well nigh) deprived of his senses, swearing strong oaths, saying "O son, it grieves me more that thou art afflicting my heart by taking oaths. Lucky it is that graced with auspicious marks, thou swervest not from virtue. My child, for this reason thou wilt attain the regions of pious persons. Saying this, Kaucalya overpowered with emotion, drawing into her lap Bharata attached to his brother, and embracing the mighty armed one, gave way to grief. And bewailing thus, the mind of the high souled (Bharata) wrought with sorrow, was overcome with the burden of grief. And fallen on the ground, lamenting, senseless, with his intellect overpowered, and momentarily heaving sighs, Bharata passed away night in grief.

SECTION 76.

As Bharata, the son of Kaikeyi was thus burning in grief, that foremost of those skilled in speech, the saint Vasishtha, endowed with excellence of language, said, "Do not weep, good betide thee, O illustrious prince. Do thou perform the funereal rites of the departed king." Hearing Vasishtha's words, Bharata cognisant of duty, bowed down to the ground and despatched the ministers for performing the last rites. And raising from under the oil the body of the king with a sallow countenance, and appearing to be asleep, Bharata placed it on the ground upon a couch in front adorned with various gems. Then overwhelmed with grief, Dacaratha's son bewailed him thus, "O king, what was it that thou hadst intended to do, I absent and away from home, by banishing righteous Rama and the powerful Lakshmana? Whither wendest thou, O mighty monarch, forsaking these aggrieved people, who have already been deprived of the lion like Rama energetic in action? O father, thou having ascended heaven and Rama having taken refuge in the woods, who now in this city of thine shall protect what the people possess and secure unto them what they have not? Widowed in consequence of losing thee, this earth does not look graceful. The city appeareth unto me like the night deprived of the Moon." As Bharata was lamenting thus in dejected mood, the mighty ascetic Vasishtha again addressed him, saying, "O mighty armed one, do thou without indulging in any reflections, perform those funeral ceremonies of the monarch which ought to be performed." Thereupon honouring his words by saying, 'So be it," he urged speed upon all the Ritwigas, priests, and Acharvas. And then those that had brought the king's corpse outside from the fire chamber, instructed by the Ritwigas and priests according to the ordinance began to offer oblations into the fire. Next placing the king deprived of life on a car, the servants with their throats oppressed with vapour and with their minds weighed down with dejection carried him. And scattering gold and silver and various kinds of cloth, on the way, people went in front of the king. Others procuring sandal, aguru and other resinous incenses, sarala, padmaka and devaduru, cast it (on the earth). And drawing near the king there, Ritwigas laid various other fragrant substances on the funeral pile. Then offering oblations into the fire, the Ritwigas began to recite japa; and as laid down in the scriptures, Sama singers chanted Samas. And by means of litters and other conveyances, each mounted according to her rank, the wives of the king went out from the city, surrounded by aged men. And Ritwijas went round the corpse of the king who performed many sacrifices leaving it on the left side. And kindling with grief, the females also headed by Kaucalya, (circumambulated the pyre). And then there was heard the wail of women distressed with grief weeping piteously by thousands like unto Kraunchis. Weeping again and again with their sense lost, the wives of the king alighted from the car on the banks of the Sarayu. Having performed the watery rites, the wives of the monarch as well as the counsellors and priests, in company with Bharata entering the city with tears in their eyes, spent ten days* in mourning lying down on the ground. [* The Smriti lays down twelve days of mourning for kings, and sixteen for Ksbatriyas. Parasara, however, fixes ten days for Kshatriyas in general.]

SECTION 77

When the ten days had gone by, the king's son, his uncleanness (consequent on the demise of his father) removed, performed the sraddha on the twelfth day. On the occasion of the ceremonies for the welfare of the departed spirit, the son of the king conferred on Brahmanas wealth and gems, and rice in abudance, and herds of goats, and silver in profusion, and countless kine, and maid-servants and man-servants, and vehicles and spacious mansions. And on the thirteenth day,

the long armed Bharata, overwhelmed with grief, burst into lamentation. And coming to the foot of the funeral pyre for gathering the bones of the departed, he overcome with grief, with his throat obstructed with the sounds of lamentation, said, "my father, on brother Rama, to whom I had been consigned by thee, having gone to the forest, I have been cast by thee into vacancy. My father, forsaking forlorn mother Kaucalya, whose stay her son, had gone to the forest, where hast thou gone, O king?" And seeing the spot where lay the bones of his father mixed with ashes and embers, Bharata looking at the place where occurred the dissolution of his father's frame, carried away by emotion, indulged in sorrow. And seeing this, he exceedingly distressed, crying fell down to the ground. And raised up (by others) he looked like an uplifted banner of Sakrabound to an engine. And his counsellors rushed towards that one of pure vows, like the saints making towards Jayati as he was falling on the extinction of his merit. Seeing Bharata plunged in grief, Satrughna remembering the king, fell down to the ground deprived of consciousness. And devoid of sense and like a madman, he in grief of heart began to lament remembering all the virtues of his father again and again. "This terrible sea of grief owing its origin to Manthara, containing its ferocious aquatic animal in the shape of Kaikeyi, and incapable of being disturbed in consequence of the bestowal of the boon drowns (us). O father, where hast thou gone, leaving the tender and youthful Bharata fondled by thee, to lament (thy loss). Thou didst use to confer on us eatables and drinkables and attires and ornaments. Who will now do so? Deprived of thee, the high souled king cognisant of duty, the earth albeit her time of riving is come, is not yet riven. My father having gone to heaven and Rama having sought the woods, how can I live? I will enter fire. Bereft of my brother and sire, I will not enter the empty Ayodhya governed by the Ikshwakus. I will repair to the forest of asceticism." Hearing his lamentations and seeing that disaster, all the followers became all the more distressed. Then depressed and exhausted, both Satrughna and Bharata rolled on the earth like two bulls with their horns fractured. Then the all-knowing priest of their father possessed of sterling worth, Vasishtha, raising Bharata, said unto him. "O Lord this is the thirteenth day since the cremation of thy sire. Why dost thou delay, when thou hast to collect the bones? Three couples169 pertain in especial to all creatures and these being inevitable, thou ought not to bear yourself thus. And Sumantra also versed in the nature of things, raising up Satrughna and pacifying him, discoursed the birth and death of all beings. Being raised up, those renowned chiefs of men looked like Indra's banner stained by shine and shower. And as the princes stood there shedding tears, with reddened eyes, and speaking sadly, the courtiers urged them on in behalf of the rites that remained.

SECTION 78.

Then Satrughna, the vounger brother of Lakshmana spoke unto Bharata burning in grief as he was revolving in his mind the (intended) journey (to Rama), "Need it be said that Rama is the refuge both of himself and all creatures in trouble? That Rama possessed of strength hath been exiled into the woods by a woman! And powerful and having prowess, why did not Lakshmana deliver Rama by checking our father? The king bent upon following an unrighteous course through the influence of a woman, should, the justice or otherwise of the measure being fully weighed, at the very outset have been checked." As Lakshmana's younger brother Satrughna was speaking thus, appeared there at the door in front the humpbacked one adorned with every kind of ornament, with her body besmeared with sandal paste, wearing regal apparel, and variously decked out with a variety of ornaments. And adorned with elegant cones, and divers other superb ornaments, she looked like a female monkey tethered with a rope. At that time seeing that one of horrible misdeeds, (Bharata) who stood near the door, seizing the hump backed one ruthlessly, took her unto Satrughna, and said, "That one through whom Rama has gone to the wood and our father has renounced his body this is that wicked and remorseless one. Do thou deal with her as thou likest." At Bharata's command Satrughna observing vows waxing exceedingly aggrieved, addressed all the inmates of the inner apartment, saying, "This one has occasioned intense misery unto my father and brothers. Let her now take the fruit of her fell deed." Having said this, he furiously fell upon the hump backed one surrounded by her maids. Thereupon she with her cries made the chamber resound. Concluding Satrughna fired with rage, her associates extremely pained, fled away in all directions. Then her companions in a body took counsel of each other, saying, "considering the way in which he has entered upon it, he will annihilate us quite. Let us therefore seek the protection of the tender hearted generous, pious and illustrious Kaucalva. Even she is our sure refuge. Overpowered with rage, that chastiser of foes, Satrughna, dragged the shrieking hump-backed one to the ground. As Manthara was pushed this way and that, her various ornaments were scattered over the floor. Aad strewn with those ornaments, the graceful chamber of the palace looked

like the autumnal firmament. And that foremost of men possessed of strength holding her, began to reprove Kaikevi with harsh speech. Extremely hurt by those rough words. Kaikeyi terrified on account of Satrughna, took refuge with her son. Thereupon casting his eyes on Satrughna, Bharata "A woman is incapable of being slain by any. Do thou therefore excuse her. I myself would have slain this wicked Kaikevi of impious deeds, if the righteous Rama should not be displeased with me on account of my slaving my mother. And if Raghava knows that the hump-backed one hath been slain, he surely will speak neither with thee nor me." Hearing Bharata's words, Satrughna, younger brother unto Lakshmana, refrained from that wrong and set free the humpbacked woman in a swoon. Thereat, sighing hard in exceeding grief. Manthara flung herself at Kaikevi's feet, weeping piteously. Seeing the hump-backed one deprived of her senses in consequence of the pushing she had received at the hands of Satrughna, Bhjarata's mother consoled that distressed woman, who appeared like a Kraunchi that had been entrapped.

SECTION 79

Then on the morning of the fourteenth day, the ministers of the king assembled addressed Bharata in the following words, 'Having exiled his eldest son and the exceedingly strong Lakshmana, Dacaratha who was the superior of our superiors hath gone to heaven. Do thou, therefore, O illustrious prince, become our king. Having been permitted by the king, thou wilt commit no fault (by doing so), as this kingdom is without a master. O Raghava, having procured all these necessaries for the installation, the counsellors and others as well as the citizens wait, O king's son. Do thou, O Bharata, take charge of this secure kingdom bequeathed by thy father and grandfather. Do thou, O foremost of men, have thyself sprinkled, and rule over us." Thereupon, having gone round all the things procured for the sprinkling Bharata firm in his vows addressed those persons, saying, "In our line it is ever fit for the first-born alone to perform the task of government. It doth not behove ye who are wise to say so unto me. Certainly Rama our eldest brother shall become the king; and I will abide in the forest for five and nine years. Do ye array the grand and mighty army consisting of fourfold forces. I will bring back from the forest my eldest brother Raghava. And taking all these necessaries for the investiture in front, I will go in the direction of the forest for Rama. And sprinkling that chief of men on the spot, I will placing him in our front, bring Rama back, like unto fire brought in from the sacrifice. I will never fulfil the desire of this lady proud of her son. I will inhabit the impracticable woods, and Rama shall become the monarch. Let workmen lay out level roads in uneven tracts: and let those men that are adepts in threading places difficult to pass through, follow us." When the prince had spoken thus in behalf of Rama, all those persons answered him in these excellent words, "For saying this, may Lakshmi seated on the lotus remain at thy side; inasmuch as thou wishest to confer the earth on the eldest son of the monarch!" Hearing that graceful speech of the king's son, tear-drops, begot of delight began to trickle from their eyes and adorned those noble countenances. And their grief removed, with cheerful hearts, the counsellors, courtiers, and others hearing that speech (of the prince), said, "O best of men, according to thy order, artizans as well as people cherishing a high regard for thee have been directed to lay out a road.

SECTION 80

Then set out in advance persons having a knowledge of the humidity or otherwise of the soil, men skilled in making tents, brave delvers engaged in their proper work; those capable of constructing canals and water courses, people on pay, carmakers, men preparing machines, carpenters, those intended to guard the ways, pioneers, cooks, perfumers, makers of wicker-ware and able guides. And as the mighty throng began to proceed, it resembled the swell of the sea on the occasion of a parva. And numbers of men skilled in road-constructing went before furnished with various implements. And hewing away boughs, and plants and shrubs and woody projections. stones, and diverse trees, they went on preparing a road. And they set up trees where there were none, and at places they felled trees by means of axes, tankas, and daos, others possessed of greater strength and more powerful, with their hands uprooted masses of Virana and here and there leveled a rising ground. And others filled up with dust wells and capacious hollows, and speedily leveled deep places air around. And those men threw bridges wherever they became necessary, and broke the earth wherever such a process was required, and excavated whenever it was necessary. In a short time, they made places poor of water overflow with many and various expanses resembling the ocean. And in tracts void of water, they digged divers receptacles of water, decorated with daises. And the way of the army, furnished with pavements of bricks and clay, with trees bearing blosoms, eloquent with the tunes of birds, decorated with pennons, sprinkled with sandal showers, and garnished with flowers of various kinds, looked exceedingly beautiful, like unto the way of the celestials. Then having received the command of Bharata, the men that were

in charge of the tents, ordered (the workmen) to pitch the tents, and when they had been pitched at a romantic spot filled with tasteful fruits, in consonance with the injunction of the high-souled Bharata, the men decorated splendidly the tents which themselves were like the ornaments of the road. And under an auspicious statf and at a favourable hour, men well up in the work set the encampment of the high-souled Bharata. And the tenfs surrounded by an entrenchment paved with dust, containing images made of sapphires, graced with goodly thoroughfares, lined with edifices, encircled by towers and walls, decorated with streamers, having well-made highways, and appearing like celestial daises and containing stately mansions with dove-cotes, resembled the metropolis of Sakra himself. And passing by the Jahnavi abounding in various trees and woods, of cool and crystal waters, and filled with mighty fishes, that way of the chief of men constructed by artizans, looked more and more lovely as it proceeded, as the unclouded sky looks beautiful at night, adorned with inumerable stars.

SECTION 81.

Then seeing that the night in which had been performed the auspicious preliminary ceremonies, was about to be spent, eulogists and genealogists hymned Bharata with consecrated hymns. And then sounded the kettle-drum, beaten by a golden stick, announcing the departure of the night; and people sounded conchs and other instruments by hundreds furnished with soft and loud sounds. And as if filling the heavens, those powerful blasts of the trumpet repeatedly rendered Bharata burning in grief the more aggrieved. Then awaking and silencing those sounds with saying-"I am not the king," he said unto Satrughna, "Behold, O Satrughna, in what a mighty wrong the people are engaged, on account of Kaikeyi. The king Dacaratha has gone away throwing down on me (the burden of) this misery. The royal grace founded in righteousness of that magnanimous and virtuous monarch is wandering even like a boat on water having no helmsman. And he who is our mighty master hath been banished into the woods by this mother of mine! who had (in doing so) renounced virtue." Seeing Bharata lamenting thus senseless, the ladies afflicted with sorrow began to wail in winsome accents. As Bharata Was mourning thus, the highly famous and virtuous Vasishtha accompanied by his disciples entered the court of the Ikshwaku king: built of entire gold, charming, dazzling with gems and gold: like unto Sudharma itself. Sitting down on a golden seat furnished with an elegant cover, that one versed in all the Vedas commanded the envoys, saying,—"Do ye speedily with collected minds bring hither Brahmanas and Kshatrivas and warriors and counsellors and generals of forces and Satrughna with the other princes, and the famous Bharata and Yudhajit [One of the counsellors. A councellor of war, according to the name: Yud can mean war but also refer to Yudah, Jewish people who were excellent warriors in Antiquity.] and Sumantra and others that are engaged in our welfare." Then there arose a mighty hubbub occasioned by people coming up in cars, horses and elephants. And when Bharata arrived, the subjects rejoiced as they used to rejoice on Dacaratha's arrival; and as rejoiced the immortals on the arrival of him of an hundred sacrifices. And then the court resembling a moveless ocean containing whales and serpents [The original word is Naga which may also mean hypopotamus.], and gems and conchs and gold-mines, being graced with the presence of Dacaratha's son, looked splendid as it formerly did with that of Dacaratha himself.

SECTION 82.

And then the intelligent Bharata surveyed that assembly filled with noble, and worthy personages, resembling the night of the full moon. And that august assembly was ablaze with the brilliant hues proceeding from the attires of the honourable persons seated according to rank. And that splendid assembly filled with learned people looked like the night of the full moon after the clouds have dispersed. And seeing all the subjects of the sovereign gathered together the priest cognisant of virtue soflty spoke unto Bharata, "My child, leaving unto thee this prosperous earth abounding in corn and wealth, king Dacaratha having performed his duties, hath gone to heaven. And Rama of truthful character observing the virtue of the righteous hath not set aside his father's commands, even as the risen moon doth not renounce the moonlight. Loved by the courtiers, do thou, having been installed, enjoy this kingdom conferred on thee by thy father and mother, rid of its thorn. Let princes throned as well as those without thrones, from east, and west, north and south, and also persons ranging the sea, procure countless gems for presenting them unto thee." Hearing this speech, Bharata cognisant of virtue, filled with sorrow, mentally repaired to Rama desirous of reaping merit. Then in words choked with the melodious voice of a swan, lamented and taxed the priest, in the midst of the assembly, "Who like myself ever deprives one that hath led a Brahmacharyya mode of life, that is endowed with understanding and performed his bath after having acquired learning, and that is always intent on righteousness, of one's kingdom? How begot of Dacaratha,

shall I deprive Rama of his kingdom. It behoveth thee to speak righteousness before this assembly. First-born, and foremost in merit, righteous-souled, and comparable unto Dilipa and Nahusha, Kakutstha deserves the kingdom, just as Dacaratha did. If I commit myself to this sin dishonourable and calculated to bring me to perdition, I shall in this world bring disgrace on the race of the Ikshwakus. I do not at all relish the sin that has been committed by my mother. Remaining here with joined hands I bow down unto Rama gone to the forest fastness. I will follow Rama. That best of men is the king. Raghava deserves the dominion of the three worlds themselves." Hearing those words informed righteousness, the entire assembly with their minds intent upon Rama, from joy shed tears. "If I fail to bring back the noble one from the forest, I will like the exalted Lakshmana remain even in that forest, I will in presence of this mixed assembly of pious and honourable persons following every perfection, adopt every expedient to bring back Rama. I have already despatched beforehand persons serving for love as well as those for money, and layers of roads and their keepers; and I intend setting out now." Having said this, the virtuous Bharata attached unto his brother spoke to Sumantra skilled in counsel, who was by, saying, "Up, and go, O Sumantra, at my command. Do thou make known this journey and bring the forces." Thus accosted by the magnanimous Bharata, Sumantra with a cheerful heart issued orders concerning everything desirable as he was ordered. Hearing that the army had been ordered to march forth for bringing back Rama, the subjects as well as the generals of the forces became exceedingly delighted. Hearing of the journey to Rama, for bringing him back the wives of the soldiers apprised of the order that had been issued to the latter, being exceedingly delighted, hurried on. And the generals expeditiously despatched their forces with warriors by means of horses and carts and cars fleet as the mind. Seeing those forces marshalled, Bharata staying near his preceptor, said unto Sumantra who was at his side, "Do thou speedily bring my car." In obedience to the mandate of Bharata, Sumantra exceedingly rejoiced, appeared with the car yoked with superb steeds. Then that powerful descendant of Raghu of truthful character, and having unswerving truth for his prowess, Bharata, having said what was fit, spoke words calculated to gladden his illustrious superior gone to the mighty forest, "O Sumantra, arise thou speedily and, thy desire fully attained, go by my command, and tell the chiefs of the army, and our principal adherents to array the forces." Thereat rising, Rayanyas and Vaicyas, and Vrishalas; and Vipras in every house began to voke camels and cars and mules and elephants and excellent steeds.

SECTION 83.

Rising with the morrow, Bharata anxious to behold Rama, speedily set out ascending an excellent car. Before him went the councellors and priests, ascending cars resembling that of the Sun voked with steeds. And a thousand elephants duly consecrated went in the wake of that son of the Ikshwaku line as he was proceeding. And six thousand cars with bow-men furnished with various weapons followed the illustrious prince Bharata as he was proceeding. And a hundred thousand horses mounted (by riders) went in the wake of that descendant of Raghu intent upon truth and having his senses under control. And Kaikevi and Sumitra and the highly famous Kaucalya rejoicing at the prospect of the bringing of Rama, went in an effulgent car. And the honourable persons (belonging to all the three orders) went with the object of beholding Rama in company with Lakshmana. And they with glad hearts variously conversed with each other, "When shall we see the mighty armed Rama sable like unto a cloud. of steady strength, firm in vows, the remover of the world's grief? As soon as we shall see him, Raghava will remove our sorrow; even as the Sun arising dispells the darkness of the entire world." Thus cheerfully carrying on an auspicious talk, the citizens embracing each other went along. And all others, and the foremost merchants as well as all the principal classes, joyfully went in quest of Rama. And a number of gem-cutters, and goodly potters, weavers, and armourers, and peacockdancers, sawers, and perforators of gems, glass-makers, and workers in ivory, cooks, incense-sellers, well-known goldsmiths, and wool-manufacturers, bathers in tepid water, shampooers, physicians, makers of Dhupas, and wine-sellers, washermen, and tailors, and actors in numbers with females, and Kaivartas, and persons versed in Vedas having their minds in control, and Brahmanas of reputed character, and persons well dressed and attired in pure habits, with their bodies daubed with coppery unguents, by thousands followed Bharata on carts. All these gradually followed Bharata by means of excellent vehicles. And the army delighted and in high spirits went in the wake of Kaikevi's son attached unto his brother, going to bring back his brother. Going far by means of cars, vehicles, elephants, and horses, they arrived at the Ganga near Sringaverapura, where was peacefully staying that friend of Rama, the heroic Guha, surrounded by his relatives, ruling the realm. Having come to the banks of the Ganga graced with Chakravakas, the army which was

following Bharata halted. Seeing the army inactive as well as the Ganga, of sacred waters, Bharata versed in speech spoke unto the courtiers, "Do you communicating unto all our intentions, encamp the army. Having been fatigued, we shall cross the ocean-going Ganga, on the morrow. Having crossed the stream, I am anxious to offer its water unto the monarch, who has gone to heaven, in behalf of his spiritual body." When he had said this, the courtiers with collected minds saying, "Be it so," disposed their forces, each according to his wish. Having on the mighty stream, Ganga, quartered his forces furnished with all appliances for the journey, Bharata remained there, revolving the means of making the high-souled Rama turn back.

SECTION 84.

Seeing the forces with banners flying quartered on the banks of the river Ganga, and engaged in various occupations, the lord of the Nishadas, Guha, said unto his relatives ranged around, "This mighty host here appeareth like an ocean. I do not find its end even by thinking of it in my mind. Surely the foolish Bharata hath come hither himself: on his car appears the huge Kovidara, banner. Belike, he will either bind us by nooses or slay us and next Dacaratha's son Rama banished from the kingdom by his sire. Desirous of taking complete possession of the rare regal fortune of that sovereign (Rama), Kaikeyi's son, Bharata, comes to destroy him. Rama the son of Dacaratha is both my maintainer and friend. Do ye in his interests, donning on your mail, wait on the banks of the river. And stationed on the river Ganga, let my powerful retainers subsisting on fruits and roots and meat, be prepared for opposing Bharata's passage over the river. And let hundreds upon hundreds of Kaivarta youths accoutred in mail remain in each of five hundred barks."—Guha issued this order. "But if Bharata be well disposed towards Rama, this host shall today safely cross the Ganga." Having said this, the lord of the Nishadas, Guha, taking a present of flesh, fish and honey, went out for interviewing Bharata. Seeing Guha approaching, the powerful son of the charioteer knowing season, humbly informed Bharata of it, saying, "This lord (that approaches) surrounded by his relatives, is very potent in Dandaka and is an old friend of your brother. Therefore let Guha, the lord of the Nishidas, see you, O Kakutstha. He indubitably knows where Rama and Lakshmana are." Hearing these wise words of Sumantra, Bharata at once said,—"Let Guha see me." Receiving permission, Guha, right glad, appeared before Bharata, bending low, and said, "This place is thy home. But thou hast stolen a march over us. We dedicate all this unto thee. Do thou reside in the abode of thy servant. Here are fruits and roots gathered by the Nishadas and meat dry and moist and various other produces of the forest. I pray that entertained in various ways and heartily partaking of meats and drinks, this army may spend the night here. Tomorrow morning, thou wilt go along with thy forces."

SECTION 85.

Thus addressed, the exceedingly wise Bharata answered the lord of the Nishadas, in words fraught with sense and reason, "Thy great desire, O friend of my superior, is surely as good as attained; since thou of mighty energy hast set thy heart on entertaining my army." Having said these fair words unto Guha, the graceful and highly energetic Bharata again addressed the lord of Nishadas, "By what way shall I go to Bharadwaja's hermitage? These lands watered by the Gangft are dense and hard to track." Hearing these words of the intelligent son of the king, Guha well acquainted with the forest, said with joined hands, "My servant well acquainted with the place shall attentively follow thee; and, O prince possessed of mighty strength, I myself will also walk in thy wake. But dost thou go after Rama of energetic acts with some evil intention? This vast force of thine raiseth my apprehension." When Guha had asked this, Bharata with a presence unclouded like the sky, spoke unto Guha these sweet words, "May a time never come when I shall do wrong onto Raghava! It behoveth thee not to fear me. Raghava is my eldest brother dear unto me even as my sire himself. I go to make Kakutstha dwelling in the woods, turn back. Other intention cherish I none. O Guha, this I tell thee truly. Having heard Bharata's speech, Guha with a countenance lighted up with delight, again cheerfully addressed Bharata, saying, "Blessed art thou! Thy like find I none on earth, inasmuch as thou wishest to resign a kingdom that comes to thee without search. Thy eternal fame will certainly range this world, since thou wishest to bring back Rama passing through misfortune." As Guha was speaking thus unto Bharata, the Sun became shorn of his splendour and night fell. Thereupon, having disposed his troops, the auspicious Bharata gratified by Guha, went to bed along with Satrughna. Then arose thoughts of Rama in the mind of the magnanimous Bharata ever having his gaze fixed on virtue and undeserving (of hardship). Then even as a tree already heated by a forest-fire burns with a fire hidden in its cavity, that descendant of Raghu began to burn with the fire of grief inflamed in his heart. And perspiration produced by the fire of sorrow issued out of all his limbs, as the Himavat heated by

the solar warmth generates water. And Kaikeyi's son was overpowered and drowned by the mountain of grief, having thoughts (of Rama) for its entire crags, sighs for its mineral substance, disgust with the avocations of life, for its trees, mental feebleness through grief for its summits, stupor for the animals inhabiting it, and burning for its annual shrubs and bamboos. And sighing heavily with a heart oppressed with sorrow, well nigh deprived of consciousness, and involved in high peril, that best of men, oppressed by the fever of his heart, like unto a mighty leader of a herd, separated from it, did not attain peace of mind. Meeting with Guha, the magnanimous Bharata accompanied by his people, engrossed with the thoughts of Rama, became oppressed with grief. (Seeing this), Guha by and by encouraged Bharata concerning his elder brother.

SECTION 86.

Guha, acquainted with the forest, described unto Bharata of immeasurable prowess the regard the high-souled Lakshmana bore unto Rama. "To Lakshmana crowned with every virtue, waking up, holding the bow with the arrow fixed on it for the purpose of guarding well his brother. I said. This easeful bed has been prepared for thee, my child. O son of Raghu's descendant, cheer up! Do thou lie down at ease. All these people can bear hardship; but thou art meant for comfort. For protecting him religiously, we shall wake. To me also there is none that is dearer on earth than Rama. Do not be anxious. This I tell thee truly, through his grace I expect high fame among men, and immense religious merit, and interest and desire in entirety. Bow in hand I shall along with my kin protect Rama lying down with Sita. To me always ranging in this forest, nothing whatever is unknown. I can even cope in battle with an army of four- fold forces. Thus accosted by us, the magnanimous Lakshmana with his gaze ever fixed on virtue, humbly observed, 'How, Dacaratha's son sleeping on the earth with Sita, can I attain sleep, or life, or happiness? How see him who is capable of bearing in battle the onslaught of the gods and the Asuras combined, sleeping in a cave on grass? It is by virtue of mighty austerities and uncommon exertions that Dacaratha has obtained this son of his crowned with every auspicious sign He being banished, the king shall not live long; and the Earth shall certainly be widowed soon. Having bewailed aloud, by this time have the women got exhausted; and surely the king's mansion is to-day still. I do not expect that either Kaucalya or the king or my mother is alive. If they live, it can be for this night only. Even if my mother live seeing Satrughna, that mother of a hero, the afflicted Kaucalva, will (surely) resign her existence. Saving-All is lost,-All is lost,-with his desire unattained, my father having failed to install Rama in the kingdom, will resign his existence. Blessed are they that when the time shall come for the same, shall perform the funeral ceremonies of the king my deceased sire. Then shall they with happy hearts range the metropolis of my father, furnished with fair-looking terraces, with the highways laid out orderly, crowned with lordly edifices, adorned with various gems, crowded by cars and elephants and horses, resounding with the notes of trumpets, abounding in auspicious things, filled with fat and contented people, having gardens and pleasure-houses, and possessed of divers classes of men indulging festal mirth. Shall we, on the occasion of Rama's return, with glad hearts peacefully enter the city in company with that one firm in his promise? As the magnanimous son of the king was thus lamenting, the night passed away. In the morning, with an unclouded sun, both, having made matted locks on the banks of the Bhagirathi, crossed the river along with me. Wearing matted locks and clad in barks of trees, those persons possessed of mighty strength, like unto leaders of elephant-herds, equipped with excellent arrows and quivers and bows—those repressors of foes, expecting (their return from exile), departed with Sita."

SECTION 87

Hearing the words of Guha, exceedingly unpleasant, Bharata as soon as he heard them, became plunged in thought. And then taking heart for a while, that tender-framed one possessed of immense strength, gifted with leonine shoulders and length of arms, having expansive eyes resembling white lotuses, young in years, and endowed with a handsome presence, affected with great grief, was overpowered, like an elephant wounded in the heart with a goad. Seeing Bharata deprived of his senses with his countenance covered with pallor, Guha became exceedingly agitated, like a tree during an earthquake. Seeing Bharata in that condition, Satrughna who was near, taking the former on his lap, began to cry, almost deprived of his senses and oppressed with grief. Thereat, all the mothers of Bharata, fasting, undergoing distress, and afflicted with the calamity that had befallen their lord, came forward, and surrounding Bharata, began to lament him fallen on the ground. And the distressed Kausalya drawing nigh embraced him like a cow approaching her calf; and weeping from excess of grief, spoke unto Bharata, saying, 'My son, doth any malady afflict thy body? Now the life of this royal race is, without doubt, in thy hands. Rama having

gone away along with his brother, I shall, O son, live, seeing thee. King Dacaratha having departed this life, thou alone art our lord. Hast thou, my son, heard anything unpleasant concerning Lakshmana; or the son of that one having an only son [Meaning herself.], who has gone to the forest along with his wife?" Having taken comfort for a while, that one of high fame weeping, and solacing Kaucalya, spoke unto Guha, saying, "Where did my brother pass the night? And where did Sita? And where did, again, Lakshmana? And in what bed did he sleep, and what did he previously partake of? Do thou, O Guha, tell me this." Thereat, well pleased, Guha, the lord of Nishadas, related unto Bharata how he had acted in respect of Rama, his dear guest, studious of his welfare. "I procured for Rama's use rice and fruits and roots and various kinds of food. All these Rama having truth for his prowess accepted, but observing Kshatriya morality, he did not take them. 'O friend, we ought not to take anything: ours is always to give.' Thus did that magnanimous one beseech us. On the high-souled Lakshmana bringing water, Righava having drunk it, fasted along with Sita. Then Lakshmana drank up the water that remained. Then the three with fixed minds silently performed their adorations unto the Twilight. After that, Sumitra's son prepared a goodly bed for Raghava, himself bringing Kuca grass. And in that bed lay down Rama in company with Sita. Next washing their feet, Lakshmana turned away. This is the foot of the Ingudi, and this that grass. On it both Rama and Sita lay down that night Fastening on his back a pair of quivers filled with arrows, furnished with finger-fences, and taking his mighty bow, Lakshmana all night kept watch around. I also taking an excellent bow, remained where remained Lakshmana and surrounded by my kindred who stayed there vigilantly, equipped with bows, guarded him that resembled the mighty Indra.

SECTION 88.

Having heard everything, Bharata in company with the counsellors went to the foot of the Ingudi tree and saw the bed of Rama. And he said unto his mothers, "That high- souled one lay down here on the ground during the night and his limbs pressed this spot. Begot of that foremost of monarchs, the exalted and intelligent Dacaratha, Rama does not deserve to sleep on the earth. How can that chief of men having reposed in beds furnished with pillows made of deer-skins and having superb cloths, have lain down on the earth? Always reposing in mansions and in upper apartments paved with silver and gold and supplied with excellent bed-cloths, decked with heaps of flowers, perfumed with sandal and aguru, hued like unto pale clouds resonant with the notes of many parrots.—in palaces going before the choicest of their class. ringing with music, and perfumed— like unto Meru itself, with their bases composed of gold, Rama used to be awakened with vocal and instrumental music, the tinklings of elegant ornaments and the peals of goodly mridangas—that subduer of foes being in due season hymned by the eulogists, and friends, bards and genealogists, with worthy ballads and penegerycs. (This assertion of Rama's lying down on the ground) appears to me incredible: it doth by no means look unto me like truth. Forsooth, I am amazed. I take it, this is a vision. Verily, no destiny is superior to Time, since Dacaratha's son, Rama himself, had to repose on the earth, and the beauteous beloved daughter of Videha's king, and the daughter-in-law of Dacaratha, had to lie down on the ground. This was the bed of my brother; on this hard spot did he turn his lovely limbs, and this grass was pressed by them. I think that the graceful Sita adorned with ornaments slept in this bed, for here and there are scattered particles of gold. It is clear that Sita had spread her sheet at this spot, -hence it is that fibres of silk are discoverable here. I deem that the bed of her lord appeareth agreeable unto a wife, since a girl tender and in affliction, the chaste daughter of Mithila experienced no inconvenience (in sleeping in one such). Ah, I am undone! Baleful am I, for it is on my account that Raghava along with his wife, lay down in such a bed, like one forlorn. Born in the imperial race, and capable of conferring happiness on all, the bringer-about of all good, why did Raghava of dark blue hue like that Of a lotus, graceful, and crowned with red eyes, the inheriter of happiness and undeserving of misery,-having left his dear consummate kingdom, lie down on the ground? Surely the mighty-armed Lakshmana graced with auspicious marks is blessed,-he who in the time of dire adversity followeth his brother Rama. And blessed is Videha's daughter who followeth her husband into the woods. Bereft of that magnanimous one, we have all been brought into jeopardy. The Earth without her helmsman seemeth me quite empty, on Dacaratha having ascended the celestial regions and Rama taken refuge in the wilderness. On Rama having set up his dwelling in the forest, one (like me) doth not even mentally covet this earth which had been protected by the immense prowess (of Raghava). With her walls undefended, her horses and elephants unrestrained, and her gates left open, the defenceless metropolis deprived of her power, placed in peril and without any protection, is surely not regarded by the enemies, like food mixed with poison. From this day forth I will lie down on the ground, or on the grass, daily subsisting

on fruits and roots, and bearing matted locks and a cloth of bark. And for his sake I will in future live happily in the woods. (By my doing so), the promise of that high-minded one shall not be rendered null. Me residing in the forest in the interests of my brother, Satrughna shall bear company; while my noble one will rule Ayodhya assisted by Lakshmana. The twice-born ones will sprinkle Kakutstha in Ayodhya. May the deities realize this desire of mine! Propitiated by me personally in various ways with bent head, if he do not consent, then shall I ever stay with Raghava in the woods. Surely he cannot long persist in putting me off."

SECTION 89.

Having spent the night there on the banks of the Ganga, that descendant of Raghu rising early in the morning, said these words unto Satrughna, "O Satrughna, arise! Why sleepest thou? Bring thou at once that lord of the Nishadhas, Guha. Good betide thee! He will take the army (over the stream)." Thus urged by his brother, Satrughna said, "Thinking of that noble one (Rama), I have not slept, but have remained awake in a like manner." As those chiefs of men were thus conversing with each other, Guha appearing in time with joined hands, remarked, "O Kakutstha, hast thou spent the night happily on the banks of the river? And is it continuous good fortune with thee along with thy forces?" Hearing Guha's speech fraught with affection, Bharata ever obedient unto Rairia, spoke on his part, saying, "Happily have we spent the night; and we have also been well received by thee. Now let thy servants take us over by means of many boats." Thereat, bearing Bharata's mandate, Guha, bestirring himself, re-entered the city and addressed his kinsfolk, saying, "Arise ye! Awake! May good always attend you! Do ye draw up the boats; I shall ferry the forces over." Thus asked, they arising and bestirring themselves in consequence of the king's command, brought up five hundred boats around. Others also known by the name of Swastika, bearing large bells on their prows, and banners, well decked out, furnished with oars, and manned by bargemen, with their joints firmly constructed, (were brought up). And Guha himself brought a graceful barge called Swastika, covered with pale woolen cloth, and resounding with music. On this boat ascended Bharata, the mighty Satrughna, Kaucalya, Sumitra, and other wives of the king. The priests, and preceptors belonging unto the Brahmana order, had already ascended. After (Bharata and others had got up), ascended the wives of auxiliary princes, and cars and provisions were got on board. And the uproar consequent on the troops burning down dwellings, pressing down descents unto the river, and loading goods, spread on all sides. Then those boats hung with pennons, managed by the kinsfolk (of Guha), set off at speed with the teeming folks that had got on board. And some of these were filled with women, and some with horses, and some conveyed cars and cattle of great value. And going to the other bank and landing the crowds on the store, the friends and slaves (of Guha) while returning, displayed various movements (of the boats). And elephants graced with flags being spurred on by their riders, began to cross the stream, appearing like (so many) winged hills. Others ascended boats, and others crossed on rafts, others crossed by means of reversed pitchers, and others by their arms alone. Ferried over the Ganga by the servants (of Guha), that beautiful army graced with streamers, at the third muhurta arrived at the romantic woods of Prayaga. Having made the army take rest at its ease, and encamped it (at the woods of Prayaga), that magnanimous one, Bharata, for the purpose of seeing the asylum of the ascetic Bharadwaja, went thither, accompanied by Ritwijas and Sadasyas.

SECTION 90.

Having arrived at (the neighbourhood of) Bharadwaja, asylum, that foremost of men while it was a kroca (to the destination), left his forces behind and went thither, accompanied by his counsellors alone. And leaving his attire and arms, and clad in a silk cloth, that pious one placing the priest in front, went on foot. Then with the view of seeing Bharadwaia, that descendent of Raghu leaving behind the counsellors also, went in the wake of the priest. As soon as Bharadwaja of rigid austerities saw Vasishtha, he at once rose from his seat, saying unto his disciples "Arghya!" On being called upon by Vasishtha, that highly energetic one understood that it was Dacaratha's son. Having offered them (the guests) water to wash their feet and arghya, as well as fruits subsequently, that virtuous one (Bharadwaja) successively enquired after the welfare of their (respective) homes; and after that, of the forces, exchequer, friends and counsellors in Ayodhya. And knowing that Dacaratha had departed this life, he did not ask anything relating to the monarch. Then Vasishtha and Bharata questioned him as to his welfare in relation to the body, the (sacrificial) fire, the trees, the beasts and the birds (of the hermitage). To all this returning "So it is," the illustrious Bharadwaja from affection for Raghava said unto Bharata, "What is the use of thy visit here, seeing that thou art engaged in the task of governing the kingdom? Do thou relate all this unto me; my mind is ill at ease. That slayer of foes, and perpetuator of his race who hath been borne by Kaucalya, and who along with his wife and brother hath been banished to the woods for a long termthat illustrious one who enjoined by his sire in the interests of a woman, hath become an inhabitant of the woods for fourteen years - dost thou, desirous of securely enjoying the kingdom belonging to him as well to his younger brother, intend to do any harm unto that sinless one?" Thus accosted, Bharata replied unto Bharadwaia with tears filling his eyes and his words choked with grief, "Undone am I if the reverend one also deems me so. Do not apprehend any wrong from me; and do thou not reproach me thus. Whatever my mother has said in relation to me, does not express my wish. I am not satisfied with that, nor do I endorse her speech. I, intending to pacify him, am going to that chief of men. with the view of taking him unto Ayodhya and of paying homage unto his feet. Thinking me as already gone, thou shouldst show thy favour unto me. O reverened Sir, tell me where stayeth at present Rama, lord of the earth." Besought by Vasishtha and the other Ritwijas, the venerable Bharadwaja well pleased, spoke unto Bharata, "O foremost men, even this is worthy of thee, Serving superiors, restraint of the senses, and following the pious, are ever found in one sprung in the Raghava line. I know that even this is thy intention; but for the purpose of making thy mind all the firmer, I had asked thee in this wise; so that thy fame might greatly increase. I also know the righteous Rama with Sita and Lakshmana. This brother of thine at present stays at the mighty mountain Chitrakuta. On the morrow thou wilt set out for that reigon. Do thou to-day sojourn here along with thy counsellors. O wise one, do this at thy pleasure, O thou understanding interest and desire." Thereat the gentle-looking and highly famous one said, "Be it so;" and the king's son made up his mind to spend the night in the great hermitage (of the saint).

SECTION 9

Then the ascetic asked Bharata, the son of Kaikeyi, when he had decided for staying there, to receive his hospitality. Thereat Bharata said, "Thou hast for certain done this,— (hast offered me) water for washing my feet, Arghya, and hospitality with what can be procured in the forest." Then Bharadwaia as if in jest, said unto Bharata, "I know thee to be of a complacent disposition; and that thou art pleased with anything and everything. But I wish to feast thy forces. And, O best of men, it behoves thee to act in harmony with my desire. Why didst thou coming hither, leave thy army at a distance? And, thou man of men, why didst thou not come accompanied with thy forces?" Bharata replied unto him, saving, " I had not come accompanied with my forces, from fear of thee, O reverend Sir. O worshipful one, kings and their sons should always carefully avoid the regions of ascetics. Choice steeds, men, and mad elephants of the best kind, covering a spacious tract of country, come in my train, respected Sir. That these might not injure trees or water or the grounds of the cottages partaining to the asylums, have I come hither alone." "Bring the forces here,"—thus desired by the mighty ascetic, Bharata accordingly caused the troops to be brought in.

Then entering the chamber of the sacrificial fire, (Bharadwaja) having sipped water and rubbed his lips therewith, invoked Vicwakarma for the purpose of entertaining his guest, "I invoke Vicwakarma; even Twastri himself. I wish to entertain guests. Let him accomplish this for me. I invoke the three guardians of the worlds-gods headed by Sakra. I wish to entertain guests. Let them accomplish this for me. Let those rivers that flow westwards, and those that move tortuously on the earth and in the sky, come hither in a body. And let others run Maireya, and others refined wine, and others again cool waters resembling the juice of the sugarcane. I invoke the celestials and the Gandharbas and Vicwavacu and Haha and Huhu and also the divine Apsaras and Gandharbis all; and Ghritachi, Vicwachi, Micrakeci and Alamvusha; and Nagadatta and Hema and Soma, residing in the mountain; and those ladies that attend Sakra, and those that attend Brahma. I invoke all these females well attired, in company with Tumvuru. And let that beautiful forest of Kuvera in the north Kuru, having its foliage resembling attires and ornaments, and its fruits debonair damsels, exist even at this very spot. And here let the worshipful Soma yield me excellent viands of diverse kinds in plenty; things that may be eaten or enjoyed, sucked or licked; and variegated blossoms growing in the trees, and wines and (other) drinks, and meats of various kinds." Thus, furnished with unrivalled ascetic energy, did that anchoret observing excellent vows, express himself orthoepically in consonance with Siksha. And as he sat with joined hands facing the west with a rapt mind, there came separately all those deities. And then touching Malaya and Dardura, and laden (with perfumes), a delicious and welcome wind began to blow delightfully, removing sweat. And the clouds poured down a pleasant shower of blossoms; and from all sides were heard sounds of celestial kettle-drums. And a rare breeze set in, and the multitudes of Apsaras danced; and the celestials and the Gandharbas sang, and the vinas let out their notes. And the dulcet sounds high and low furnished

with Sama and measure, entered the Earth and the firmanent and the ears of all creatures. When that celestial symphony, delightful unto the ears of men, had thus developed itself, Bharata's forces saw the workmanship of Vicwakarma. That spot widening into a level plain measuring five Yoyanas was covered with thick grass resembling blue lapises. And on it stood Vilwas, and Kapithwas, Panasas, citrons, and Amalakas, and mangos, embellished with fruits. From the north Kuru had spread a wood capable of conferring every enjoyment; and a beautiful river coursed through bordered by many a tree. And there had arisen white edifices having four divisions; and stables for horses and elephants; and grand gateways belonging unto palaces and mansions; and royal residences with graceful gates, resembling white clouds, bearing white garlands and washed with fragrant waters. having four corners, and spacious, fitted up with beds, seats, and vehicles, having every kind of excellent sapid food, stocked with excellent edibles and apparels, having every variety of food, possessing washed and bright vessels, with every description of seats, graceful, and accommodated with choice beds with coverlets. Permitted by the Maharshi. Kaikevi's son, Bharata, entered that mansion abounding in gems. And he was followed by the counsellors and the priests; and the latter beholding the arrangements of the palace, were filled with delight. And Bharata in company with the counsellors there went round the august royal seat, the chowri and the umbrella, worthy of a king. And having bowed down unto Rama, he worshipped that seat. And then holding the chowri of hair, he sat down on the seat of a minister. Then the counsellors and priests seated themselves according to rank. And thereafter the general and the protector of the encampment (got themselves seated). Then at Bharadwaja's command, came into being near Bharata streams having payaca for their slime. And at the pleasure of the Brahmana, on both their banks arose charming dwellings, covered with pale clay. And at that very moment there came twenty thousand women commissioned by Brahma, adorned with divine ornaments. And there came also twenty thousand females sent by Kuvera, decked out in gold and gems, pearls and corals. The sight of these was capable of filling men's minds with enchanting ravishment. And there came from Nandana twenty thousand damsels: and Nirada and Tumyuru and Gopa, resembling the sun in splendour. The Gandharba kings began to sing before Bharata. And Alamvusha, and Migrakesi, and Pundarika, and Vamana danced before Bharata, at the command of Bharadwaja. And those blossoms that are in the celestial regions, and that bloom in the forest of Chaitraratha, became visible in Prayaga at the energy of Bharadwaja. And Vilwas did the office of players on the Mridanga, and Vibhitakas, that of keepers of Soma, and Acwaththas became dancers, at the energy of Bharadwaja. And Saralas, Talas, Tilakas, and Tamalas, being delighted, became hump-backed ones and dwarfs. And Sinsapas, Amalakis, Jamvus and other plants of the forest, wearing the forms of females, stood at the mansion of Bharadwaia. "Let wine-drinkers drink wine, the hungry eat Payaca, and those that are inclined to it, feed on clean meat." And every seven or eight females taking a man, bathed him on the lovely banks of the rivers. And damsels furnished with expansive eyes, having wiped the persons (of the bathers), pressed their legs, and those magnificent women made them drink (wine). And the keepers duly fed excellent horses, elephants, camels and Suravi's sons (oxen), with their (proper) food. And some persons possessed of mighty strength, being directed thereto, fed the bearers of the foremost Ikshwaku warriors with sugercanes, honey, and fried paddy. And the groom forgot his horse, and the elephant-keeper his elephant: that army there became transported with wine and exhilaration. And sumptuously entertained with every enjoyment, with their bodies decked with red sandal, the soldiery in the company of bevies of Apsaras, exclaimed, "To Ayodhya will we not go, nor yet to Dandaka. Peace be unto Bharata, and may Rama reap happiness"! Thus did footmen and the riders and keepers of elephants and horses, as well as others, having experienced such a state, utter words. And men by thousands, exceedingly delighted, sent up shouts. And saying, "This is heaven" the retinue of Bharata-the soldiers-began to dance and laugh and sing; and bearing garlands, they on all sides rushed by thousands. And beholding the inviting viands resembling ambrosia, they, although already fed, became desirous of eating once again. And wearing new clothes, all the serrante, and maids, and females of the household, became exceedingly well pleased. And elephants, and asses, camels, kine and horses, and beasts and birds, being fed their fill, did not hunger after anything else. And there appeared no one who wore a soiled habit, or who was hungry, or melancholy, or whose hair was covered with dust. And the people with wonder beheld before them vessels of precious metals by thousands graced with chaplets of flowers filled with essences of fruits and fragrant soups and curries and the flesh of goats and bears, and white rice. And there were on the skirts of the wood wells having Payaca for their slime; and the kine yeilded whatever was asked; and all the trees dropped honey. And the tanks were filled with Maireya as well as with clean hot meat of deer,

peacocks, and cocks, dressed in pans. And there were riceholders by thousands, and curry-pots by hundred thousands, and golden vessels by Arvudas. And there were pitchers and water-pots and cleaned vessels for churning curd, filled with the same. And there were tanks of savoury and yellow buttermilk, well-tempered. And there were tanks filled with Rasala [A preparation of butter-milk.]; and others filled with milk, and with sugar. And men saw sediments, acrid powders and various others things in vessels, (or the purpose of bath, on the terraces of tanks; and tooth-cleaning sticks of Ancuman and other (trees); and white sandal paste lying before; and cleaned mirrors; and lots of cloths; and sandals; and shoes in pairs by thousands; and collyrium-pots; and combs; and brushes; and bows at some places; and mail; and various kinds of seats and beds. And they saw reservoirs for asses, camels, elephants, and horses, with easy descents, filled with water to assist their digestion; and pools furnished with lotuses, of the hue of the firmament, with transparent water, comfortable for ablutions; and tender (plots of) grass all around coloured like blue lapises, to serve as pasture for beasts. Witnessing the wonderful hospitality provided by the Maharshi Bharadwaja. like unto a vision, the men marvelled. Thus entertained like unto celestials in Nandana, they passed the night at the hermitage of Bharadwaja. Then taking the permission of Bharadwaja, all the Gandharbas as well as the superb damsels went away as they had come. And the men remained intoxicated and highly inebriate with the liquor, their persons daubed with goodly aguru and sandal; and the various elegant garlands beautiful to behold, lay by themselves all around, crushed by the people.

SECTION 92.

Having passed that night, Bharata having been entertained along with his family, appeared before Bharadwaja, desirous (of seeing Rama). Seeing that foremost of men (standing) with joined hands. Bharadwaia, who had just finished his firesacrifice, said, "Hast thou passed the night pleasantly at our place? And have all thy men been pleased with our hospitality? Do thou tell me this, O sinless one." Thereupon, Bharata bowing down, with joined hands said unto that ascetic of excellent energy, as he had issued out of his hermitage, "O reverend Sire. I along with all my forces and vehicles have passed (the night) happily. I have been full well entertained by thee, O worshipful one possessed of power. And with our languor and heat removed, we all sumptuously feasted and comfortably quartered, have passed (the night) agreeably along with our servants. Now, O best of ascetics, I beseech thee to look with a propitious eve on me who am bound for my brother's place. And tell me, O thou cognisant of morality, how far is it unto that high-souled righteous one's asylum, and by what way (shall I reach there)?" When Bharata eager to see his brother had asked thus, the highly energetic Bharadwaja of rigid austerities answered, "O Bharata, two and a half Yojanas hence, embosomed in a tenantless wood is the mountain Chitrakuta, charming with rocks and woods. On its northern border flows the river Mandakini, covered with flowering trees and with blossoming woods. Beyond the stream is the mountain Chitrakuta. There is their thatched cottage, my child; there they abide for certain. Proceeding by the southern way, do thou with thy forces composed of elephants and horses, O master of the army, turn to the left, O exalted one, and go southwards. By doing so, thou wilt be able to see Raghava." Hearing of their departure, the wives of that king of kings, leaving their cars, albeit worthy of them, gathered round the Bramana. Lean and trembling and in woful guise, Kaucalya along with the noble Sumitra, with her hands took the feet of the ascetic. Despised universally because of her unrighteous desire, Kaikeyi also bashfully took hold of his feet, and, having circumambulated the mighty and venerable anchoret, stood near Bharata in dejection of spirits. Then the mighty ascetic Bharadwaja asked Bharata, "O descendant of Raghu, I wish to know particularly about thy mothers." Thus accosted by Bharadwaja, the pious Bharata deft in speech said with joined hands, "O reverend sir, she whom thou beholdest depressed and emaciated through grief and fasting-resembling a very goddess-is the noble Queen of my father. This one, Kaucalya, it is that gave birth unto that chief of men, having the powerful gait of a lion, Rama, even as Aditi gave birth to Dhata. She that stands at her left hand, in dejected guise, is the noble Sumitra afflicted with sorrow, the second wife of the monarch—like a Karnikara bough in a forest, with all its blossoms shrivelled up. The sons of this exalted lady are the youthful and heroic Lakshmana and Satrughna, having truth for their prowess, and resembling celestials in shape. And her in consequence of whose act those foremost of men have come by crushing misfortune, and the king Dacaratha hath gone to heaven, deprived of his son,—wrathful and proud of her good fortune setting her heart on wealth—Kaikeyi, dishonourable, although endowed with the semblance of honour, do thou know this wicked one intent on sin as my mother. In her do I perceive the root of my mighty misfortune." Having said this, with his words choked with emotion, that best of men with his eyes reddened, sighed like an enraged serpent. As Bharata was

speaking thus, the great ascetic Bharadwaja gifted with high understanding and knowing interest, answered Bharata, saying, "O Bharata, thou ought not to cast any blame on Kaikeyi. This banishment of the king (Rama), shall be for the good (of all). The banishment of Rama shall surely be for the welfare of the gods and the Asuras and sages of concentrated souls." Thus blest, Bharata saluted the ascetic and went round him, and then summoning the soldiery, said, "Yoke." Thereupon, getting ready excellent steeds and cars decked with gold, many people mounted, with the intention of departing. And male and female elephants with golden chains round their necks, and furnished with banners, with the sounds (of bells), proceeded, like clouds at the end of the summer season. And then proceeded various kinds of cars great and light of movement and of high value; and the infantry went on foot. And on a magnificent car went the ladies headed by Kaucalya, with delighted hearts, eager to see Raghava. And ascending an elegant car resembling the infant sun or moon, driven by charioteers, went the graceful Bharata well attired. And that mighty host abounding with horses and elephants proceeded, blocking up the southern quarter, like a oolossal cloud arisen (in the sky), leaving behind on the other bank of the Ganga woods inhabited by birds and beast* and coursing by rivers and. mountains. And composed of numbers of elephants and horses in high spirits, that army of Bharata, frightening multitudes of beasts and birds, dived into that mighty forest.

SECTION 93.

Afflicted by the mighty force on its way with banners (displayed), those inhabitants of the woods, leaders of elephant-herds, took to their heels in company with the herds themselves. And bears and Prishatas and Rurus were on all sides seen in the forest-ways, and on hills and rivers. And that virtuous son of Dacaratha with a glad heart held on his way, surrounded by that vast army consisting of fourfold forces. raising a tremendous upoar. And that army of the high-souled Bharata resembling the waves of the ocean, covered the earth quite, as clouds in the rainy season cover the welkin. And filled with steeds and mighty elephants, the earth at that time for a long while remained invisible. And having proceeded a long way, the graceful Bharata, with his bearers extremely tired, said these words unto that foremost of counsellors, Vasishtha, "From appearances, and from what I had heard, it is evident that we have arrived at that region which Bharadwaja had told us of. This is the mountain Chitrakuta and that the river Mandakini. And from a distance this forest appeareth like dark clouds. And now our elephants resembling hills afflict the romantic sides of Chitrakuta. And the trees scatter blossoms over the sides of the mountain, even as after summer sable clouds pour down showers. O Satrughna, behold the realms inhabited by Kinnaras, scattered with steeds, like the main with makaras. And these herds of deer furnished with celerity, being urged on, roam about like masses of clouds in the sky in autumn, propelled by the winds. And like the people of the south, these warriors bearing shields resembling clouds, are adorning their heads with ornaments of perfumed blossoms. And this forest, although void of men and dreadful in appearance, at present appeareth unto me like Ayodhya, teeming with people. The dust raised by the hoofs (of horses) stands covering the sky: anon the wind bearing it away, compasses my pleasure. And, O Satrughna, see how fast these cars yoked with steeds and driven by skilful charioteers, are proceeding in the forest. And behold these beauteous peacocks, which, being frightened, take refuge in the mountain —the home of feathered tribes. This country appears to me exceedingly lovely. This abode of the ascetics is like onto the way to heaven itself. Male and female deer and Prishatas in the forest, beautiful to look at. appear as if variegated with flowers. Now let the soldiers go advisedly and search this forest, so that they light upon those chiefs of men, Rama and Lakshmana." Hearing Bharata's speech, persons with weapons in their hands, plunged into the forest, and those heroes presently discovered the top of a (column of) smoke. Having seen the top of the (column of) smoke, they came before Bharata and said, "Fire cannot exist where there is no man present. Therefore it is evident that even here are those descendants of Raghu. But if those foremost of men, those subduers of their enemies, the princes, be not here, there are others, being ascetics, resembling Rama." Hearing their words acceptable unto the pious, that afflicter of hostile ranks. Bharata, said unto the entire army. "Do ye carefully stay here: do not proceed further. I myself will go, and Sumantra and Dhriti." Thus desired, the troops remained all about that place. Bharata went away, keeping his gaze fixed in the direction of the top of (the column of) smoke. Desired by Bharata to halt, that army, looking in the direction of the smoke, rejoiced soon on learning that the beloved Rama had arrived (at that place).

SECTION 94

Having spent a long time in that mountain, that lover of hills and woods, Dacaratha's son resembling an immortal, anxious to pleasure Vaidehi as well as to please his own mind,

showed the variegated Chitrakuta unto his wife, like Purandara unto Sachi. "O gentle one, neither deprivation of the kingdom nor separation from friends afflicts my mind on beholding this romantic mountain. My gentle one, look but at the hill abounding with flocks of various birds, adorned with summits cleaving the welkin and teeming with mineral substances. And some parts of this monarch of mountains are like silver, and some are blood-red, and some vellow like the hue of Maniistha, and some lustrous like sapphires, and some shining like blossoms or crystal or Ketakas, and some blazing like stars or mercury, and some dight in mineral substances. And the mountain shines, being filled with divers beasts and multitudes of innocuous tigers, hyenas and bears, and thronged with innumerable birds. And overspread with mangos, rose-apples, and Asanas, and Lodhras [Symplocos racemosa; shrubs and trees with white or yellow flowers.], Piyalas, jacks, Ankolas, and Bhavyatinicas, and Vilwas, and Tindukas, and bamboos, Kacmaris, Arishtas, and Varanas, and Madhukas, sesames, and jujubes, and Amalakas, Nipas, canes, Dhanwanas, and citrons—all in full flower, and bearing fruits, umbrageous and charming,—the mountain attains an accession of loveliness. And, thou gentle one, on the picturesque plateau of the hill behold these intelligent couples of Kinnaras engaged in sport at spots yeilding every enjoyment; and look at their swords hung up on the boughs. And see the gorgeous apparel of Vidyadharis, as well as the charming regions in which they sport. And like an elephant dropping the temporal juice, this hill appeareth beautiful with cascades, fountains and rillets, flowing here and there. Whom doth not the breeze laden with the perfumes of many a flower, soothing the sense of smell, fill with delight? If, O blameless one, I dwell (here) for many years with thee as well as Lakshmana, grief cannot overcome me. O damsel, I take delight in this picturesque peak abounding in flowers and fruits, and frequented by various birds. By this banishment of mine, I have gained two things-my father has maintained his truth in religion, and Bharata has obtained his dear interest. O daughter of Videha, art thou being pleased on viewing along with me on Chitrakuta, various objects grateful unto mind, speech and body? O queen, this abode in the forest like unto ambrosia hath been declared by those royal saints, my ancestors, as working out one's emancipation after death. The giant crags of the mountain grace the place all round by hundreds; many and various-hued, blue and yellow aad pale and red. In the night, the annual herbs by thousands growing on this foremost of hills, shine and become visible by their own lustre, like flames of fire. And, O lady, some parts of the mountain appear like dwellings, and some like gardens, and some, again, consist of single rocks (capable of accommodating numbers of men). And Chitrakuta looks as if it had arisen, riving the earth; and the fair front of Chitrakuta can be perceived from every point. Behold the beds of pleasure-seekers, consisting of the petals of lotuses, with Sthagaras, Panagas and Bhuryapatras for their coverlets. And, my wife, behold these lotus-garlands have been crushed and scattered; and the various fruits have been partaken of. The mountain Chitrakuta abounding in fruits and roots and waters, surpasses Kuvera's capital or Sakra's city or the north Kurus. My wife, O Sita, if in consonance with my own excellent rules, I can, remaining in the path of the pious, pleasantly pass this time along with thyself and Lakshmana, then I shall attain the happiness resulting from observing the duties of one's race.

SECTION 95.

Then going out of the mountain, the Lord of Kocala showed unto Mithila's daughter the charming stream Mandakini of excellent waters. And Rama, furnished with eyes resembling lotuses, addressed the daughter of king Videha, transcendentally beautiful, with a countenance like the fair moon, saying, "Behold the river Mandakini, having variegated islets beautiful; frequented by ducks and cranes; and filled with flowers; covered with diverse trees bearing fruits and flowers; and looking graceful all round like Saugandhika herself of Kuvera. And the waters rendered muddy in consequence of herds of deer drinking of them, as well as the graceful descents unto the river, fill me with pleasure. And, my beloved, sages wearing matted locks and deer-skins, with barks for their sheets, are in season performing their ablutions in the river Mandakini. And observing rules, persons raising up their arms, are worshipping the sun, and, O thou of expansive eyes, after these appear ascetics following vows, (engaged in Japa). And the hill seems to dance on the wind swaying the tops of trees; and on both sides of the river, the trees are crowned with flowers and leaves. And behold the river Mandakini, somewhere with its waters resembling pearls, and somewhere with islets, and somewhere filled with persons who have attained emancipation. O thou of slender waist, behold these hosts of flowers spreading along, and others dipping themselves (in the stream). And, O auspicious one, behold these sweet-throated birds, the Chakravakas, getting upon the islets, uttering pleasant notes. Methinks, O beauteous one, the sight of Chitrakuta and of Mandakini is even more delightful

than life in the metropolis, or the sight of thy own self. Do thou like unto her companion perform thy bath with me in this stream, whose waters are perpetually stirred by emancipated ones, furnished with asceticism, self-restraint, and control over the senses, who have had their sins removed. Do thou, O Sita, perform thy ablutions in the Mandakini, scattering at the same time, O girl, red and white lotuses. Do thou, my wife, always consider the wild animals as citizens, the mountain as Avodhya, and this stream as the Sarayu. The virtuous Lakshmana is ever obedient to my commands; and, O Videha's daughter, thou also art favourable to me. This causes delight in my heart. Bathing thrice (in this river), and living on tasteful fruits and roots, I in thy company do not today wish either for Ayodhya or royalty. Bathing in this beauteous stream agitated by herds of elephants, whose waters are drunk by elephants, lions and monkeys,—which is graced with flowers, and which is decked with multitudes of blossoms, there is no one who has not his fatigue removed, and who does not feel exhilarated." Having thus along with his beloved one, spoken variously regarding the stream, that perpetuator of the Raghu race, Rama, began to range the charming Chitrakata, resembling the collyrium in hue.

Having showed unto Mithila's daughter the river belonging to the mountain, Rama sat down on its table-land and, gratifying Sita with meat, said unto her, "This clean meat tastes sweet, having been roasted in fire." The righteous Raghaya was thus seated in company with Sita, when Bharata's followers came there. And filling the heavens, there arose clouds of dust raised by the army as well as an uproar. And at this time mad leaders of elephant-herds accompanied by the latter, scared by the terrible tumult, scudded on all sides. And Raghava heard the noise raised by the army; and also saw all those leaders of elephant-herds scampering away. And having seen them running away and heard that hubbub, Rama spoke unto Sumitra's son, Lakshmana of flaming energy, "Ha! Lakshmana, in whom Sumitra has been blest with a worthy son, hark! A tremendous and dreadful uproar resembling the rumbling of cloulds is being heard; and in the woods and mighty forest, deer and buffalos and herds of elephants being accompanied by lions are suddenly scampering away in all directions. O Sumitra's son, it behoves thee to learn whether any king or prince is hunting in the forest, or any ferocious beast is (ravaging the woods). O Lakshmana, this mountain is even incapable of being frequented by fowls. Therefore it behoves thee to learn all about it, as has actually been the case."—Thereat, hurriedly ascending a flowering Sala tree, Lakshmana surveying all sides, fixed his gaze on the east. And viewing the east, he discovered a mighty army, abounding with elephants, horses and cars, and consisting of equipped infantry. Thereupon, Lakshmana communicated unto Rama tidings concerning that army filled with elephants and steeds, and decked with cars and streamers; and spoke unto Rama, saying, "O noble one, do you put out the fire; and let Sita go into the cave. And do you string your bow and make ready the arrows and don on your mail." Thereat, Rama-chief of men-answered Lakshmana, saying, "O son of Sumitra, do thou (first) ascertain whom this host belongs to." Thus accosted by Rama Lakshmana, as if consuming that army by his wrath resembling, fire, said, "Having got himself installed, Kaikeyi's son. Bharata, anxious to render his royalty perfectly safe, is coming hither for the purpose of slaying us both. Yonder is seen the graceful tree. By the same appeareth on the car the Kovidara standard, having a shining top. And men riding swift coursers are at their pleasure making for this place; and elephant-riders, riding on elephants, are also cheerfully directing their course hither. Let us, O hero, taking our bows. station ourselves on this hill. I will (to day) see Bharata, for whom we have come by this mighty misfortune. Or let us rather remain where we are accoutred in mail and with our arms ready. Shall he of the Kovidara banner in conflict come under our sway? O hero, we have met with that foe of ours for whom, O Raghava, you, Sita and myself have (experienced such misery), for whom, O Raghava, you have been cast off from the entire kingdom. Surely, Bharata should be slain by me. O Raghava, fault find I none in slaying Bharata; slaying a former wronger, one doth not reap unrighteousness. O Raghava, there is religious merit to be reaped by slaying Bharata, who had formerly done us wrong. On this one being slain, you will rule the entire earth. To day shall Kaikeyi lusting after the kingdom, with grief behold her son slain in battle by me, like a tree riven by an elephant. I will also kill Kaikeyi along (with the hump-backed one), and her friends. Let the earth today be freed from foul sins. To day will I, O bestower of honour, vent my restrained ire and bad blood upon the hostile hosts, like fire set to a heap of hay. To-day with sharpened shafts will I cut the bodies of the hostile hosts and drench the woods of Chitrakuta with their blood. The ferocious beasts shall drag away elephants and steeds and men slaughtered by me with arrows penetrating into their hearts. I will, without doubt, in this forest pay the debt I owe to my

bow aid arrows, by slaving Bharata together with all his

Pacifying Sumitra's son, Lakshmana, transported with rage and eager for encounter, Rama addressed him, saying, "When the mighty Bharata possessed of high spirits has himself come here, what is the use of the bow or the sword or the shield? Having promised to maintain my father's truth, what, O Lakshmana, shall I, having slain Bharata in battle, do with the kingdom with a stain attached unto it? That thing which falls to my lot on the destruction of friends and adherents I never accept, even like food mixed with poison. I swear unto thee, I wish for the (possession of) righteousness, interest, desire and the earth, in your interests alone, O Lakshmana, O Lakshmana, I swear by my weapon that it is for the maintenance and happiness of my brothers that I wish for the kingdom. O mild one, this Earth herself is not difficult of being attained by me; but, O Lakshmana, I do not through unrighteousness wish to possess myself of Sakra's state. - May fire reduce to ashes any happiness of mine that, O bestower of honour, happens to be dissevered from Bharata, or thyself, or Satrughna. I think Bharata attached unto his brothers had come to Ayodhya; and then, allowing the morality regulating the race, that one dearer unto me than life, hearing of me banished, bearing matted locks- and bark, together with Janaki, O hero, and thyself, thou foremost of men, has, with his heart surcharged with reflection, and his senses overwhelmed by grief, come hither for seeing us. He cannot have come on any other account, And having got wroth with Kaikeyi, and given her rough speech, that auspicious one, having gratified my sire, has come hither to make the kingdom over unto me. And the season being fit, meet it is that Bharata should see us. He does not even in thought act against us. Hath ere this Bharata done thee any had turn? Or did he tell thee any thing so harming that today thou standest in fear of him? Certainly thou ought not to say cruel or unpleasant words in relation to Bharata,-if wrong be done unto Bharata, I shall consider myself as wronged. Do sons, in times of peril, ever slay their father, or brothers their brother like unto their life. O son of Sumitra? If thou speakest thus for the sake of the monarchy, on seeing Bharata, I will say unto him, 'Make over the kingdom unto this one.' Earnestly exhorted by me, saying, 'Do thou place the kingdom in his hands',-he will say, 'Very well."

Thus addressed by his brother of a virtuous disposition, Lakshmana ever engaged in Rama's good, from shame seemed to enter into his body. And hearing those words, Lakshmana affected by shame, answered, "I conceive our father Dacaratha himself hath come to see you." And finding Lakshmana overcome with shame, Raghava replied, "I think that mightyarmed one has come hither to see us; or I take it for certain that, considering that we are fit for ease only, and taking our banishment to heart, he will take us home. Or it may be that graceful descendant of Raghu, my father, will go away, taking from the forest Videha's daughter wrought up in the lap of luxury. There are seen these graceful and well-bred steeds, courageous, swift, and furnished with the speed of the windthe best of horses. And this huge elephant belonging to our aged sire, named Satrunjaya, proceedeth in the van of the army. But, thou exalted one, I do not see the splendid white umbrella of our father known among men. Therefore, doubts arise in my mind. Do thou descend from the top of the tree, O Lakshmana. Do my bidding." Thus did the righteous Rama accost Sumitra's son. Descending from the top of the sala tree, that conqueror in battles, Lakshmana, stood by Rama with joined hands. Commanded by Bharata, "Let not (Rama's asylum) be trampled by the forces," the army took up its quarters at a distance from the hill. And the Ikshwaku host filled with elephants and steeds covering half a yojana, encamped at the side of the mountain. And keeping morality in their fore-boot, and renouncing pride, the disciplined forces schooled by Bharata in view of pleasing that descendant of Raghu (Rama) stayed in Chitrakuta.

Having stationed his troops, that best of men, the master, became anxious to go on foot to the Kakutstha honouring his superiors. And the forces having with humility took up the quarters assigned, Bharata addressed his brother, Satrughna, saying, "O mild one, it behoves thee at once to search this forest all round in company with a large body of men as well as these Nishadas. And let Guha himself accompanied by a thousand of his kindred bearing in their hands arrows and bows and scimitars, also search for the Kakutstha in this forest. Accompanied by counsellors, citizens, preceptors and twice-born ones, I will on foot range every direction. So long as I do not see Rama, or the mighty Lakshmana, or the highly exalted daughter of Videha I shall not attain peace of mind And so long as I do not see that face of his fair as the moon, with eyes expansive like lotuses, I shall not attain peace of mind. Surely, Sumitra's son, Lakshmana, who beholds Rama's countenance like the stainless moon, with eyes resembling lotuses, and beaming in effulgence, is blessed. So long as I do

not take on my head those feet of my brother bearing royal marks, I shall not attain peace of mind. So long as established in the kingdom of his father and grandfather, that one worthy of the monarchy is not sprinkled with the water of installation, I shall not attain peace of mind. Blessed is Vaidehi, the eminently virtuous daughter of Janaka, who followeth the lord of this Earth bounded by the seas. And this Chitrakuta is fortunate—this hill like unto the monarch of mountains—in which resides Kakutstha, like Kuvera in Nandana, And blessed is this deep forest inhabited by ferocious animals, where abideth the great king Rama, the foremost of those bearing arms." Having said this, that best of men, the mightyarmed and highly energetic Bharata, on foot entered the vast forest. And that best of speakers went over the mountain-side through ranks of blossoming trees. Then swiftly ascending a Sala on Chitrakuta, he descried the high column of smoke belonging unto Rama's asylum. Having seen this, like one that has crossed over the ocean, the graceful Bharata, concluding that Rama was there, rejoiced exceedingly along with his friends. Having heard that Rama's asylum containing pious people lay in Chitrakuta, that high-souled one again stationing his forces, speedily went (in that direction), accompanied by Guha.

SECTION 99.

Having quartered his forces, Bharata eager (to go to Rama's place), went to see his brother, showing unto Satrughna the signs of Rama's abode being in the vicinity. And having desired Vasistha, saying, "Bring my mothers without delay," that one attached to his superiors went before. And eager to see Rama even like Bharata himself, Sumantra followed Bharata at a short distance. And as Bharata passed on, he observed a neat cottage of leaves stationed among the asylums of anchorets, furnished with a portion having a wall with a door. And before the cottage, Bharata saw fuel broken up, and flowers gathered. And he saw at places signs of Kuca and bark set up on trees when Rama and Lakshmana (first) arrived at their asylum. And in that habitation, Bharata saw great heaps of dry dung of deer and buffalos, gathered for preventing cold. As he proceeded, the intelligent and mightyarmed Bharata with a cheerful heart remarked unto Satrughna and all the courtiers, "I conceive, we have reached the tract that was mentioned by Bharadwaja. Hard by this spot, I fancy, is the river Mandakini. On high are barks set up by Lakshmana. Having to pass by the way at unusual hours, (Lakshmana) has marked it with signs. On the side of the hill is the way by which long-tusked elephants pass to and fro with vehemence, roaring at each other. Here is seen the dense and dark smoke of that which the anchorets are ever anxious to preserve in the forest-fire. Even here shall I with a delighted heart see that foremost of men, the noble Raghava resembling a Maharshi, ever engaged in serving his superiors." Then going to Chitrakuta, that descendant of Raghu, coming to the Mandakini, said unto the men, "That foremost of men in all the world. the lord of all, coming into seclusion, is in his voga posture. O fie upon my birth and my life! For me, having come by misfortune, and renounced every comfort, the effulgent lord of men, Raghava, is dwelling in the woods. I shall be taxed of men on the score. To-day (first) pacifying him, I will fall at the feet of Rama as well as of Sita and Lakshmana." Having thus bewailed, Dacaratha's son saw a splendid, charming, and holy dwelling in that forest, composed of leaves. And Bharata beheld in Rama's habitation a sacred structure made of leaves, covered with a profusion of Sala, palm, and Acwakarna leaves; spread with soft Kuca, like a dais in a sacrifice; adorned with bows resembling the iris, plaited on the back with gold, of mighty force, and capable of achieving arduous feets and destroying foes; and garnished with arrows in quivers, seeming like the rays of the sun, with flaming mouths,-like unto the Bhogavati with serpents; and exceedingly beautified with golden sheaths and scimitars and shields spangled with gold and nice guana finger-fences decked with gold; inaccessible unto foes like a lions's den unto deer; and furnished with a spacious dais inclined on the northeast, with a fire flaming on it. And looking around, anon Bharata saw his superior Rama seated in the cottage bearing a head of matted locks, clad in a black deer-skin, and having tattered cloth and bark for his garment. And he saw Rama seated like unto a flame-with leonine shoulders, mighty arms, and eyes resembling lotuses-the righteous lord of this world bounded by the seas-saw the mighty-armed one like unto the eternal Brahma, seated on a skin-seat on the ground along with Sita and Lakshmana. And seeing him, overwhelmed with grief and affliction, the righteous and graceful son of Kaikeyi, Bharata, rushed (towards him). And soon as Bharata saw Rama, he, exceedingly distressed, broke out into lamentations in words choked with sorrow. And incapable of holding himself in patience, he said, "That elder brother of mine who (seated) in court should be surrounded by the subjects intent upon paying him homage, is now surrounded by wild deer. He that used to adorn his person with attire worth many thousands (of things), engaged in observing morality, is clad in deer-skin. Why doth he that always wore variegated blossoms, Raghava, beareth this

burthen of matted locks? He who is worthy of acquiring religious merit by celebrating sacrifices according to the ordinance, is now following morality by afflicting his person. How is the person of that one whose body used to be daubed with costly sandal, covered with dust? It is for me that Rama, although deserving of comfort, has come by this misfortune Wicked that I am, fie upon my life despised of men!" Thus lamenting in woful guise, with the lotus of his countenance covered with sweat. Bharata coming at Rama's feet, fell at them bewailing. And inflamed with grief, the exceedingly powerful prince Bharata, having in distress of spirit uttered, 'O noble one," again said nothing. And beholding the illustrious Rama, Bharata with his utterance choked with emotion, exclaimed, "O noble one," and was unable to say anything further. Then Satrughna also weeping paid homage unto the feet of Rama. And shedding tears, Rama embraced them both. Then as in the sky, the Sun and the Moon meet with Sukra and Vrihashpati, those two princes (Rama and Lakshmana) met with Sumantra and Guha in the forest. And beholding those kings resembling leaders of elephant-herds met together in that mighty forest, the dwellers in the woods, resigning their cheerfulness, began to shed tears.

SECTION 100.

Then Rama cast his eyes on (Bharata) as clad in bark and wearing matted locks he lay on the earth with joined hands, incapable of being gazed at, like the Sun at the time of the universal dissolution. Then recognizing him a little, he took by the hand his brother Bharata, lean, with a pallid countenance. And smelling the crown of his head, and embracing that descendant of Raghu, Rama took Bharata on his lap and asked him affectionately, "Where was thy father, child, that thou hast come to the forest? It certainly behoves thee not to come unto the forest while he is living. Ah! I see thee come from far after a long time. Why, my child, hast thou come unto this gloomy forest? Is the king alive, my child. seeing that thou hast come hither; or, afficted with grief, hath he suddenly gone to the other world? And, O mild one, child that thou art, thy kingdom ever thine hath not been wrested from thee? And, O thou having truth for prowess, dost thou, my child, minister unto our sire? And is that truthful one. that performer of Rajasuva and Acwamedha, ever devoted to righteousness, king Dacaratha, well? And, my child, is that exceedingly effulgent and learned Brahmana ever steady in morality, the priest of the Ikshwakus, duly honoured? And, my child, are Kaucalya, and Sumitra having a son, in happiness? And is the noble Kaikeyi in spirits? And is that one, sprung from a mighty line, humble and versed in various lore. thy priest, who performeth every ceremony, who beareth no ill will, and whose gaze is ever fixed upon our welfare,honoured? And do intelligent and sincere people cognisant of the rules, look after the sacrificial fire? And do they regularly inform thee of the proper seasons for performing the firesacrifice? A dost thou regard the deities, the ancestral manes, the preceptors like unto predecessors, the physicians, the Brahmanas, and the servants? And dost not disregard the preceptor Sudhanwa, versed in excellent arms whether inspired with mantras or not, and accomplished in the knowledge of polity? And, my child, hast thou employed as thy concillors, persons, heroic, learned, self-controlled, wellborn, and understanding signs, who are like thy own self? O descendant of Raghu, counsel well kept by clever councillors versed in lore, is the root of victory with kings. And thou hast not come under the sway of sleep? And thou awakest at the proper hour? And dost thou during the short hours revolve the means of acquiring wealth? And thou dost not take counsel either with thyself alone, or (on the other hand) with a multiplicity of counsellors? And thy counsel doth not range the kingdom (i. e. doth not take air)? And, O descendant of Raghu, having determined upon a course costing small effort but fraught with a mighty result, thou setst about it sharply and delayest not? And do the (auxiliary) kings know only those acts of thine that have been accomplished or those that are well nigh so, and not those that thou intendest to set thine hand to? And do others through inference or appearances come at a knowledge of thy counsels, although undivulged to others by thyself or thy counsellors; and (do thou and thy ministers) attain to a knowledge of others' counsels? And passing by a thousand dunces, dost thou set thy heart on having a single wise man? In times of pecuniary stress, a wise man stands in excellent stead. And although a king might be surrounded by a thousand or ten thousand fools, yet he can count upon no assistance (at their hands). And a single able counsellor, intelligent, heroic, and sagacious, bringeth great prosperity upon a king or a prince. And, my child, dost thou employ the best servants upon the best offices, the middling upon middling, and the worst upon the worst? And dost thou employ upon the most worthy offices counsellors who are above bribery, who have served thy father and grand-father, and who are pure? And do the subjects visited with condign punishment, as well as the ministers, disregard thee, O son of Kaikeyi? And do the priests scorn thee like a fallen one, even as females do those lascivious folks who use force towards the former? He that doth not slay a physician skilled in ways and

means, a servant given to enlisting the sympathies of his fellow-servants against his master, or a hero that covets riches. is slain (by them). And hast thou chosen for thy general one that is confident, is endowed with intelligence and fortitude, sprung in a respectable race, and attached and able? And dost thou practically honour thy foremost warriors possessed of prowess, who have already given evidence of their manliness? And dost thou at the proper time grant thy soldiers what thou shouldst-provision and pay; and dost not delay in doing this? If the proper time for granting provision and pay be passed, the servants get wroth with their master and tax him; and great is the evil that springs herefrom. And are the principal descendants of our race attached unto thee; and are they, when enlisted on thy side with concentrated minds, ready to lay down their lives? And, O Bharata, are thy spies persons coming from the provinces, and learned, upright, endowed with presence of mind, representing the truth, and possessed of wisdom? And dost thou acquire intelligence of the expedients, eighteen* in respect of others [* 1 Minister. 2 Priest. 3 Heir-apparent. 4 General. 5 Warder. 6 Gatekeeper of the inner-apartment. 7 Jailor. 8 Treasurer. 9 Conveyer of the royal orders. 10 Pleaders. 11 Judges. 12 Members of the council. 13 Distributer of pay and provision to the army. 14 Journeymen. 15 Justice of the peace. 16 Protector of the frontiers of the kingdom. 17 Magistrate. 18 Guards of rivers, hills, forests, and fortresses.], and fifteen in respect of thy own self,-by means of every three spies appointed in connexion with each of these expedients-men quite ignorant of each other's counsels? And dost thou not contemn those weak ones that, O destroyer of thy foes, having been expelled, have come again (unto thee)? And, my child, thou dost not minister unto atheistical Brahmanas? These childish persons proud of their learning are only fit for bringing evils upon others. While there are excellent scriptures, these people of subtle intellects, having acquired a knowledge of dialectics, speak vanities, And, my child, dost thou protect the prosperous and renowned Ayodhya, inhabited formerly by our heroic predecessors; bearing a true name; having strong gates; filled with elephants, steeds, and cars; thronged by thousands; with noble Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaicyas breathing high spirits, and with their senses controlled, each engaged in his own task; abounding in people learned in the Veda; and surrounded with palatial mansions of various shapes? And, O descendant of Raghu, are the flourishing provinces marked with hundreds of Chaityas, filled with prosperous people, graced with abodes of deities, places for distributing water, and tanks, with men and women in happy mood, gay with meetings and festivities having their outskirts well furrowed provided with beasts, void of ill feelings, depending on tanks for their water supply, charming, renounced by fierce animals, free from all kinds of fear, decked with mines, left by unrighteous people, and well governed by my predecessors, having a good time of it? And do agriculturists and cowherds find favour in thy sight? And remaining in their respective vocations, do they enjoy happiness? And dost thou maintain them by securing unto them what they wish for and removing from them what they wish away? All the dwellers in his dominions should be protected by the king. And dost thou conciliate the females; and are they well protected by thee? And dost thou not regard them; and dost thou not open unto them thy mind? And are the woods where elephants breed, kept by thee; and hast thou kine? And dost thou not foster mares and female-elephants? And dost thou show thyself daily in the court, well robed? And rising in the morning, dost thou show thyself in the high-ways? And do thy servants boldly present themselves before thee; or do they all keep away? A middle course contributes to their good fortune. And are all the forts furnished with wealth, corn, arms, water, machines, artizans, and bowmen? And are thy incomings great and outgoings slender? And, Raghu's descendant, thou dost not give away thy coffers unto the undeserving? And dost thou spend thy wealth in the interests of the deities, or the pitrtis, or the Brahmanas who have come unto thee, or warriors, or friends? If any respectable, pure-spirited and clean person happen to be accused by some one of theft or other crimes, dost thou from covetuousness punish him without first having him tried by persons versed in scripture? And, O best of men, is a thief, that hath been caught, interrogated (as to his guilt), and found with the stolen property on his person, set free (by thy men) from motives of gain? And do thy counsellors, O descendant of Raghu, accomplished in various lore, uninfluenced by greed, consider the conduct of both the rich and the poor involved in peril? O son of the Raghu race, the tears of those who have been falsely charged with any offence, (and who have failed to obtain justice), dropping, destroy the sons as well as the beasts of the ruler that minds his own comfort only. And dost thou with these three-gifts, mind and word—try to win over aged people, boys, physicians, and the principal ones? And dost thou salute spiritual precentors. aged persons, ascetics, gods, guests, Chaityas, emancipated ones, and Brahmanas? And thou dost not oppose righteousness by interest, or interest by virtue, or both by desire, intent on gratifying the senses? And, O foremost of

resorting to interest, desire, and virtue respectively, attain them, O bestower of boons? And do Brahmanas versed in all religious lore and knowing interest, together with the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces wish for thy happiness, O highly wise one? Atheism, untruthfulness, inattention, anger, procrastination, companionship with evil persons, indolence, gratification of the senses, consultation with a single person concerning the needs of a kingdom, taking counsel with those that are cognisant of evils alone, omission to take in hand a task that hath been decided upon, divulgence of counsel, noncommencement of a course in the morning, and marching against all the foes at one and the same time,— hast thou eschewed these ten and four faults? And, O descendant of Raghu, truly understanding the tenth [Hunting, gambling, sleeping in the day, calumny (also known as defamation, vilification, libel, slander or traducement), addiction to women, wine, dancing, singing, playing, and roving without purpose (lingering around).], fifth [Five kinds of fortresses.], fourth [Four kinds of means adopted for the governing and maintaining of a kingdom.] and seventh [Four kinds of means adopted for the governing and maintaining of a kingdom.] classes as well as the eighth [Eight kinds of manifestation of anger.], and third ones [Interest, desire and virtue.], and the three kinds of learning [The Vedas: agriculture, commerce, politics.], and victory over the senses, and the evils human and superhuman, six attributes [Peace, war. marching, halting, sowing dissensions, seeking protection.], and the (peculiar) duties (of royalty), and the twenty classes [20 classes of men with whom peace should not be contracted.], and the kinds of Prakritis [Also called Prakritis: minister, treasure, territory, fortress, chastisement.] and Mandala [12 classes of kings, who are ready to enter into a treaty, declare war or continue in a state of indifference.], and Yatra [A fivefold marching out for war.], chastisement, and war and peace having each two sources: dost thou with due order observe all these? And, O wise one, dost thou, as laid down in the ordinance, take counsel, severally and in a body with three or four men? And dost thou observe the Vedas? And dost thou perceive the fruit of thy acts? And have thy wives borne children? And has thy knowledge of scripture borne fruit? And, descendant of Raghu, is thy intellect going the way that I have indicated above? This course is conducive to long life, and fame; and virtue, desire and interest. And, O child, art thou following the course that was followed by our ancestors? And art thou maintaining the conduct that is excellent and passes along pious ways? And, O son of Raghu, thou dost not alone partake of sapid meats thyself alone? And dost thou share them with those friends who expect it? The learned king ruling (all) righteously—that chastiser of the subjects—the monarch attaining duly the entire earth, going away from hence, acquires the celestial regions.

SECTION 101.

Knowing Bharata as devoted to his superior Rama along with his brother Lakshmana, asked him, "What for is this (visit of thine unto the woods)? I wish to hear as clearly related by thee the reason why clad in black deerskin and wearing matted locks, thou, leaving thy kingdom, hast come to these regions. It behoveth thee to tell me all this." Thus accosted by the high-souled Kakutstha, Kaikeyi's son, suppressing his grief by a strong effort, with joined hands said, 'O noble one, forsaking us all, our father possessed of mighty arms, having performed this terrible task, in consequence of being urged by a woman, my mother Kaikeyi, hath gone to heaven afflicted with grief on account of his son, O repressor of foes. And she hath committed a signal sin capable of destroying her fame. And without obtaining the kingdom which she had coveted as the fruit of her action, a widow tried with grief, my mother will fall into a terrible hell. Now it behoves thee to extend thy favour unto me who have become thy slave. Do thou this very day get thyself installed in the kingdom, like unto Indra himself. All these subjects and our widowed mothers have come unto thee. It behoves thee to show thy favour unto them. Thou art the first-born: and meet it is that thou shouldst get thyself installed, O bestower of honour. Therefore do thou receive the kingdom righteously and fulfil the desire of thy friends. And like the autumnal Night on having the unclouded moon, let the entire Earth cease to be a widow on having thee, her lord. With bent head I beseech thee along with these counsellors. It behoves thee to show thy favour unto thy brother, disciple, and slave. Therefore, O chief of men, thou ought not to pass by this honoured band of ancestral ministers, who have always been serving this race." Having said this, with tears flooding his eyes, the mighty-armed son of Kaikeyi, Bharata, again took Rama's feet on his head. Thereupon Rama embracing his brother Bharata resembling a mad elephant, and sighing again and again, said, "Of a high race, possessed of strength, endowed with energy, and vowed unto sterling worth of character, how can one like me commit sin for the sake of dominion? Fault find I none ever so small in thee, thou destroyer of foes. Nor doth it become thee from puerility to tax thy mother, O exceedingly wise one, O thou that art sinless, superiors may act as they list in relation to those wives and

sons of theirs that are after their heart. And this also thou shouldst learn that wives, sons and disciples should always be obedient as has been held by the emancipated ones. O mild one, the monarch is competent to make me stay in the woods clad in black deer-skin, as to establish me in the monarchy. And, O thou conversant with morality, O foremost of those observing righteousness, in respect of virtuous conduct, a mother should be as much regarded (by a son) as a father is. How can I. O descendant of Raghu, having been told by my righteous father and mother-'Go to the woods'-act otherwise? Thou ought to receive the kingdom, Ayodhya, honoured of men; and I ought to dwell in Dandaka dressed in bark. Having made this division of duties in the presence of all, and also enjoined this, the mighty monarch, Dacaratha, hath ascended heaven. That superior of all, even the virtuous king, is thy evidence. It behoves thee to enjoy that which hath been assigned unto thee by thy sire. And, O mild one, taking refuge in the forest of Dandaka for fourteen years, I will act the part that hath been set apart for me by my magnanimous father. What hath been assigned to me by that one respected by all men, my highsouled father resembling the lord of celestials himself, is my prime good; the masterdom of all the worlds I would decline (should it be opposed to the will of my sire).'

Hearing Rama's words, Bharata answered, "Deprived of the kingdom in consequence of my posteriority in point of birth, what doth regard for morality avail me? O best of men, even this morality has ever been established with reference to us, viz., that the eldest son of the king existing, a younger one cannot be the king. Do thou, therefore, O Raghava go along with me to the prosperous Ayodhya; and get thyself installed there for the behoof of our race. Although a king observing interest and virtue, and who towers above average humanity. hath been called a mortal, yet to me he is a very deity. While I was in Kekaya and thou wast in the forest, that intelligent monarch honoured of the good, given to celebrating sacrifices, ascended heaven. As soon as thou hadst set out (for the forest) along with Sita and Lakshmana, the king borne down by grief and chagrin, went to heaven. O foremost of men, do thou arise, and offer water unto the spirit of our sire. Satrughna and I have ere this offered water unto (the departed). O Raghava, anything offered onto the (manes of the) ancestors by a beloved descendant, conduces to their eternal behoof; and thou wast the favourite of our father. Mourning thee and exceedingly desirous of seeing thee, his mind being fastened on thee and incapable of being turned away, deprived of thee, and smitten with grief on thy account, thy father departed this life, remembering thee.'

SECTION 103

Hearing those piteous words uttered by Bharata in connexion with the demise of their father, Raghava was deprived of his senses. And on that thunder-bolt of a speech being uttered by Bharata, like unto a (real) thunderbolt hurled in battle by the enemy of the Danavas (Indra), that subduer of foes, Rama, stretching his arms, fell down to the earth, like a blossoming tree that hath been hewn by an axe. Seeing that lord of the world and mighty bowman, Rama, fallen, like a sleeping elephant fatigued with turning up earth with its tusks, his brothers exercised with sorrow, broke out into lamentations, and along with Videha's daughter began to sprinkle water (on his face). Then regaining his consciousness, Kakutstha shedding tears from his eyes, distressfully addressed himself to speech. And hearing that lord of earth, his sire, had gone to heaven, that righteous one said unto Bharata words fraught with virtue and interest, "What shall I do with Ayodhya, my sire having gone the way ordained by the gods? And who will govern her, now that she hath been deprived of that foremost of monarchs? Of fruitless birth that I am, what can I do for that magnanimous one? And of him that renounced his life from grief on my account. I have not even performed the last rites. Ah! Bharata, thou, O sinless one, art blessed, since by thee as well as by Satrughna have been performed all the funeral rites of the king. To Ayodhya, bereft of the monarch, having none to preside over her destinies, and many rulers, will I not return even when the term of my abode in the woods has been passed. My father having gone to the other world, who, O subduer of enemies, will again counsel me when, my stay in the forest being over, I shall have returned unto Ayodhya? And from whom shall I hear those words grateful unto the ear, which my father gratifying me used to speak unto me when I happend to do something well?" Having thus addressed Bharata, Raghava burning in grief, spoke unto his wife, with her countenance resembling the full moon, saying, "O Sita, thy father-in-law is dead and, O Lakshmana, thou art fatherless. Bharata has communicated unto me the sad intelligence that our father hath ascended heaven." When Kakutstha had said this, tears began to shower forth from the eyes of the renowned princes. Then all those brothers pacifying as best they could Rama stricken with sorrow, said unto him, "Do thou perform the watery rites of that lord of the earth, our sire." Having heard that her father-in-law, the king, had gone to the celestial regions.

Sita with her eyes filled with tears, could not see her beloved. Thereupon, pacifying the weeping daughter of Janaka, Rama moved with grief, spoke unto the distressed Lakshmana, saying, "Do thou bring Ingudi fruits as well as a piece of new bark. I will go to perform the watery rites of our high-souled sire. Let Sita go first. Do thou follow her. I shall go last. Even this is the course of those in mourning." Then that magnanimous one, having a knowledge of the soul, mild, graceful, capable of controlling his senses, steady in his regard for Rama, and ever following him-Sumantra-in company with those sons of the king, having cheered up Raghava, brought him to the auspicious river, Mandakini. Then those illustrious ones, having in distress arrived at the river Mandakini, having convenient descents, charming, ever furnished with blossoming woods, and of rapid currents; and approached its descents, goodly and void of mud, offered water unto the monarch, uttering, "May this be so!" And the protector of the earth (Rama), holding water with his joined hands, facing the south, said weeping, "O foremost of monarchs, may this clear water knowing no deterioration, reach thee, who hast gone to the world of the ancestral manes!" Then drawing nigh unto the marge of the Mandakini, the energetic Raghava along with his brothers, offered the Pinda unto his father. And placing the Ingudi Pinda mixed with juyube on a bed of darbha Rama crying in distress, said, "O mighty monarch, do thou well pleased feed on this, which we also live upon. That which is the fare of an individual, is also the fare of his divinities." Then that foremost of men ascending the bank of the stream by the self-same way, got up on the charming side of the hill. And having arrived at the gate of the cottage of leaves, that lord of the earth held both Bharata and Lakshmana with his hands. And there the hill reverberated at the sounds raised by the brothers wailing along with Vaidehi, like unto lions roaring. And perceiving the loud uproar of those mighty ones engaged in offering water unto their sire, indulging in lamentations, the army of Bharata became agitated. And they said, "For certain Bharata hath met with Rama; and this mighty noise proceeds from them, as they are bitterly mourning their deceased sire." Thereat leaving aside their vehicles, they with one mind, rushed towards the spot wherefrom proceeded the uproar. And of those that were tender, some went on horses, and some on elephants, and some on ornamented chariots, while others went on foot. And eager to behold Rama staying away for a short time, though seeming to do so for a long period, all the men at once went to the hermitage. And desirous of witnessing the meeting of the brothers (with Rama), they with all despatch proceeded by means of various vehicles consisting of beasts and cars. And the ground trodden by the wheels of innumerable cars, emitted loud sounds, like those emitted by the sky on clouds gathering. And frightened by the uproar, elephants accompanied by female ones, perfuming all sides (by the fragrance of temporal juice), went to another forest. And boars, and deer, and lions, and buffalos, and Srimaras, and tigers and Gokarnas Gayals and Prishatas were striken with panic. And wild with alarm, Chakravakas and swans, and Natyuhas, and Plavas, and Karandavas, and male coels, and Kraunchas, fled away in all directions. And the welkin was enveloped by birds frightened by the noise, as the earth was covered by men, and both the sky and the land then gave out great effulgence. As the people suddenly saw that foremost of men, the sinless and illustrious Rama seated on the ground. accusing Kaikeyi as well as the vile Manthara, the people approached Rama, with their countenances discovering tears. eeing those men oppressed with grief with their eyes filled with tears, that one cognisant of virtue like fathers and mothers, embraced those that deserved it And he embraced some persons; and some offered him salutations. And the king's son, as each deserved, properly received them along with their friends and equals in age. And the sounds, produced by those high souled persons lamenting, resounding the earth and the sky, and the mountain-caverns, and all the cardinal points, were heard like peals of Mridangas.

SECTION 104.

Desirous of seeing Rama, Vasishtha, taking before him the wives of Dacaratha, proceeded towards the hermitage. And as the wives of the king were going slowly by the Mandakini, they discovered the landing-place which was used by Rama and Lakshmana. Thereupon Kaucalya, with her eyes filled with tears and her countenance rendered pale, observed unto the forlorn Sumitra as well as the other wives of the king. Sacred like unto a first wife, in this forest this is the landingplace of those unfortunate ones of untiring energy, who had been deprived of the kingdom. From here, O Sumitra, doth thy son, Saumitri, ever vigilant, personally procure water for my son. Although thy son performeth a servile office, yet he is not to blame: (the performance of) that alone which serves no purpose of his brother possessed of many perfections, could bring blame upon him. To day let thy son, who doth not deserve such toilsome work, cease to perform that office which is fraught with hardships fit only for the base." That lady of expansive eyes happened to see on the earth the Ingudi pinda, which had been placed by Rama for his sire on the darbha

with their tops pointing southwards. Seeing this, which had been placed on the ground by Rama disconsolate for his sire, the noble Kaucalya addressed all the wives of Dacaratha, saying, "Do ye behold this that hath been duly offered to the high-souled descendant of Raghu-lord of the Ikshvaku race-by Raghava. I do not deem this as fit fare for that magnanimous monarch resembling a celestial, who had enjoyed every luxury (in life). Having enjoyed this earth bounded by the four seas, how can that lord of the world, resembling on earth the mighty Indra, feed on this Ingudi pinda? Nothing appeareth to me more deplorable in this world than this that the auspicious Rama hath offered an Ingudi cake unto his father. Seeing the Ingudi pinda offered by Rama unto his father, why doth not my heart break into a thousand shivers? Now the tradition in vogue among men. appearth to be true, viz., that "the fare that is partaken by a person, is also partaken by his deity." Then those that were co-wives with her, consoled the distressed Kaucalya; and, (entering the asylum), beheld Rama like an immortal dropped from the celestial regions. Seeing Rama, who had been deprived of every comfort, his mothers, overwhehled with grief and distress, began to shed tears, lamenting. Raising his mothers, that foremost of men, Rama, true to his promise, took hold of those lotus feet of theirs. And those ones furnished with expansive eyes, (on their turn) by means of their fair hands of delicious feel furnished with soft fingers and palms, fell to rubbing the dust off Rama's back. After Rama had done, Sumitra's son also, seeing all his mothers, with sorrow gently paid his reverence unto them with affection. Thereat, as they had treated Rama, all the ladies treated that one sprung from Dacaratha, Lakshmana, graced with auspicious marks. Sita also with her eyes filled with tears, having taken hold of the feet of her mothers-in- law, stood before them in distressful guise. Embracing that woeful one in banishment, even as a mother doth her daughter. Kaucalya. smitten with grief, said, "The daughter of Videha's King, and the daughter-in-law of Dacaratha, and the wife of Rama himself-why doth such a lady undergo misery in the lone forest? O Vaidehi, beholding thy face like unto a lotus heated under the sun, or a lily that hath been crushed, or like unto gold covered with dust, or the moon enveloped by clouds. grief begot of this vortex of disaster that is in my mind, fiercely burneth me, as fire consumeth a structure." As his wretched mother was thus speaking, Bharata's elder brother, Raghava, approaching, took the feet of Vasishtha. Having taken hold of the feet of the priest resembling a flame, and of accumulated energy,-like unto that lord of the immortals, Indra, taking the feet of Vrihaspati, Raghava sat down with him. Then behind them (Rama and Vasishtha), along with his own counsellors, and principal citizens, and generals, and persons of eminent piety,—sat the virtuous Bharata in the presence of his elder brother. Seeing Raghava in the guise of an ascetic, flaming in grace, the exceedingly powerful Bharata with joined palms sat down in company with his brother, like the great Indra of controlled faculties in presence of Prajapati. What will Bharata, having bowed unto Raghava and paid him homage, will say to him?" —this intense curiosity arose in (the minds of) all the noble persons present there. And Raghava having truth and forbearance, and Laksmana endowed with magnanimity, and Bharata possessed of righteousness, surrounded by their friends, appeared (there) like unto the three fires surrounded by Sadasyas.

As those foremost of persons surrounded by their friends indulged in lamentations, the night passed away in grief. On the night being succeeded by an auspicious morning, those brothers surrounded by their friends, having performed Homa and Japa on the Mandakini, returned unto Rama. And sitting silent, no one said anything. Then Bharata addressed Rama in the midst of those friends, saying, "My mother was (first) pacified (by grant of the kingdom.) The kingdom is (now) mine. I grant the same unto thee. Do thou enjoy the kingdom rid of its thorns. Like unto a dyke forced by a torrent during the rains, this mighty monarchy is difficult of being protected save by thee. As a mule is incapable of imitating the course of a horse, or as birds, that of Tarkshya, I, O Lord of earth, lack the strength to imitate thee. O Rama, ever happy is the life of him that others depend upon for subsistence: unhappy is the life of the person that depends upon others for support. As a tree planted by a person, and by him made to increase, (until at last), sending out branches, a mighty tree, it is incapable of being got up by a dwarf; and then, if, flowering, it show no fruits, it cannot contribute to the satisfaction of htm for whom it hath been planted. O mighty- armed one, this comparison is meant for thee. This it behoves thee to apprehend, inasmuch as thou art our excellent lord, and thou dost not teach us who depend upon thee for support. Let the principal orders, O monarch, behold thee, represser of foes—established in the kingdom, like the powerful sun himself. O Kakustha, let mad elephants roar, with the view of following thee; and let the women of the inner apartments with concentrated minds utter jubilation.' On hearing the words of Bharata, who was beseeching Rama,

many of the citizens expressed their approbation by exclaiming, "Excellent well!" Seeing the illustrious Bharata aggrieved and engaged in lamentation, the calm and considerate Rama consoled him, saying, "No creature is endowed wth the power of exercising any control over the course of events,-man has no independent status (in nature). The Destoyer draws him both here and hereafter. Those that increase, are destined to deteriorate; those that go upward. ultimately fall, those that come together, separate in the end: and life at length meets with death. As a ripe fruit hath no other fear than fall, so man who is born, hath no other fear than death. Even as a stout-pillared edifice, getting dilapidated, waxes weak, so men coming under the sway of decrepitude and death, get enfeebled. A night that hath gone by, doth not return, as the full Jamuna, when she hath entered the ocean, doth not come back. In this world, days and nights pass away with creatures, and speedily impair their lives, even as in summer the rays (of the sun) (dry up) the waters. Do thou therefore deplore thyself. Why dost thou lament any thing else? Every one's life is decreasing, whether he sits or moves. Death goeth with one, sitteth down with one, and after having gone a long way, returneth with one. The person is filled with folds in the skin, the hair hath grown hoary, the individual is enfeebled because of age, - by doing what, can he prevent this? People rejoice on the rising of the sun; they feel delighted at the approach of night,-but they do not understand that their lives have (meanwhile) been shortened People are exhilarated at the commencement of a new season in novel fashion; creatures get their lives shortened at the change of seasons. As on the mighty ocean, one piece of wood comes in contact with another; so, a person, having been in association with another, is seperated from him in time. In this way, wives and sons and kindred and wealth, having been in association, go away; their separation is certain. There exists not one in this world that can change one's nature as received. A person lamenting a dead individual, hath no power to prevent his own death. As, while one is proceeding on a road, another stationed by the way, says, 'I too will go in thy wake', even so, the way that hath been followed by our predecessors, (must be followed as well by us.) Why should people mourn (for deceased relatives), when they are themselves subject to the fate that knoweth no turning? (Perceiving the destruction of) life declining, like unto a current that never turneth back, one should engage his soul in happiness; for all men are said to be born for the same. My child, our righteous sire, who, after having performed excellent and entire sacrifices, accompanied with dakshinas, hath repaired to heaven, honoured of the good, should not be mourned. [The N. W. P. text has seven additional lines here. wanting in the other texts:-"That lord of the earth, our father Dacaratha, hath gone to heaven. On account of having adequately maintained his servants and governed his subjects, and virtuously given away wealth, our sire hath gone to heaven. And by virtue of supremely excellent and desirable acts, and sacrifices accompanied with dakshinas. that master of this world, our father Dacaratha, hath ascended heaven. And having celebrated many sacrifices and enjoyed luxuries, that lord of the earth, having attained a goodly age, hath gone to heaven."] Having renounced his human frame wasted and worn out with age, our father hath attained celestial state, which exists in the regions of Brahma. Such an one should never be mourned by any wise person like thee or myself, accomplished in learning and more than ordinarily intelligent. Such manifold grief and mourning and lamentation should be renounced by intelligent and firm persons in all conditions in life. Do thou cast off this grief: let not sorrow overpower thee. Going thither, stay in that city. And, O best of speakers, this was also enjoined by our sire of controlled senses. I also must do my noble father's will as to whatever that one of pious acts has laid upon me. O subduer of foes, it is not proper for me to pass by his orders. So thay are also worthy of being honoured by thee. He is our friend and father. O descendant of Raghu, that mandate of our righteous father, acceptable unto me, will I obey by abiding in the woods. O foremost of men, (good in) the next world is capable of being attained by an honest and pious person crowned with sterling virtues, ever following his superiors. O best of men, thinking that our father Dacaratha has attained excellent state, do thou, resorting to all noble qualities, seek thy welfare in the next world." Having said these significant words unto his younger brother, with the view of making him obey the injunctions of their father, that lord, the magnanimous Rama, paused.

On Rama having stopped after speaking these pregnant words, the virtuous Bharata addressed the righteous Rama attached unto his subjects in an excellent speech on the banks of the Mandakini, saying, "O vanquisher of foes, who is there in this world like unto thee? Pain doth not afflict thee, nor doth pleasure exhilarate. Thyself the exemplar of even aged people, thou referrest to them on doubtful points (of morality). 'Living like unto dead and existing like unto nonexisting'-what shall make a person that hath attained this intellectual state, grieve? O lord of men, he that like unto thee

understands the nature of the soul and its environment coming by any calamity, ought not to despond. Thou resemblest, O Raghava, the god in strength, and art magnanimous, and truthful in promise! and knowest every thing and art endued with intelligence. Calamity, however unbearable it may be, should not overpower a person like thyself furnished with such virtues and cognisant of life and death. The sin that in my absence from home hath been perpetrated by my mean-minded mother doth not find favour in my sight. Be thou therefore propitous to me. I am bound by the fetters of religion. For this it is that I do not by a severe penalty slay my wicked mother deserving of chastisement. How having sprung from Dacaratha of righteous deeds and born of immaculate race, and knowing virtue and vice, can I commit such a reprehensible action? Dacaratha is our superior, of meritorious acts, aged our king, a departed spirit, and our father, it is on account of this that I do not censure our father who is a deity unto us. O cognisant of virtue, what virtuous person conversant in morality, should, seeking the pleasure of his wife, commit such a sinful act devoid of both righteousness and interest? 'Creatures, as their end approaches, lose their sense' this ancient adage has been illustrated in the world by the course the king has taken. Do thou, intent upon bringing about good, redeem the wrong that hath been done by our sire through anger, ignorance and recklessness. The son that repaireth the wrong done by his father by acting contrary to the latter is in this world considered really a son; but not he that acteth otherwise. Be thou that (real) son (of the monarch). Do thou not approve the action of thy father, since what he has done is divorced from righteousness and is blameworthy. Do thou rescue all Kaikeyi, myself, my father, our friends and adherents, and the whole body of the citizens as well as the inhabitants of the provinces. Where is the forest? And where is Kshatriya morality? Where are matted locks? And where is thy government of the country? It behoves thee not to act in such an untoward way. Even this is the first duty of a Kshatriya, viz.,-getting oneself installed,-by means of which, O highly wise one, he can compass the government of the people. What base Kshatriya setting aside this indubitable morality, resorts to a dubious and inaunicious course, which should be followed by the old alone? But if thou be bent upon practising this austere morality, do thou undergo this trouble, after having righteously ruled the four orders. O thou cognisant of morality, those versed in duty say that of the four modes of life, the life of the householder is the foremost. Why then dost thou wish to renounce the same? I am inferior to thee in learning, in position, and in birth. How can I then govern the earth, thou existing? Void of sense and quality, a boy, and inferior to thee in point of years, I, deprived of thee, can not live. O thou cognisant of morality, do thou, along with thy friends, according to thy proper morality rule this entire ancestral kingdom rid of its thorns and enjoying tranquillity. Even here, O thou cognisant of the Mantras, let all the subjects and the Ritwijas with Vasishtha, versed in the Mantras, install thee. Having been installed, go to Ayodhya, for the purpose of governing it, having with our assistance conquered thy enemies by thy strength, like Vasava conquering (his foes) with the help of the Maruts. Having freed thyself from thy threefold debts, do thou govern me, repressing thy foes, and propitiating thy friends with every gratification. O noble one, to-day let thy friends rejoice in consequence of thy coronation. To day let those that intend to do thee harm, being frightened, fly to the ten cardinal points. O foremost of men, wiping out the disgrace of my mother, do thou emancipate our sire from sin. I beseech thee with bent head. Be thou merciful unto me, unto all our friends, and, O great lord, unto all creatures in general. But, if disregarding my solicitations, thou wend from here to the forest, I shall go along with thee." Although thus besought and propitiated by Bharata with bent head, that lord of the earth, Rama, possessed of strength, established in the words of his father, did not decide for going. Witnessing that wonderful firmness in Raghava, the people were at one and the same time delighted and depressed. They were aggrieved because he would not go to Ayodhya; they rejoiced on seeing his firm resolution. Then the Ritwijas, the citizens, and their leaders, and the mothers with their senses lost and with tears in their eyes, extolled Bharata as he was speaking thus; and, bowing down unto Rama, they directed their solicitations together.

SECTION 107.

As Bharata was again speaking in this strain, his graceful elder brother, having been highly honoured, answered Bharata in the midst of his relatives, saying, "Having been born as a son unto Dacaratha-foremost of monarchs-by Kaikeyi, this speech of thine is worthy of thee. O brother, formerly when our father espoused the hand of thy mother, he promised her the kingdom as her marriage portion. Then on the occasion of the war between the gods and the Asuras, that master, the king, well pleased (with her), being besought, granted her a boon. Having been thus promised, that virtuous lady, thy illustrious mother, O foremost of men, asked for two boons (of the king),-viz., thy enthronement, O best of men,

and my banishment Thus besought by her, the king conferred on her the boon. And, thou foremost of men. I have been enjoined by my sire to stay in the woods for fourteen years, in consequence of his having granted her the boon. And, having, in company with Lakshmana and Sita, come to the lone forest, I in humble guise am staying in the truthful speech of my father. Thou too, thou foremost of kings, shouldst in the same way speedily render our father truthful, by getting thyself installed. O Bharata, for my sake, do thou free that lord, the king, from his debts. Do thou, O thou cognisant of morality, deliver our father and gladden thy mother. O child, we hear that in Gaya, formerly the famous Gaya, engaged in a sacrifice, chaunted this Vaidika hymn, for pleasing his departed ancestors: 'Since a son delivereth his sire from the hell named Put, a son goeth by the appellation of putra, he protecting his (departed) ancestors in every way. One should wish for many sons crowned with qualities and versed in various lore, for the chance is that one at least of these may repair to Gaya.' O son of the Raghu race, the Rajarshis have delivered their decision on the point. Therefore, thou foremost of men, do thou, O lord, rescue thy sire from hell, O Bharata, go to Ayodhya, and please the subjects, in company with Satrughna, O hero, and all the regenerate ones. I also, O hero, without delay shall have to enter the forest of Dandaka in company with Lakshmana and Sita. O Bharata, be thou thyself the monarch of men, I shall become the king of kings of deer. Go thou to that foremost of. cities with a glad heart: with a glad heart will I enter Dandaka. O Bharata, let the umbrella barring out the rays of the sun, afford cool shade unto thy head: I shall happily seek the dense shade of these forest trees. Satrughna endued with cleverness is thy helper: Sumitra's son is well known as my best friend. We four worthy sons of that foremost of monarchs will keep him established in truth, O Bharata. Let not thy mind despond.'

As Rama cognisant of righteousness was thus encouraging Bharata, Javali-best of Brahmanas-addressed him in words divorced from morality, saying, "O Raghava, endowed with a noble understanding and leading a life of asceticism, do not suffer thy intellect to entertain inanities, like any low person. Who is whose friend? And to what is one entitled and by virtue of what relation? And who is such? Since a creature is born alone and dies alone, a person that cherishes his father and mother with affection, must, O Rama, be looked upon as a madman. No individual hath any one (in this world). As on the eve of setting out for another country, a person stays somewhere (outside the village he lives in), and the next day goes away, renouncing that abode, even such are a man's father and mother, house and wealth. O Kakutshta, worthy people never bear affection towards a mere abode. Therefore, O best of men, leaving thy ancestral kingdom, thou ought not to abide in the disagreeable forest filled with dangers and difficulties. Do thou get thyself sprinkled in the prosperous Ayodhya. The city expects thee wearing a single woven braid. O king's son, enjoying costly regal pleasures, do thou sport in Ayodhya, like Sakra in the celestial regions. Dacaratha is none unto thee, and thou too art none unto Dacaratha: He is quite other than thy sire; and thou hast no connexion with him. Therefore, do thou act as I tell thee. A father is merely an instrumental cause (touching the generation of his child). A father's semen coming in contact with a mother's blood, at the time befitting conception, a person is brought into being. The king hath gone the way he should. This is the nature of all creatures. But thou for naught denyest thyself (the manliness of monarchal power). Those that disregarding interest are devoted to virtue, do I mourn—and not others; for having suffered misery here, they in the end meet with extinction. People engage in Ashtaka [The lunar days and months for propitiating the manes.] in behalf of ancestors and deities. Behold the waste of edibles. Doth any dead person feed? If food partaken by one is transferred to the body of another, offer Sraddha unto one going to a distant land, and that shall serve for his provender on the way. Works (on morality) enjoining—'Worship,' 'Give away,' 'Be initiated,' 'Observe rites,' 'Renounce',—have been composed by intelligent persons, for inducing people to be charitable. O magnanimous one, assure thyself there is no hereafter. Do thou remain grounded in the evident, turning thy back on what is beyond our ken. Placing in front the intellect of the good, and approved by all, do thou, propitiated by Bharata, accept the monarchy.

Hearing Javali's words, Rama having truth for prowess, by help of an exceedingly subtle intellect uninfluenced (under the exhortations of that sage), said, "What thou, wishing for my welfare, hast dwelt upon, though wearing the guise of a good action, is really not such; and though appearing to be beneficent, is really calculated to entail misery. The person that with his sinful acts sticking to him, walketh astray, as well as he that holdeth up (unto others) different patterns of character (from those recommended by scripture), doth not win honour with the good. One's character (fashioned

according to scripture) shows whether one is high-born or base, heroic or vainly priding himself on his manliness, pure or impure. (But by adopting the code of conduct inculcated by thee), a mean character may appear as a noble one, one bereft of purity may appear pure, an inauspicious individual may seem auspicious, and one of vile ways may appear honest. If I adopt this unrighteous course, calculated to produce confusion of castes, and do acts not recognised by scripture, I shall, renouncing good, have to reap only evil. Then what man possessed of consciousness and capable of discriminating between right and wrong, shall honour me, given to wicked ways and deserving of universal reprehension? Whose is this course (that thou askest me to follow)? And by what way shall I attain heaven, by following the present course, which would make me give up my vow? When I have (first) myself set up desire as my standard of action, the entire body of the people shall follow me: subjects take to the ways that have been adopted by their sovereigns. This eternal regal morality founded in kindness towards the subjects, is verily true. Hence a kingdom is essentially based upon truth; and this world itself is established in truth. Saints and celestials for certain regard truth alone. In this world a truthful person attains the regions of Brahma. Untruthful persons harass people as much as serpents. In this world virtue, which is said to be the root of everything, is itself established in truth. In this world, truth is the Lord; in truth is established righteousness. Everything hath truth for its basis. No condition is superior to truth. The Veda, which inculcates gift, sacrifice, homa, and asceticism, is based on truth. One protects men, another his family: one is plunged in hell,—another is honoured in heaven. Why should I not then obey the mandate of my father? My father was of truthful promise and of righteous ways; and with the object of observing his promise, he laid on me this (for faithful performance). Having promised to my superior with an oath, I shall never through covetuousness or forgetfulness or pride rive the bridge of truth. We have heard that the gods and the Pitrisdo not accept offerings from one inclined to untruth, or who is unsteady and of volatile faculties. This duty of maintaining truth, whose influence radiates all over one's soul, I certainly find to be the prime one; and this burthen hath (ere this) been borne by worthy people. And it is for this that I reverence the same. I abjure that Kshatriya morality which, wearing the garb of righteousness, is in fact impiety, and which is pursued by the low-minded, or the wicked, or the covetuous, or the sinful. A person commits a sin by means of his physique, but after he hath accurately cast it in his mind; and he hath also spoken an untruth with his tongue. Thus a sin is threefold. The earth and fame and renown and auspiciousness pay court unto the truthful person. The good follow truth,—therefore even truth is to be sought (by all). Therefore the seemingly excellent thing that thou, after having well ascertained it, hast said unto me in words informed with reason-'Thou hadst rather do this'-appears to me wanting in nobility. How, after having promised unto my superior this exile of mine, shall I act up to Bharata's words, setting aside those of my superior? I having remained firm in the promise I had made unto my superior, that noble lady, Kaikeyi, became exceedingly delighted. Living in the forest, pure, with regulated fare, I shall, propitiating the gods and the Pitris with fruits, flowers and roots, (fulfil my vow). Satisfying the five classes, I shall, retaining my simplicity and my religious faith, and being able to distinguish between right and wrong, pass away the term (of banishment). Having come to this scene of action, one should do that which is proper. Even Agni and Vayu and Soma reap the fruits of their own acts. Having acquired the appellation of Satakratu, the sovereign of the celestials hath gone to heaven; and, having performed rigid austerities, the Maharshis have attained the celestial regions." Having heard of the reasons couched in that atheistical speech which he could not allow to pass without stricture, that one of fierce energy, the king's son, censuring what Javali had said, again spoke, righteousness, prowess, kindness to creatures, fair spokenness, and worship of the twice-born ones, gods and guests, these have by the pious been styled the ways to heaven. Having duly heard that these are capable of conferring the summum bonum, and also come to the same conclusion by reasoning, Vipras, adequately and competely observing morality with the utmost care, are eagerly desirous of attaining those regions. I blame this act of my father's, viz .-- that he took (for his priest) one of perverse understanding, who rangeth by help of such an intellect—who is frightfully atheistic, and who hath swerved from the path of righteousness. As a thief is, so is a Buddha, and know that in this matter, an atheist is in a like predicament. Therefore, such an one, when capable of being punished like a thief for the good of the people, should be punished like a thief; and let no Brahmana ever speak with an atheist. Other Brahmanas than thyself, superior to thee, have, serving this world as well as the next, performed various exellent acts. Therefore those Brahmanas, amen, who have spared life and in other ways practised morality, and have also given away in charity, performed austerities and served others (perform sacrifices in consonance with Vedas). And principal ascetics engaged in religion, surrounded by the good,

possessed of energy, having charity for their foremost attribute, void of envy, and their hearts free from all stain,—are honoured in this world." When the magnanimous Rama of undiminished strength had wrathfully said this, that Vipra with supplications again spoke words fraught with morality and high spiritual truth. I do not speak the language of atheists; nor am I an atheist; nor yet is it true that there is nothing (hereafter). On the occasion of things having reference to the next world being performed, I am again a believer; and on the occasion of things' connexion with this world being taken in hand, I am an atheist once again. O Rama, the time has gradually drawn nigh when for the purpose of making thee turn back, it is necessary that I should speak the language of atheism. But pacifying thee, I have (again) spoken this (i.e. I am a believer).

SECTION 110

Knowing that Rama was wroth, Vasishtha said, "Javali knoweth the departure of creatures to the next world and their return thence. Anxious of making thee turn back, he had spoken thus. Do thou now, O lord of the world, learn the genesis of creatures from me. Water was everywhere. The earth was constructed therein. Then sprang the self-create Brahma along with all the celestials. Having become a boar, he raised up the earth, and along with his sons of subdued souls created everything. Brahma eternal, existing through all time and incapable of decay, sprang from the sky. From him Marichi came into being, and Kacyapa is Marichi's son. Vivaswat drew his birth from Kacyapa, and Manu from Vivaswat. Manu was formerly known as Prajapati. Ikshwaku is son unto Manu; and this world was first conferred upon Ikshwaku by Manu. Do thou know Ikshwaku as the first king in Ayodhya. The graceful Kukshi is known as the son of Ikshwaku, And, O hero, Kukshi's son was Vikukshi, Vikukshi had the powerful Vana possessed of exceeding energy for his son. Vana had the mighty-armed Anaranya of high austerities for his son. During the time of that foremost of righteous persons, the monarch Anaranya, drouth or famine did not occur (in Ayodhya); nor were there any thieves at that time. O mighty king, from Anaranya sprang king Prithu. From Prithu sprang Trisanku of mighty energy. This hero by virtue of his truth telling went to heaven in person. Trisanku had the famous Dhundumara for his son; and from Dhundumara Juvanasya was born. Juvanasya's son was the handsome Mandhata; and from Mandhata Susandhi came into being. Susandhi had two sons; Dhruvasandhi and Prasenajit. Dhruvasandhi had the illustrious Bharata, destroyer of foes (for his son) From Bharata sprang Asita—to whom sprang these hostile kings as foes, Harhayas, Talajanghas and Sasavindus-heroes all. Having engaged with them in battle, the king was excited (by them). And on the romantic Himavat, he became engaged in asceticism. It is said that at the time, his two wives were gone with child. There one of the exalted ladies having eyes resembling lotus petals saluted Bhrigu's son furnished with the splendour of a celestial, desirous of having an excellent son. Another administered poison unto the other for destroying her foetus. Bhrigu's son named Chyavana was at that time staying in Himavat. Appearing before the sage, Kalindi saluted him. Thereupon he returned the greeting that had been made by that lady anxious to secure a boon for the birth of a son. "Thou, shalt, O lady get a son of mighty soul, who shall be celebrated among men; and who shall be pious and powerful—the perpetuator of his race and destroyer of enemies" Hearing this, that noble lady having gone round him and paid in respect unto the ascetic went to her home and gave birth to a son furnished with eyes resembling lotus-petals, and of sheen like that of the inside of a lotus. And because her co wife, had given her poison for destroying her foetus, and as in consequence of this, he had come in contact with poison, he came to be called Sagara. The name of that king is Sagara, who having been initiated in a sacrifice excavated the ocean, frightening the people with the vehemence of his operations. Asamanja is known to have been the son of Sagara. This wicked man while vet in life, was banished by his father. Asamanja's son was the puissant Ancumat. Dilipa is the son of Ancumat and Dilipa's son is Bhagirtha. From Bhagiratha sprang Kakustha; from whom the Kakusthas came to be well known. Kakutstha had Raghu for his son; after whom have been named the Raghavas. Raghu's son is the energetic Pravirda, who ate human beings. He is known on earth under such names as Kalmashapada, Saudasa. We have heard that Kalmashapada's son was Sankhana, who having been endowed with prowess, found destruction along with his forces. Sankhana's son was the beautiful and heroic Sudarcana. Sudarcana's son was Agnivarna and Agnivarna's, Sighraga; Sighraga's son was Maru, and Maru's Pracucruva's. Pracucruva's son was the magnanimous Amvarisha. Amvarisha's son was Nahusha having truth for his prowess. Nahusha's son was the exceedingly Virtuous Nabhaga. Nabhaga had two sons,—Aja and Suvrata. Aja's son was the virtuous king Dacaratha. His eldest son art thou celebrated under the name of Rama. Do thou receive thy own kingdom and look after the world. Among the Ikshwakus, the first born becomes the sovereign. The first born existing, an

inferior son cannot be installed in the kingdom. It therefore doth not today behove thee to depart from the ever existing morality of the descendants of Raghu. Do thou rule this earth filled with gems, and furnished with high fame, do thou like unto a father govern her containing many kingdoms."

SECTION 111.

Having thus addressed Rama, the royal priest Vasishtha again spoke unto him words fraught with righteousness, saying, "Unto a man born there are three superiors, viz, the preceptor, O Kakutstha, and father and mother, O Raghava. O foremost of men, the father begets a person, the preceptor imparts wisdom and therefore is he called a superior. I, O subduer of foes, have been the preceptor of both thyself and thy father. By doing what I say, thou wilt not lose the state of the righteous. These courtiers of thine—these relatives, and these kings;-by protecting them virtuously thou wilt not lose the state of the righteous. It doth not behove thee to disregard the words of thy aged and virtuous mother. By doing her bidding thou wilt not lose the state of the righteous. O Raghava, by acting as Bharata, who is soliciting thee, says, thou having the morality of truth for thy prowess, wilt not be frustrated of the state of the pious." Thus sweetly addressed by his preceptor personally, that foremost of men, Raghava, replied unto Vasishtha, seated with him, saying, "What his father and mother always do in behalf of their son, and what they effect by way of provision and sleep and clothing and constant swest speech, and sport, is difficult of being repaid. Therefore, what my father, king Dacaratha hath commanded me to do, must not be falsified." Rama having said this, the broad-breasted Bharata, extremely depressed spoke unto the charioteer who was by, saying, "O charioteer, do thou speedily spread Kuca on the ground here. I will remain near the noble one until he be kindly disposed (towards me). Even as a twice born one deprived of his wealth lieth down (at the door of an unrighteous person), eschewing food and in darkness, will I lie down in front of this cottage, until he betakes himself back (to Ayodhya)" Then with a dispirited heart finding Sumantra looking up to Rama, Bharata himself spread Kuca and lay down upon it. To him spoke that foremost of Rajarshis, the highly energetic Rama, "O Bharata, my dear brother, what have I done that thou hast down by me? It is a Brahmana who alone can obstruct a person by lying down beside him; but there is no rule by which a member of the military class* can lie down (in this wise). [* Murdhabhisikta-Murdha, the head; Abhisikta, sprinkled; kings being consecrated by having poured on their heads, while seated on a throne, prepared for the purpose, water from some sacred stream, mixed with honey, clarified butter, and spirituous liquor, as well as two sorts of grass and sprouts of corn; the term applies to the Kshetriya as identified with the king, the duties of royalty belonging specially to the military caste.] O best of men, arise, renouncing this difficult vow; and, O descendant of Raghu, do thou from hence take thyself unto that best of cities, Ayodhya." Being seated, Bharata, eying the citizens and the inhabitants of of the provinces, remarked, "What for do ye not solicit the noble one?" Thereupon the citizens and the dwellers of the provinces answered that high-souled one, saying, "We perceive that the descendant of Raghu says unto Kakutstha what is fit; and this exceedingly virtuous one stayeth by the words of his sire. Therefore we are incapable of suddenly saying anything." Hearing their speech, Rama said, "Listen to the words of these friends having morality for their vision. And, O scion of the Raghu race, hearing their utterances as regards both thyself and me, do thou decide. Arise, thou mighty-armed one. Touch me and then water." Thereat arising, Bharata, having touched water, said, "Ye courtiers, and ye ministers, listen to me! I did not wish for my paternal kingdom; nor did I sway my mother (towards obtaining the same); nor did I know that the exceedingly righteous Raghava was to seek the woods. But if he must dwell here, and thus act out the mandate of our father, I also will abide in the forest for fourteen years.' Astonished at the determination of Bharata, the righteous Rama eying the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces, said, "Neither Bharata nor I can anual any sale or pledge or purchase effected by our father during his life. Therefore I ought not to accept any substitute for living in the woods, who can but contribute to my censure. Kaikeyi hath spoken what is proper; and my father hath acted well. I know Bharata to be forgiving, and given to serving superiors. Everything in that high-souled one intent on truth appeareth beneficial. Having returned from the forest, I will in company with this brother of virtuous character, become the worthy master of this earth. The king having been made by Kaikeyi to consent (to her proposal), I have done as she told me. Do thou by acting in the way calculated to free that lord of the earth, our father (from the debt of promise), do so.

SECTION 112.

Observing the meeting of the two brothers of unparalleled energy, capable of making one's hair stand on end, the Maharshis struck with surprise came to the scene. And remaining invisible, the ascetics, Sidhas and prime saints

admired those brothers, the virtuous Kakutsthas, "Blessed is he whose sons these, two cognisant of virtue and having truth for prowess are. Having heard their converse, we are delighted." Then the saints, desirous of the destruction of the ten-headed one, having become unanimous, speedily addressed that foremost of monarchs, Bharata, saying, in an illustrious line, endeued with high wisdom, of high character and high fame, thou shouldst accept Rama's words. if thou hast a care for the happiness of thy sire. We wish that Rama may always act truthfully in respect of his father. By virtue of his truth connected with Kaikeyi, Dacaratha hath gone to heaven." Having said this, the Gandharbhas, Maharshis, and Rajarshis each went to his proper quarter. Having paid homage unto those saints, Rama possessed of a gracious presence, hearing their words, was filled with joy, and looked lovely with his delightful countenance. But with his frame agitated (with emotion), Bharata with joined hands again addressed Raghava in words faltering (with feeling), "O Rama, taking into account the morality of this race, it behoves thee to act in accordance with the solicitations of my mother (and thine). I do not venture to govern this vast kingdom alone, or please the citizens and the inhabitants of the provinces attached unto thee. And as husbandmen remain expecting rain, our kindred, and wariors and friends and adherents wait in expectation of thee. O exceedingly wise one, accepting the kingdom, do thou place it in the hands of some person. O Kakutstha, whomsoever thou wilt chose for performing this office, will surely prove strong enough to govern the people." Having said this, Bharata fell at his brother's feet; and sweetly addressing him-"O Raghava". solicited him once again. Taking on his lap that sable-hued one furnished with eyes resembling lotus-leaves, Rama with a voice like that of a mad swan, spoke unto (Bharata), "Thou hast at length attained the mental attitude that is natural and that also comes of the training one receives at the hands of his preceptor. And, brother thou venturest greatly to protect the earth. Taking counsel with courtiers, adherents and intelligent ministers, do thou achieve grand tasks. Even if beauty forsaketh the moon, or Himavat his snow, or the ocean overleaps its shores, I shall not forsake the promise of my sire. And, my brother, thou ought not to cherish in thy mind what thy mother incited by covetuousness or affection for thee hath done; and thou should act by her as one should by one's mother," When Rama resembling the sun in energy and like the moon of Pratipat in appearance, had said this, Bharata said unto the son of Kaucalya, "O noble one, do thou take off thy feet thy sandals adorned with gold. These shall protect what the people have got and secure unto thee what they lack." Thereupon taking off his sandals, that highly energetic one gave them to the magnanimous Bharata. Bharata, bowing down unto the sandals, said, "O hero, for four and ten years shall I, wearing matted locks and bark, and subsisting upon fruits and roots, O scion of the Raghu race, expecting thy arrival, remain outside the city, having, O subduer of foes, made over the task of government unto thy sandals. And, foremost of Raghus, if after the completion of the fourteen years, I do not see thee, I shall enter into fire. Promising, "So be it" and affectionately embracing Bharata, and also embracing Satrughna, Rama said, "Do thou protect thy mother Kaikeyi. Do not be angry with her. Both Janaki and I conjure thee to do this, O descendant of Raghu." Having said this. he forsook his brother, with tears in his eyes. Then accepting those burnished and garnished sandals, Bharata versed in morality circumabulated Raghava, and placed the sandals on the head of an excellent elephant. Then having one by one honoured that assembly, and his preceptor and the counsellors, and the subjects and his younger brothers, perpetuator of the Raghu race, steady in his own duty like Himayat itself, took leave of them. His mothers with their throats invaded by the vapour of grief could not from distress of heart say aught unto him. And Rama also having paid homage unto all of them, weeping entered his own cottage.

SECTION 113

Then taking the pair of sandals on his head, Bharata in company with Satrughna well pleased, ascended the car. And Vasishtha, and Vamadeva and Javali steady in his vow, as well as the ministers, honoured on account of their counsels, went before. And going round the charming Mandakini, thy went eastwards, circumambulating (at the same time) the mighty hill, Chitrakuta. And beholding various kinds of beautiful minerels by thousands. Bharata accompanied by his army went by the side (of the hill). At a short distance from Chitrakuta, Bharata beheld the spot where the ascetic Bharadwaja had built his habitation. Approaching the asylum, the puissant Bharata descended from the car, and the son of Raghu then paid homage unto the saint's feet. Thereat Bharadwaja well pleased said, "Hast thou, my child, on meeting with Rama, done what it behoved thee to do?" Thus addressed by the intelligent Bharadwaja, Bharata attached to righteousness answered the former, saying, "Solicited by our preceptor as well as by myself, Raghava of steady prowess highly pleased spoke unto Vasishtha, 'I would faithfully perform my father's promise for fourteen years; for even this is

the promise of my father.' Thus accosted, the eminently wise Vasishtha skilled in speech replied unto Rlghava in these pregnant words, 'Do thou well pleased confer (on Bharata) thy sandals decked in gold. Thereby, O exceedingly wise one, thou wilt be able to protect what the people have and secure unto them what they have not.' Thus addressed by Vasishtha, Raghava facing the east, conferred on me his sandals decked in gold, in order that I might carry on the government of the kingdom, Commanded by the magnanimous Rama, I retrace my steps. I will go to Ayodhya, taking the sandals along with " Hearing these auspicious words of the high- souled Bharata, the ascetic Bharadwaja said unto Bharata, "It is no wonder that Rama hath acted nobly by thee, foremost among men and possessed of an (excellent) character and disposition. even as water poured out, floweth downwards. Thy father Dacaratha hath become freed from his debts, since he hath a son like unto thee, righteous and attached to virtue". When the ascetic had said this, Bharata with joined palms paid his respects unto that highly wise one, by taking hold of his feet. And after having again and again gone round Bharadwaja, the graceful Bharata went to Ayodhya accompaniad by his counsellors. And returning by means of cars and carts, horses and elephants, that army marching in the wake of Bharata, spread wide. And after having crossed the beautiful river Yamuna flowing in waves, they again beheld the river Ganga of auspicious waters. And having along with his friend crossed over that river filled with beautiful waters, Bharata together with his army entered the charming city of Sringava. And from the city of Sringaya he went to Avodhya and again beheld it. And seeing Ayodhya bereft of his father and mother, Bharata burning in grief, said unto the charioteer, "O charioteer, behold that Ayodhya, which shorn of its splendour and decorations, and plunged in grief, forlorn and silent, doth not appear delightful.'

Arriving by means of a car emitting a low and solemn sound, that lord, the highly famous Bharata speedily entered Ayodhya, ranged by cats and owls, with the doors of the people's dwellings remaining closed; like a night enveloped in darkness; gloomy; and invisible; resembling the beloved wife of Rahu's enemy. Rohini, brilliant with the lustre of the latter. when she is forlorn in consequence of her lover being afflicted by that planet; like unto a mountain stream shrunk up, having its waters turbid and slightly heated, and its fowls burning in the heat; and with its fishes, alligators and other aquatic animals rendered lean; resembling a flame of fire devoid of smoke and streaming up in golden splendour, next sprinkled with clarified butter, and lastly appearing with its crest extinguished; with armour scattered all round, and sick elephants and horses and cars and standards,-and heroes lying dead,—in distress; like unto an army in a mighty encounter; resembling the silent ripples of the ocean raised by the gentle breeze, which ere now (in the shapes of surges) were heaving, brimming over with foam and sending forth roars; like a silent dais after the sacrifice is over, without the sacrificial appurtenances, without worthy priests; like unto the wife of a youthful ox, exercised with anxiety on having been forsaken by her favourite ox, staying in distress in a pen, abstaining from fresh grass; like unto a string of new pearls divorced from noble, mild-gleaming rubies and other excellent gems: like a star on the expiration of its virtue. moving from its' place, and dislodged from heaven, dropping to the earth with its brightness contracted; like a blossoming creeper at the end of spring with maddened Bhramaras [Black bees.] suddenly rendered nerveless in consequence of being caught by a forest fire; with her merchants plunged in grief, and her shops and stalls closed; like the welkin covered with clouds, and having its moon and stars hid; like an unclean, uncovered spot used for drinking, with all the wine drained, and scattered with broken bowls, and with the tipplers lying dead; like unto a reservoir with its terrace riven, filled with broken pots, and lying with its pillars crushed; like a long strong bow-string fixed on a bow furnished with nooses, falling off the bow to the ground, being snapped in consequence of the pressure of the arrow; like a mare, suddenly urged on by a rider skilled in battle, lying (on the ground), having been slain by the hostile forces.

That son of Dacaratha, the beauteous Bharata, while proceeding on his car, addressed the charioteer as he drove that best of cars, saying, "Why do I not hear as formerly the solemn sounds of song and instrumental music spreading on all sides in Ayodhya? And there doth not breathe around the aroma of liquor, or the perfume of garlands, or the incense of aguru and sandal. And on Rama being banished, in this city is not heard the mild neighing of steeds, the rattle of vehicles, the roar of mad elephants, or the mighty clatter of arms. And on Rama having repaired to the forest, youthful folk stricken with sorrow do not enjoy the incense of aguru and sandal or costly fresh chaplets. And persons bearing variegated garlands do not walk abroad; and no festivities are celebrated in the city stricken with grief on account of Rama. Surely, the grace of the city hath gone away with my brother. Surely, that Avodhva doth not look beautiful like an autumnal night with

showers pouring down. When shall my brother, coming hither like a carnival, gladden all hearts in Ayodhya like rain in summer? And the highways shall be graced with young people elegantly attired and bearing themselves bravely in Ayodhya." Having said this in grief, Bharata in company with the charioteer entered Ayodhya and immediately went to the residence of his father, bereft of that foremost of men, like a cavern bereft of its lion. Seeing the inner apartment shorn of its splendour, like a day deprived of the sun, mourned by the deities, and everywhere unclean, the self-possessed Bharata, mowed by grief, began to drop tears.

SECTION 115.

Having placed his mothers in Ayodhya, Bharata steady in his vow, kindling in grief, said unto his preceptors, "I shall go to Nandigrama, and therefore greet you all. There I shall suffer all this grief on account of Rama's absence. The king hath gone to heaven, and my superior is staying in the woods. I shall remain in expectation of Rama, assuming the reins of government. Verily that illustrious one is the king." Hearing this excellent speech of the high- souled Bharata, the counsellors as well as the priest Vasishtha said, "What, O Bharata, influenced by affection for thy brother thou sayst, is worthy of thee and is highly commendable. Who will not endorse what hath fallen from thee, ever engaged in serving thy friends, established in fraternal love, and who hast entered upon a noble course?" Having heard the words of the counsellors acceptable and welcome, Bharata said unto the charioteer, "Do thou yoke my car." Then with a cheerful countenance having spoken to his mothers, that graceful one ascended the car in company with Satrughna. Having swiftly ascended the car, both Satrughna and Bharata, right glad at heart, set out, surrounded by counsellors and priests. And going ahead, all the preceptors headed by Vasishtha proceeded eastwards, in which direction lay Nandigrama. And the forces, filled with elephants and horses and cars, although not called, set out on Bharata proceeding, as well as all the citizens. And ascending the car, the virtuous Bharata attached unto his brother, speedily went to Nandigrama, holding the sandals (of Rama) on his head. Then entering Nandigrama in a short time, Bharata swiftly alighted from the car and addressed his preceptors, saying, "This monarchy hath been consigned unto me as a trust; and these gold-decked sandals shall carry on the work of government, protecting what the people have and securing unto them what they have not." Then bowing unto the sandals which represented the trust, Bharata burning in grief addressed the entire body of the subjects, saying, "Do ye speedily hold the umbrella (over these sandals). These represent the dear feet of the exalted one. Through these sandals of my superior, will be established the regal morality (of the kingdom). This kingdom from love hath been conferred on me as a trust; therefore I shall govern it until Raghava comes. Again speedily putting these sandals on Raghava's feet, I shall behold them with the sandals on. On Raghava coming (back), I shall, my burden being cast upon him, making over the kingdom unto him, engage myself in serving my superior. And having rendered unto Raghava the trust in the shape of these sandals, this kingdom, and Ayodhya, I shall be washed from my sin." Henceforth wearing bark and matted locks, and in the guise of an ascetic, the heroic Bharata dwelt in Nandigrama along with his forces. Having consigned all rule unto the sandals. Bharata himself held the umbrella and the chowri furnished with hair. And the graceful Bharata, having installed the sandals of the noble one, always carried on the government in subordination to them.

SECTION 116

On Bharata having returned, while Rama was dwelling in the woods, he noticed affright among the ascetics, added to a desire to remove to another place. And those ascetics that were living happily in the asylum in Chitrakuta, relying upon Rama (for their protection), he found to be wrought up with anxiety. And by means of signs by the eye and contractions of the brow, they, afflicted with fear, were, alluding to Rama, slowly speaking to each other. Perceiving their anxiety, Rama apprehensive of himself, with joined hands addressed the patriarchal ascetic, saying, "0 reverned one, do ye find me deviating from the path of former sovereigns, or acting contrary to their practice, - which hath perplexed (the minds of) these ascetics? Have the sages seen my younger (brother), the high-souled Lakshmana, do anything from inadvertance that is unworthy of him? Doth not Sita engaged in serving you, having to serve me, now minister unto you as a woman should?" Thereat a certain aged and decrepit ascetic, with his frame trembling, said upto Rama ever kind towards creatures, "Where is the falling-off of that one of excellent character, engaged in offices of beneficence,-more specially with reference to ascetics? This fear arising from Rakshasas afflicts the ascetics because of thee and they, extremely agitated, converse with each other (on the subject). A Rakshasa named Khara, a younger brother of Ravana, hath been harassing the ascetics dwelling in Janasthana. And Dhrishta also a fearless and wicked Rakshasa feeding on human beings,-and the unrighteous Avalipta, cannot bear thee, my child. As long,

my child, as thou hast been residing in this asylum, the Rakshasas have been plaguing the ascetics. And they show themselves sometimes in disgusting shapes, sometimes in horrible and dreadful ones,-in various frightful forms capable of frightening folks. And they throw execrable and unclean things among the anchorets, and torment those that happen to come before them. And they take delight in approaching asylums unperceived, and slaughtering ascetics, after having bound them by means of their arms. And on the occasion of sacrifices, they throw away the vessels containing sacrificial articles, pour water on the sacrificial fire and break vessels containing water. Eager to renounce this asylum infested by those wicked ones, and removing to another place, the sages today have been exhorting me (on the subject). And, O Rama, ere this, those wicked ones have slain ascetics. Therefore we would renounce this asylum. Not far from here is a picturesque wood abounding in fruits and roots. Thither shall I betake myself together with my own folks. Khara shall also annoy thee. If thou think it proper, go hence in company with us. O Raghava, although thou art vigilant, able, and in all ways capable, it would be unpleasant for thee to dwell here now in doubt."

When the anxious ascetic had said this, Rama could not console him by his words. Then having paid homage unto Rama, and spoken to him and encouraged Raghava, the patriach ascetic renouncing the asylum, went away along with his own people. And Rama having (for a time) followed the sage who was departing from that place, and having paid him respects, being permitted by them, well-pleased, and advised (as to what it behoved him to do), came to his quarters reposing there. (Thenceforth) Raghava never for a moment left that asylum forsaken by the sages.—Raghava having such qualities in his character as were likely to stand the sages in stead, the ascetics (that remained behind) ever followed Raghava.

"When the ascetics had gone away, Raghava reflected (as to his stay at that place); and from diverse reasons, he did not relish remaining there any further. "Here have I seen Bharata and my mother in company with the citizens. Overwhelmed with grief on my account, they ever recur to my memory. And in consequence of the troops of that high-souled one having quartered here as well as the dung discharged by his elephants and horses, this place has got exceedingly dirty. Therefore will I go to another quarter." Having settled this in his mind, Raghava departed along with Videha's daughter and Lakshmana. And having arrived at Atri's asylum, that renowned one paid obeisance (unto the sage); and the reverend Atri also on his part received Rama as a son. And having personally given Rama respectful reception and entertainment, the ascetic regarded the exalted Lakshmana and Sita with a gracious eye. And his aged wife having come there, Atri greeted her; and after she had been paid homage. the sage cognisant of virtue ever engaged in the good of all creatures, gladdened her (by presenting Sita unto her.) And that best of sages said unto the pious fetnale ascetic, Anasuya, engaged in offices of virtue, "Do thou accept Videha's daughter." And Atri related unto Rama matters connected with the female ascetic, engaged in offices of virtue, "The people were ceaselessly burning in consequence of a drouth extending over ten years. O sinless one, that one resembling thy mother is this, by whom furnished with rigid asceticsim and adorned with voluntary penances, were created fruits and roots and the Jahnavi was made to flow through the asylum; by whom were performed mighty austerities for ten thousand years,—in virtue of whose penances, disturbances to the asceticism of the sages ceased,— by whom ten nights were brought within the compass of a single one. Let Vaidehi always resort to this aged ascetic devoid of anger, who is worthy of being bowed down to by all creatures." When the saint had spoken thus, Raghava saying, "So be it," turned his eyes to Sita, and thus spoke unto that one knowing morality, 'O princess, thou hast heard what hath been uttered by the ascetic. For the sake of thy own welfare, do thou speedily resort to the female anchoret. Do thou without delay resort unto the ascetic Anasuya, who is worthy of being associated with, and who hath by virtue of her acts attained renown among men." Hearing these words of Raghava, Mithila's daughter, the illustrious Sita, drew near the righteous wife of Atri. Thereupon Sita, announcing her name, saluted the pious and chaste Anasuva, old, with slackened joints, with folds all over her skin, and her hair hoary from age, whose frame shook perpetually, like a plantain-leaf in the wind. Having paid homage unto that ascetic with her senses subdued Vaidehi glad at heart, with joined hands, enquired after her welfare. Seeing the virtuous Sita engaged in righteous acts, the old lady consoling her, said "By luck it is that thou regardest righteousness. O Sita, having left thy kindred, and banishing pride, thou hast, O honoured lady, followed Rama staying in the woods. They that love their husbands, whether living in the city or the forest, whether well or ill disposed towards them, attain great state. Wicked, or libidinous, or indigent, a husband is a supreme deity unto a wife of noble

character. Than the husband a greater friend find I none, O Vaidehi, who is worthy of being served both in this world and the next, and who is like imperishable asceticism. But bad women whose hearts hunger after carnality, and who lord over their husbands, do not get acquainted with the virtues and demerits (of their husbands); and range at their will. Mithila's daughter, surely women of this sort who are given to doing evil acts, reap infamy and fall off from righteousness. But worthy women like thee furnished with excellences, see a superior and better world, and range the celestial regions, like pious people. Therefore following this one, and adopting the course of chaste women, do thou prove the associate in virtue of thy husband,—and then shalt thou attain both fame and religious merit."

SECTION 118.

Thus addressed by Anasuya, Vaidehi devoid of malice, honouring her words, began, "That thou shouldst instruct me is no wonder in thee. I know that a woman's spiritual guide is her husband. Even if a husband should be poor and of a disreputable character, he should be ungrudgingly obeyed by the like of me. And to be said of one that is crowned with qualities, kind, self-controlled, of steady affection, righteoussouled, and who is dear as a father or a mother? The exceedingly strong Rama beareth himself towards the other wives of the monarch as he doth towards Kaucalya herself. Renouncing sense of self-importance, that heroic one conversant with righteousness, devoted to his king, regardeth as his mothers those on whom the monarch once cast his eyes. What my mother-in-law instructed me at the time that I was leaving for the lonely and fearful forest, is constantly present in my mind. And what also my mother taught me in presence of fire on the occasion of the bestowal of my hand, is also remembered by me. And, O thou engaged in acts of righteousness, I have not forgotten the words that my relatives said unto me, viz, the asceticism of a woman is ministering unto her husband. They did not teach any thing else. Having served her lord, Savitri is highly honoured in heaven; and thou also, following the same course, by virtue of having served thy husband, hath secured heaven. And this foremost of females, this goddess of heaven, Rohini, is not seen for a moment without the moon. And prime women of this sort, firm in their husbands, are highly respected in the celestial regions by virtue of their pious acts." Hearing Sita's words, Anasuya, exceedingly delighted, smelling her head, spoke thus, pleasing Maithili, "By observing restrictions, I have earned great asceticism. By resorting to that energy, I would, O Sita, confer a boon upon thee, O thou of pure vows. O Maithili, thy words are just and proper. I am well pleased (with thee). Tell me, O Sita, what good shall I do thee?" Hearing her words, Sita, surprized, said with a smile, unto that lady equipped with ascetic strength, "All this hath been done by thee." Thus accosted, that one cognisant of virtue, was still more pleased, and said, "I am exceedingly pleased (with thy words). I will attain a desire of mine. This noble and grand garland, this apparel, these ornaments, and this precious paste for adorning the person, presented by methese, O Sita, grace thy person. These, worthy of thee will never be tarnished. O daughter of Janaka, daubing thy person with this excellent paint, thou wilt grace thy husband even as Sree doth the undeteriorating Vishnu." Thereupon Mithila's daughter accepted those things presented unto her out of love, viz., the apparel, the paint, the ornaments and the garland. Having accepted those presents conferred on her from love, that illustrious one, Sita, quietly sat beside the female ascetic with joined hands. Then as Sita was sitting, Anasuya firm in vow asked her concerning a thing that was near her heart, saying, "I have heard, O Sita, that thou wert won by the renowned Raghava on the occasion of a self-choice. O Maithili. that story I should like to hear, related at length. It therefore behoves thee to relate that unto me in detail." Thus addressed, Sita, saying unto the ascetic engaged in pious acts, "Listen!" began to tell the story. "Mithila's lord, the heroic Janaka, justly ruleth the earth, engaged in observing the duties of Kshatriyas. As he was ploughing a plain intended for a sacrifice, I rose from under the earth; and (in this sense) I am the daughter of that king. Tending me, with my body covered with dust, Janaka, engaged in throwing handfuls of dust (to level hollow spots), was struck with amazement. Being childless, he took me on his lap from affection, and saying-'This is my daughter', conceived affection for me. Then there were uttered words in the welkin, resembling those of a human being,—'O king, in all righteousness, this is thy daughter.' Then well-pleased, my righteous father, the king, lord of Mithila, receiving me, attained mighty good fortune. Consigned unto the pious eldest noble one (queen), desirous of having offspring, I was brought up by that mild lady, with the tenderness of a mother. (In time) seeing me fit for the company of a husband, my father in distress was plunged in thought, like a poor man that hath lost his wealth. Even if the father of a girl be like unto Sakra himself on earth, he reapeth odium at the hands of his equals and inferiors. Perceiving this obloquy at a short distance, the king was plunged in a sea of anxiety, but could not cross it, like one that hath no raft.

Knowing me as unborn from any female vessel, the lord of earth reflecting upon it, could not come upon a suitable and fit husband for me. Then as he reflected, this thought occurred to him 'I will righteously celebrate the self-choice of my daughters'. In the great sacrifice of Daksha, the highsouled Varuna had well-pleased conferred on Devarata an excellent bow with inexhaustible arrows and a couple of quivers. Incapable of being moved on account of its weight, the kings could not even dream of bending the bow. Having obtained the bow, my truthful father said, 'No fear!' inviting at the same time the kings to an assembly of sovereigns. 'He that, raising the bow, shall string it, shall doubtless receive my daughter for his wife.' Seeing that best of bows in weight resembling a hill, the kings saluting it, go away, unable to move it. And it came to pass that after a long time, this highly effulgent Raghava came to witness the sacrifice in company with Vicwamitra. And Rama having truth for his prowess, and the righteous Vicwamitra were respectfully received by my sire. Then Vicwamitra said unto my father, 'The descendants of Raghu, sons of Dacaratha, Rama and Lakshmana, are anxious to behold the bow.' Thus accosted by the Vipra, my father brought the bow, and showed that celestial bow unto the princes. Thereupon, in the twinkling of an eye, bending it, the powerful (Raghava) stringed the bow and drew it. And is he drew it vehemently, it broke in the middle in twain. And the sound of it was dreadful like unto the bursting of a thunder-bolt. Then raising an excellent vessel of water, my truthful father prepared to bestow me on Raghaya, And bestowed on Raghaya, I was accepted of him. after he had consulted the wish of his father, that lord, the master of Ayodhya. And inviting my father-in-law, the old king Dacaratha, my father bestowed me on Rama, having a knowledge of self. And my father bestowed on Lakshmana for his wife, my younger sister, the beauteous and chaste Urmila. Thus was I bestowed on Rama on the occasion of that selfchoice. And ever since I have been devoted unto my husband, the foremost of those possessing prowess.'

SECTION 119

Having heard this grand story, Anasuya cognisant of righteousness, smelling the head of Mithila's daughter, embraced Sita with her arms. "I have heard all that thou, describing the self-choice, hast spoken sweetly and beautifully in articulated letters and feet. O sweet-speeched one, I have been delighted with thy narration. But ushering in the auspicious night, the graceful Sun hath set. And there are heard the notes of feathered ones, which, after having gone about in search of food are resting now for the purpose of sleeping. And these ascetics having bathed, are wending their way in a body, carrying water-pitchers, their barks drenched with water. And the smoke arising from the fire-sacrifice duly performed by the ascetics,-reddish like the hue of the pigeon's neck, is seen, wafted by the wind. And trees of spare foliage appear dense (on all sides); and distance is no longer perceptible. And animals ranging in the night are going about all round; and those deer of the asylum are reposing on the daises. O Sita, the night crested by the stars hath arrived; and, veiled in moonlight, appeareth the moon in the heavens. Go thou; I permit thee. Do thou seek the society of Rama. I have been pleased with thy sweet converse. And, O daughter of Mithila, do thou deck thyself before me. Do thou thus please me, my child, thou that lookest beautiful with excellent Thereat, having adorned herself, Sita, ornaments ' resembling the daughter of a celestial, bowing down to the feet (of the female ascetic), directed her steps towards Rama. And that best of speakers, Raghava, saw Sita, decked with the ornaments affectionately presented by the ascetic; and he rejoiced thereat. Then Mithila's daughter, Sita, related unto Rama all about her having been affectionately presented by the ascetic with attire, ornaments and the garland. Thereupon, witnessing the honour that had been accorded unto Maithili, rare among men, Rama became well pleased, as also that mighty car-warrior, Lakshmana. Then Raghu's son, ministered unto by the ascetic, happily spent the delightful night there, with her face resembling the moon. On the night having passed away, those foremost of men, after performing their ablutions, enquired of the ascetics performing firesacrifices, who lived in the forest. Thereat the righteous ascetics ranging the forest said that all the sides of the forest were infested by Rakshasas. "Ferocious beasts feasting on blood, and Rakshasas, O Raghava, living on human beings,—wearing various shapes, abide in this mighty forest. These eat up ascetics leading the Brahmacharya mode of life, who happen to be unclean or heedless. Do thou, therefore, O Raghava, let them. This is the path of the Maharshis, who procure fruits in the forest. By this way thou wilt be able to enter the impracticable wild, O Raghava." Thus addressed by the ascetic twice-born ones, and having been blessed by them, that repressor of foes, Raghava, entered the forest in company with his wife and Lakshmana, like the sun entering a mass of

End of Ayodhyakandam

RAMAYANA VOLUME TWO ARANYA, KISHKINDHA, AND SUNDARA KANDAM ARANYA KANDAM. SECTION 1.

Entering the extensive forest of Dandaka, the irrepressible and self-composed Rama saw the collection of asylums belonging unto the ascetics, strewn with Kuca and bark, and environed by spiritual energy; incapable of being beheld; like the solar disc in the heavens.—the refuge of all creatureswith their ornamented yards; filled with a great many deer, and abounding in multitudes of birds; in which Apsaras always danced and which they held in respect; (asylums) beauteous with spacious rooms for fire-sacrifice, with sacrificial necessaries, deer-skins, Kuca, faggots, waterpitchers, fruits and roots; surrounded by mighty and sacred forest-trees; crowned with lucious fruits; honoured with Vali [Offerings to the spirits of air.] and Homa [Burnt offerings, or oblations of clarified butter into the sacred fire, as an offering to the gods, accompanied with prayers or invocations.]; holy; resounding with the sounds of Vedic recitations; scattered with divers blossoms; and containing tanks filled with lotuses; with ancient ascetics living on fruits and roots, having their senses under control, wearing bark and black deer-skins, and possessing the splendour of the sun or fire; and adorned by great and holy sages living upon regulated fare. Beholding that collection of asylums belonging unto the ascetics, resembling the regions of Brahma, resonant with the voices of Vedic recitations; and grateful; with highly pious Brahmanas versed in the Vedas,—the exceedingly energetic and graceful Raghava entered the same, having first unstrung his mighty bow. Thereupon, seeing the righteous Rama resembling the moon risen, as well as Lakshmana and the illustrious Vaidehi, those Maharshis endeued with spiritual intuition, came forward (to meet the incomers); and, having uttered benedictions, those persons of rigid vows, received them. And those dwellers of the wood, struck with wonder, beheld Rama's tender grace and lovliness and elegance of dress. And struck with astonishment, those inhabitants of the woods of pre-eminent piety saw Vaidehi, Lakshmana and Rama, with winkless eyes. And those persons of exalted virtue, engaged in the welfare of all creatures, made Raghava, their guest, sit down in their thatched cottage. Then, having received Rama respectfully according to scriptural prescription, those virtuous ones of eminent piety, resembling fire, procured water (for Rama). And, experiencing great delight, those high-souled ones, uttering benedictions, procured wild fruits, flowers and roots; and, having assigned an asylum (unto Rama), those persons cognisant of righteousness, said with joined hands, "Possessed of high fame, thou, the protector of righteousness, art the refuge of these people. Thou shoudst be honoured and worshipped, being their king, holding the rod, and their superior. O Raghava, it is because he that governs his subjects, is a fourth part of Indra himself, that the king, being bowed down unto by all, enjoys the choicest things. And we, being in thy dominions, ought to be protected by thee. Whether living in the city or in the woods, thou, lord of men, art our sovereign. We have renounced chastising others; and, O monarch, we have conquered our anger, and subdued our passions. Therefore, even as a child in its mother's womb (should be protected by her), should we be protected by thee. Having said this, they entertained Raghava, along with Lakshmana, with fruits and roots and flowers and diverse other edibles procurable in the woods. In the same way, other ascetics of accomplished purposes, living lives of integrity, duly pleased that lord, Rama, resembling Vaicyanara.

SECTION 2.

Having received the homage of the ascetics, Rama about sun-rise, having greeted them all, entered into the forest. And Rama, followed by Lakshmana, saw the heart of the forest abounding in various kinds of beasts,-ranged by bears and tigers, with its trees and shrubs torn and trampled, its pools turbid, and its birds crying. And, having in company with Sita arrived at that forest abounding in terrible beasts, Kakutstha saw a man-eater, resembling a mountain-summit, emitting tremendous roars, with hollow eyes, a huge face, frightful, having a deformed belly, disgusting, dreadful, Cyclopean, mis-shapen, of a horrible sight, clad in a tiger-skin. besmeared with fat, covered with blood, capable of frightening all creatures, with his mouth widely extended, like unto the Destroyer himself, and uttering loud shouts,-who stood piercing with his iron dart three lions, four tigers, two leopards, four Prishatas, and the huge tusked head of an elephant dripping fat. Having seen Rama and Lakshmana, as well as Sita the daughter of Mithila, he growing angry, rushed (against them), like the Destroyer himself rushing against creatures at the universal dissolution. Uttering a dreadful yell, and, as if making the earth tremble, he took Vaidehi on his waist, and, going a little distance, said, "O ye wearing bark and matted locks, O ye of feeble strength, that accompanied by your (common) wife, have entered the forest of Dandaka, bearing bows and arrows and scimitars, why, being ascetics, do ye wish to associate with a (single) woman? Ye wicked wretches, ye impious wights, who are ye that bring

disgrace upon ascetics? I am a Rakshasa, Viradha by name. This forest is my fastness. Accoutred in arms, I range (here). feeding on the flesh of ascetics. This transcendentally beauteous one shall be my wife. And in battle I shall drink your blood, wretches that ye are." Hearing the wicked and vaunting speech of the impious Viradha, as he said this, Janaka's daughter, Sita, began to tremble from fear, like a plantain tree shaken by the wind. Seeing the graceful Sita on the waist of Viradha. Raghava with a blank countenance said unto Lakshmana, "O amiable one, behold the daughter of king Janaka, my wife of pure ways, an illustrious princess brought up in luxury-on Viradha's waist O Lakshmana, what had been wished for by Kaikeyi with reference to us, (hath taken place), and the dear boon (that she had asked) hath born fruit. That far-sighted lady-my second mother who had not been satisfied with having secured the kingdom in the interests of her son, and by whom I that was dear unto her above all other creatures, had been banished to the woods, hath to-day her wishes crowned with success. O Sumitra's son, nothing can impart unto me greater anguish than the touching of Vaidehi by another—which surpasses my father's demise and my having been deprived of the kingdom." As Kakutstha with his eyes flooded with tears was speaking thus, Lakshmana flying into a rage, spoke like unto a confined elephant: "Why dost thou, O Kakutstha, being the lord of all creatures and resembling Vasava himself,-and also backed by myself, thy servant,— grieve like one forlorn? The earth shall drink the gore of this Rakshasa, Viradha, when deprived of life, after he hath been slain with a shaft by my angry self. That ire of mine which I had conceived against Bharata hankering after the kingdom, will I discharge on Viradha; even as the weilder of the thunder holt hurls his weapon at a hill. Let my mighty arrow acquiring velocity from the speed imparted to it through the energy of my arms, light on his huge breast, and force his life from forth his body; and let him whirling (at length fall down to the earth).

SECTION 3

Then Viradha again spoke filling the forest, "Do ye tell me who ask you, -who are ye and whither are ye going? Thereupon, the highly energetic Rama answered the Rakshasa with a flaming face, when he had thus asked (Rama)—that he belonged to the Ikshwaku race. "Know us that are in ihe forest, for Kshatriyas of respectable character. I also am anxious of knowing who thou art, that goest about the Dandakas." Viradha answered Rama having truth for his prowess, "Ah! I will tell thee, O king. Do thou, O Raghaya understand! Lam son unto Java and my mother is Satarhada All the Rakshasas of the earth have called me Viradha. Having gratified Brahma by my asceticism, I received (this boon) that none in the world would be able lo slay me by mangling my body with weapons. Forsaking this fair one, do ye renouncing all hope (of either recovering her or vanquishing me), speedily flee away to that place whence ye had come;-else I shall deprive you of your lives." Thereat, Rama with his eyes reddened through wrath replied unto that Rakshasa of a deformed shape, the wicked Viradha—saying, "Little! shame on thee of base purposes! Thou surely seekest thy own death; and (death) thou shall get in battle. Stay! Thou escapest me not with life." Then stringing his bow, Rama, speedily aiming at the Rakshasa, pierced him with sharpened shafts; and (then) from his bow-string let go seven shafts, having their feathered parts plaited with gold, furnished with great velocity, and coursing like Suparna or the wind. Thereat, resembling those arrows furnished with peacocks' feathers, pierced Viradha's body, and fell to the earth, covered with blood. On being thus pierced, the Rakshasa set Vaidehi down, and, upraising a dart, rushed in wrath towards Rama and Lakshmana. And sending forth a mighty roar, he took up a dart resembling the banner of Sakra; and he then appeared like the Destroyer with opening mouth. Then the brothers showered a blazing volley of shafts on the Rakshasa, resembling the Destroyer himself. And stationing himself at a spot, the Rakshasa, laughing terribly, yawned, and as he yawned the flest-coursing shafts fell off from his person. And by virtue of the bestowal of the boon (by Brahma), the Rakshasa Viradha drew up his vital energies, and, lifting up a pike, darted at the descendants of Raghu. That best of those bearing arms cut off with two arrows that dart resembling the thunder-bolt and flaming in the sky. And the dart severed by the shafts of Rama, fell to the earth, as falls a crag severed by the thunderbolt. Thereat, swiftly raising up a sword, resembling a black snake, each (of the Raghavas) approached his antagonist, and began to assail him hastily. Thus hard beset, that terrible one, seizing them both with his arms, attempted to make away with those foremost of men, who, however, retained their calmness. Reading his purpose, Rama spake unto Lakshmana, "Let the Rakshasa bear us by this way. Not use of letting him Sumatra's son, let the Rakshasa bear us wherever he likes. Even this, by which the ranger of the night is proceeding, is our way." And lifting up (Rama and Lakshmana) by his might and prowess, as if they were striplings, that haughty ranger of the night laid them on his shoulders. And having deposited the Raghavas on his

ihoulders, Viradha—ranger4 of night—sending up dreadful shouts, directed his course towards the forest. And he at length entered the forest resembling a mighty mass of clouds, furnished with various kinds of trees, picturesque with diverse species of birds, and abounding in jackals, serpents and beasts.

SECTION 4

Seeing those foremost of Raghus, the Kakutsthas, carried away. Sita cried in a loud voice, raising up her arms, 5 "Rama, the son of Dacaratha, the strong, the truthful and the pure, is, along with Lakshmana, being carried away by you, Rakshasa of a terrible appearance. Me bears will devour and tigers and panthers. Renouncing the Kakutsthas, do thou carry me away. I bow unto thee, O best of Rakshasas." Hearing these words of Vaidehi, Rama and Lakshmana bestirred themselves for compassing the death of that wicked one. And Sumitra's son broke his left arm; while Rama at once broke the Rakshasa's right one. On his arms being broken, the Rakshasa resembling a mass of clouds, growing weak, sank down on the ground in a swoon, like a hill riven by the thunderbolt. Thereupon, they assailed the Rakshasa with their fists, arms and feet; and lifting him up once and again, and pressing him, they trod on him over the ground. Although he was sore pierced by full many an arrow and cut sorryly by scimitars, and pressed down on the earth in various ways, yet the Rakshasa expired not. Seeing him utterly incapable of being killed, and resembling a hill, that inspirer of hope in times of peril, the graceful (Rama), said, "O foremost of men, in consequence of his austerities, yon Rakshasa cannot be vanguished with weapons in conflict. Therefore, let us cast him into a pit. O Lakshmana, dig a capacious pit in this forest6 for this Rakshasa resembling an elephant, terible, and of a grim presence.' Having said this unto Lakshmana,—"Do thou dig a pit," the powerful Rama remained planting his foot on Viradha's throat. Having heard Raghava's words, the Rakshasa spake gently, "Slain am I, O chief of men, by thee possessed of strength equal to that of Sakra. Through ignorance, O foremost of men, I could not before know thee. Now I know thee that art Rama, the worthy Son of Kaucalya, my child; as well as the highly virtuous Vaidehi and the renowned Lakshmana. By virtue of a curse, I entered this dreadful Rakshasi form, I a Gandharba, having been cursed by Vaicravana. Being propitiated by me, that greatly famous one said,-'When Rama the son of Dacaratha, shall slay thee in encounter, thou, attaining thy natural condition, shalt repair to the celestial regions.' Getting wroth, he cursed me, who had been absent; and thus did king Vaicravana address me, who had conceived love for Rambha. Through thy grace have I been freed from this fearful curse, I shall (now) repair to heaven. Hail, O repressor of foes! Half a Yoyana hence, my child, dwells the righteous and potent Maharshi, Sarabhanga, resembling the Sun. Seek him speedily: he will bring about thy good. Casting me (into this pit) in the wood, do thou, O Rama, peacefully go thy way. Even this is the eternal usage of the Rakshasas, hose that die in the forest, attain eternal regions." Having said this unto Kakutstha, the mighty Viradha, afflicted with arrows, having his body deposited (in the pit), attained heaven. Having heard that speech of Viradha, Righava ordered Lakshmana, saying, Lakshmana, do thou in this forest dig a capacious pit for this Rakshasa resembling an elephant, dreadful, and of terrible acts." Having said unto Lakshmana, "Dig a pit,"—Rama possessed of prowess remained fixing his foot on Viradha's throat. Then taking a hoe, Lakshmana dug a spacious pit by the side of the huge-bodied7 Viradha. Then when his throat had been freed, (Lakshmana) cast into the pit Viradha having ears resembling javelins, sending loud and dreadful sounds. Having vanquished him in fight, Rama and Lakshmana possessed of activity and steady in fight, being exceedingly delighted, raising up the dreadful Rakshasa by main force, cast him howling (into the pit). Reflecting that he was incapable of being slain (by sharpened weapons), those foremost of men, exceedingly well versed (in arms), compassed the death of that mighty Asura, Viradha, in the pit, after they had dug it. Viradha had himself sincerely wished for his death at the hands of Rama; and that ranger of the woods had accordingly told (Rama),-"My death cannot be effected by means of weapons." Having heard these words, Rama decided upon casting him into a pit. And when the excessively strong Rakshasa entered the cavity, he made the forest resound with his cries. Having thrown him into the hole, Rama and Lakshmana, their fears removed, appeared with joyful looks. and rejoiced in that forest like the sun and the moon seated in the heavens.8

SECTION 5.

Having in the forest slain the Rakshasa Viradha possessed of tremendous strength, Rama endeued with prowess, embracing and cheering Sita, spoke unto his brother Lakshmana of flaming energy, saying, "This dense forest is hard to live in; nor are we acquainted with the ways of the wood. Therefore will we speedily repair to the ascetic Sarabhanga." Thereupon Raghava set out for the hermitage of Sarabhanga. And Rama beheld a mighty wonder near that one of celestial virtue, who

had purified his soul through asceticism. He saw the lord of the celestials, possessed of a resplendent person, resembling in effulgence the sun or Vaicwanara—mounted on a superb car—(saw) him that is followed by all the celestials, stationed in the sky, not touching the earth, adorned in luminous ornaments--the god dressed in a clean apparel; worshipped by many a high-souled personage dressed in the same way. And from a distance, (Rama) saw the car stationed in the sky yoked with green steeds-resembling the infant sun; and he saw the spotless umbrella possessing the beauty of a mass of white clouds, resembling the lunar disc,-and graced with variegated wreaths. And his (Indra's) head was being fanned by two chowris, costly and furnished with golden handles, held by two magnificent damsels; and innumerable Gandharbas and Siddhas and prime sages were hymning the celestial stationed in the welkin. And seeing Sarabhanga engaged in converse with Satakratu, Rama said unto Lakshmana (the following words). And pointing out the car, Rama showed the wonder unto his brother. "Behold, O Lakshmana, yonder car stationed in the sky, splendid, furnished with exceeding grace, wonderful, and seeming as if the sun had fallen from the heavens. The steeds standing in the sky are for certain those of which we had formerly heard as belonging unto Sakra of many sacrifices. And, thou foremost of men, these youths environing (the celestial) by hundreds, wearing earrings, and bearing swords in their hands, are broad of chest, have arms resembling bludgeons in size, and are clad in crimson vesture, like unto tigers incapable of being approached. Over the breasts of all appear chains of blazing sheen; and, O son of Sumitra, their beauty appears that of five and twenty. And even this is the ever-enduring age of the celestials, as these foremost of men of sweet looks appear. O Lakshmana, stay here awhile with Vaidehi, so long as I do not gather who it is that is in the effulgent car." Saying unto Sumitras son, "Stay here," Kakutstha bent his steps towards Sarabhanga's aslylum. And seeing Rama approach, Sachi's lord, taking Sarabhanga's permission, addressed the celestials, saying, "Rama is coming hither. Do ye set out for another place, ere he yet addresses me. He is not fit to behold me (now.) When he shall have vanquished (his foe in fight), and won success, shall I readily show myself unto him. He shall have to achieve an act incapable of being achieved by others." Then rendering homage unto that anchoret and conversing with him, the weilder of the thunderbolt-subduer of enemiesrepaired to heaven in a car yoked with steeds. When the thousand-eyed one had gone away, Raghava accompanied by his companions appeared before Sarabhanga in the Agnihotra chamber. Taking his feet, Rama, Sita and Lakshmana sat down with the permission of the ascetic, who received them and set apart quarters for them. Then Raghava questioned (the sage) concerning the visit of Sakra; and Sarabhanga related everything unto Raghava. "O Rama, this bestower of boons wishes to take me to the regions of Brahma. I have conquered them, incapable of being attained by persons that have not schooled themselves,-by virtue of fierce austerities. O chief of men, knowing that thou wert near, I became anxious to go to the minor celestial regions and this supreme heaven (of Brahma), after I had seen thee, righteous and high-souled, who art my dear guest now. O foremost of men, I have for aye attained the excellent regions of Brahma and Nakaprishtha. Do thou receive them as pertaining to me." Thus addressed by the sage, Sarabhanga, that best of men, Raghava, versed in every branch of learning, said, "O mighty anchoret, I shall acquire all those regions myself. I now wish that thou mayst direct me as to my abode in this forest." Thus accosted by Raghava resembling Sakra in strength, the eminently wise Sarabhanga again said, "O Rama, here in this forest lives a pious and self-restrained ascetic of mighty energy, named Sutikshna. He will bring about thy good. O Rama, follow this Mandakini flowing among flowers, which (here) runs in an opposite direction to her usual course; and then wilt thou reach there. This is thy course, thou best of men. Do thou now, my child, for a space look at me; while I leave off my limbs, even as a serpent renounces its slough." Then preparing a fire and with Mantras offering oblations into it, the exceedingly energetic Sarabhanga entered into the fire. The fire consumed the down, hair, old skin, bones, flesh and blood of that high-souled one. (Anon) Sarabhanga became a youth resembling fire; and rising from the flame, he appeared splendid. And proceeding past the regions of highsouled sages sacrificing with fire, as well as of the celestials, he ascended those of Brahma. And that one of pious acts done on earth—that best of the twice-born race—saw the grandfather, in company with his followers. And the grand-father also, beholding that Brahmana, rejoiced greatly, and said,

SECTION 6.

After Sarabhanga had ascended heaven, ascetics in bodies, assembled together, presented themselves before Kakutstha; Rama of flaming energy. And Vaikhanasas, and ValakhilyaS, and Sanprakhalas, Marichipas, Acmwakuttas in numbers, and those ascetics, Patraharas, and Dantolukhalas, Unmajjakas next, and Gatracayyas, and Acayyas and Anavakacikas, those

ascetics, Salilaharas, Vayubhaksbas after them, Akacanilayas, Sthandilacavis, Urddhavasis of controlled senses, and Ardrapattavasas given to Japa, practising penances, and engaged in performing the five kinds of austerities—all furnished with the grace that comes of spiritual energy, and all firmly concentrated in Yoga-these ascetics presented themselves before Rama in the asyhim of Sarabhanga. And coming before Rama, the foremost of those practising righteousness, those sages conversant with morality,—met in a body, said unto that pre-eminently virtuous one, "A mighty car-warrior, thou art the foremost person of the Ikshwaku race and the world; as well as their lord,-even as Maghavan is the lord of the celestials. Famous over the three worlds in high worth and prowess, in thee are found truth and virtue in profusion and obedience unto the mandate of thy sire. O lord. it behoves thee cognisant of virtue and attached unto it, to forgive us for what we as suiters say unto thee. The sin, O lord, of that monarch is mighty that taketh a sixth part of the subjects' incomes, but doth not protect them as sons. But he that, setting his heart on protecting the people, doth ever carefully protect all the inhabitants of his dominions, like his own life or like his son dearer unto him than life itself, reapeth. O Rama, enduring renown extending over many years, and (at length) attaining the regions of Brahma, is glorified there. The king that protects his subjects righteously, is entitled to a fourth part of the great religious merit that is reaped by an ascetic subsisting on fruits and roots. O Rama, this many Brahmanas—this great body of men that have assumed the Vanaprastha mode of life, although having thee for their lord, are being sorely troubled by Rakshasas, as if they had none. Come and behold the bodies of innumerable ascetics of pure hearts that have in various ways been slaughtered by Rakshasas in the forest. And great is the worry that is experienced by the dwellers on the river Pampi and the Mandakini as well as those that reside in Chitrakuta. We cannot bear the terrible affliction of the ascetics in the forest at the hands of Rakshasas of dreadful deeds. Therefore, for obtaining refuge, have we come before thee who art the refuge (of all). Do thou, O Rama, deliver us all, who are being exceedingly afflicted by the rangers of the night. O hero, we have no greater refuge on earth than thyself. Do thou, O king's son, rescue us all from Rakshasas." Hearing these words of the sages and ascetics, that righteous-souled one addressed them, saying, "It doth not behove you to speak thus. I should be commanded by the anchorets. I have entered the forest solely with a view to my own purpose. I have entered this forest in obedience to the mandate of my father, with the object (at the same time) of putting an end to these ravages of the Rakshasas on you. I have at my own will come hither for securing your interest. Then shall my stay in the woods be crowned with mighty fruit. I wish to slay in battle the enemies of the ascetics. Let the sages and ascetics behold my prowess as well as that of my brother." Having been conferred a boon by the ascetics, that hero entered upon a noble undertaking, and accompanied by the ascetics, in company with Lakshmana directed his course to (the hermitage of) Sutikshna.

SECTION 7.

Rama accompanied by his brother as well as Sita went to the asylum of Sutikshna in company with the twice-born ones. And having proceeded far, and crossed many a stream of copious waters, Rama saw a holy peak towering high like the mighty Meru. Then those worthy scions of the Ikshwaku race—descendants of Raghu—with Sita entered the forest ever furnished with various kinds of trees. And having entered the dense forest abounding in blossoms and fruits and trees, Rama saw in a recess an asylum glittering with bark and garlands. There Rama duly addressed an ascetic seated in the lotus-attitude9 for warding off evil, even Sutikshna, "O thou conversant with righteousness, speak to me, O Maharshi, O thou that hast truth for thy prowess." Thereupon, eying Rama keenly, that calm (ascetic)—the foremost of those practising righteousness, embracing him with his arms, said, Welcome, thou foremost of the Raghus, O Rama, thou the best of those practising righteousness. This asylum now hath been furnished with its master in consequence of thy visit. O illustrious one, O hero, expecting thee, I have not yet ascended heaven, renouncing on earth this body of mine. I had (already) heard that, coming to Chitrakuta, (thou hadst been staying there), having been deprived of the kingdom. Here came, O Kakutstha, the Sovereign of the celestials of an hundred sacrifices. Coming to me, that mighty deity, the Sovereign of the celestials, said that I had acquired all the worlds by my pious acts. Do thou, by my grace, in company with thy wife and Lakshmana, dwell delightfully in those regions won by my asceticism, containing Devarshis." Thereupon the selfpossessed Rama answered that blazing and truth-telling Brahmana of fiery austerities, like Vasava answering Brahma, saying, "O mighty ascetic, I myself will win those regions. I wish to be directed to a dwelling in this forest. Thou art possessed of ability in respect of everything, and art (at the same time) engaged in the welfare of all beings,-this hath been told unto me by the high-souled Sarabhanga of the Gautama race." Thus addressed by Rama, that Maharshi

known over all the worlds, spoke sweet words ia great joy, "O meritorious Rama, even this is the asylum (for thee). Do thou live here pleasantly. It is inhabited by numbers of saints and is always provided with fruits and roots. This forest is haunted by herds of deer that range here without doing harm to any one, although they possess great energy; and go away, having bewitched people (by their beauty). Save what comes from these deer, there is no other evil to be encountered here.' Hearing those words of the Maharshi, the placid elder brother of Lakshmana, taking up his bow with the arrow set, said "O exalted one, if by means of sharpened shafts blazing like lightning, I slay those herds of deer when they come, it shall impart pain unto thee, and what can be more unfortunate than this? Therefore I shall not be able to dwell long in this asylum." Having said this, Rama ceased and became engaged in his evening adorations, and, having finished them, along with Sita and Lakshmana fixed his quarters in the asylum of Sutikshna. Then, when the evening had passed away and night fell, Sutikshna,

having done homage unto those chiefs of men, offered them excellent fare, suitable to ascetics.

SECTION 8

Having been well entertained by Sutikshna, Rama in company with Sumitra's son, having passed away the night there, awoke in the morning. And arising in due time, Rama along with Sita, bathed in cool waters odorous with the aroma of lotuses; and having in proper time duly worshipped Fire as well as the deities, in that forest containing abodes of ascetics, Rama, Lakshmana and Videha's daughter, their sins purged off, seeing the sun risen, approached Sutikshna and spoke unto him these mild words, saying-O Reverend sir, we have stayed here pleasantly, being excellently ministered unto by thee. We greet thee, and go away. The ascetics urge speed upon us. We hasten to view the collections of asylums that belong unto the holy sages inhabiting the forest of Dandaka. Now we crave thy permission along with that of these foremost of anchorites, steady in virtue, crowned with asceticism and self-controled, resembling smokeless flames. And we intend to set out ere the sun, like unto a low-sprung one that hath attained to auspicious fortune through evil ways, with rays incapable of being borne, shines too fiercely.' Having said this, Raghava along with Sita and Sumitra's son bowed down unto the ascetic's feet. And as they touched his feet, that best of ascetics, raising Rama and Lakshmana up, embraced them closely and said, "O Rama, go thy way safely, in company with Sumitra's son and this Sita that followeth thee like a shadow. Behold the beauteous asylums. O hero, of these pure-spirited ascetics inhabiting the forest of Dandaka. Thou wilt see blossoming woods garnishod with fruits and roots, containing goodly deer, and mild feathered tribes; tanks and pools laughing with blown lotuses, containing pleasant waters, and abounding in Karandavas; charming mountain-springs; and romantic forests picturesque with peacocks. Go, O child; and go thou also, O Sumitra'a son. And come again to my asylum after having seen these." Thus addressed, Kakutstha along with Lakshmana, having gone round the ascetic, prepared for departing. Then Sita of expansive eyes handed to the brothers excellent quivers, bows and shining swords. Then fastening the graceful quivers, and taking the sweet-sounding bows, both Rama and Lakshmana issued from the hermitage. And permitted by the Maharshi, the Raghavas furnished with grace, equipped with bows and scimitars, swiftly set out along with Sita.

SECTION 9.

When the son of Raghu had set out with Sutikshna's permission, Sita addressed him in affectionate words and convincing speech, saying,—"Although thou art great and followest the narrow way (of righteousness), yet thou art on the eve of entering into unrighteousness. But thou couldst by refraining from action, eschew this unrighteousness that springs from an evil begot of desire. This evil begot of desire is threefold. One prominent evil is falsehood, and both the others are of weightier significance, -association with others' wives, and vindictiveness without any (basis of) hostility. Falsehood, O Raghava, hath never been thine, nor can it ever be thine (in the future). Nor yet, O foremost of men, canst thou ever even in fancy be (guilty of) going after others' wives, which marreth all religious merit. These, O Rama, are by no means in thee. O King's son, thou ever and a day directest thy attentions unto thy own wife. And thou art righteous and truthful and doest the will of thy sire. In thee are established virtue and truth-and every thing; and by help of thy conquered senses, thou, O mighty-armed one, art capable of bearing everything. And, O thou of a gracious presence, thine is control over sense. The third evil that leads men through ignorance to bear hostility towards others without any (cause of) hostility, is now present (unto thee). Thou hast, O hero, for the protection of the saints dwelling in the forest of Dandaka, promised the slaughter of Rakshasas in battle. And it is for this reason that equipped with bows and arrows, thou hast along with thy brother set out for the forest known as Dandaka. Seeing thee set out, my mind reflecting on

thy truthfulness as well as thy happiness in this world and welfare in the next, is wrought up with anxiety. And, O hero, I do not relish this journey to Dandaka. Thereof I will tell thee the reason. Do thou listen to me as I tell thee. Bearing bows and arrows in thy hands, thou hast come to the wood along with thy brother; and (it may well happen) that seeing grim rangers of the forest, thou mayst discharge thy shafts. And even as the vicinity of faggots increases the energy of (ire, the proximity of (the bow) enhances the strength and energy of the Kshatriya. Formerly, O long-armed one, in a sacred wood haunted by beasts and birds, there lived a truthful ascetic of a pure person. Intending to disturb his austerities, Sachi's lord, Indra, bearing a sword in his hand, came to the asylum in the guise of a warrior. And in that asylum, that excellent scimitar was deposited as a trust with that righteous person practising asceticism. Receiving that weapon, that ascetic intent upon preserving his trust, rangeth the forest, maintaining his faith. And intent upon preserving his trust, he goeth nowhere for procuring fruits and roots without that sword deposited with him as a trust. Constantly carrying the sword, by degrees, the ascetic, foregoing all thoughts about asceticism, had his mind involved in fierce sentiments. Thus in consequence of bearing that weapon, that ascetic taken up with fierce thoughts, losing his sobriety and led astray from righteousness, went to hell. This ancient story anent the carrying of arms, asserts that even as fire worketh change in a piece of wood, the presence of arms worketh alteration in the mind of him bearing them. From affection and the high honour in which I hold thee. I merely remind thee of this matter. I do not teach thee. Equipped with bows as thou art, thou shouldst renounce all thoughts of slaying without hostility the Rakshasas residing in Dandaka. Without offence none should be slain.-It is the duty of Kshatriya heroes by means of their bows to protect persons of subdued souls, come by any calamity. Where are arms? And where is the forest? Where is Kshatriya virtue? And where is asceticism? These arc opposed to each other,-let us, therefore, honour the morality that pertains to this place. From following arms, one's sense gets befouled and deformed. Again going to Avodhya, thou wilt observe the duties of Kshatriyas. Then my mother-in-law and father-in-law shall experience enduring delight, if, having renounced the kingdom, thou lead the life of an ascetic. Interest springs from righteousness; and happiness also results therefrom. One attains everything through righteousness—in this world the only substantial thing. Repressing self by diverse restrictions, intelligent people attain righteousness; but virtue crowned with felicity. is incapable of being attained by following pleasure. O mild one, ever cherishing thy heart in purity, do thou practise piety. in the wood of asceticism. Everything—the three worldsare truly known unto thee. I have spoken this through feminine fickleness. Who can speak of righteousness unto thee? Reflecting on and understanding things, do thou along with thy younger brother speedily do what thou likest.

SECTION 10

Hearing Vaidehi's words spoken through high regard (for her husbands Rama with his energy enhanced, answered Janaka's daughter, saying, "O noble lady, thou hast spoken mild words fraught with worth and profit; and, O Janaka's daughter versed in virtue, thou hast expounded the duties of Kshatriyas. What, O exalted one, shall I say? Thou hast thyself by thy words (furnished an answer to what thou hadst said). Kshatriyas wear bows in order that the word 'distressed' may not exist (on earth). O Sita, those ascetics of severe vows that are beset with perils in Dandaka, having personally come unto me, who am their refuge, have sought protection at my hands. Always dwelling in the forest, subsisting on fruits and roots, they on account of Rakshasas of cruel deeds. do not. O timid one, attain ease. These ascetics are devoured by terrible Rakshasas) living on human flesh. Being eaten up (by the Rakshasas), the anchorites living in the forest of Dandakathose best of the twice-born ones-said unto us-'Be thou gracious unto us.' Hearing those words of theirs which fell from their lips, I, resolving to act in accordance with their request, said,—'Be ye propitious.' This is surpassing shame unto me that such Vipras who themselves are worthy of being sought, seek me. What shall I do? I said this in the presence of those twice-born ones. Thereat all those that had come, said, 'We have been, O Rama, immensely harassed in the forest of Dandaka by Rakshasas wearing shapes at will. Do thou deliver us. These irrepressible Rakshasas living on human flesh vanquish us at the time of Homa, and on the occasions of Parvas, O sinless one. Of the saints and ascetics afflicted by the Rakshasas, who are on the search for their refuge, thou art our best refuge. We can by virtue of the energy of our asceticism easily destroy the rangers of the night; but we are loath to lose our asceticism earned in a long time. O Raghava, our austerities are constantly disturbed, and we can hardly perform them. Therefore, although sore afflicted and devoured by the Rakshasas dwelling in the forest of Dandaka, we do not cast our curse on them. Thou along with thy brother art our protector: thou art our master in this forest. Having heard these words, I promised my perfect protection

unto the saints in the forest of Dandaka, O daughter of Janaka. Having promised, I living cannot violate my vow concerning the ascetics; verily truth is ever dear unto me. I had rather renounce my life, or thee, O Sita, along with Lakshmana,—but by no means my promise made, especially unto Brahmanas. O Videha's daughter, the protection of the saints is incumbent on me even without any representation,—and what (shall I say) when I have promised the same? Thou hast spoken this unto me through affection and friendship. I have been well pleased with thee, O Sita. One doth not instruct another that one doth not bear affection to. O beauteous damsel, (what thou hast said) is worthy of both thy love and thy race. " Having said these words unto Mithila's princess, the beloved Sita, the high-souled Rama, equipped with bows, along with Lakshmana, directed his steps towards the inviting woods of asceticism.

SECTION 11.

Rama went first; in the middle, Sita; and bearing a bow in his hand, Lakshmana went in their wake And they went with Sita, seeing many mountain-peaks, and forests, and delightful streams, and Chakravikas, haunting river islets, and tanks with lotuses containing aquatic birds, and herds of deer, and horned buffalos maddened with juices, and boars, and elephants-foes to trees. Having proceeded a long way, when the sun was aslant, they together saw a delightful tank measuring a yojana, fifed with red and pale lotuses, graced with herds of elephants, and abounding in aquatic cranes, swans and Kadanivas. And in that tank containing charming and pleasant waters, they heard sounds of song and instrumental music; but no one was seen there. Thereat, from curiosity, Rama and Lakshmana-mighty car-warrior asked an ascetic named Dharmabhrit, saying, "Hearing this mighty wonder, we have been worked up with intense curiosity. Do thou tell us what this is." Thus accosted by Raghava, the ascetic then at once began to expatiate over the potency of the pool. "This tank goes by the name of Panchapsara, and is always filled with water. It was made, O Rama, by the ascetic Mandakarni, by virtue of his asceticism. In yonder tank, the mighty ascetic, living on air, performed signal austerities for ten thousand years. Thereat, exceedingly agitated, all the deities with Agni at their head, assembled together, said, 'This ascetic wishes to have the position of one of us.' Thus all the deities present there were filled with anxiety. Then with the view of disturbing his austerities, the deities ordered five principal Apsaras, possessed of the splendour of live lightning. And for compassing the end of the celestials that ascetic conversant with the morality and otherwise as well of this life as that to come, was brought by those Apsaras under the sway of Madana. And those five Apsaras (ultimately) became the wives of the ascetic; and their hidden residence was reared in the pool. And there the five Apsaras living happily, pleased the anchorite, established in youth through asceticism and yoga. As thy sport, we hear the sounds of their musical instruments, and the sweet voice of their song mixed with the tinklings of their instruments.' (Hearing this), the illustrious Raghava along with his brother declared the story narrated by that one of a pure heart to be wonderful. Thus conversing, Rama saw the collection of asylums, strewn with Kuca and bark, and be-girt with energy derived from Brahma lore. Entering (the place) along with Vaidehi and Lakshmana, the highly famous Raghava dwelt there respected by all the ascetics. Having happily dwelt in those collections of graceful asylums, honoured of the Maharshis, Kakutstha by turns went to the hermitages of those ascetics with whom that one well versed in arms had dwelt before. And Raghava happily passed his days somewhere for ten months, somewhere for one year, somewhere for four months somewhere for five or six months. somewhere for many months, somewhere for a month and a half, -somewhere for more, somewhere for three months, and somewhere for eight. And as Rama lived in the asylums of the ascetics and amused himself through their good graces, ten years were passed away (in this way). Having gone round the asylums of all the ascetics, Raghava cognisant of righteousness returned to the hermitage of Sutikshna. Coming to this asylum, respected by the ascetics, that subduer of enemies, Rama, stayed there for a time. Once upon a time, as Kakutstha dwelling in that asylum was seated, he humbly observed unto that great ascetic, "I have always heard from men speaking on the subject that that foremost of ascetics, the reverend Agastya, lives in this forest. On account of the vastness of this forest, I do not know that place. Where is the hermitage of that intelligent Maharshi? For propitiating that revered one, I, accompanied by my brother and Sita, will go to Agastya for paying our respects unto the ascetic. This great desire is burning in my heart, that I should myself minister unto that best of anchorets." Hearing these words of the righteous-souled Rama, Sutikhna, well pleased, answered Dacaratha's son, saying, "I also am desirous of telling thee this along with Lakshmana. Repair unto Agastya in company with Sita, O RSghava. By luck thou hast thyself said this unto me as to thy purpose. I will, O Rama, tell thee where that mighty ascetic, Agastya, is. My child, go four miles from the

hermitage in a southerly direction; and thou wilt come to the hermitage of the brother of the auspicious Agastva situated on a land covered with trees, graced with Pippali woods, abounding in fruits and flowers, charming, and resonant with the notes of various birds. There are many tanks containing delightful waters, swarming with swans and Karandavas, and beauteous with Chakravakas. Passing a night there, do thou, O Rama, in the morning, taking a southerly course, go by the skirts of the forest tract. Passing a voiana, thou shalt come upon Agastya's asylum, located at a charming woodland graced with many a tree. There Videha's daughter and Lakshmana shall experience delight in thy company. O magnanimous one, if thou intend to see the mighty ascetic, Agastya, in that charming woodland, containing a great many trees, then do thou make up thy mind to set out this very day." Hearing these words of the anchoret, Rama, saluting him, along with his brother, set off for Agastya's (place) with his younger brother and Sita. And, pleasantly proceeding by the way directed by Sutikshna, seeing pirturesque woods, hills resembling clouds, watery expanses and streams flowing by their path; Rama filled with delight said these words unto Lakshmana, "Surely we see the asylum of that high-souled one, the ascetic, Agastya's brother of pious acts. These trees standing by thousands on the way bending beneath the weight of fruits and flowers, hear the signs that had been mentioned to me as belonging to this wood. And from the wood is wafted by the wind the pungent odour of ripe pippalis. And here and there are found heaps of fire-wood, and torn Darva are seen, of the lustre of lapises, And the top of the column of smoke belonging unto the fire lit in the asylum in this wood, appears like the peak of a dark mountain. And twice-born ones, having performed their ablutions in sacred and retired bathing places, are offering flowers gathered by themselves, O placid one, from what I had heard from Sutikshna, this would appear to be the asylum of Agastya's brother. The righteous Agastya it is who, wishing for the welfare of the worlds, destroying by virtue of his austerities a Daitya resembling Death, hath rendered this quarter habitable. Once on a time here dwelt together two mighty Asuras, brothers given to slaughtering Brahmanasthe wily Vatapi and Ilwala. Wearing the form of a Brahmana, and speaking Sanskrit, the cruel one used to invite Vipras to a Sraddha. And, cooking his brother wearing the shape of a sheep, he used to feed the twice-born ones according to the rites prescribed for Sraddhas. Then when the Vipras had fed, Ilwala said,— "O Vatapi, come out, uttering a loud sound." Hearing his brother's words, Vatapi, bleating like a sheep, came out, riving their bodies. In this way, thousands of Brahmanas gathered together, were destroyed by flesh-eating ones wearing shapes at will. (And it came to pass that once upon a time) the Maharshi Agastya, having been invited to a Sraddha, fed on the mighty Asura. Thereupon uttering-'Finished' and offering water to wash hands with, Ilwala said unto his brother, 'Come out'! And, as that brother of Vatapi, given to slaughtering Vipras was speaking thus, that foremost of ascetics, the intelligent Agastya, said with a laugh, 'Where is the power of coming out, of the Rakshasa, thy brother wearing the shape of a sheep, who hath gone to Yama's abode?' Hearing his words, from wrath the ranger of the night prepared to assail the ascetic, and he rushed against that foremost of the twice-born ones. And, being consumed by that ascetic of flaming energy with his eyes resembling fire, the Rakshasa met his end. This asylum graced with pools and groves belongs to the brother of him who hath performed this arduous feat from compassion for the Vipras'. As Rama was thus conversing with Sumitra's son, the sun set and evening approached. Then, duly performing his afternoon adorations along with his brother, Rama entered the hermitage, and saluted the ascetic. Well received by the ascetic, Raghava spent there a night, eating fruits and roots. When the night had passed away, and the solar disc arose, Raghava greeted Agastya's brother, saying, "O reverend Sir, I salute thee. I have pleasantly passed the night. I greet thee; I shall go to behold my preceptor, thy elder brother." Thereat, on the ascetic's saying, 'Go thou,' the descendant of Raghu went away by the prescribed route. And Rama viewed the forest, and Niharas, and Panacas, and Salas, Vanjulas and Tinisas, and Chirivilwas, and Madhukas, and Vilvas, and Tindukas,all in full flower, and graced with blossoming creepers, and trees in the wood by hundreds, roughly handled by elephants with their trunks, and graced by monkeys, and resounding with the voices of an hundred maddened warblers. Then the lotus-eyed Rama said unto that enhancer of auspiciousness, the heroic Lakshmana, who was by him, and was following him at his back, "The leaves of these trees are glossy, and the beasts and birds are mild, even as (we had been told). The asylum of the pure-hearted Maharshi must not be far. This asylum capable of removing the fatigue of the weary, belonging to him that is known among men as Agastya by his own acts, is seen, with the (neighbouring woods) filled with smoke, and itself decorated with bark and wreaths, containing herds of mild deer, and ringing with the notes of various birds. This is the asylum of that pious one, who

destroying (the Asura resembling) Death, hath, desirous of

the welfare of mankind, rendered the Southern quarter habitable, and through whose potency the Rakshasas from fear barely cast their eyes in this direction, but do not approach. Ever since that one of pious ways possessed himself of this quarter, the rangers of the night have foregone their hostility, and assumed a peaceful attitude. This Southern quarter rendered safe (by Agastya), and incapable of being harassed by those ones of tortuous ways, is celebrated over the three worlds in conection with the name of the reverend ascetic. And this graceful asylum ranged by mild beasts belongs to that long-lived one of renowned achievements-Agastya-in obedience to whose command, the Vindhya mountain-foremost of its kind-which had always obstructed ihe way of the Sun, doth not increase. This pious one honoured of men, ever engaged in the welfare of the righteous, shall do good unto us, who have come to him. I shall adore the mighty ascetic, Agastya, and, O mild one, O master, here pass away the remainder of the term of my banishment. Here celestials with the Gandharbas, and Siddhas and eminent saints, observing restrictions in respect of food, adore Agastya. And the ascetic is such that a liar cannot live here, nor a cunning or a crafty person, nor a wicked wight, nor one that is given to unrighteousness. And adoring righteousness, celestials, and Yakshas, and Nagas, and birds, live here restricting their fare. And high-souled Siddhas and eminent saints, renouncing their bodies, repair to celestial regions in cars resembling the sun. And adored by auspicious individuals, the deities here confer on them the states of Yakshas and celestials, and divers kingdoms. O Sumitra's son. entering the asylum before us, do thou announce unto the saints that I along with Sita, have arrived here."

SECTION 12

Having entered the asylum, Raghava's younger brother, Lakshmana, coming to a disciple of Agastya, spoke unto him, saying, "There was a king, named Dacaratha. His eldest son, the strong Rama, hath come (to this asylum) along with his wife, Sita, for seeing the ascetic.-Named Lakshmana, I am his younger brother, obedient and devoted to him.-Thou mayst have heard of it. Having entered this horrid forest, in consonance with the mandate of our sire, we desire to see the reverend one. Tell this unto him." Hearing Lakshmana's words, that ascetic, saying. "So be it!", entered the chamber of the sacrificial fire, for the purpose of communicating (the news unto Agastya). Entering in, Agastya's beloved disciple, with joined hands communicated unto that foremost of ascetics, incapable of being repressed, exactly what Lakshmana had told him.—"For seeing the reverend one. and serving him as well, those subduers of their foes, Dacaratha's sons, Rama and Lakshmana, accompanied by Sita, have entered this asylum. It now behoves thee to command what is to be done next." Hearing from his disciple that Rama had come along with Lakshmana and the highly virtuous Vaidehi, Agastya said, "By luck it is that after a long time, Rama hath come to see me. I had mentally wished for his arrival. Go thou; and let Rama, having been respectfully received, come before me. Why hast thou not brought him thyself?" Thus addressed by the high-souled and righteous ascetic, the disciple saluting him, with joined hands, said, "So be it." Then issuing out, the disciple said unto Lakshmana, "Where is Rama? Let him come and enter in." Thereat, going to the asylum in company with the disciple (of Agastya). Lakshmana showed unto him Kakutstha and the daughter of Janaka, Sita. Then joyfully communicating unto Rama the words of the reverend one, the disciple (of Agastya) duly took in that one worthy of being honoured. And seeing the asylum teeming with mild deer, Rama entered in with Lakshmana and Sita. And there Rama beheld the place of Brahma, and that of Agni,-that of Vishnu, and that of the great Indra, the place of Vivaswat, and that of Soma, and that of Bhaga, and that of Dhata and Vidhata, and that of Vayu, and that of the high-souled Varuna having the noose in his hand, and that of Gayatri, and that of the Vasus, and that of the monarch of the Nagas, and that of Garuda, and that of Kartikeya, and that of Dharma. And it came to pass that, surrounded by his disciples, the ascetic came (before Rama). And Rama saw that one of flaming energy at the head of the ascetics; and the hero said unto Lakshmana, enhancer of auspiciousness, "O Lakshmana, the revered saint, Agastya, is coming out. I recognize that mass of asceticism by a certain kind of majesty (that characterizes him)." Having said this touching Agastya of the splendour of the sun, that son of Raghu took hold of his feet. Then, having paid him homage, Rama with joined hands stood there in company with Videha's daughter, Sita, and Lakshmana. Thereat, embracing Rama and honouring him with water and a seat, and asking him questions anent his welfare, the saint said, "Welcome! Offering oblations unto the fire, and presenting Arghya unto the guests, and paying them homage, that ascetic entertained them with food in accordance with the Vanasprastha mode of life; and then first sitting down, that foremost of ascetics, the pious Agastya, addressed Rama cognisant of righteousness, staying with joined hands, "O Kakutstha, if an ascetic acts otherwise (in respect of a guest,) he in the next world feeds on

his own flesh, like a false witness. The sovereign of all the worlds, righteous, a mighty car warrior, worthy of being honoured and worshipped, thou hast become our beloved guest." Having said this, Agastya, according to his desire, worshipping Raghava with fruits, roots and flowers, said unto him, "O foremost of men, this mighty, celestial bow belonging unto Vishnu, and constructed by Vicwakarma, and this best of arrows (named) Brahmadatta, infallible and resembling the sun, and this inexhaustible couple of quivers filled with sharpened shafts, like unto flaming fire; were granted unto me by the mighty Indra. And here is this mighty golden scabbard, and this sword decked in gold. Having, O Rama, slain the mighty Asuras with this bow, Vishnu in days of vore in battle secured the effulgent Fortune of the celestials. O bestower of honour, do thou for securing victory, take this bow, these quivers, this arrow, and this scimitar, like the holder of the thunderbolt, taking the same." Having said this that highly energetic one, the reverend Agastya, consigning unto Rama all those weapons, again said.

SECTION 13

Rama, I am pleased with thee; good betide thee! And, O Lakshmana, I am gratified by thee. Ye are in trouble in consequence of the great fatigue that ye have undergone on the way. And Janaka's daughter, the noble Maithili, is evidently eager (for rest). Of tender years and unknown to hardship, she hath come to the forest rife with troubles, being urged by the love she bears unto her lord. Do thou, O Rama. conduct thyself so, that Sita may find a pleasant time of it. By following thee to the forest, it is a hard task that she is performing. O son of Raghu, this hath been the nature of the fair sex from the commencement of creation, that they gladden him that is well off, and forsake a person in adversity. And women imitate the instability of lightning, the sharpness of weapons and the celerity of Garuda and the wind. But this wife of thine is absolutely free from all these defects; she is worthy of being extolled and the foremost of those devoted to their lord, like Arundhati among the gods. This region, O Rama, will be adorned, since, O subduer of enemies, thou along with Vaidehi and Sumitra's son, wilt dwell here." Thus addressed by the ascetic, Raghava, joining his hands, humbly observed unto that saint resembling flaming fire, "Blessed and beholden am I, since the foremost of ascetics is gratified with my merits as well as with those of my brother and wife. Do thou now direct me to a country well watered, and abounding in woods, where rearing an asylum, I may dwell delightfully and pleasantly." Hearing Rama's words, that best of ascetics, reflecting for a while, spoke these excellent words, "Two Yojanas hence, my child, is a region abounding in fruits and roots, containing countless deer, and beautiful-known by the name of Panchavati. Repairing thither, do thou, rearing an asylum, pass thy time pleasantly in company with Sumitra's son, duly doing the mandate of thy sire. O sinless one, all this news relating to thyself, has from affection been known to me through the potency of my asceticism, as also that relating to Dacaratha. Although thou hast promised to dwell with me in this ascetic grove, yet by virtue of my asceticism I know the desire that is in thy heart. I therefore tell thee, repair to Panchavati. That is a charming woodland, and there Mithila's daughter shall dwell with delight. And that tract is worthy of all praise, and, O Raghava, it is not distant from here.—It is in the vicinity of the Godavari. Mithila's daughter shall live there agreeably. And that spot abounds in fruits and roots, is frequented by various fowls, is retired, O mighty-armed one, and is sacred and beautiful. And thou of pure ways, and competent to protect the ascetics, shall, O Rama, protect them. O hero, vonder is the mighty wood of Madhukas, Directing thy course to the asylum of Nagrodha trees, go by the north of this Madhuka wood. Then arriving at a spot hard by a hill, (thou wilt) come upon the celebrated Panchavati, crowned with blossoming woods." Thus accosted by Agastya, Rama along with Sumitra's son, honouring the truth-speaking saint, greeted him. Then, having saluted his feet, they, taking the saint's permission, set out along with Sita for the hermitage of Panchavati. And, taking their bows and quivers those sons of the king, of undiminished martial virtue, with intent minds bent their course to Panchavati by the way laid down by the

SECTION 14

As he was proceeding to Panchavati, Raghu's son saw a huge-bodied vulture of terrible prowess. And seeing him in the forest, the exalted Rama and Lakshmana, as they were conversing With each other, knowing the bird to be (in reality) a Rakshasa, asked him, saying, "Who art thou?" Thereupon, in soft and sweet words, he, pleasing them, said, "My child, know me for a friend of thy father." Knowing him to be a friend of his sire, Raghava paid him homage, and enquired for his name and lineage. Hearing Rama's words, he mentioned his own lineage, and related the origin of all beings. "O mighty-armed one, I shall describe (unto thee) from the very beginning the (history of) those that were Prajapatis in days of yore. Listen, O Raghava. Of these, the first is Kardama, then Vikrita, and then Sesha, Sancraya, the

powerful Vahuputra, Sthanu, Marichi, Atri, the mighty Kratu, Pulastya, Angira, Pracheta, Pulaha, Daksha, Vivaswat, Arishtanemi, O Raghava, and the exceedingly energetic Kacyapa. These had the west. The Prajapati Daksha, it hath been heard by us, O Rama, had sixty famous and illustrious daughters. Of these Kacyapa wed eight, with elegant waists;—Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kalika [Or Kalaka.], Tamra, Krodhavasa, Manu and Anala. Then, well pleased, Kacyapa again said unto those damsels, "Do thou bring forth sons like unto myself, who shall be lords of the three worlds.' Thereat, Aditi, O Rama, Diti, Danu, and Kalika, O mightyarmed one, consented,-the rest were of another mind. And of Aditi were born thirty-three deities, O repressor of thy foes, viz., the Adityas, the Vasus, the Rudras, and the Acwinas, O subduer of enemies. And, my child, Diti gave birth to those sons, the renowned Daityas. Formerly, this earth girt with seas was in the possession of these. And, O vanquisher of thy foes, Danu gave birth to a son, named, Acwagriva. And Kalika brought forth Naraka and Kalaka. And Tamra gave birth to these five daughters celebrated in the world,-Kraunchi, Bhasi, Syeni, Dhritarshtri, and Suki. And Kraunchi gave birth to the Ulukas, and Bhasi, to Bhasas, and Syeni to hawks and vultures possessed of energy; and Dhritarashtri to swans, all kinds of Kalahansas, and Chakravakas, and that damsel, Suki, to Nata. And Vinata was Nata's daughter. And Krodhavasa, O Rama, brought forth ten daughters, viz., Mrigi, Mrigamanda, Hari, Bhadramada, Matangi, Sarduli, Sweta, Surabhi crowned with every (auspicious mark), Surasa and Kadruka. And, thou foremost of the best of men, Mrigi's sons were all the deer, and those of Mrigamanda. were bears, Srimaras and Chamaras. And Bhadramada bore one daughter, Iravati. And Iravati's son is the mighty elephant, who is the lord of the worlds. And Hari's sons are lions and the nimble monkeys. And Sarduli brought forth as her sons, Golangulas, and tigers; and the offspring of Matangi were mad elephants, O best of men. And Sweta, O Kakutstha, gave birth to the elephants of the cardinal points. And, O Rama, Surabhi gave birth unto two daughters-the famous Rohini, and Gandharbi. Rohini produced kine, and the sons of Gandharbi are horses. And Surasa, O Rama, gave birth to Nagas, and Kadru, to Pannagas. And Kacyapa's other wife Manu begot mankind-Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaicyas, and Sudras. From the mouth, it is known, sprang Brahmanas, from the breast, Kshatriyas, from the thighs, Vaicyas, and from the feet, Sudras. And Anala produced all trees bearing sacred fruits. Vinata (was) Suki's granddaughter, and Kadru, Surasa's aunt. And Kadru gave birth to a thousand Nagas with the holder of the Earth. And Vinata brought forth two sons.-Garuda, and Aruna, And from Aruna sprang myself and my elder brother Sampati. O subduer of enemies, know me for Jatayu, the son of Syeni. If thou will, I shall become thy help during thy abode (in the woods). And, O child, I shall protect Sita when thou shalt go out along with Lakshmana." There Raghava paying homage unto Jatavu, and embracing him joyfully, bent low; and that self-possessed one listened to the story of Jatavu's friendship with his father, as related by him repeatedly. Then consigning unto that bird of exceeding strength, Mithila's daughter, Sita, Rama accompanied by Lakshmana went to Panchavati, destroying his foes and protecting the worlds.

Then repairing to Panchavati filled with various animals and beasts of prey, Rama remarked unto his brother of flaming energy, "(Now) we have come to the place to which we had been directed by the ascetic. This, O amiable one, is Panchavati furnished with blossoming woods. Do thou cast thy eyes around this forest, and (ascertain) what spot shall suit our asylum. Do thou find out such a place in the vicinity of a tank where thyself Sita and I may dwell happily, which is graced with the garniture of woods and delightful with liquid lapses, and whose neighbourhood yields fuel, flowers, Kuca and water." Thus addressed by Rama, Lakshmana with joined hands, said unto Kakutstha in the presence of Sita, "O Kakutstha, even if I were to stay with thee for an hundred years. I shall remain thy servant. Thyself selecting some beauteous spot, do thou tell me-'Construct (an asylum)." Well pleased with the words of Lakshmana, that highly effulgent one, after due reflection, selected a site having every recommendation. Going to that romantic spot for rearing an asylum, Rama, taking the hand of Sumitra's son in his, said unto him, "This place is level, graceful, and surrounded with blossoming trees. Do thou duly construct an asylum at this spot. Hard by is seen a beautiful pool, embellished with lotuses, resembling the sun, and breathing balmy perfume. And, as told by that pure-hearted ascetic, Agastya, this is the graceful Godavari, bordered by flowering trees;-swarming with swans and Karandavas, delighted with Chakravakas; thronged with herds of deer, not far, yet not so very near. And resounding with the cries of peacocks; charming; elevated; containing full many a cave; do thou, O amiable one, behold these hills, covered with trees in full flower; and they are shining like elephants painted with diverse colours by persons with the utmost care; adorned with Salas, palmyras, Tamalas,

dates, Panasas, Nivaras, Tinisas, and Punnagas. And covered with mangos, and Tilakas, and Ketakas, and Champakas, and trees entwined by flowers and herbs and plants; and containing Syandanas, sandals, Nipas, Panasas, Lakuchas, Dhavas, Acwakarnas, Khadiras, Samis, Kincukas and Patalas This spot is sacred —this spot is charming—this spot abounds in beasts and birds. Here will I dwell, O Sumitra's son, in company with this bird [Jatayu.]." Thus addressed by Rama, the exceedingly powerful Lakshmana, slayer of hostile heroes, in a short time raised an asylum for his brother. And the exceedingly stout Lakshmana created there for Raghava a spacious hut thatched with leaves made of clay, furnished with pillars, constructed with long bamboos, graceful,-spread with Sami boughs; tightly fastened with strong cords; covered with Kuca, reeds, and leaves; with its floor well leveled; and charming; beautiful to look at, and exceedingly excellent. And then going to the river Godavari, the lovely Lakshmana, performing his bath, and securing lotuses and fruits, came back (to the asylum). Then offering flowers, and duly performing rites for the peace (of the habitation), Lakshmana showed the asylum which he had made unto Rama. Seeing the beautiful asylum along with Sita, Raghava experienced high raptures. And joyfully embracing Lakshmana with his arms, Rama said these exceedingly calm and solemn words, "Pleased am I with thee. Thou hast done a great deed, my brother; for which I have granted thee my embrace by way of reward. While thou, his son, skilled in reading thought, grateful, and cognisant of righteousness art alive. O Lakshmana, my father is not dead." Having said this unto Lakshmana, Raghava-the enhancer of auspiciousness—experiencing felicity, began to dwell happily in that region filled with fruits. And ministered unto by Sita and Lakshmana, that righteous one lived there, like the immortals in heaven.

SECTION 16.

As the high-souled Raghava was dwelling there peacefully, after autumn had departed, the welcome winter commenced And it came to pass that once on a time, when the night had passed away and day broke, that son of Raghu went to the romantic river Godavari for performing his bath. And as the humble son of Sumitra Rama's puissant brother bearing a water pitcher in his hand was following Rama along with Sita at his back, the former said unto Rama, "O sweet-speeched one, now is come that season which thou hast ever held dear; and as if decorated by which comes on the entire auspicious year. Now people have their persons rendered rough from dew; the earth is replenished with corn; water is difficult of being used; and fire becomes enjoyable. And men having worshipped the gods and the Pitris by celebrating Agrayana on the occasion of partaking new rice, have at this season, their sins purged off. The provinces overflow with food, and abound in milk and articles prepared there- from; and kings bent on conquest, range about for surveying them. And on the sun having veered steadily to the quarter presided over by the Destroyer [i. e.—The South.], the north appears like a female without her tilaka [A mark made with coloured earths or unguents upon the forehead and between the eye-brows either by way of ornament or a sectarial distinction.]. Naturally abounding in snow, and now having the sun at a great distance, the mountain Himavan [Himavan means having snow.] justly beareth that name. At miday the days are delightful to a degree to range in, feel highly agreeable. and have pleasant suns; while shade and water are uncomfortable. And the days now have mild suns, are covered with dew, severely cold, with the forests remaining idle, and the lotuses destroyed by frost. And now at night people cannot lie down in unsheltered places; and the nights are inferred from the presence of Pushya. And at night the atmosphere (being covered with vapour) looks brown; and it is bitter cold then; and the hours are long. And the good fortune of the Moon hath fallen to the Sun; and the disc of the former is reddish with vapour; and like unto a glass breathed upon, it doth not shine clearly. And the moonlight furnished by vapour doth not appear pleasant; and like Sita pallid because of (exposure to) sunshine, is perceptible, but doth not look beauteous. And at this season the western wind naturally of gelid feel, being permeated at present with cold, blows with double coldness. And the forests enveloped in mist, and stocked with wheat and barley, look brilliant at sunrise, with Kraunchas and cranes crying (in chorus). Golden-hued paddy slightly inclined, appear graceful, with their heads like unto date-flowers filled with rice. And the sun although high advanced, yet having its rays covered with thick mist, appeareth like the moon. And feeble at the first part of the day, and of agreeable touch at mid-day, the sunshine, being surcharged with mist, appeareth palish over the face of the earth. And in the woods, swards covered with green grass, and with dew-drops on it, look handsome on the morning sun brightening it up. And wild elephants waxing exceedingly thirsty, draw away their trunks, just as they touch beautifully clear and cold water. And those aquatic fowls seated by, do not dip themselves in the water, like unto cravens shunning fight. And the rows of trees, shorn of their blossoms, on being enveloped with dew at night and mist at morn, look as if they were fast asleep. And the streams

appear with their waters enveloped in vapour, and the cranes, perceived through their cries, and their banks having their sands wet. And what on account of the snow-fall, what of the mildness of the sun, and what through the cold, water even when it is on a mountain top, tastes sweet. And lotuses afflicted by the cold, with the stalks only left, and with their petals dropping down and their pericarps and filaments shrivelled up, do not appear beautiful. And, O foremost of men, at this season, influenced by regard for thee, Bharata undergoing affliction of spirit, is performing mortifications in the city. And forsaking kingdom, and dignity, and the many and various enjoyments, Bharata practising asceticism and restraining himself in respect of food, in this winter lieth down on the bare earth. And he also, for certain, at this hour of the day, surrounded by his subjects, daily wendeth to the river Sarayu for performing his ablutions. Brought up in luxury, and exceedingly tender, how can he, afflicted with cold, perform his ablutions during the latter part of the night? Of eyes resembling lotus petals, grey-hued, endued with grace, with a navel depressed, and mighty, Bharata understandeth righteousness, is truth-speaking, of restrained senses (in respect of others' wives) and also of subdued senses. And he speaketh fair, and is sweet-tempered, and long-armed and the vanquisher of foes. And renouncing various pleasures, he hath devoted himself unto the noble one. Thy high-souled brother hath secured heaven, since he, resorting to asceticism, is imitating thee that resident in the woods. The saving that people follow their mother and not their father, is falsified in the case of Bharata. How can mother Kaikevi, whose husband is Dacaratha and son the righteous Bharata, have such crooked way?" As the virtuous Lakshmana was speaking thus from affection, Raghava, not bearing the blame cast upon his mother (Kaikeyi), said, "My brother, thou shouldst by no means, tax our second mother. Do thou talk of that lord of the Ikshwaku race. Bharata. Albeit my mind is firm as regards my sojourn in the woods, yet is my mind unsteady, being inflamed with affection for Bharata. I remember his dear sweet words, taking the heart, resembling ambrosia, filling the soul with delight. When shall I, O son of Raghu, meet with the high-souled Bharata, and the heroic Satrughna, and thyself?" Having bewailed thus, Kakutstha, coming to the river Godavari, there performed his ablutions in company with younger brother and Sita. Then having offered his adorations with water unto the gods and the Pitris, those sinless hymned the risen sun as well as the celestials. Having with Sita as the second and Lakshmana, performed his bath. Rama looked beautiful like that lord the reverend Rudra in company with Nandi and the daughter of the king of mountains.

SECTION 17.

Having bathed, Rfima, Sit! and Sumitri's son went to their own asylum from the banks of the Godavari. Arriving at the asylum, Raghava along with Lakshmana, performing his morning devotions entered the cottage. And honoured of the Maharshis Rama happily dwelt in that cottage; and seated with Sita that mighty-armed one looked like the Moon in conjunction with Chitra. And he carried on various converse with his brother Lakshmana. As Rama was thus seated with his mind engrossed in that talk, A Rakshasi came to that region at her will. And that one named Surpanakha, sister unto the ten-necked Rakshasa, coming upon Rama, saw him like a celestial, having a leonine chest, mighty-arms, and expansive eyes resembling lotus leaves, with the powerful gait of the elephant, wearing a head of matted locks, with a resplendent countenance, bearing regal marks. And beholding Rama dark-blue like the lotus, and becoming like Kandarpa himself, and resembling Indra, the Rakshasi was maddened with desire. Rama was graced with a beauteous countenance. that Rakshas had a hideous face; Rama had a slender waist, she had a huge abdomen; he had expansive eyes, she had terrible eyes; he was gifted with an elegant head of hair, she had coppery hair; Rama was of a dear presence, she was of an unsightly presence: Rama had a sonorous voice, she had a hedeous voice; Rama was youthful, the Rakshasi was an old hag: Rama had mellifluous accents, she had harsh accents; Rama was ever abiding by justice, she was unruly; Rama was handsome, she was ugly. That Rakshasi being wrought up with passion addressed Rama saying "Wearing matted locks, and equipped with bows and arrows, why hast thou along with thy wife come to this region haunted by Rakshasas? It behoveth thee to say what the object of thy visit is." Thus accosted by the Rakshasi, Surpanakha, that subduer of his foes from sincerity of disposition began to relate -"There was a king named Dacaratha endeued with the prowess of a celestial. I am his eldest son known among men by the name of Rama. This is my younger brother (named) Lakshmana, (ever) serving me. This is my wife, known by the name of Sita Commanded by my father and mother, I in obedience to their mandate, desirous of acquiring religious merits, have for the purpose of securing righteousness, come to this forest for dwelling here. I also am anxious to know thee. Whose daughter art thou? And what is thy name, and what is thy lineage? Possessed of a captivating

form, thou appearest to me as a Rakshasi. Tell me truly why thou hast come here." Hearing these words the Rakshasi, afflicted with lust, said, "Listen, O Rama. I will relate everything truly, I am a Rakshasi, capable of wearing shapes at will. My name is Surpanakha. Striking terror into the hearts of all, I range this forest alone. My brother is named Ravana [Another reading is: my brother is named Ravana—a Rakshasa, and lord of Rakshasas. He is the son of Viasavan. Thou mayst have heard of him.l. Thou mayst have heard of him. And he that is given to long sleep —the mighty Kumbhakarna, the righteous Bibhishana, who never serves the Rakshasas, and the brothers Khara and Dushana renowned in conflict (are also my brothers). Rama, I have surpassed them all (in prowess). At first sight of thee, I approach thee, thou best of men, as my husband with (feelings of) love. I am endeued with power, and range about at will by virtue of my strength. Become my husband for ever and a day. What wilt thou do with Sita? Deformed and unsightly, she is not worthy of thee. I am fit for thee. Do thou look upon me as a wife. This unsightly grim unchaste and human one with a lean abdomen, will I devour up, along with this brother of thine. Then having thy wish, in company with me, thou wilt range the Dandakas, surveying the various mountain summits and forests." Thus addressed, Kakutstha having charming eyes, well skilled in speech, with a smile, began to speak thus.

SECTION 18

With a smile, Rama jestingly addressed Surpanakha who had been ensuared in the noose of love, in soft words, saving, 'Gentle one, I am already wedded; this is my beloved wife. To females like unto thee co-wife-hood is exceedingly miserable. This young brother of mine is good-looking, and is of an excellent character; he is graceful, and is still unwived. The powerful one is named Lakshmana. He hath not yet tested the pleasures of a wife's company, and is desirous of having a spouse. And he is youthful and of an inviting presence. He will become a fit husband for thee, considering this thy beauty. O thou of expansive eyes, seek this brother of mine as thy husband, even as the solar beam seeks Meru. (By doing so), thou O supremely beautiful damsel, wilt not have to fear a cowife." Having been thus addressed by RAma, the Rakshasi intoxicated with lust, at once leaving Rama, spake unto Lakshmana, saying, "I am fit to be thy wife possessed of transcendental grace, having regard to this beauty of thine. And with me thou wilt happily range these Dandakas." Thus accosted by the Rakshasi, Sumitri's son, Lakshmana versed in speech, with a smile appropriately observed unto Surpanakha, Why wishest thou to be the servant of me who am a servant myself? O lotus-hued one, I am dependant on my noble brother, O thou of expansive eyes, be thou securing the summum bonum, with a joyful heart, become, O superbly beautiful wench, the younger wife of the noble one of great good fortune. Renouncing this frightful, unchaste, hideous, old wife possessed of a lean abdomen; he will devote himself unto thee. O paragon among damsels, O supremely charming lady, what man possessed of discernment, passing by such grace, would bear affection to a human female?" accosted by Lakshmana, that hideous one having a lean abdomen being incapable of understanding jest, took his words as true. Thereupon as that subduer of enemies, the irrepressible Rama, was seated in the cottage in company with Sita, the Rakshasi, transported with lust, said unto him, "Forsaking this deformed, unchaste, horrible old wife of thine possessed of a lean abdomen, thou dost not regard me. To-day, thou looking on, I shall eat up this human female. And I shall, rid of a co-wife, happily range with thee." Having said this, even as a mighty meteor striketh Rohini, that one having eyes resembling live coals, waxing exceedingly enraged, rushed towards that (damsel) with the eyes of a doe. Thereupon, hindering the Rakshasi resembling the noose of death, as she was rushing on, the mighty Rama, growing wroth, said unto Lakshmana, "O Saumitri [We are obliged to use this epithet as it is in order to prevent the too frequent recurrence of Sumitra's son.], what is the good of jesting with a base and wicked one? No use of doing it. Look, O amiable one, Vaidehi [Videha's daughter. We retain this epithet also for the reason assigned above.] is well nigh dead. It behoves thee, O foremost of men, to deform this frightful, unchaste Rakshasi of a huge abdomen, transported with lust." Thus desired the exceedingly strong Lakshmana, fired with wrath, taking out his sword, in the sight of Rama, cut off her nose and ears. Her ears and nose cut off, the terrible Surpanakha, uttering frightful cries, fled amain into the forest whence she had come. And being deformed, and covered with gore, the dreadful Rakshasi sent up many a roar, like clouds rumbling in the rains. And bleeding profusely, the grimvisaged Rakshasi, lifting up her arms, and roaring, entered the mighty forest. Then, having been deformed, (the Rakshasi) approaching, her brother of fierce energy, Khara, come to Janasthana. (seated surrounded by numbers of Rakshasas), fell down to the earth, even as the thunder-bolt bursts from the sky. Then that sister of Khara, bathed in blood, and deprived of her senses through fright, related ail about Rama's arrival at the forest along

with Lakshmana and his own wife, as well as the circumstances connected with her being deformed.

SECTION 19

Seeing his sister deformed, and covered with blood, fallen on the ground, the Rakshasa, Khara, fired with wrath asked her, saying, "Arise! Leave off fear and amazement. Tell me plainly by whom thou hast been thus deformed. Who is it that with his finger-end hath by way of sport hurt a black venomous snake that was innocent? He that coming in contact with thee hath to-day drunk virulent poison, winding a fatal noose round about his neck, knoweth it not through ignorance. Endowed with strength and prowess, ranging about at will, wearing shapes at pleasure, and resembling the destroyer himself, going to whom hast thou come by this condition? Who among the gods, Gandharbas or creatures or the high souled saints is of such mighty energy as to have deformed thee? In this world I do not see him that would do me wrong. Even as a crane afflicted with thirst appropriated milk mixed in water (leaving the latter out), so by means of fleet and life destroying shafts will I among the immortals take the life of that chastiser of Paka, the thousand-eved mighty Indra. The frothy blood of whom, having his marrow pierced (by me) and slain by me in battle, doth the Earth wish to drink? Tearing off flesh from the corpse of whom slain by me in conflict, shall the birds so joyfully feed on it? Him, whom I shall wrong mightily, neither the gods, nor the Gandharbas, nor the Picachas [A kind of foul spirits.], nor the Rakshasas, will be able to rescue in fierce encounter. Recovering by degrees thy sense, it behoves thee to tell me what individual it was of execrable character, who by his prowess, hath humbled thee in the forest." Hearing these words of his brother, who was under the influence of extreme rage, Surpanakha. with tears in her eyes, said, "Tender, and endowed with beauty, possessed of youth and gifted with great strength, with expansive eyes resembling white lotuses: clad in bark and dark dear-skins, subsisting on fruits and roots, having their senses under control; leading an ascetic life and a Brahmacharya mode of existence; there are two sons of Dacaratha the brothers Rama and Lakshmana resembling the Sovereign of the Gandharbhas and marked with signs betokening royalty. I cannot ascertain whether they be celestials, or human beings. And between them I saw there a youthful female furnished with grace, and having a dainty waist; adorned with every kind of ornament. And it is on account of this female that I have like one unchaste and uncared for, have come by this condition at their hands. Nor I wish in the midst of encounter to drink the frothy blood of that crooked one as well as those two slain (in battle). Let this my prime wish be crowned there with fruition. Her and their blood will I drink in dreadful conflict." As she said this, Khara wrought up with boundless passion, said, "Two human beings accoutred in arms, and wearing bark and dark deerskins have in company with a female entered this deep Dandaka forest. Do ve return, after slaving them, as well as that wicked one. And this sister of mine will drink their blood. Ye Rakshasas, even this is my sister's dear desire. Repairing thither, speedily accomplish this, bearing them down by your native might. Seeing those two brothers slain by you. this one, exceedingly rejoiced, will drink their blood in the field." Thus commissioned, those fourteen Rakshasas set out there like clouds driven by the winds, accompanied by Surpanakha.

SECTION 20

Then the grim Surpanakha, coming to Raghava's asylum pointed out to the Rakshasas those brothers in company with Sita. And they saw the mighty Rama seated in the cottage in company with Sita, and ministered unto by Lakshmana. And seeing her, as well as the Rakshasas who had come. Rama remarked unto his brother, Lakshmana of flaming energy, saying, "O Sumitra's son, do thou for a while guard Sita. I shall slay these that have come to this asylum here." Hearing these words of Rama versed in the knowledge of self, Lakshmana honoured his speech by saying, "So be it." And the righteous Raghava strung his mighty bow decked with gold; and addressed the Rakshasas, saying, "We that have entered into this untractable forest of Dandaka in company with Sita are the sons of Dacaratha, the brothers, Rama and Lakshmana. Why do you intend to do injury unto us. Subsisting on fruits and roots, having our senses under control, carrying on asceticism and leading a Brahmacharya life, we are passing our days in the forest of Dandaka. It is to destroy you, wicked, and troublesome that I equipped with the bow have come here at the desire of the saints. Stay there content you should not move further. If you have a care for your lives, desist, ye rangers of the night." Hearing those words of his, those fourteen grim Rakshasas bearing darts in their hands, exceedingly enraged, with their eyes reddened, breathing high spirits, harshly said unto the sweet-speeched Rama, having his eyes reddened, whose prowess they had not seen before, "Having excited there our lord, the high-souled Khara, it is thou that shalt lose thy life no later than this day, being slain by us in battle. What power hast thou, being one, to stay before us many, in the field,—what shall I say of thy

coping with us in conflict? In consequence of the parighas, darts, and pathifasdischarged by our arms, thou wilt surely lose thy life, along with thy prowess, and this bow which thou pressest with thy hand." Having said this in wrath, those fourteen Rakshas uplifting their weapons and daggers rushed towards Rama and discharged darts at the invincible Raghava. Thereupon Kakutstha by means of shafts decked with gold, cut off those fourteen darts of theirs. Seeing this, that exceedingly energetic one, waxing highly enraged, took out fourteen narachas, whetted on stone, resembling the sun. And even as Satakratu hurls the thunderbolt, Raghava drawing his bow and taking his aim at the Rakshasas, let go those shafts. And those Rakshasas, their breasts pierced with vehemence, and themselves bathed in blood, fell down to the earth, like snakes dropping down from an ant hill. And with their breasts pierced, they, dripping with blood, deformed and deprived of their lives, lay on the ground like trees whose roots have been severed. Seeing them fallen on the ground the Rakshasi, beyond herself in wrath, approaching Khara, with her blood a little dried up, again in distressful guise threw herself on the earth, like a plant exuding gum. And in presence of her brother, she set up a mighty roar; and then her face grown pallid, she dropped tears, emitting cries. Seeing those Rakshasas slain in battle, Surpanakha again hastened (to her brother), and the sister of Khara, related detail the slaughter of those Rakshasas.

SECTION 21.

Seeing Surpanakha again lying on the ground, Khara in anger spake out unto that one, who had come to bring on evil, saying, "I had but recently commissioned for thy behoof those heroic Rakshasas living on flesh. Why then dost thou again weep? Bearing regard and attached unto me, and ever engaged in my welfare, they, assailed by others, are incapable of being slain; nor do they not obey my orders. What can it be? I would hear of the occasion owing to which again, crying 'Ah lord,' thou rollest on the earth like a serpent. Why dost thou beweep like one forlorn, while I thy lord, am living? Arise! Arise! Do not fear, cast off thy stupor." Thus addressed, and consoled by Khara, that irrepressible one, wiping her eyes, spoke unto Khara, "Having had my nose and ears cut off, I had come hither, covered with blood; and thou hadst consoled me. And thou also hadst despatched fourteen heroic Rakshasas, for my behoof, for slaying the terrific Raghava along with Lakshmana. But all those, bearing ill will (towards Rama), bearing darts and pathsas in their haads, have been slain in conflict by means of weapons penetrating into the vitals. Seeing those possessed of great speed, in a moment laid low on the ground.—as well as (witnessing) Rama's mighty deed, great fear hath taken possession of me. O ranger of the night, I am afraid, and agitated, and cast down. I have (at length) found in thee a refuge, seeing fear on all sides. Wilt thou not rescue me who am sinking in this ocean of grief, having sorrow for its alligators and affright for billows? And these Rakshasas, living on flesh who had arrived at that place, have been slain by Rama with sharpened shafts. If thou hast any kindness for me as well as those sons of Rakshasas and, O ranger of mght, if thou hast strength and energy to cope with Rama, do thou kill this thorn of the Rakshasas, who hath set up his dwelling in the forest of Dandaka. If thou do not to-day slay that destroyer of foes, Rama, I shall banishing shame, give up my life in thy very presence. Meseems, thou backed by thy forces art incapable of staying in battle before Rama in high encounter. Thou plumest thyself on being a hero; but art really none such. Prowess hath been falsely attributed unto thee. Go off from Janasthana without delay, along with thy friends. O Stainer of thy line, do thou in battle slay those fool-hardy ones. But if thou fail in slaying those human beings, Rama and Lakshmana, then how canst thou void of strength and of slender prowess, stay here? Overcome by the energy of Rama thou shalt speedily meet with destruction. Dacaratha's son Rama, is endued with energy. His brother is possessed of high vigour by whom I have come to be deformed." Having thus bewailed long, that Rakshasi, possessed of a spacious abdomen, through sorrow, became bereft of her senses before her brother, and excercised with great grief cried, striking her abdomen with her hands.

SECTION 22.

On being thus taunted by Surpanakha, Khara spoke these sharp words in the midst of the Rakshasas, "Arising from this thy humiliating censure, my wrath is beyond compare. I can not bear it, like salt-water cast on a sore. From my prowess I count not Rama who is a human being possessed of a frail life—him who slain by me shall to-day in consequence of his misdeed give up existence. Restrain thy tears, and remove thy fear. I shall despatch Rama along with his brother to the abode of Yama. Thou shalt, O Rakshasi, quaff on the ground the hot blood of Rama of evil life, slain by my axe." Overjoyed on hearing the words that dropped from Khara's mouth, she again through fickleness extolled that foremost of Rakshasas, her brother. At first reprimanded by her and then praised, Khara spoke unto his general, named Dushana, saying, "Do thou, O gentle one, array fourteen thousand of those

Rakshasas, gifted with furious vehemence, ever following my wish, who never turn away from the field; who are hued like unto purple clouds, who revel in cruelty, and who are elated (in consequence of their prowess). And thou gentle one, do thou at once bring my car as well as my bows, and pasty coloured arrows and scimitars, and darts, and various whetted iavelins. O thou versed in warfare, for slaving this haughty Rama, I go in the very fore-front of the high-souled Paulastvas [Lit.—Pulastva's sons. The Rakshasas were commonly descended from Pulastya.]. As he said this, Dushana brought his great car hued like the sun, yoked with excellent steeds of various colours. And thereupon in a passion Khara ascended that car resembling a peak of Meru, embellished with burnished-gold, furnished with golden wheels, open; having its pole studded with lapises; surrounded with fishes and flowers and trees and stones, and the sun and the moon and gold, and auspicious articles; and swarms of birds, and stars; having streamers and swords; garnished with bells; and yoked with superb coursers. And beholding that mighty army consisting of cars and arms and pennons, Khara as well as Dushana, said unto that multitude of Rakshasas, "March forth!" And then uttering tremendous roars, rushed out with great vehemence four and ten thousands of those terrible Rakshasas equipped with clubs and pattisas and darts and sharpened axes, and scimitars and discuses,-shining beautifully in their hands and saktis and dreadful parighasand innumerable bows, and maces, and mushalas and vajrasfearful to behold, griped fast. And those following the will of Khara issued out of JanasthSna. Seeing those Rakshasas of dreadful forms rushing out, Khara's car remaining a little away (from the press), proceeded after a short space. Then taking the permission of Khara, the charioteer drove at speed those powerful steeds decked in shining gold. And driven with speed, the car of Khara—slaver of foes—filled all directions with its rattle. And Khara, fired with wrath, and having piercing voice, hastening to destroy his enemy like the Destroyer himself, again urged his charioteer with roars, like a mighty cloud showering down stones.

SECTION 23.

As those terrible and inauspicious forces were marching on. a mighty sable cloud with dreadful sounds began to shower down blood. And the steeds yoked to his (Khara's) car, gifted with great celerity, dropped down all of a sudden on the level high ways strewn with blossoms. A dark circle bordered with red, resembling that of charcoal, appeared in the vicinity of the sun. And a frightful vulture, having a huge body, approaching the banner, sat upon the upraised golden flagstaff. And beasts and birds having shrill voices, living on flesh, remaining near Janasthana, emitted various dissonant notes. And in the quarter lighted up by the fierce jackals having mighty voices, in dreadful cries presaged evil unto the Rakshasas. And terrific clouds surcharged with water and blood, and resembling elephants with rent temples, enveloped the sky. And a dense darkness appeared, capable of making one's hair stand on end, and no quarter was distinctly visible. And out of season, there appeared evening hued like a cloth soaked in blood. And facing Khara, terrible beasts and birds set up cries. Kankas, Gomayas and vultures, portending fear, began to cry. Ever inauspicious in war, jackals presaging evil, with their mouths belching forth flame, howled in the face of the forces. And comets, resembling parighas appeared beside the sun. That mighty planet Swarbhanu seized the sun when there was no parva. And the winds blew violently; and the sun was without lustre. And when there was no night, stars wearing the sheen of fireflies, began to fall. And in the tanks fishes and fowls were inert, and the lotuses were withered. And at that hour the trees were shorn of fruits and flowers; and without wind there arose dust dusky like clouds. And the parrots uttered wild notes-chichikuchi. And meteors of terrific aspects fell with loud noises. And the earth with her mountains, woods, and forests, shook. And as the intellegent Khara was roaring from his car, his left arm shook, and his voice fell, and as he surveyed around, his eyes moistened, and his head ached; yet through ignorance, he did not desist. Witnessing these mighty portents capable of making one's hair stand on end, Khara with a laugh, addressed the whole body of Rakshasas, saying, "Even as a strong person from prowess counts not a weak one, I do not dwell upon all these mighty portents, dreadful to behold, that have appeared. Even the stars will I bring down from heaven with my sharp shafts; and even Death will I engaged, bring to mortality. Without slaying Raghava puffed up with pride as well as Lakshmana, by means of sharp weapons, I return not (from the conflict). Let that sister of mine, for whom Rama and Lakshmana have had sense perverted, attain her desire, by drinking their blood. I had never before met with defeat in conflict. Ye have witnessed it. I do not speak a falsehood. Wrought up with rage, I shall slay in fight the sovereign of the celestials himself, going on his mad Airavata, with the thunderbolt in his hand, -what shall I say of those two, who are human beings? Entangled in the noose of death, that mighty army of the Rakshasas, hearing his challenge, experienced boundless enthusiasm. And anxious to see the

encounter, there came high-souled saints, and celestials, and Gandharbas, and Siddhas, with the Charanas. And these pious ones assembled, spoke unto one another, "Welfare unto those cows, and Brahmanas, and those that are prized by the worlds! As the discus-handed Vishnu vanquished the foremost Asuras, may Raghava rout in battle those rangers of the night, the progeny of Pulastya! And saying this as well as various other things, the supreme saints and the celestials stationed in the sky conceiving curiosity (as to the issue of the conflict). beheld the host of those Rakshasas, whose days had been numbered. Then impetuously Khara issued in his car from the van of the army. And these twelve endowed with exceeding prowess, viz., Synagami, Prithucyama, Yaynacatru, Vihangama, Duryyaya, Karaviraksha, Purusha, Kalakanuka, Maghamali, Mahamali, Sarpasya, and Rudhiracana posted themselves around Khara. And Mahakapala, Slhulaksha, Hramathi and Triciras—[These four going before the forces, went at the back of Dushana]. Then as the planets dart towards the sun and moon, that heroic and dreadful army of Rakshasas, eager for victory suddenly rushed towards the princes with great vehemence.

SECTION 24.

When Khara of fierce prowess had come to the asylum Rama in company with his brother saw all those evil prognostics. And beholding those dreadful portents, Rama exceedingly distressed, apprehending some calamity to the Rakshasas, observed unto Lakshmana, "O mighty armed one, behold these great presages that have taken place, capable of annihilating all beings, and which have for their object the utter extermination of the Rakhasas! Yonder threatening clouds of assinine sable, showering down blood and uttering loud sounds are ranging the welkin. And, O discerning one rejoicing at the prospect of my fight, all these arrows emit smoke, and my bows plaited on the back with gold, are restless. Meseems from the noise of the wild birds that impending on us is danger and uncertainty to life. Without doubt, there shall take place a mighty conflict. At this critical time, my arm shaking momentarily, betokens, O hero, victory unto us, and defeat unto the enemy. And thy face appeareth pleasant with a delightful lustre. O Lakshmana, the pallid face of those that prepare for conflict, auger shortening of life. We can hear the shouts of the Rakshasas as they roar, as also the blasts of the trumpets of those doomed to be wounded blown by Rakshasas of remorseless deeds. A considerate person that wisheth for his welfare, apprehending peril, should prevent disaster ere it arrives. Therefore bearing arrows in thy hand, and equipped with thy bow, do thou, taking Videha's daughter, take refuge in the mountain cavern, covered with trees and difficult of access. That thou shouldst act contrary to my words, is what I do not wish. Swearing by my feet, go thou without delay, my brother. Thou art both strong and a hero: Thou canst, without doubt, slay these (Rakshasas). But I wish to slay all these rangers of the night myself." Thus accosted by Rama, Lakshmana, taking arrows and a bow, took refuge in an inaccessible cave along with Sita. Thereupon, saying, "Ah! we have spoken it sharp," Rama put on his mail. And adorned with that mail resembling fire Rama appeared in the dark like a mighty flame streaming up. And uplifting his bow, and taking his arrows, that powerful one stood there, feeling all directions with the twangs of his bowstring. Then the high-souled gods and Gandharbas, Siddhas and Charanas came there, with the intention of witnessing the fight. And high-souled saints of the world, and the foremost Brahmarshis, of pious acts, coming together, spoke unto one another, saying, "Hail to cows and Brahmanas, and all those in whom are established the worlds! May Raghava vanquish in fight those rangers of the night, the progeny of Pulastya, even as the discus-handed Vishnu routed in battle the foremost Asuras!" Having said this, they again spoke, eying one another, "There are fourteen thousand of the Rakshasas of dreadful deeds, while the righteous Rama is single. How can fight take place (between two such parties)?" Having said this, the Rajarshis, Siddhas, multitudes of the beet of the twiceborn ones, and celestials stationed in the sky were moved with curiosity (as to the issue of the conflict). Then seeing Rama filled with energy, remaining in the field, all beings from fear experienced great pain. And the peerless grace of Rama of energetic deeds became like unto that of the high souled infuriated Rudra. While the gods, Gandharbas and Charanas were thus conversing, the forces of the Rakshasas sending up solemn sounds, furnished with horrible armour, arms and flags, conversing in heroic parlance, roaring at each other, stretching bows, momentarily yawning, sending forth shouts, and blowing trumpets. The universal uproar filled that (entire) forest. Scared and terrified at the hubbul the rangers of the wood fled to quarters free from noise; nor did they cast their eyes backward. And that army resembling the ocean, and rife with sounds, equipped with various weapons, with furious speed came towards Rama. And Rama also versed in warfare, casting his eyes arround, found the forces of Khara ready for fight. Then stretching his dreadful bow, and swiftly taking out shafts, (Rama) for compassing the destruction of the entire body of the Rakshasas, waxed furiously enraged. And

like unto the flaming fire at the universal dissolution, he, growing wroth, was incapable of being looked at. And seeing him filled with energy, the sylvan deities were extremely pained. And the aspect of the enraged Rama appeared like that of the holder of Pinaka, intent upon destroying Daksha's sacrifice. Furnished with bows and ornaments and cars and mail hued like fire, that army of those subsisting on flesh, appeared like masses of blue clouds at sunrise.

Coming to the asylum, Khara in company with those that

SECTION 25

went before him, saw that slayer of foes, the enraged Rama, holding his bow. And seeing him, Khara possessing a shrill voice, raising his bow, commanded unto the charioteer to drive towards Rama.—" Drive on!" At Khara's command. the charioteer drove the steeds to where the mighty-armed Rama stood alone, holding his bow. And seeing him (Khara) entered the field, all those rangers of the night-the counselors-uttering mighty shouts, environed him round. And Khara stationed on his car in the midst of Rakshasas appeared like red bodied one risen in the midst of the stars. Then in battle Khara, afflicting Rama of incomparable energy with a thousand shafts, uttered a tremendous roar. Then all the rangers of the night, waxing exceeding wroth, showered various weapons on that terrible bowman, the invincible Rama. And wrought up with rage, the Rakshasas in battle assailed him with iron clubs, and darts, and prasas, and swords, and axes. And resembling clouds (in hue), the exceedingly strong Rakshasas, having huge bodies, darted towards Kakutstha by means of steeds and cars. And mounted on elephants resembling mountain-peaks, numbers of Rakshasas, intent upon slaying Rama in battle, showered arrows on him, as mighty clouds pour down showers on the monarch of mountains. And Rama was hemmed in by all those fierce-looking Rakshasas even as in the evening Mahadeva is surrounded by his courtiers. And as the ocean resisteth the tide of a river, Raghava by means of arrows resisted the weapons discharged by the Yatudhanas. As a mighty mountain, assailed by the thunderbolt, doth not feel pain, Rama, having his person pierced by terrible flaming weapons, did not feel pain. And pierced, and with his person covered with blood. Rama, the descendant of Raghu, resembled the sun enveloped in evening clouds. And seeing him single, surrounded by many thousands, the Gods, Gandharbas, Siddhas, and supreme saints became sorrowful. Then Rama getting enraged, bringing his bow to a circle, discharged sharpened shafts by hundreds and by thousands. And as if in sport Rama in the conflict shot irrisistible (shafts) furnished with Kanka feathers, and decked with gold, irrisistible, capable of inflicting extreme pain, and resembling the noose of Death. And sportively discharged by Rama, those arrows deprived the Rakshasas of their lives, like the noose forged by death. And piercing the persons of the Rakshasas, those arrows, soaked in blood, going up to the sky, appeared with the splendour of flaming fire. And innumerable shafts, exceedingly fierce, capable of depriving the Rakshasas of their lives, were let go from the circle of his bow. And with those Rama severed bows, in battle by hundreds and by thousands and flag ends, and shields, and mail, and many arms with embellished hands, resembling the trunks of elephants. And the arrows of Rama discharged from the string pierced and cut off steeds mailed in gold, voked unto cars, together with the charioteer; and elephants with their riders; and horsemen with horses. And slaying foot-soldiers, he despatched them to the abode of Yama. And cut off with nalikas and, narachas, and sharp-pointed vikirnas, the rangers of the night uttered dreadful howls of distress. And like a withered wood afflicted by fire, that host harassed by the various marrow-piercing shafts shot by Rama, did not attain ease. And some heroic rangers of the night possessed of great strength, waxing furious, threw at Rama prasas, and darts and axes. Thereupon resisting by means of shafts those weapons of theirs, the mighty-armed Rama endeued with prowess, took their lives in the conflict, and cut off the heads (of warriors). And having their heads, and shields and bow-strings, severed, they fell as fall on the earth trees thrown down by blasts from the wings of Suparna [Lit.—Of fair feathers. A name of Garuda.]. Those rangers of the night that remained there, wounded by arrows, and losing heart, fled with speed to Khara, to seek his protection. Thereat, encouraging them, Dushana, taking his bow, ran furiously in high rage against Rama, like the enraged Destroyer himself. And rallied again (by Dushana) and, their fear dispelled through their having found refuge with him, they armed with salas, talas, and crags, darted against Rama. And bearing in their hands darts, and clubs, and nooses, those exceedingly strong ones showered in battle shafts and weapons. And the Rakshasas discharged vollies of trees and crags. And capable of making one's hair stand on end that battle was dreadful and furious and now on the side of Rama and now again on that of the Rakshasas. And waxing exceedingly wroth, they bore on him hard from all sides. Then finding all directions entirely covered with Rakshasas, and showers of shafts, that one gifted with mighty strength, sending up a terrific shout, fixed (on the bow-string) the

exceedingly effulgent Gandharba weapon (for discharging it) among the Rakshasas. Then thousands of shafts went forth from the circle of his bow; and all directions were covered with thronging arrows. And those Rakshasas, afflicted with arrows could not see Rama how he took out his dread shafts, nor how he discharged those excellent shafts; they only saw him drawing his bow. And the darkness spread by the arrows enveloped the sky with the sun. And Rama stationed there continued pouring in shafts. And the earth was covered with shafts shot, and alighting, and alighted simultaneously. And at places were seen Rakshasas by thousands slain, falling, enfeebled, torn and riven. And cut off by Rama with arrows, darts and Patticas in that battle the fearful field was scattered, heads with turbans, arms with finger-fences; torn thighs and arms, and various ornaments, horses, excellent elephants and cars, shattered in numbers, chouris, fans, and umbrellas, and pennons of various descriptions. Beholding all those stain, the (remaining) Rakshasas, sore distressed, could not (again) advance before that captor of hostile capitals Rama

SECTION 26

Finding his own forces slaughtered, the mighty-armed Dushana speedily ordered five thousand Rakshasas, gifted with tremendous velocity, difficult of being approached, who never turned from the field. And from all sides they incessantly showered darts and patticas, and scimitars, stones, and trees, and shafts. Thereupon by means of shafts the righteous Raghava resisted that mighty destructive shower of trees and stones. Resisting that shower. Rama with his eyes staring, and resembling a bull, flew into a great rage, for the purpose of slaying the whole body of Rakshasas. Then influenced by wrath, and flaming in energy he on all sides covered the army along with Dushana with arrows. Then the general, Dushana, destroyer of enemies, getting wroth, opposed Raghava with arrows resembling thunderbolts. Then heroic Rama highly angered, severed his (Dushana's) mighty bow with shafts sharp as razors, and slew his four horses by means of as many shafts. And having slain the steeds, he (Rama) cut off the head of the charioteer by means of a crescent-shaped weapon, and pierced the (Rakshasa Dushna) in the breast with a brace of shafts. His bow cut off, his steeds together with the charioteer slain, and himself deprived of his car, he (Dushana) took a parigha resembling a mountain peak, able to make one's down stand on end plated with gold, capable of afflicting celestial hosts, studded with sharp iron sankus, and graced with the fat of foes;-of the touch of a thunderbolt, able to pierce the persons of enemies. And taking up in that encounter the parigha resembling a mighty snake. that ranger of the night of cruel deeds Dushana, rushed towards Rama. And as Dushana was rushing forward, Raghava by means of a couple of shafts cut off his two arms with the ornaments. And the huge parigha escaping from (Dushana's grasp) fell forward on the field like the banner of Sakra. And like a mighty elephant whose husks have fallen off, Dushana, on his arms having been severed, fell down to the earth. Seeing Dushana down on the ground, and slain in battle, all creatures, saying, "well done!" "well done!" paid homage unto Kakutstha. In the meantime, three generals, getting wroth, being entrapped in the noose of death, rushed against Rama in a body-viz; Mahakapala, Sthulakshya, and the mighty Pramathi the Rakshasa, Mahakapala, upraising a large dart, and Sthulakshya, taking a pathica, and Pramathi, an axe. And as soon as Raghava beheld them advance, he resisted them by means of sharp and keen-edged shafts, even as one receives guests that have come. And Raghu's son split Mahakapala's head, -afflicted Pramathi with countless shafts, and lodged the eyes of Sthulakshva with sharp shafts. And they fell down to the earth like mighty trees of many boughs. Thereat instantly inflamed with wrath, Rama by means of five thousand shafts, sent as many thousands of Dushana's followers to Yama's abode. Hearing that Dushana had been slain, Khara, waxing wroth, commanded his mighty generals, saying, "Fighting with that vile man, Rama, along with his mighty forces Dushana hath been slain in battle, together with his followers. Let all the Rakshasas slav him with weapons of various shapes." Having said this in wrath, Khara darted towards Rama. And discharging choice shafts, Syenagami Prithugriva, Jajnasatru, Vihangama, Durjaya, Paraviraksha, Parusha, Kalakarmuka, Hemamali, Mahamali, Sarpasya, and Rudhiracana,-these twelve generals endeued with mighty prowess accompanied with their forces, proceeded vehemently against Rama, discharging excellent shafts. Threat with shafts resembling fire, and decked with diamonds and with gold, (Rama) possessed of energy destroyed the rest of his (Khara's) forces. And as the thunderbolt slayeth the mighty, Asuras, those shafts studded with gold, and like onto smoking fire, slew those Rakshasas. And in in the field Rama slew an hundred Rakshasa with an hundred Karnis, and a thousand (again) with a thousand. And, their armour and ornaments severed, and their bows broken in shivers, those rangers of the night fell down on the earth, bathed in blood. And as a spacious dais is covered with Kuca, the entire field was scattered with the Rakshasas fallen in battle with hair dishevelled, and covered with blood. And

at that time that fearful forest, with the Rakshasas slaughtered, and with its clay mired with flesh and blood, resembled hell itself. Fourteen thousand Rakshasas of dreadful deeds were slain by Rama single, a human being, fighting, (moreover) on foot. And the remnant of his (Khara's) forces were that mighty car-warrior, Khara himself, and the Rakshasa, Tricira; and (on the other side) was that destroyer of foes—Rama. The rest of the Rakshasas, gifted with great prowess, terrible and difficult of being withstood, were all slain in battle by The dear brother of Lakshmana. Then seeing that dreadful army destroyed in terrible conflict by the mighty Rama, Khara ascending a great car, advanced before Rama, like Indra with the upraised thunderbolt.

SECTION 27.

As Khara was advancing before Rama, that leader of the army named Tricira, approaching him, said, "Do thou employ me, who am possessed of prowess; and thyself desist from this rashness. Behold the mighty-armed Rama brought down in battle. I swear (unto thee) truly; I touch this weapon, (to say) that I will slay Rama, who deserves to be slain by all the Rakshasas. Either I shall prove his death in battle, or he shall prove mine. Restraining thy martial ardour, do thou for a while become a witness. Either, joyed in consequence of Rama being slain, thou shalt repair unto Janasthana; or I being slain, thou shalt enter the field (against him)." Thus satisfied by Tricara, from his desire to meet with death, the latter, on being permitted with "Go," proceeded towards Rama. And like a hill with three summits. Tricira rushed towards Rama on an effulgent car yoked with steeds. And as a mighty cloud pours down shower, (Tricira) discharging vollies of shafts, uttered a roar resembling the sound of a wet kettledrum. And seeing that the Rakshasa Tricira was advancing, Raghava resisted (his attack) by discharging sharpened shafts. And that encounter of those exceedingly powerful ones, Rama and Tricira was fierce, like unto that between a lion and an elephant. Then struck on the forehead by a brace of shafts shot by Tricira, the wrathful Rama enraged, and inflamed with anger, said, "Ah! such is the strength of the heroic Rakshasas! I have been wounded in the forehead with shafts resembling flowers. Do thou also take the arrows shot from my bow." Saying this, (Rama) enraged, and influenced by wrath, wounded Tricira in the breast with fourteen arrows. And that energetic one by means of four shafts having their joints bent, brought down his four steeds And by means of eight arrows (Rama) laid low the charioteer from the front of the car. And Rama with a shaft severed his unraised standard. Then as that ranger of the night was descending from his broken car. Rama pierced his breast with arrows,-and thereat he was stupified. Thereupon, that one of immeasurable prowess, out of anger by means of three shafts possessed of celerity, brought down Tricira's three heads. And that ranger of the night present in the field, afflicted by the shafts of Rama, after his heads had fallen first, fell, vomitting smoking gore. And the Rakshasas remaining after the rest had been slain, belonging unto Khara's original forces losing heart, began to flee like deer terrified at a hunter. And seeing them fly, Khara waxing wroth, swiftly making them desist, darted towards Rama, like Rahu darting towards the Moon

SECTION 28

Seeing Dushana slain in fight along with Tricira, Khara, witnessing Rama's prowess, was filled with fear. And seeing that irrisistible Rakshasa host-even Dushana and Triciraslain by the mighty Rama alone, and seeing the great courage that was made in the army, that Rakshasa, Khara, was seized with despondency. Then as Namuchi advances against Vasava, Khara stretching his powerful bow, advanced against Rama. And Khara hurled at Rama narachas reveling in blood, resembling infuriated venomous snakes. And repeatedly twanging his bow, Khara, mounted on his car, began to range the field, displaying his weapons through his acquired skill. And that mighty car-warrior covered all sides with his shafts. And seeing this, Rama of a tremendous bow with shafts incapable of being borne, and resembling tongues of flaming fire, entirely enveloped the welkin, even as a cloud poureth down showers. And with the sharpened shafts shot by Khara and Rama, the entire firmament on all sides was thronged. And as each enraged was engaged in coping with the other, the sun, enveloped in a net-work of shafts, did not appear. And as a mighty elephant is struck with the goad. Rama in the conflict attacked (his opponent) with nalikas and narachas and sharp-pointed vikirna. And as that Rakshasa sat on his car, bow in hand, all creatures saw him, as if he were the very Destroyer with the noose in his hand. And at this time Khara thought that Destroyer of all his forces, established in his manliness, the exceedingly powerful Rama to be overcome with fatigue. And seeing that one powerful like the lion, and gifted with the vigorous gait of the lion, Rama was not moved, as a lion seeing a puny deer (is not moved). And then as an insect falls into a flame, Khara mounting a mighty car, resembling the sun, approached Rama. And, displaying his lightness of hand, Khara severed the bow of the magnanimous

Rama, with the arrow (fixed on it) at the place where it is grasped. Then taking up seven other shafts, resplendent like the thunderbolt of Sakra, Khara, enraged, sent them into (Rama's) main-joints, and then afflicting Rama of unparalleled energy with a thousand shafts, Khara sent up in that conflict a loud shout. And riven by the shafts discharged by Khara, Rama's mail resembling the sun fell to the ground. And pierced with those arrows, all over his body, and inflamed with rage, Raghava appeared in the field, like a smokeless flaming fire. Then that destroyer of foes, Rama, for compassing the end of his enemy, stringed another mighty bow, sending forth solemn sounds,-the redoubtable Vaishnava bow that had been conferred on him by the Maharshi. And uplifting that superior bow, Rama rushed against Khara. Then with shafts having bent knots and golden feathers, Rama, wrought up with rage, severed in battle Khara's standard. And on that exceedingly graceful golden standard being hewn down it seemed as if the sun dropped to the earth at the behest of the celestials. And thereat Khara, understanding the import of things, fired with wrath, pierced Rama's breast with five arrows, like one striking an elephant with a goad. And Rama on being pierced with a good many shafts discharged from Khara's bow, and having his body bathed in blood, was highly wroth. Thereupon that foremost of bowmen, and weilder of a mighty bow, taking six shafts, let them go, after aiming at them. And with one shaft he pierced Khara's head, with two his arms; and with three arrows headed like half-moons. Rama wounded Khara in the chest. Then that highly energetic one, influenced by anger, assailed the Rakshasa with thirteen narachas whetted on stone and with one that exceedingly powerful one, cut the yoke of the car, with four the four steeds, with the sixth the head of Khara's charioteer, with three the stout trivenu of the car, with two the wheel, and with the twelfth, severing as if in sport Khara's bow with his hand. with the thirteenth, resembling the thunder-bolt pierced Khara in the encounter. Then with his bow shattered, deprived of his car, (Khara) having his horses slain as well as his charioteer killed, taking a mace in his hand leaped to the ground, and stood there. And the celestials and Maharshis exceedingly rejoiced, assembled in the welkin in a body, and with joined hands extolled that feat of that mighty carwarrior Rama

SECTION 29

And to Khara deprived of his car standing with a mace in his hand, that exceedingly energetic one, Rama, preluding his speech with mildness, spake, "Backed by this mighty host abounding in elephants and horses and cars, thou hast done an exceedingly wicked deed, execrated by all the worlds. Even if one happen to be the lord of the three worlds, one given to troubling creatures, and who is cruel and engaged in wicked acts, can not exist. All persons destroy, like a snake that hath intruded itself, him that doth cruel deeds, hostile to the interests of every one. People delightedly behold the end of him that doing an action either from covetuousness or desire, doth not like a Brahmain wallowing a Karaka, see the consequence thereof. What, O Rakshasa, dost thou gain by slaughtering exceedingly pious ascetics engaged in righteous acts, living in the forest of Dandaka? Like unto trees whose roots have been reduced, cruel persons, execrated of men, who perpetrate iniquitous acts, do not exist long. And as a tree puts forth blossoms in season, the doer of sinful deeds, at the hour (of repentance) inevitably reaps their fruit in the shape of dreadful anguish, of the spirit). And, O ranger of night, as the effect of having taken rice mixed with poison, appears without delay, even so also people readily reap the fruit of their own acts. O ranger of the night, it is to take the lives of the perpetrators of dreadful sins, who wish ill unto men, that I the king have come. Today the gold-decked arrows discharged by me, piercing (thy body), shall enter into the earth, cleaving it, like serpents falling into an ant-hill. Slain in battle, thou shalt in company with thy army, follow those people practising piety, whom thou hast devoured in the Dandaka forest. Today let those great saints, who had formerly been slain by thee, stationed in the sky, behold thee slain (in turn) with my arrows, and inhabiting hell. Do thou strike as thou lik. And thou that art of an odious race, do thou put forth thy energy. Today I will bring down thy head, even as a palm falls to the ground." Thus addressed by Rama, Khara enraged and beyond himself with passion, with eyes reddened, replied, "O son of Dacaratha, why having slain inferior Rakshasas in battle, dost thou praise thyself without reason? Those foremost of men that are puissant and powerful, do not, inflated with their energy, mouth (their own consequence). It is the mean-minded Kshatriyas of impure heads that magnify themselves among men, even as thou O Rama, dost. What hero, when the hour of his death hath approached publishes in the field his own lofty lineage and sings his own hymn. As brass wearing the semblance of gold, displays its own defect on being heated, with a fire lit with Kuca, so thou hast betrayed thy own lightness by this speech of thine. Thou dost not see me staying here mace in hand, like a moveless mountain dyed in metals, bearing mobile and

immobile things. I can, mace in hand, deprive thee and the three worlds to boot clean of your lives, like the very Destroyer with the noose in his hand. But I will not parley much with thee as much as I could wish: the sun is going to set, and our fight shall be interrupted. Fourteen thousand Rakshasas have been slaughtered by thee. I will for their deaths wipe their tears to-day." Saying this, Khara, highly enraged, hurled his mace provided with golden rings at Rama, like unto the blazing thunder-bolt. Thereat, reducing to ashes trees and shrubs, that mighty flaming mace, discharged by Khara's arm, fell before Rama. And Rama severed in many fragments that mighty mace, resembling the noose of Death, as ascending the welkin, it was coming down. Thereupon, like a she-serpent brought down by force of incantations, the mace fell to the earth shattered and riven.

SECTION 30

Cutting off the mace with his shafts, Raghava attached unto righteousness with a smile said unto Khara these angry words, 'Thou vilest of Rakshasas, this is the utmost of thy might, which thou hast displayed. Rendered more nerveless at my hands, in vain dost thou storm. Riven by my shafts, thy mace, belonging unto thee who art prolix in the matter of vocabulary, destroying thy confidence, hath saught the earth. And what thou hadst said,-I will wipe the tears of the Rakshasas that have been slain,' hath also proved false. As Garuda stole ambrosia, will I deprive thee, O Rakshasa, who art base, of a mean disposition and a false character, of thy life. To day the earth shall drink the blood vitiated with foamy bubbles, of thee, having thy throat severed, and riven by my shafts. Having all thy body covered with dust, and thy two arms lopped off, thou shalt, difficult to win, take thy nap, embracing the earth, like a damsel difficult to win. On thee, disgrace of Rakshasas, lying down, and being fast asleep, this Dandaka shall be refuge of those that shall resort to it for shelter. O Rakshasa, in thy Janasthana, with its (Rakshasas) slain by my shafts, ascetics shall fearlessly go about in the wood. Today Rakshasas, capable of exciting fear in others, rendered forlorn and with their friends slain, shall from fear, with their faces wet with tears, fly (this place). To day thy wives whose husband art thou of such a nature, -and who are of a like lineage (with thyself).—shall experience the sentiment of sorrow, and be deprived of their all. Thou of a cruel disposition, thou of ignoble soul, thou that art aye a thorn (in the side) of Brahmanas, it is for thee that ascetics, frightened and dispirited, have so long been pouring the clarified butter." As Raghava, influenced by anger, said this in the field. Khara from wrath, with accents rendered harsher. fell to censuring (Rama). "Thou art wondrous proud: and thou art fearless albeit fear is present unto thee. And come under the sway of death, thou dost not understand what should be said and what left unspoken. Those persons that have been fast bound by the noose of death, do not in consequence of their senses having ceased to perform their functions, descern what is proper and what improper." Saying this unto Rama, that ranger of the night (Khara), pursing his brows, espied a mighty sala hard by. And looking about him on all sides in the field for a weapon, he uprooted it, biting his nether lip. And raising up the tree with his arms, and uttering a roar, that exceedingly powerful one aiming at Rama discharged it, exclaiming,—"Dead thou art." And as it descended, the puissant Rama cut it off by means of a multitude of shafts, got into a mighty rage for the purpose of slaying Khara in battle. Then Rama perspiring, with eyes reddened in wrath, pierced Khara in battle with a thousand shafts. And blood mixed with froth gushed by the sides of the shafts, like torrents flowing from fountain in a hill stupified in battle by the shafts shot by Rama, and maddened by the smell of blood. Khara furiously made for Rama. And as he (Khara) was rushing on, bathed with blood, Rama equipped with arms, suddenly summoning his strength walked backward two or three paces. Then with the view of bringing about (Khara's end) Rama took up in the conflict an arrow resembling fire or another weapon of Brahma himself. And that righteous one shot at Khara that (arrow), which had been conferred on him by the intelligent Maghavan. And discharged by Rama from his bent bow that mighty arrow with the roaring of the thunderbolt fell at Khara's breast. And burning in the fire of the arrow, Khara fell down on the earth, like the giant Andhaka* in the forest of Sweta, consumed by Rudra. [* The Asura Andhaka was slain in the forest of Sweta by Rudra. This is related in the Puranas. Another reading is Swetarayge yathantaka like the Destroyer in the forest of Sweta. Swa, according to the Kurma Purana Uttra Khanda, in the Kalanyara hill, by a kick with his left leg slew the Destroyer, engaged in pennances, who had come to kill the Rajarshi Sweta, who was a great votary of Siva.] And threat Khara slain fell down like Vritra slain by the thunder-bolt, or Namuchi by foam, or Vala by Indra's Acani. After this, the celestials, assembled with the Charanas, struck with wonder joyfully sounded kettledrums and showered blossoms on Rama. "In over half a moment Rama by means of sharpened shafts hath slain in mighty encounter fourteen thousand Rakshasas, wearing shapes at will, headed by Khara

and Dushana. Ah! mighty is the feat achieved by Rama knowing self. Ah! this mighty prowess, this mighty firmness, show like unto those of Vishnu himself." Saying this all the deities went to from where they had come. Then the Rajarshis in company with supreme saints, with Agastya (at their head). gladly paying homage unto Rama, said the following words, 'It is for this that the chastiser of Paka, the great Indra, Purandra, had paid a visit to the sacred asylum of Sarabhanga And the Maharshis had dexterously brought thee to this place for compassing the destruction of those foes-the wicked Rakshasas. And it is owing to this, that, O son of Dacaratha, thou hast performed this mighty deed. (Now) the Maharshis will carry on their proper pious offices in the Dandaka." After this, that hero, Lakshmana, accompanied with Sita came out of the mountain cavern, and joyfully entered the asylum. Then the victorious and heroic, Rama, honoured by the Maharshis, entered the asylum, worshipped by Lakshmana. And seeing that destroyer of foes, and bringer of comfort unto the Maharshis, her husband, Vaidehi embraced him. And seeing the multitudes of Rakshasas slain, Janaka's daughter, beholding the undeteriorating Rama, ministered unto him with supreme joy. And with a delightful countenance again embracing that destroyer of foes, who had been honoured by the delighted Maharihis, Janaka's daughter became exceedingly happy.

SECTION 31.

Then Akampana bestiring himself, speedily issuing out of Janasthana, spake unto Ravana, "O king, a great many Rakshasa living in Janasthana, have been slain, and Khara also hath been slain in battle. I alone have with much difficulty managed to come here." Thus addressed, the tennecked one, flaming up in energy, with his eyes reddened in wrath, said this unto Akampana, "Who, having his days numbered, hath ravaged the dreadful Janasthana? Who shall no more wend the way of all beings? Doing me a bad turn, Maghavan himself, or Vaicravana, or Yama, or Vishnu, cannot attain happiness. I am the destroyer of the Destroyer himself; and I burn even very Fire. And I can bring death itself to mortality. I can by my impetus resist the force of the wind. And when enraged, I can by my energy consume the Sun and Fire." Thereat, Akampana, with joined hands, from fear replied to the ten-necked Ravana, in faltering words, beseeching courage. Thereat that foremost of Rakshasas, the ten-necked one, granted him courage. Then inspired with confidence, Akampana without fear spoke, "There is a son of Dacaratha, youthful, resembling a lion, named Rama of broad shoulders, and possessed of excellent beauty of long and mighty-arms. (He) is sable-hued, of high fame, and of matchless prowess and vigor. It is he that in Janasthana hath slain Khara with Dushana." Hearing Akampana's words, that lord of the Rakshasas, Ravana, breathing like a mighty serpent, said these words, "Tell me, O Akampana, hath Rama come to Janasthana, accompanied with the sovereign of the celestials and the body of the immortals? Again hearing Rayana's words, Akampana described the strength and energy of that high-souled one. (He) is named Rama, and is exceedingly energetic; the foremost of all bowmenfurnished with celestial panoply; and is possessed of preeminent prowess in warfare. Like unto him in strength, of red eyes, and gifted with a voice like the sound of a kettledrum, his younger brother, Lakshmana has a countenance resembling the full-moon. He hath met with him (Rama) as the wind meeteth with a flame. He is endeued with grace, and is the foremost of monarchs. It is he who hath ravaged Janasthana. The magnanimous gods did not come there. No doubts need be entertained on this head. The feathered shafts, plated with gold near the plumed part, becoming fivemouthed serpents ate up the Rakshasas. Wherever oppressed with fear the Rakshasas go, they see Rama stationed before them. In this way, O sinless one, hath Janasthana been exterminated by him." Hearing Akampana's words, Ravana said, "I will go to Janasthana for slaying Rama with Lakshmana." When he had said this, Akampana said, "Hear, O king, the true report of Rama's prowess and manliness. Enraged, the highly famous Rama cannot by putting forth vigor be checked. And by means of his shafts, he can make river in full flood turn its course. And he can bring down from the sky its stars and planets, and that graceful one can recover the depressed Earth. And that lord can submerge all creatures by riving the continents of the sea, and with his shafts can resist the onset of the ocean, and the wind; and that illustrious one that foremost of persons by virtue of his vigor, destroying the worlds, can again create all creatures. O ten-necked one, forsooth, Rama cannot be subdued in conflict, either by thee or the world of Rakshasas, as heaven is incapable of being attained by a sinner. I deem him incapable of being slain by all the Gods and Asuras together. This alone is the means of slaving Do thou heedfully listen to it! He has a wife of sterling worth in the world, and that slender-waisted one is known by the name of Sita. She is in the full bloom of youth, and hath a symmetrical person-a jewel among womankind embellished with jewels. And neither a goddess, nor a Gandharbi, nor yet an Apsari, nor a Pannagi is equal to her;

and what is a human female? Thrashing him, do thou in the mighty forest, carry away his wife. Without Sita, Rama shall cease to exist." Thereupon, the lord of the Rakshasas, Ravana, happened to relish those words; and reflecting (a while), that mighty-armed one addressed Akampana, saying, "Excellent well. I will go there alone, accompanied by my charioteer only. I will this very morning with a glad heart bring Vaidehi to this spacious palace." Saying this, Ravana departed, lighting up all sides, on a sun-shiny car, voked with mules. And coursing the firmament, that mighty car of that foremost of Rakshasas looked like the Moon among clouds. And proceeding far, he, approaching the asylum (of Taraka's son), presented himself before him. And Maricha entertained the king with meats and drinks passing human. And having entertained him personally with a seat and water (to wash the feet), Maricha spoke these pregnant words, "O king, O lord of the Rakshasas, is it well with the worlds? I am filled with fear: I apprehend that all is not right, since thou hast come hither (alone) in such post-haste speed." Thus addressed by Maricha, the highly energetic Ravana, versed in speech, said, "My child, the guards (of Janasthana) have been slain by Rama of untiring energy; and all Janasthana, incapable of being slain, hath (by him) been brought down in battle. Do thou, therefore, assist me in carrying away his wife." Hearing these words of the lord of Rakshasas, Maricha said, "What enemy of thine in the guise of a friend, hath spoken of Sita unto thee? And, O foremost of monarchs, who, having been, entertained by thee, doth not bear thee good will? Tell me, who is it that hath told thee, 'Bring Sita hither?' Who is it that hath set his heart on severing the summit of the entire Rakshasa world? He must be thy enemy that excites thee to this. Of this there is not the least doubt. He wishes to extract through thy agency the fangs of a venomous snake. Who (intends) to lead thee astray by imposing on thee such a deed? Who, king, hath struck in the head, thee that wast slumbering in peace? Raghava in war is like a mad elephant, having an unblemished ancestry for his trunk, perspiration for his temporal exudation; and arms resting well beside him for his tusks. O Ravana, thou art not competent even to look at him. Thou ought not to rouse up the sleeping man-lion, that slayer of skillful Rakshasas resembling deer, with his sport in the field, for his joints and down; arrows for his body and sharp scimitar for his teeth. O Sovereign of the Rakshasas, thou ought not to plunge thyself into this dreadful, and abysslesss ocean, having the bow for its alligators, activity of arms for its shine, arrows for its billows, and engagement for its waters. Be propitious, O lord of Lanka! O foremost of Rakshasas, with a contented heart, thou hadst better go thy way to Lanka. Do thou ever sport with thy own wives: let Rama in company with his wife, sport in the woods." Thus addressed by Maricha, the ten-throated Ravana desisted, and entered Lanka the best of capitals.

SECTION 32

Seeing fourteen thousands of Rakshasas of dread deeds. together with Dushana, and Khara, and Tricira, slain in battle by Rama single-handed, that one resembling clouds, Surpanaka, again fell to send up mighty sounds. And witnessing Rama's deeds, incapable of being performed by others, she, extremely agitated, went to Lanka, ruled by Rayana. And she saw the effulgent Rayana in front of his palace, surrounded by his counsellors, like Vasava surrounded by the Maruts; seated on a supreme golden seat resembling the sun, and like unto a flaming fire on a golden dais kept alive by sacrificial offerings; unconquerable by high-souled saints, celestials, Gandharbas and all creatures; terrible like the Destroyer with his mouth wide open; his persons containing scars of wounds inflicted by the thunderbolt and the lightnings, in the war between the gods and Asuras; his breast bearing marks of attacks made by Airavata with the ends of his tusks;-having twenty hands and ten heads,-wearing elegant attire; broad breasted; heroic; marked with royal signs; (in hue) resembling cool lapises; embellished in ornaments of burnished gold; having goodly hands, white teeth, and a huge face resembling a hill;-even him who in the war of the gods had been assailed an hundred ways with the descent of Vishnu's discus; whose body had been cut with all the weapons of the celestials; (him) who furiously disturbs the deep incapable of being disturbed; uproots mountain summits, and tramples over gods,-the destroyer of righteousness, and the violater of other's wives;-the employer of all celestial arms, and the disturber of sacrifices;—who going to the city of Bhagab and vanquishing Vasaki, had carried off Takshaka's beloved wife; who, going to Kailaca, and defeating him having for his vehicle a human being, had carried off the car Pushpaka coursing at every where at will; who endeued with prowess had devastated the divine Chaitraratha grove, the tank (situated there) and the Nandana wood,-as well as the gardens of the gods; and, who, himself resembling a mountain summit, had by means of his upraised arms, obstructed the rising of these repressor of foes the exalted Sun and Moon; who, possessed of calmness, having formerly for ten thousand years carried on asceticism in the mighty forest, offered his own heads unto the self create

one; who in conflict fears, not death from either gods or Danavas or Gandharbas, or Picachas or birds or serpents. from none save human beings; who, possessed of prodigious strength, forcibly takes away the clarified butter sanctified with mantras from the sacrificial ground; the destroyer of sacrifices about to be completed; of villanous nature; the slaughterer of Brahmanas: of cruel deeds: harsh and kindless. and ever bent on doing evil unto all creatures; and railing furiously at all creatures; the inspirer of fear in all beings. And the Rakshasi beheld her exceedingly powerful and cruel brother, wearing gorgeous apparel and ornaments, and decked in a glorious garland,-seated, like the Destroyer at the time (of dissolution) ready (to destroy); the exalted chief of Rakshasas; the delight of the race of Paulastya. Stupified with fear, the Rakshasi, approaching that destroyer of foes: Ravana, surrounded by his counsellors, said these words. And transported with fear and desire, Surpanakha, given to fearlessly ranging every where, who had been deformed by that high-souled one, showing (her mutilation), addressed these harsh words unto Ravana of flaming and expansive eyes.

SECTION 33

Then the woe begone Surpanakha, in high wrath spoke harshly in the midst of the courtiers, unto Ravana, given to railing loudly against all creatures, "Intoxicated with enjoyments, acting as thou wilt, and without any control whatever, thou dost not see that a dreadful disaster is impending. The subjects do not esteem a monarch that is given to sensual enjoyments, is intent upon satisfying his lust and is covetous like the fire in a cemetery. The king that doth not act at the proper time, finds destruction along with his kingdom and acts. Even as elephants shun the muddy river, do people shun from a distance, the ruler that doth not send out spies, who showeth not himself (unto his subjects), and who hath lost his independence. Like unto rocks in the sea, those monarchs that do not administer their dominions, that are not dependent, do not prosper. Having incurred the hostility of the gods, the Danavas and the Gandharbas of subdued souls and senses, how canst thou, who art fickle, and hast not employed spies, become the king? And, O Rakshasa, thou art childish and foolish; and doth not know what thou shouldst. How canst thou then become the king? O thou best of conquerers, those kings whose spies, exchequer and morality are not free, are like the common herd. It is because kings know distant dangers through spies, therefore they are styled far-sighted. I believe thou hast no spies, and that thy counsellors are common folks, since although Janasthana with thy kinsman is destroyed yet thou takest it not to heart Fourteen thousands of Rakshasas of dreadful deeds, with Khara and Dushana, have all been slain by Rama singlehanded; Rama of untiring energy hath inspired the saints with courage; the Dandakas have been benefitted; and Janasthana hath been harassed. But thou, covetous and intoxicated and in the power of others, dost not understand that a great danger is overhanging (thee). People do not in times of peril assist a sovereign that is wrathful, stingy, intoxicated, haughty and deceitful. Even his own kindred slay a sovereign that sets inmense store by his own self, is of light worth, regards himself highly, and irascible. They do not serve him; nor do they fear when he intimidates them. Such an one is speedily dethroned; and reduced to poverty and becomes like a straw. Even dry wood may serve a purpose; or stone, or dust; but no purpose is capable of being served by a sovereign that hath been cast off his place. Like a cloth that hath been worn, like a garland that hath been trodden, a king that hath been dethroned, although able, is of no consequence. But a king that keeps his wits about him, understands everything, is of controlled senses, and grateful, and of virtuous character, endureth for ever. That king is honoured by men, that sleeping with his eyes, is awake as respects his eye of duty, and (the effects of) whose anger and favour, are seen (by all). But, thou Ravana, who hast not by means of spies, acquainted thyself with the slaughter of Rakshasas, art of evil understanding and bereft of all these virtues, given to disgracing others, ignorant of the proper distribution of time and place, and never taking care to distinguish merits and defects, thou, thy kingdom being in danger, wilt speedily meet with disaster." On his vices having been thus celebrated by her (Surpanakha), that lord of the rangers of night, Ravana, musing awhile, was long plunged in thought.

SECTION 34.

SEEING Surpanaka speak harsh words in the midst of the courtiers, Ravana, being enraged, asked her, saying, "Who is Rama? And what is his prowess? And what his form? And what his power? And why hath he entered the forest of Dandaka, difficult to range? And what Rama's weapons, by means of which he hath slain the Rakshasas? And Khara hath been slain in battle, and Dushana and Tricira. Do thou, O thou of a pleasing person, tell me the truth. And who hath deformed thee?" Thus addressed by the lord of the Rakshasas, the Rakshasi, transported with rage, commenced to duly narrate all about Rama. "Rama the son of Dacaratha is longarmed, of expansive eyes, clad in bark and dark deer-skin, and

like Kandarpa in grace. And drawing a bow resembling that of Sakra, decked with golden rings, he discharges blazing narachas, like unto serpents of virulent poison. I do not see in the field, Rama drawing his bow: I only see the host being slaughtered by a shower of shafts. And as Indra destroys (a field of) goodly crops, by pouring down hail stones, fourteen thousand Rakshasas of dreadful prowess, as well as Khara and Dushana were in a little over a moment slain with sharp shafts by Rama alone fighting on foot. And he hath reassured the saints, and after having been deformed, I alone from fear of slaying a woman, have been let off by the high-souled Rama knowing self. His brother is endeued with mighty energy, and in merit, is of equal prowess; and he is devoted to his brother, and beareth him regard; the puissant one is named Lakshmana And wrathful and invincible and victorious, and powerful, and intelligent and mighty, (he) is Rama's right-arm—his life ranging externally. And Rama's virtuously wedded beloved wife, having expansive eyes, and a face resembling the fullmoon, is ever to the welfare of her lord. And that fair-haired, fair-nosed, and fair-thighed illustrious one possessed of beauty, graceth the forest like a goddess,—as if a goddess of wealth herself. Of the lustre of burnished gold, with her finger nails reddish and projecting, and graceful, that surpassingly lovely wench is named Sita-the slender waisted daughter of Videha. And neither a goddess, nor a Gandharbi, nor a Yakshi, nor a Kinnari, had I seen before on earth, possessed of such beauty. He that shall have Sita for his spouse, and who shall be warmly embraced by her, shall live longer in the world than the Lord of celestials himself. That good-natured girl, unparalleled on earth in loveliness, who can well pride herself on her person, is a worthy wife for thee; and thou too art a fit husband for her. It is to bring over for thee that one of spacious hips, and a high and well-developed bust, that I had put forth my endeavours. But, O mighty-armed one I have been disfigured by the wicked Lakshmana. As soon as thou hast seen Vaidehi having a countenance resembling the full moon, thou shalt be afflicted with the shafts of Cupid. If it is thy purpose to have her for thy wife, at once stretch forth thy right leg, for attaining success. If, O lord of Rakshasas, thou relishest my speech, do thou then, O Ravana, without fear, do as I tell thee. Understanding their incapacity, do thou, O lord of Rakshasas, for making her thy wife, by force carry away the frail Sita of a blameless person. Hearing that Rama by means of straight coursing shafts hath slain the Rakshasas that had gone to Janasthana, and seeing Khara and Dushana, killed, do thou ascertaining thy course, adopt it.

Hearing those words of Surpanakha, able to make one's hair stand on end, (Ravana) ascertaining his course after issuing his orders to his councellors, departed. And proposing to himself that act, weighing its good and evil, considering his capacity or otherwise, and (finally) determining his purpose, Rayana with a fixed mind went to the handsome stable. And going to the stable in disguise, the lord of the Rakshasasas commanded the charioteer, saying, "Yoke the car." Thus asked, the charioteer possessed of fleet vigor, in a trice, yoked an excellent car after his heart. And ascending the car coursing at will, made of gold and garnished with spectral faces as well as arrow decked with gold,-resembling a mass of clouds, the graceful ruler of the Rakshasas-younger brother to the Lord of wealth-proceeded in that noiseless (vehicle), past the lord of rivers and streams. And with chouris of white hair, and a white umbrella, having ten-faces, resembling (in hue) cool lapises, wearing ornaments of polished gold, possessed of ten mouths, and twenty arms, clad in elegant apparel,-the foe of the celestials, and slayer of the foremost ascetics—having huge heads like unto the monarch of mountains, the lord of the Rakshasas, mounted on that chariot coursing at will, appeared beautiful like a mass of clouds in the sky, with cranes, in the midst of lightning. And that one possessed of prowess beheld the shore of the sea, containing crags, scattered with trees bearing fruits and flowers of various kinds by thousands, bordered all around with pools furnished with cool and delightful waters. ornamented with spacious asylums having daises, graced with woods of plantain, beauteous with cocoanuts, and blossoming sala and palmyra, and tamala, trees, grateful with supreme saints rigidly restraining their fear, and with serpents and fowls of fair feathers and Gandharbas and Kinnaras by thousands; and pleasant with Siddhas and Charanas, that have controlled their lust; with those descendants of Brahma—the Vaikhanas, the Mashas, the Valakhilyas, and the Marichipas; swarming with females, divinely beautiful, dight with gorgeous ornaments and garlands, and Apsaras skilled in sport, by thousands; frequented by the wives of the celestials, and honoured by graceful girls; ranged by multitudes of deities and Danavas, feeding on ambrosia; abounding with swans, Kraunchas, and frogs, echoing to (the cries of) cranes; containing stones resembling the lapis, and mild and cool by the influence of the ocean. And as he proceeded, the younger brother of the Lord of wealth, saw on all sides spacious cars capable of coursing at will, sable, furnished with fair garlands, and resounding with trumpet

notes,-and Gandharbas and Apsaras. And surveying by thousands woods of sandal exuding gum at their roots, and of choice aguru, grateful unto the sense of smell; and woods and groves of excellent and odorous takkola fruits; blossoms of the Tamala, and thickets of black pepper; heaps of pearls drying on the shore; rocks; the best corals in masses; summits of gold and silver; charming pellucid rills at places; and cities filled with corn and wealth, abounding in gems of women, and thronged with horses, elephants and cars-Ravana on the shore of the ocean beheld around a level and soft scene, resembling heaven itself-where breezes of delicate feel kept breathing. And there he saw a fig tree, hued like clouds, surrounded by ascetics; its branches stretched around an hundred Yoyanas, and the exceedingly powerful Garuda had ascended one of its boughs, taking an elephant and a huge tortoise, for the purpose of devouring them. And that best of birds, the powerful Suparna by his weight suddenly broke a branch containing full many leaves. And it came to pass that Vaikhanasas, Mashas, Valakhilyas, Marichipas, Ayas, and Dhumras,—saints of the highest order—had assembled there. Thereat, moved by commisseration (for the ascetics), the virtuous Garuda, taking with promptitude the broken bough measuring an hundred Yoyanas as well as the elephant and the tortoise, by one leg, at length eating up the animals, and by means of the bough, exterminating the country of the Nishadas-that best of birds attained unequalled delight in consequence of having rescued the mighty ascetics. Thereat, attaining double energy by virtue of that delight that intelligent one set his heart on bringing ambrosia. And tearing off the iron links of the network, and bursting into the repository of gem, he carried away secreted ambrosia from the residence of the great Indra. Kuvera's younger brother beheld this fig tree, named Subhadra, graced with the Maharshi, on which Suparna had left his mark. Then repairing to the other shore of that lord of rivers, the ocean, Rayana saw an asylum lying in the forest in a charming and sacred recess. And there he saw a Rakshasa, named Maricha, clad in a dark deer-skin, bearing a head of matted locks, subsisting on restricted fare. And approaching Ravana duly, the Rakshasa, Maricha, received the king with every hospitality passing human. And having entertained him personally with meats and drinks, Maricha addressed him in weighty words, saying, "O lord of the Rakshasas, king, is it well with thee in Lanka? And what for hast thou again come hither so speedily?" Thus addressed by Maricha, that highly powerful one, skilled in speech, Ravana said.

O Maricha, hearken unto me, my child, as I relate everything unto thee). I am distressed; and in this distress of mine, thou art certainly my great refuge. Thou knowest Janasthana, where lives my brother Khara, and the mightyarmed Dushana, and my sister, Surpanakha; as also that Rakshasa subsisting on (human) flesh, the long armed Tricira, and many other heroic night-rangers besides, of high enthusiasm in battles-Rlkshasas, who had been living there at my command, troubling in the mighty forest the ascetics carrying on their pious offices. And fourteen thousands of Rakshasas of dreadful deeds, heroic, high-spirited,-Rakshasas possessed of exceeding prowess; while residing n Janasthana of late,-clad in mail and equipped with various weapons, headed by Khara, met with Rama in the field. Getting enraged, Rama in conflict without returning any harsh speech, by means of his shafts shot from his bow, hath, a human being, and fighting on foot, with his flaming arrows slaughtered fourteen thousand Rakshasas of fierce energy. And Khara hath been slain in battle, and Dushana also hath been brought down. And having slain Tricira too, (Rama) hath rid the Dandaka of all fear. Having been expelled by his enraged sire, that disgrace of Kshatriyas, the weak Rama, living in company with his wife hath effected the destruction of this army. He is of a vile character, crabbed, foolish, covetuous, of uncontrolled senses, bereft of morality, sinful, and ever engaged in the evil of all creatures,-by whom, violently without hostility my sister hath been deformed in the forest by having her nose and ears cut off. Of him will I carry off by force from Janasthana, his wife, Sita, resembling the daughter of a celestial. Be thou my help in it. For certain, O exceedingly strong one, if thou help me at my side, if my brothers also back me, I do not think much of all the celestials. Therefore, be thou my help; for, thou art capable, O Rakshasa. In prowess in battle, and in indomitableness, there is none like thee. Thou art a mighty hero commanding resources, and conversant with potent illusory displays. Taking this to my heart, I have come to thee, O ranger of the night. Do thou listen as to the business in which by my command thou art to help me. Becoming a golden deer, marked with silver spots, do thou range about in Rama's asylum in presence of Sita. Seeing thee helpless, in the shape of a deer, Sita will say unto her lord and Lakshmana -"Do ye catch it." And when they shall have departed, I shall carry off from the empty asylum, Sita without let, like Rahu depriving the Moon of his splendour. Then when Rama shall be sore afflicted because of the carrying off of his wife, I shall easily, crowning my soul with success, safely bear away Sita. Hearing Rama's words, the face of the high-souled Maricha became blank and he was seized with apprehension. And licking up his dried lips, with winkless eyes, (Maricha) as if dead, and exceedingly distressed, eyed Ravana, steadily. And alarmed because of Ravana, with his mind depressed, Maricha who well knew Rama's prowess in the forest, with joined hands in agitation spoke words lending to his own as well as Ravana's welfare.

SECTION 37.

Hearing the words of that sovereign of the Rakshasas, the highly energetic Maricha, skilled in speech, answered the Rakshasa chief, saying, "0 king, the speaker of soft words is common, but the speaker and the listner of unwelcome though beneficial words are rarities. Volatile, and employing no spies, thou surely dost not understand the exceedingly powerful Rama towering high in virtues, and resembling the illustrious Indra or Varuna himself. I shall be well, my child, if Rama fired with rage, do not render all the world bereft of Rakshasas; if Janaka's daughter hath not sprung to compass thy destruction, if a dreadful disaster do not befall thee because of Sita, and if having obtained for her lord thee that art wilful and wicked, the city of Lanka with thee and the Rakshasas do not meet with utter extermination. The sovereign who is wicked, whimsical and of evil intent like thee, bringeth about his own destruction as well as that of his kingdom and relatives. Rama, the enhancer of Kaucalya's delight hath not been abandoned by his father, nor is he devoid of propriety of conduct; he is not avaricious, wicked nor the destroyer of Kastriya race. He does not lack religious merits or accomplishments, nor is he of a harsh temperament and intent on causing misery unto creatures. Finding his truthful sire imposed on by Kaikeyi he has sojourned unto woods. For compassing the welfare of his father Dacaratha and Kaikeyi he hath entered the forest of Dandaka. Rama, O my child is not harsh or foolish; nor has he not control over his senses. Far from speaking untruth he does not know false stories even. It doth not behove thee therefore to use such improper language towards him. He is an incarnation of virtue, pious and truthful, and lord of all men as Basava of all celestials. How dost thou then wish to carry away by force his Vaidehi, protected by virtue of her own chastity, like unto the rays of Sun? It doth not behove thee to enter that fire of Rama who hath arrows for rays and bow and scimitar for fuel. It doth not behove thee, O Ravana, to approach Rama renouncing thy kingdom, happiness and love of life, who is like unto death itself and has bow for his widened and flaming mouth, and arrows for his rays and who is irrepressible, of mighty prowess, holding bows and arrows and repulsing the forces of the enemy. Incomparable is his power; daughter of Janaka is his wife and lives in the forest confiding in the mighty strength of his bow; thou shalt not be able to carry her away. She is the beloved wife of that best of men having a leonine chest-and he holds his wife dearer than his life and is ever attached unto her. And young Sita beloved of the mighty Rama, and like unto the rays of flaming fire is ever incapable of being carried away by thee. Of what avail is this vain attempt O Rakshasa chief? No sooner Rama shall see you in the battle thou shalt meet with thy end. Hard it is to attain life, happiness and kingdom, so it behoveth thee to act properly, after consulting with thy ministers headed by Bivishana, judging Rama's merits and demerits and ascertaining his and thy own strength and as well as thy welfare. Methinks thy approaching conflict with the son of the Kocala chief forebodes no good unto thee; hear again therefore O prince of the night-rangers, words sensible and lending to thy welfare.

Once on a time I was engaged in travelling all over the earth. I had in my body, resembling a huge mountain, the strength of a thousand Nagas. I had parigha in my hands, crown on my head and golden ear-rings on my ears and my body was of a dark blue colour like that of a cloud. Causing fright unto the people I used to wander through the forest of Dandaka and live upon the flesh of the Rishis. The pious ascetic Viswamitra being afraid of me went in person to the king Dacaratha and "When I shall remain absorbed in meditation on the occasion of parva, let Rama protect me O king, Truly am I afraid of this Maricha." Being thus addressed by the ascetic the virtuous-souled king Dacaratha replied, saying "Raghava is still under twelve years of age and hath not been well disciplined in military arts. But I have soldiers enough, and if permitted by thee, O thou best of ascetics, I shall with my four-fold forces kill thy enemies, the rangers of the night.' Being thus addressed that ascetic spoke unto the monarch, saying, "True it is that thou wert the protector of the celestials in the War and thy exploits are well known to the world, but no one shall be able to withstand the Rakshasas but Rama. The highly energetic Rama, though a boy is sufficiently qualified to defeat the enemies; therefore, O Destroyer of foes, let thy soldiery remain here and let me proceed along with Rama. May God bless thee." Saying this

the ascetic Viswamitra being pleased went to his asylum along with Rama. Afterwards having been initiated for the sacrifice in the forest of Dandaka Rama having unstrung his mighty bow came to the ascetic to protect the sacrifice. He had a gold chain round his neck, a crest on his head and a bow in his hands; he had a pair of beautiful eyes, and only one piece of cloth; his countenance was of green hue and exquisite beauty and even then mustaches or other signs of manhood did not appear on his face. Beautifying the entire forest of Dandaka with his own splendour Rama appeared like the newly risen moon. Thereupon I resembling a cloud and having golden ear locks entered the asylum being proud of my power on account of the boons offered unto me by Brahma. Seeing me enter he took up his dart and attached string unto his bow with proper care. Being under the influence of sheer foolishness I passed by him as a child and darted towards the sacrificial altar of Viswamitra. Thereupon he wounded me with a sharpened sword capable of doing away with the enemies and threw me away into the ocean situated at a distance of hundred yojanas. He had no mind of killing me then and for this he saved my life. I was thrown however into the deep ocean being hindered by the velocity of his arrows and having lost my consciousness Regaining my sense after a long while I returned the city of Lanka. Myself saved thus, my followers however were all killed by Rama of unwearied activity though a mere child and a novice in the art of warfare. It is for this that I do prevent thee; thou shalt be overwhelmed with calamities and meet with destruction if dost thou engage thyself in battle with him In vain shalt thou bring about the affliction of the mirthful and sportive Rakshasas ever witnessing social festivities. And in vain shalt thou for Sita compass the destruction of the city of Lanka, adorned with diverse jewels and filled with golden edifices. Pious men living with a vicious man, meet with destruction for his sins, though they themselves do not commit any misdeed, like unto fish (devoured by Garuda) living in a lake where snakes dwell. Thus shalt thou witness that for thy own folly the rangers of the night, adorned with celestial ornaments and having their body pasted with sandal, have been killed and brought down to the earth. And they deprived of shelter have fled away to different directions, some with their wives and some alone, having their wives carried away (by the enemies). Thou shalt further observe that all edifices of Lanka, being enveloped with arrows and flaming fire have been burnt down to ashes. There is no greater sin on earth than carrying away another's wife. There are a thousand ladies in thy seraglio O king. Being attached unto thy wives do thou preserve the race of the Rakshasas, thy own line, thy wished for life, kingdom, wealth and dignity. Do not bring about Rama's mischief if dost thou wish to live happily with thy wives and friends. I am thy friend and do ask thee again and again to desist (from thy evil intentions); if dost thou encroach upon Sita surely shalt thou along with thy kinsmen go to the abode of Yama being enfeebled by the arrows of

SECTION 39.

I was however somehow saved by Rama in that conflict. Listen what happened afterwards. I was not humbled even by the danger of my life. Once again I entered the forest of Dandaka accompanied by two Rakshasas assuming the shape of deer. I had a flaming tongue, huge teeth, sharpened horns and lived on the flesh of ascetics. Assuming such a terrible appearance I began to traverse with great vehemence the Tirtha, Agnihotri and the place of worship; eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the ascetics after killing them I began to hinder all religious services. I had a most ugly figure and was maddened with drinking blood, and all the animals of the forest were exceedingly frightened at me. White I was thus traversing the forest of Dandaka throwing obstacles in the way of religious services I saw the pious ascetic Rama living on a restricted fare, the honoured Sita and the mighty Lakshmana, taking recourse to asceticism, moderate in eating and ever engaged in the welfare of created beings. Remembering his former enmity and aggrandisement, I, being extremely wrathful, in my deer shape and with my sharpened horns, darted towards him with a view to kill him, considering through my ignorance the effulgent Rama as none other but an ascetic living in the forest. Then stringing his huge bow he darted three sharpened arrows at me. Those three terrible arrows with bent knots resembling thunderbolts, killing enemies and drinking blood and having the motion of Garuda and air, coalescing with each other came before us. Wicked as I am, I was fully aware of his prowess having been frightend by him on a former occasion, and so I saved myself by escaping, but those two Rakshasas were killed O Ravana, any how saved from the arrows of Rama and having got my life back I have resorted to the life of an ascetic and have been carrying on asceticism here being absorbed in

From that very day I see Rama wearing bark and deer skin even in the very trees before me like unto Death with the noose in his hands. Terrified as I am I always seeing thousands of Rama around me. Me seems the entire forest is inhabited by Rama only. O king of Rakshasas, I see Rama even in the quarter where there is no Rama. Seeing him in my dreams even I look around like one awaken. O Rayana what more shall I speak unto thee, I am so much afraid of Rama that such words as Ratna (jewel) Ratha (chariot) which begin with the letter Ra administer consternation unto me. I am fully apprised of the prowess of that descendant of Raghu; it doth not behove thee to enter into conflict with him; he can destroy Vali and Namuchi. Ravana, whether dost thou fight with Rama or not, do not mention him unto me if dost thou wish to see me. Many persons pious and devoted to asceticism on this earth have met with destruction for another's misdeeds. And I shall meet with a similar fate for thy sins. O thou the ranger of night do whatever thou likest, I shall not follow thee. Truely is that highly intelligent and effulgent Rama of mighty prowess, like death itself unto the rangers of night. Though the wicked Khara of Janasthana hath been slain by him on Surpanakha's account, yet how is he to blame for it? Do thou truly speak. Thou art my friend; it is for this and for thy welfare that I speak this truth unto thee. If dost thou not follow my words, thyself with all thy kinsmen, shall be slain in battle by Rama.

As a person desirous of meeting with his end doth not take medicine, Ravana, the king of night-rangers paid no heed to the appropriate and sound words of Maricha skilled in speech, foreboding good unto him. Moreover he addressed him with the following harsh words. "O, Maricha, what thou hast spoken unto me, shall bear no fruit like unto seeds sown into a desert-land. I shall not be frightened thereby to fight with that foolish Rama-a human being of vicious deeds. Surely shall I before thee take away from that Rama the destroyer of Khara his favourite wife, at whose words he has sojourned into woods renouncing his father mother, kingdom and friends. I have made this firm resolution in my mind O, Maricha; even Indra, with the celestials and Ashuras shall not be able to shake it. It would have been proper for thee to give vent to these expressions had I but asked thee for advice to ascertain my duty, the propriety or impropriety of my action, its way or losses. A wise counsellor who wishes prosperity unto himself should always communicate unto his master his desire with joined hands whenever asked to do so. It is always proper to speak before monarchs such pleasant and favourable words as are intended for the welfare of the master and are sanctioned by the royal etiquette. A respectable king doth not receive with good grace friendly words even when they are expressed disrespectfully. Sovereigns of superb prowess assume the semblance of five deities—Agni, Indra, Moon, Yama, and Varuna. Powerful kings, O Ranger of the night, assume haughtiness, power, a placid look and contentment and administer punishment unto the wicked. They are to be adored and honoured therefore on all occasions. Thou art ignorant of kingly morality and fully absorbed in illusion. It is for this that thou dost out of thy wickedness of heart address me thy guest with these harsh words. I do not ask thee O, Rakshasa about the propriety (of my conduct or about my welfare. I did only ask thee for thy help. Listen what thou shalt have to do at my request in my aid; assuming the shape of a deer having golden skin painted with silvery drops do thou proceed to the asylum of Rama, and ranging at large before Vaidehi do thou after captivating her take thy wishedfor way. Vaidehi, being struck with wonder seeing thee a golden deer capable of illusions, shall request Rama to get thee soon for her. Kakuthstha issuing out of the asylum, thou shalt, at great distance utter such cries as "O Sita, O Lakahmana" imitating his (Rama's) voice. Hearing those cries Lakshmana also, at the behest of Sita, shall proceed to Rama. When both Rama and Lakshmana shall go elsewhere in this way I shall to my felicity carry away Vaidehi like unto the thousand-eyed deity carrying away Sachi. O Rakshasa, do thou go wherever thou likest after doing this. I shall confer on thee, O Maricha, half of my kingdom. O thou of auspicious look, do thou proceed towards the forest of Dandaka to compass this end of mine; I shall follow thee in my chariot. Acquiring Sita without any conflict, after imposing upon Rama I shall return to Lanka successful along with thee. I shall kill thee, O Maricha, if dost thou not obey my behest. I shall compell thee to do this. No body can attain to prosperity and happiness, acting against his sovereign's will. Truly shalt thou risk thy life if thou approachest Rama, but thou shalt meet with sure destruction if dost thou act against my will. Consider about it, and do what thou thinkest proper.

Being thus commanded by Ravana like a king to act against his will Maricha fearlessly addressed the lord of the Rakshasas with the following bold words, "What person of impious deeds hath advised thee O ranger of the night thus in order to exterminate thee with thy kingdom, counsellors and children? Who of a vicious heart, O King, doth not feel himself happy at thy welfare? Who hath pointed out unto thee the way of thy death under the cover of thy means? O Ranger of night surely do thy weak enemies wish to bring about thy destruction by making thee enter into a conflict with a powerful man. What little-minded man of evil intent hath counselled thee thus? O Ranger of night, really do they desire that thou dost bring destruction upon thyself by thy own actions. Thou dost not exterminate thy counsellors O Ravana, albeit they are worthy of being destroyed. For they do not prevent thee entirely from thy evil course. Wise counsellors do always restrain a king who wends a vicious track being guided by his impulses and passions; but about thee they are quite unmindful, though thou shouldst by every means be brought under restraint. O thou the best of conquerors, O thou the ranger of night, ministers by the grace of their sovereign attain virtue, wealth, desires and fame. But those objects are never attained O Ravana when they are not in good odour with their sovereign; moreover the subjects meet with dangers when he is devoid of all qualities. O thou the best of conquerors, the king is the root of virtue and fame unto the subjects; he should therefore be always protected by them. O ranger of night, proud kings of cruel temperament, acting against the subjects can never administer their kingdoms. So do the ministers of cruel counsel meet with their end like unto a chariot driven into a wild track by an unskilled charioteer. Many a pious person. on this earth, ever engaged in the performance of religious services, have, for the folly of other persons, met with destruction along with their relatives. Verily the subjects, O Ravana, can never expect to prosper under the regime of hotnatured sovereigns acting against their subjects like unto deer under the protection of a jackal. All the Rakshasas shall surely die. O Rayana whose lord art thou, foolish, cruel and under the control of thy passions. I shall not be the least sorry if I do meet with a sudden accident-what I do deplore most is that thou shalt meet in no time with destruction along with thy soldiery. Compassing my end Rama shall enterminate thee in no time-and blessed I shall be being killed by an enemy in the conflict. Surely dost thou know that no sooner shall I see Rama I shall be done away with; thou shalt carrying away Sita meet with thy end along with thy kinsmen. And if dost thou bring Sita with me from the asylum, none shall be saved,-me, thyself, the city of Lanka, and the Rakshasas. Thou dost not relish my words O ranger of the night though prevented by me, who wishes thee welfare; those men who range on the verge of death, well-nigh finishing the term of their existence do not receive with good grace the counsels of friends.

SECTION 42

Speaking these harsh words unto Ravana, Maricha being afraid of him said, "We shall both go. Surely shall I be deprived of my life by him (Rama) taking up his scimitar and having a bow and arrows in his hands, if I go before him again. Meeting with his prowess thou shalt never return with thy life; he is like the noose of Death unto thee though thou hadst baffled its power. Thou art vicious-souled, what can I do for thee? Be thou crowned with success O ranger of the night, I shall go." The Lord of Rakshasas being pleased with Marietta's words embraced him warmly and said. "This is worthy of thy heroism that thou hast addressed thyself to act after my desire. Thou wert another Rakshasa before and hast now become true Maricha. Do thou now with me ascend this chariot coursing in the air, crested with jewels and driven by asses having faces of a demon. Enchanting Vaidehi thou shalt wend thy way and away shall I carry the daughter of the king of Mithila by force (when there shall be neither Rama nor Lakshmana by her.)" Thereupon Taraka's son assented to Ravana's words, and both of them ascending the chariot like unto a heavenly car set out for the hermitage. And beholding diverse towns, forests, mountains, rivers, kingdoms and cities they reached the forest of Dandaka and the asylum of Rama. And descending now from the golden car the lord of Rakshasas together with Maricha beheld Rama's asylum. Taking him (Maricha) by the hand Ravana spake saying "There stands the asylum of Rama surrounded by palm trees. Do thou do that for which we have come here." Hearing the words of Ravana, the Rakshasa Maricha assuming the wonderful shape of a (golden) deer began to range at large before Rama's hermitage. The points of its horns were like unto (two) excellent jewels, its countenance was diversified with white and black colour, its face was like a red lotus, its ears were like unto two blue lotuses, its neck was little raised, its belly was like a saphire, its sides were like unto Madhuka flowers, its colour was like that of a filament of a lotus, its hoops were like unto Baidurjas (a gem of a dark colour); of lean thighs; of firm joints; its tail having the diversified colour of a rainbow was upraised. It was of a pleasant and cool hue and crested with various jewels.

And in no time the Rakshasa assumed the shape of a beautiful deer. To tempt Vaidehi that ranger of the night, assuming a beautiful countenance painted with diverse metals, illumining the beautiful forest and Rama's asylum with its beauty, and ranging at large on the green field and living on grass, began to proceed. That one of lively presence having its body painted with hundreds of silver drops and living on twigs of trees began to range in the forest. Sometimes walking into the plantain house, sometimes walking around the forest of Karnika, sometimes coming within the compass of Sita's

vision, that best of deer having its back painted with gold began to range slowly around the hermitage. It began to walk at pleasure near Rama's asylum. Sometimes going, sometimes stopping, at one time running very swiftly and receding the next moment, that best of deer began to range at large. Sometimes playing around, sometimes lying on earth and sometimes following the deer-herd having come within the threshold of the asylum and then followed again by them that Rakshasa assuming the form of a deer came back to see Sita. He then began to range at large in the beautiful forest (extending far and wide). Seeing him other forest-deer came (by him) and smelling him fled away into different quarters. That Rakshasa, though expert in killing deer, did not eat them up, though touching, inorder to hide his real self. In the meantime Vaidehi, of auspicious looks whose eves inebriate like wine, being engaged in plucking flowers, was going sometimes to the Karnika grove and sometimes to the mangoe grove. That best of women, ever inured to living in the forest and possessed of a graceful countenance, walking and plucking flowers, saw that jewelled deer, having its body deversified with pearls and diamonds. It had beautiful teeth and lips and had its down resembling silver. She began to behold with affection and with her eyes expanded with surprise. That illusive deer seeing Rama's wife began to move around as if lighting up that forest (with the fire of its beauty). Beholding that deer ornamented with diverse jewels, and the like of which she had never seen before, the daughter of Janaka was struck With immense wonder.

SECTION 43.

Beholding that deer with its sides painted with gold and silver, while collecting flowers, Sita, having blameless limbs and beautiful hips and having the colour of her body like that of pure gold became immensely pleased and called aloud her husband and Lakshmana with scimitars in their hands. "Do thou come soon, do thou come soon, O son of the worshipful Sire, along with thy younger brother" -having called (her husband) again and again in this strain she continued beholding that deer. Being thus called by the daughter of the king of Videha those two best of men Rama and Lakshmana. casting their looks around beheld that deer. Seeing him Lakshmana, struck with fear, said "Methinks, this deer is the Rakshasa Maricha. This vicious Maricha, O Rama, assuming the shape of a deer oftentimes kills at pleasure the kings who come here a-hunting. He is cognisant of illusions, by virtue of which he has assumed this shape, O best of men; its countenance is perfectly fine like the abode of Gandharbas and resplendent like the Sun; there is no such jewelled deer on earth. O Raghava, O Lord of earth, there is no doubt that this is nothing but illusion." When Lakshmana spake thus Sita with a pure smile being under the influence of enchantment contradicted him, and being pleased said "O son of the worshipful Sire, this deer hath attracted my mind, get it for me, pray, O thou of mighty arms; it shall be an object of sport for us. Many a beautiful deer range at large in the vicinity of our hermitage such as Chamara, Srimara, Rik, Prishata, Banara, and Kinnara. They are all very beautiful and of mighty strength; but O Prince, I have never seen before the like of this deer. In energy, strength and beauty it stands above all deer. Its entire body is diversified with various colours, nay, it is a jewel itself. It moves before me, beautifying the forest with its resplendance, like unto Moon himself. Ah! what beauty, what beautiful a lustre, how musical a voice, this wonderful deer of variegated countenance, hath indeed captivated my heart! If canst thou get by this deer alive, O what wonder, what surprise! When shall we regain our kingdom after the expiry of the term of our banishment, this deer shall beautify the interior of our palace. O Lord, truly shall this celestial deer create surprise in Bharata, yourself, me and my mothers-in-law. O best of men, if canst thou not get hold of it alive its skin shall also look very beautiful (to us). Spreading on Kuca the skin of this golden deer when killed do I wish to invoke the Almighty. It looks (no doubt) unseemly and terrible and smacks of wilfulness on the part of a wife to command her husband in this way, but I am sunk in surprise seeing the countenance of the deer." Rama's heart was struck with surprise beholding that wonderful deer having its down resembling gold, horns resembling exquisitely fine diamonds, colour like that of the newly risen Sun, and resplendance like that of the orbit of the planets. Being enchanted by its beauty and spurred on by Sita's words, Raghava pleased, spake unto his younger brother saying "Behold, O Lakshmana, it has immensely excited Vaidehi's desire. On account of its exquisite beauty it shall loose its life to-day. It has its equal no where on the earth-neither in the celestial garden nor in the Chaittraratha forest. The hairs of its body being arranged in regular and contrary courses and being painted with golden drops do indeed look very beautiful. Do thou see, while expanding its mouth, its tongue comes out resembling flaming fire like unto a thunder-bolt reaving the mass of clouds. Its face is like a glass made of best blue saphire, its belly resembling a conch and pearl, and it is very difficult to ascertain its shapes. Beholding it who is there (on earth)

whose heart is not enamoured? Its beauty resembles the rays of gold and is variegated with diverse hues of iewels. Whose heart is not enveloped with surprise beholding such a celestial beauty, O Lakshmana? Princes, with bows in their hands, while-a hunting in a deep forest destroy deer either for flesh or for sport. Moreover while engaged in sporting they collect many a jewel and various metals as gold and silver, in the woods. There is not the least doubt that these wild riches filling up their coffers are comparatively far better (than the wealth acquired by other sources) like unto the objects of enjoyment, enjoyed at their fancy by the people inhabiting the celestial region. The object which persons desirous of acquiring wealth follow without any discretion in their actions, is the true definition of wealth given by the political economists. Vaidehi of slender waist desireth to sit with me on the exquisitely fine golden skin of this gem of a deer, meseems no deer skin is so comfortable to touch as this-neither the skin of Kadali, Priaki, Prabeni nor of Abiki. Truly handsome in this deer and the one that rangeth in the welkin, indeed these two deer only are celestial—the one that rangeth in the sky (Mrigashira) and this that rangeth on earth. And if it be a Rakshasa's illusion as thou sayest, O Lakshmana, then it must be killed by me. This cruel vicious-souled Maricha made away with many eminent ascetics, while traveling in the forest; and this Rakshasa assuming the shape of an illusive deer destroyed many kings -mighty archers while a-hunting in this forest; it is for this that this deer must be killed. Formerly this Batapi [The name of an Asur devoured by Agastya.] entering into the womb of twice-born ones used to come out reaving them like unto the embryo of a mule. Once on a time this Batapi approached the eminent saint Agastya and was devoured by him. After the Sradha ceremony had been over, finding that Batapi desirious of assuming the shape of a Rakshasa the great saint Agastya said smiling "Being blinded with thy prowess O Batapi, thou hast destroyed many eminent twice-born ones on this earth and for this that I do digest thee. Truly that Rakshasa O, Lakshmana, who wisheth to surpass one like me who hath controlled his senses and is ever engaged in pious offices shall meet with his end like unto this Batapi. Therefore this Maricha approaching me shall be killed by me like unto Batapi being devoured by Agastya. Do thou therefore vigilently protect Vaidehi with mail and armours on. It is our prime duty, O descendant of Raghu, to protect Janaki. I shall either kill this deer or shall get hold of it. Look, O Lakshmana, Vaidehi is extremely anxious to get the skin of this deer, I shall therefore proceed at once, O son of Sumil to catch this deer. The skin of this deer is the best of its kind; for certain shall it loose its life today. As long as I do not kill this deer, O Lakshmana, do thou with Sita remain with vigilance in this asylum. I shall in no time come back with its skin after killing it with one arrow. Do thou stay here, O Lakshmana, with Janaki in constant fear and vigilance, along with the mighty Yatayu, intelligent and e engaged in pious offices.

SECTION 44.

Having thus directed his brother, the highly energetic son of Raghu equipped himself with his gold-hilted scimitar And girting himself with his bow bent at three places, which served him as an ornament,—as well as a couple of quivers that one of fierce energy sallied out. Seeing that foremost of monarchs approach, that best of beasts from fear disappeared; and then again showed himself. Thereat girt with the bow and sword, (Rama) rushed where the deer was; and beheld him illumining all before him with his beauty,-and bow in hand (Rama beheld) him in that vast forest, darting away after gazing at him,-and sometimes seeming to have got beyond arrow range, and at others tempting Rama (by his vicinity). And sometimes influenced by fear and bewildered, (the deer) seemed to course the welkin; and in the forest now he became visible and now vanished from sight. And like the autumual lunar disc enveloped by indented clouds, he momentarily showed himself, and anon discovered himself at a distance. And Maricha wearing the shape of a deer, showing himself and disappearing from sight, drew Raghava a long way from the hermitage. Thereat Rama, eagerly anxious to secure the deer, being foiled by the deer, and in consequence growing enraged, wearied out, rested under a shadow, on a sward. And that ranger of the night, wearing the form of a deer, maddening Rama, discovered himself (again) at a distance surrounded by (other) deer. And Rama desirous of taking (the beast), seeing him again, set off at speed. At the very moment the deer disappeared from fear; and again showed himself at a distance behind a tree. And seeing him, the exceedingly energetic and strong Raghava, determined to slay him, growing wroth, taking out a flaming shaft, resembling the rays of the sun, powerfully drew his bow, and firmly setting the shaft, and aiming it at the deer, let go the blazing and burning weapon forged by Brahma, resembling a flaming serpent. And that best of arrows, like unto a thunderbolt deeply pierced the breast of Maricha, wearing the shape of a deer. Thereat bounding up high as a palmyra palm, that one whose saws had almost run out, uttered terrible sounds, lying on the earth. And while on the point of death, Maricha renounced his counterfeit shape. And remembering the words

of Ravana, the Rakshasa reflected, "By what means can Sita send away Lakshmana, and Ravana carry off Sita staying in solitude?" And pierced to the marrow by that peerless shaft, Maricha, renouncing his deer form, resumed his Rakshasa lineaments; and giving up his life attaining a huge person, considering the time had come (for availing himself of the advice tendered by Ravana), began to cry with the voice of Raghava, "Ah Sita! Ah Lakshmana!" And seeing that grimvisaged Rakshasa lying low on the ground, with his person bathed in blood, and rolling hither and thither, Rim a proceeded towards the asylum, thinking of Sita. and revolving within himself Lakshmana's words. While returning he thought aside "Lakshmana said before that this was Maricha's illusion!" His words have been verified now. Truly have I killed Maricha. Maricha has given up his ghost exclaiming aloud Ah! Sita, Ah! Lakshmana. I do not know what shall Sita do hearing the cry? And what shall the mighty-armed Lakshmana do?" While pondering thus the hairs of the virtuous-souled Rama stood on their end. Killing that Rakshasa assuming the shape of a deer and hearing his terrible cry Rama was overwhelmed with fear arising out of sorrow. Thereupon killing a deer and taking its flesh he hastened towards Janasthana.

SECTION 45.

Hearing that cry in the forest resembling her husband's voice Sita spake unto Lakshmana saying "Do thou go and learn what has befallen Raghava. He is crying aloud in pitiable accents; hearing them my life and soul are incapable of remaining any longer in their proper places. It behoveth thee to save thy brother who is crying aloud in the forest; do thou immediately repair hence to save him, who is in need of thy help. He hath been over-powered by the Rakshasas like unto a bullock brought under the power of a lion, Remembering the behest of Rama, Lakshmana did not go, though accosted thus by Sita. Extremely mortified, the daughter of Janaka spake unto him saying "O Son of Sumitra, thou art an enemy unto Rama, in the garb of a brother. Thou dost not proceed for the relief of thy brother who hath been reduced to such a plight. Dost thou desire, for fine, O Lakshmana, Rama's destruction? Truely being under the influence of lust for me thou dost not follow Raghava! For this thou dost welcome Rama's disaster; thou hast no affection for him. For this it is that thou dost sit here without anxiety not seeing the highly effulgent (Rama). Rama, following whom thou hast repaired unto this forest, being in danger, of what avail is life unto me?" Vaidehi Speaking thus being influenced by sorrow, and with tears in her eyes, like unto a deer, Lakshmana spake unto her saying "O Vaidehi, celestials, Danavas, Gandharbas, Rakshasas, Asuras, or Pannagas, there is none who can defeat thy husband. There is not the least doubt in this. Worshipful madam! Celestials, Danavas, Gandharbas, Rakshasas, Picachas, men, Kinnaras, animals, or birds, there is none among them, who can withstand Raghava who equals the lord of celestials in warfare. In fact there is none who can do away with Rama in battle. It doth not behove thee therefore to accost me thus. Nor do I dare leave thee here alone in this forest without Rama. Even the mighty heroes, as the Lord of celestials, cannot subdue his prowess with all their strength. Even the Almighty Himself, with the celestials and the three worlds, cannot defeat him. Do thou therefore renounce grief and console theyself. Sooner shall thy husband return killing the best of deer. It is not his voice nor one sent by any deity. It is but an illusion of that Rakshasa (Maricha). O Vaidehi, thou hast been left unto my charge by the high-souled (Rama)-I therefore do not dare leave thee behind, O thou the jewel of a damsel. We have made these night-rangers our enemies. For compassing the destruction of Khara, O worshipful one, and devastating Janasthana, Rakshasas oftentimes use improper words unto us in this extensive forest. O Vaidehi, to create mischief unto the pious is the only amusement of these Rakshasas-thou shoudst not therefore be anxious for this." Being thus addressed by him her eyes were reddened with ire, and she spake these harsh words unto the truthful Lakshmana saying O cruel one! O thou the destroyer of thy line! it is a disgrace unto thee that thou wishest to protect me (killing Rama). Methinks, this mighty disaster of Rama is welcome unto thee, or else why shouldst thou seeing this, speak thus, O Lakshmana. It is not a wonder that an evil desire lurks in thee who art a hypocrite and a cruel-hearted enemy. Verily art thou a monster of wickedness, that Rama repairing unto woods, thou hast, being lustful for me, followed him alone. Or hast thou been engaged by Bharata to act thus? But thy or Bharata's intention shall not be satisfied, O Saumitre. How shall I desire another man after serving the lotus-eyed Rama of dark blue hue as my husband? I shall renounce my life before thee, therefore, O Lakshmana; without Rama I shall not maintain my being for a moment on this earth." Hearing these brazen words of Sita, capable of making one's down stand on end, the self-controlled Lakshmana with joined hands spake unto her saying "Thou art a very Goddess unto me, I therefore dare not answer thee. What thou hast spoken, O Maithelee, is nothing surprising for females. Such is the

nature of womankind on this earth. Women by nature are crooked, fickle, devoid of religious knowledge, and bring about difference between father and son. O Vaidehi, O daugther of Janaka, truly am I incapable of putting up with these words of thine. They have pierced through both of my ears like a heated Naracha. However the deities ranging in this woodland are my witnesses— may they hear thee. I spoke what was fair and have been thus addressed by thee with these harsh words. I do alawys obey my superior's commands. Fie on thee! Thy destruction is near at hand that dost thou suspect me, being influenced by this womanish nature. I shall go where Kakuthstha is, may good betide thee, O thou the best of damsels! May the deities of the forest protect thee, O thou of expansive eyes! Many a bad omen appear before me. May I see thee again when I shall come back with Rama." Being thus accosted by Lakshmana the daughter of Janaka replied weeping and being bathed in tears. "Without Rama, O Lakshmana, I shall drink virulent poison, enter fire or dive into the Godaveri. I shall destroy this body either by hanging or by falling down from the top of a high object. I shall never be able to touch another man but Rama." Speaking thus unto Lakshmana, Sita, being enveloped with grief, weeping, struck her belly56 with her hands. Seeing the daughter of Janaka of expansive eyes weep thus in pitiable accents, Lakshmana losing his attention began to console her. Afterwards the pure-hearted Lakshmana, having control over his senses. saluting Sita with clasped palms and bending low a little proceeded where Rama was, casting again and again his glance upon her as he went.

Having been addressed with those harsh words the younger brother of Raghava, enraged, proceeded at once, being anxious to see Rama. Thereupon the ten-necked one, availing of this opportunity came before Vaidehi assuming the semblance of a mendicant. Wearing a soft silken cloth, with a lock of hair on his head with an umbrella and shoes and having on his left shoulder a rod and Kamandalu, the highly powerful one assuming the appearance of a wandering devotee carrying three long bamboo staves appeared before Vaidehi in the forest when there was none of the brothers by her. He saw there the young and pious daughter of the king like unto an evening void of both sun and moon and as the highly terrible Rahu eyes Rohini forsaken by Moon. Seeing that terrible one the doer of evil deeds, the trees of Janasthana did not move nor the wind did blow. Seeing him eye Sita with his blood-red eyes, the fast streaming river Godaveri even slackened its course out of fear. In the mean time the Ten-necked Rayana enquiring about Rama's weak points appeared before Vaidehi in the guise of a mendicant. Like unto Sani approaching chitra, that impious one, assuming the appearance of a pious man like a well covered with grass, approached Vaidehi who was bewailing her husband. And seeing that pious spouse of Rama—Vaidehi, Rayana stood before her. Her lips and teeth were extremely fine, her face resembled the full moon and her eyes were like lotus-petals. She had a vellow silken cloth on and sat in the thatched cottage, overwhelmed with grief and bathed in tears. And that ranger of the night with a pleased heart approached Vaidehi. Seeing her that Lord of Rakshasas was pierced with the shafts of passion. And speaking highly of her, surpassing in beauty the three worlds and resembling by the excellence of her own person the very goddess of wealth herself Ravana uttering the name of God spake unto her saying, "O thou having the colour of gold and silver, O thou wearing silken cloth, O thou appearing like a lotus wearing a garland of lotus-petals, O thou of beautiful countenance! Art thou Bashfulness, Beauty, Fame, Wealth, Apsara, Dignity or Rati herself who is ranging at will in this forest? All thy teeth are equal having their tops like unto the buds of Kunda flower, beautiful and yellow. Thy eyes are expansive, clear, of bloody hue, and having black pupils. Thy hip is fleshy and spacious. Thy thighs are like those of elephants, round, fleshy and perfectly strong. Thy nipples are bulky, pointed, highly captivating like cold palm fruits, beautiful and ornamented with diverse jewels. O thou of beautiful smile! O thou of beautiful teeth! O thou of beautiful eyes! O fine damsel, thou dost carry away my heart like unto a river carrying away its banks by its stream. The lock of thy hair is exquisitely fine, thy breast very close and thy waist is so thin that they may be got round even by fingers. There is none so beautiful like thee—a Goddess, a Gandharbhi, a Yakshi or a Kinnari. I had never seen before on this earth a damsel so beautiful as thou. This thy beauty the best on earth, thy youth, thy grace and thy abode in the forest do agitate my mind. So it is well for thee to come (with me); it doth not behove thee to remain here This is the abode of terrible Rakshasas wearing shapes at will. Picturesque palaces, prosperous cities and sweet-smelling gardens are worthy of thy abode. O thou of dark-blue eyes, fine is thy garland, fine is the smell of thy person and fine is thy apparel-methinks fine is thy husband too. O thou of pure smile! whom dost thou belong to?—Rudras, Marutas, or Vasus- Meseems, O fine damsel thou art a very gooddes. No one comes here-the Gandharbas, the celestials or Kinnaras: this is an abode of the Rakshasas: how dost thou

come here? Art thou not afraid of these monkeys, lions, tigers, wolves, bears, herons and hyenas? Alone in this forest, art thou not afraid of these terrible elephants of fierce motion and maddened with the exuding of their temporal juice? Who art thou? Whose wife? What for dost thou range alone in this forest of Dandaka frequented by terrible Rakshasas?" Thus addressed was Vaidehi by the vicious-souled Ravana. Seeing him come under the guise of a twice-born one, Maithelee worshipped him with diverse articles necessary for serving a guest. Offering him a seat first and afterwards inviting him to wash his feet she said unto that one of placid look "cooked rice is ready." Seeing Ravana approach with Kamandaluand wearing a red cloth under the guise of a Brahmana, Maithelee could not pass by him any way, and considering him a twiceborn one by various signs invited him as if a Brahmana saving. "O Brahmana, do thou sit on this seat facing the right; do thou take this water (to wash thy feet); do thou enjoy these well-cooked eatables growing in the forest and intended for thee." Janaki the wife of Lord of men inviting him thus, Ravana, casting a look upon her, addressed himself for his own destruction, to carry her away. She was anxiously expecting the return of Rama who had gone a-hunting with Lakshmana; she looked around and behold but on all sides the spacious vellow forest-land-there was neither Rama nor Lakshmana.

SECTION 47.

"Being thus addressed by Ravana under the guise of a mendicant, desirous of carrying her away Vaidehi thought within herself-"This person is my guest and a Bhahmin; he may curse me if I do not speak to him." Thinking this for a moment Sita said "May good betide thee! I am the daughter of the high-souled Janaka, the king of Mithila, the beloved Queen of Rama and my name is Sita. Dwelling in the palace of Ikshakus for twelve years, I enjoyed many things passing human and had all my desires satisfied. On the thirteenth year king (Dacaratha) counselled with his ministers about the installation of Rama. Accordingly everything necessary for the installation being made ready, Kaikeyi, one of my mothers-in-law, begged of her husband a boon. Bringing my father-in-law under control by means of her virtuous deeds. Kaikevi begged, of that truthful, best of monarchs, two boons namely the exile of my husband into the woods and the installation of Bharata, and said "I shall never eat, drink or sleep and (if Rama be installed) I shall end my life." Kaikeyi speaking thus, that lord of earth, my father-in-law begged her to accept diverse riches; but Kaikeyi did not agree. Then the highly effulgent Rama, my husband was twenty-five years old. and myself was eighteen years old counting from my birth. My husband is known all over the world under the name of Rama. He is truthful, good-natured, of pure character, ever engaged in the welfare of all created beings, of mighty-arms and expansive eyes. Our father the king Dacaratha was entirely under the control of passions, and hence for the satisfaction of Kaikevi did not install Rama. When Rama came to his father for being installed Kaikevi spoke unto my husband the following cruel words, "Do thou hear, O Raghava, how I have been ordered by thy Sire. This kingdom, rid of thorns is to be conferred on Bharata, and thou shalt have to sojourn into woods for years nine and five. Do thou therefore repair unto forest, O Kakuthstha and save thy Sire from untruth.' Whereto Rama fearlessly replied 'So be it!' Hearing her words my husband of firm vows acted accordingly. He always maketh gifts and taketh none. He always speaketh truth and never telleth an untruth. This is his best observance, O Brahmana. His half-brother named Lakshmana is of mighty prowess. That best of men is Rama's help and the destroyer of foes in battle. That brother of his named Lakshmana is of firm resolution and given to asceticism. With a bow in hand he hath followed (Rama) flying as an exile unto woods along with me. Thus that one (Rama) of firm resolution and ever engaged in pious offices wearing matted hair and assuming the semblance of an ascetic hath entered this forest of Dandaka along with myself and his younger brother. O thou the best of twice-born ones, we three being deprived of our kingdom by Kaikevi have been living in this dense forest by virtue of our effulgence. Do thou take heart for a moment and live here. Instantly shall my husband return with good many wild fruits and roots and with sufficient meat after killing many a deer, hog and Gosamp. Truly do thou relate unto me thy name, Gotra and lineage. O thou twice-born one, why dost thou range alone in this forest of Dandaka?" Sita the wife of Rama speaking thus, the mighty Lord of Rakshasas— Ravana replied with these harsh words-"0 Sita I am that Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, whom fear the celestials, Asuras and human beings. O thou of blamless beauty, seeing thee of golden hue and wearing silk cloth I do not relish my own wives. I have brought many a beautiful damsel from various quarters, do thou become my foremost Queen amongst them. That great city in the midst of the ocean, Lanka, encircled on all sides by the sea and situated on the summit of a hill, is my capital. There shalt thou with me, Sita, walk in gardens, and thus thou shall no more long for living in the forest. If thou dost become my wife, O Sita, five

thousand maid-servants decorated with divers ornaments shall serve thee." That blameless daughter of Janaka, being thus addressed by Ravana, was highly enraged, and, passing by him, replied, "I am a dependant of Rama, who is incapable of being shaken, like unto a mighty mountain, incapable of being agitated, like unto a vast ocean, and resembling Mahendra in effulgence. I am a dependant of that great and truthful Rama who is gifted with auspicious marks and like unto a fig tree. I am dependant of that lion among men. Rama. of mighty arms, of a spacious breast and treading like a lion, I am a dependant of that son of a king, Rama, of mighty arms, having control over his passions, whose face resembles the full moon and whose fame hath spread far and wide over the earth. Why dost thou being a tiger wish for a she-lion? Thou shalt not be able to touch me like unto the rays of the sun. O thou wretched Rakshasa, when thou hast desired to steal away Raghava's beloved spouse, surely dost thou see these trees (before thee) as made of gold. Dost thou wish to uproot the teeth from the mouth of a lion, that enemy of deer, or from that of a serpent? Dost thou wish to clasp with thy hands the Mandara hill, or dost thou wish to walk in peace after drinking poison? Dost thou wish to rub thy eyes with pins and lick a razor with thy tongue? Thou dost wish to swim across an ocean, having a rock tied unto thy neck. Thou dost wish to get at the Sun and Moon, to bind a flaming fire with a piece of cloth and walk through iron-spikes, as thou hast wished to come by the worthy spouse of Rama. Mighty is the difference between Rama and thee, like unto that between a lion and a jackal, a sea and a rivulet, nectar and gruel, gold and iron, sandal and mud, an elephant and a cat, a crow and Garuda, a peacock and a madgie (an acquatic bird), or a duck and a vulture. Even if thou dost steal me, that mighty archer Rama, gifted with the prowess of the lord of celestials, living, surely shall I die, like unto a gnat sucking clarified butter. Addressing those words unto that wicked ranger of the night. that innocent (Sita) shook like a plantain tree shaken by the wind. Thereupon Ravana, like unto Death in prowess, trembling, began to relate unto her with a view to frighten (her) his race, power, name and actions.

SECTION 48.

After Sita had spoken these harsh words, Ravana, enraged, with a frown, replied "O thou of a beautiful countenance, I am the step-brother of the Lord of wealth and my name is the mighty Ten-necked Ravana. May good betide thee! Like unto people fearing Death, the celestials, Gandharbas, Picachas, Pannagas and Serpents fly in diverse directions being frightened by me. I have subdued by my prowess, my stepbrother, the Lord of wealth in a conflict, quarrelling with him for some reason. Thereat, that one carried by men, renouncing out of my fear this wealthy abode of Lanka, hath been living on that Lord of mountains, Kailaca. O thou auspicious one, by virtue of my prowess I have taken away that beautiful chariot of his called Puspaka. Ascending that chariot thou shalt travel by the etherial route. O Maithilee, when I am excited with ire, Indra and other celestials at the mere sight of my countenance fly away in divers directions out of fear. Wherever I live, the Wind bloweth cautiously and the Sun (of piercing rays) out of fear for me appeareth in the welkin like the Moon. What shall I say more? Wherever I live, even the leaves of the trees do not flutter and the currents of the rivers are stopped. Beyond the ocean stands my beautiful capital Lanka like unto Indra's Amaravati, (the capital of the Lord of celestials), guarded on all sides by the terrible nightrangers and encircled by yellow walls. That beautiful city hath gate-ways of ornamented and jewelled arches and golden apartments. It is filled with elephants, horses and chariots, always resounds with the sounds of bugles, and is beautified with gardens having divers trees of wished for fruits. O Sita, O thou the daughter of a king, in this city shalt thou dwell with me. O large-minded damsel, thou shalt never think of earthly women. O thou of an exquisite countenance, enjoying these many things passing human, thou shalt not any more think of Rama—a human being of brief existence. Placing his beloved son on the throne, king Dacaratha hath sent away his eldest son of weak prowess into the woods. O thou of expansive eyes, what shalt thou do with that wretched ascetic Rama who hath been deprived of his kingdom? I am the lord of the whole world of Rakshasas; being pierced by the shafts of Kama have I come by thee. It doth not behove thee therefore to pass by me. O timid damsel, truly shalt thou repent afterwards if thou dost disregard me, like unto Uruashee kicking Purarava. Rama is a human being and is not even equal to a finger of mine in battle. By thy good luck have I come unto thee - do thou give thyself up unto me, O thou of a beautiful countenance." Being thus addressed by him, Vaidehi exceedingly wroth and with blood-red eyes spoke unto that Lord of Rakshasas in the lonely forest, these bold words. "How dost thou wish to perpetrate such an impious deed after introducing as thy brother that highly worshipful Kuvera adored by all the deities. O Ravana, surely shall all the Rakshasas meet with death, who have such a stupid, harsh and lustful person like thee for their king. One can breathe on this earth carrying away Indra's wife, Sachi-but stealing me, the

wife of Rama, no body shall be able to live in peace. O Rakshasa, it might be possible for one to live on this earth treating contemptuously the wife of the holder of thunderbolt, but insulting me none shall escape the hands of Death even if he drinketh nectar.

SECTION 49

Hearing those words of Sita the highly powerful Tennecked one striking his hands together, increased his body too high. Thereupon, that one skilled in speech again spake unto Maithilee, "Methinks thou hast run mad. Hast thou not heard of my valour and prowess? Stationing myself in the welkin I can with my hands raise up the earth. I can drink up the waters of the ocean. And engaged in conflict I can destroy Death itself. With my sharpened shafts I can pierce the Sun and cut asunder the earth. Thou art mad with thy beauty. Do thou look upon me, who am capable of illusions." When he had spoken thus, his yellow eyes became blood-red with rage and assumed the semblance of flaming fire. Thereat Ravana, the younger brother of the Lord of wealth, changing his placid countenance, instantly assumed his own terrible shane resembling that of Yama. Highly exercised with ire, that ranger of the night became of ten countenances and twenty arms; his eyes were bloody and he appeared beautiful like unto blue clouds, being dressed in gold-hued apparel. Leaving aside the semblance of a mendicant, that lord of Rakshasas, Ravana, increasing in bulk, assumed his own shape. And wearing a blood-red cloth he stood there fixing his look upon that jewel of a damsel-Maithili. Thereupon Rayana spake unto Maithili like unto the rays of the sun, having a head of black hair and wearing apparel and ornaments, saying, "O thou fine damsel, if thou dost wish to have a husband known all over the world, do thou surrender thyself unto me. I am a worthy husband (or thee. Do thou serve me for ever, thy praiseworthy husband. O fine lady, I shall never do what thou dost not like. Renouncing thy attachment for a man, do thou place thy love in me. O foolish girl, worthy of being adored by the learned, for what quality art thou attached unto Rama of a limited life, who hath been deprived of his kingdom and hath his desire frustrated, and who of an evil intent, hath, at the words of his wife, renouncing his kingdom and kinsmen, been living in this forest—the abode of voracious animals. Speaking thus unto Maithili, sweet-speeched and worthy of being sweetly addressed, that highly wicked Rakshasa, Ravana, being exercised with lust, approached towards Sita and got hold of her, like unto Budha holding Rohini in the sky. With his left hand he held her, having eyes like unto lotus-petals, by the hair, and with his right hand got hold of her thighs. Seeing Rayana of sharpened teeth, and mighty arms, resembling the summit of a mountain and like unto death itself, the deties of the forest became highly terrified and fled in different directions. Instantly appeared there the celestial car of Ravana, decked in gold, drawn by asses and making a terrible sound. Thereupon, that one emmiting terrible accents, remonstrated with Vaidehi in harsh words and clasping her ascended the car. The virtuous Sita, being thus caught by Ravana, began to cry aloud, addressing Rama, who had gone away to a distant forest. Ravana, racked with lust, rose high up with her like unto the wife of a Pannaga, though she tried her best (to get rid of him), for she was not in the least attached unto him. Being thus carried away by the ethereal track by that Lord of Rakshasas. Sita began to cry aloud, like one mad, distressed and of deranged senses. "Ah! mighty Lakshmana, ever ministering unto the satisfaction of thy superiors, dost thou not know that I have been stolen away by a Rakshasa assuming shapes at will? O Raghava, for virtue hast thou renounced thy life, happiness and wealth,dost thou not see that I have been carried away by one of mighty iniquity? O thou the subduer of foes, thou dost always control the rebellious,—why dost thou not punish such a vicious Rakshasa? The vicious do not instantaneously meet with the fruits of their actions; as for corn to ripen requires the assistance of time. For this iniquitous deed, which thou hast perpetrated, availing of the time and losing thy sense, thou shalt meet with a mighty disaster from Rama, bringing about thy end. Ah! being the virtuous wife of the virtuous and far-famed Rama, I have been stolen away. Now hath the desire of Kaikeyi and other relations been fulfilled. I invoke this Janasthana and these flowery Karnikas to tell Rama that Ravana hath stolen away Sita. I invoke thee, O Godavari, having swans and cranes sporting in thy stream, to tell Rama that Rayana hath stolen away Sita. I salute and invoke the deities that live in this forest of many trees to tell my husband of my being stolen away (by Ravana). I do seek the refuge of all deer, birds and other animals that live in this forest, and may they all communicate unto Rama the news of his dear spouse being carried away, and tell him that Sita, losing her control, hath been stolen away by Ravana. Even if I am taken away by Yama, and if the mighty-armed Rama is apprised of it, surely shall he bring me back by the display of his prowess." Racked with sorrow that one of expansive eyes, while thus bewailing in piteous accents, she espied Yatayu, the king of vultures, seated on a tree. Thereat the daughter of Janaka, brought under the control of Rayana and terrified,

began to cry and utter those piteous words—"O worshipful Yatayu, do thou see that this vicious lord of Rakshasas hath ruthlessly carried me away like one having no husband. Thou wilt not be able to withstand this mighty, wicked and cruel night-ranger wearing emblems of conquest and having a scimitar in his hand. Do thou relate unto Rama and to Lakshmana everything about my being carried away from the beginning to the end.

SECTION 50.

Hearing these words Yatayu, who lay buried in a deep slumber, awoke and beheld both Ravana and Janaki. Thereat the lord of birds resting on the tree, having a big sharp beak like unto the summit of a hill, addressed these soft words unto Ravana, "O brother Ten-necked one, I am conversant with Puranas, of truthful vows and abide by religion. It doth not behove thee to perpetrate such an iniquitous deed before me. I am Yatayu, the mighty lord of vultures. Dacaratha's son Rama is the lord of all men like unto Mahendra and Varuna. He is ever engaged in the welfare of all men. This exquisitely beautiful and far-famed Sita whom thou art about to steal away, is the married wife of that lord of men. And how dost thou thyself being a monarch and engaged in the royal office of maintaining subjects, carry away by stealth another's wife? O thou of mighty prowess, thou shouldst specially protect the wives of kings. Do thou therefore control thy base inclination of oppressing another's wife. A hero doth never perform what bringeth calumny upon himself. It becometh every individual to save another's wife from the touch of a second man like unto his own wife. O son of Paulastya, at the instance of the king mild subjects perform many an action conducing to virtue, wealth and desire, though not mentioned in the Sastras. The king is the virtue, the king is the desire and the king is the prime jewel of all subjects. Virtue, desire or sinevery thing ariseth from the king. O thou the best of Rakshasas, thou art vicious and unsteady; how hast thou come by rkhes like unto a sinner attaining to the abode of celestials? A vicious person can never relinquish his sinful habits-virtue doth never reside in the abodes of impious persons.

The mighty and the virtuous-souled Rama hath committed nothing wrong in thy city or thy dominions. Why dost thou then commit wrong by him? Khara of Janasthana is highly wicked and if Rama of blameless actions hath killed him on Surpanakha's account how is he to blame? Why dost thou then carry away the wife of that lord of men? Do thou soon leave off Vaidehi. Like unto Indra burning down Vitrasura, Rama, looking with his terrible eyes like flaming fire, shall reduce thee to ashes. Dost thou not understand that thou hast tied with cloth a virulent serpent? Dost thou not see that thou hast placed around thy neck the noose of death? It is always proper to carry such a weight as doth not exhaust (him who carries); it is always proper to take such a food as doth not cause illness. Who engageth himself in such an action as doth not confer virtue, fame or glory, but bringeth about physical affliction only? O Ravana, I am sixty thousand years old and have been administering regularly my ancestral kingdom. Old though I am, thou shalt not be able to carry away with safety Janaki in my presence, young, accoutered in mails as thou art with bow and arrows in thy hands and ascending a car. As it is not easy to destroy, by the reasonings of Logic, Vedas and Sruties containing eternal and immutable truths, so thou shalt not be able to carry away Vaidehi by force before me. If thou art a hero do thou fight. Or do thou wait for a moment, O Ravana, thou shalt also embrace the earth like unto Khara. Soon shall Rama clad in bark destroy thee in the battle field, who hadst many a time and oft destroyed in conflict the celestials and Danavas. These two princes Rama and Lakshmana are at a distance, what shall I do now? O vile being, undoubtedly shalt thou, terrified, be destroyed by them. Myself drawing my breath thou shalt not be able to carry away this beloved queen of Rama, the pure-natured Sita having eyes resembling lotuses. It is my duty to do good unto the high-souled Rama and Dacaratha even at the sacrifice of my life. Do thou stand, O Ten-necked one. Behold for a moment, O Rayana, I shall throw thee headlong from this car. like unto a fruit from its stalk. O ranger of the night, even to my utmost might I will render thee hospitality in encounter.

SECTION 51

While Yatayu, the king of birds, spake this, Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, wearing pendants made of pure gold, having his eyes reddened with ire, darted towards him. Thereupon they began a terrible conflict in the welkin, like unto clouds driven by wind. There occured a mighty conflict between Yatayu, the lord of vultures, and Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, like unto two Malyavan [A mountainous range described as one of the smaller mountains of India proper. lying eastward of mount Meru.] hills supplied with wings. Thereat Rayana began to shower continually terrible and sharpened pikes, iron arrows and Vikarnisupon the mighty lord of vultures. Yatayu, the king of birds, began to withstand in conflict the arrows and weapons darted by Ravana, and wounded Ravana's person with his feet supplied

with sharpened talons. Thereupon, to destroy his enemy, that mighty hero, the Ten-necked Rayana, being exercised with ire, took up ten terrible arrows like unto the sceptre of Death, and stretching the bow to the full he shot those straightcoursing sharpened shafts at Yatayu, the king of birds. Beholding Janaki with tears In her eyes in that Rakshasa's car, Yatayu, the king of birds, disregarding those arrows, darted towards Ravana, and with his feet broke asunder his bow with the arrows, adorned with pearls and diamonds. Thereat Ravana, almost beside himself with wrath, taking up another bow, began to shower arrows by hundreds and thousands. Being covered with those arrows, the lord of birds appeared like a bird lying in his nest. Pushing away these arrows by the wind of his wings, he again snapped that mighty bow with his feet, and with a stroke of his wings shattered Rayana's flaming shield like unto burning fire. Thereupon, moving away with the wind of his wings Ravana's blazing cuirass resembling flaming fire, Jatayu in that conflict made away with his fleetcoursing asses having the faces of demons. Next crumbling into pieces with his impetus the mighty chariot of Ravana, coursing at will, flaming like fire, having steps studded with jewels, and a wooden pole, and throwing down the umbrella and chowris like unto the full moon along with the Rakshasas engaged in carrying them, the effulgent and mighty lord of birds shattered the head of the charioteer with the strokes of his beak. Having his bow snapped and deprived of his car, horses and charioteer. Rayana fell down to the earth, taking Vaidehi on his lap. Beholding Ravana fallen on the ground and of broken conveyance, all creatures praised the king of vultures again and again and worshipped him.

Thereupon, finding the lord of birds worn out on account of his old age, Ravana, highly encouraged, again rose high up in the welkin, taking Maithili with him. He had all his weapons broken in the conflict, and had but his dagger left to him. Beholding him proceed thus pleased, taking the daughter of Janaka on his lap,-all his weapons having been lost, with his sword alone left,—the mighty and powerful lord of vultures, Yatayu, rose up and, darting towards Ravana, resisted him and said,—"O Ravana of feeble sense, it is for the destruction of the whole line of Rakshasas that thou carriest away this spouse of Rama, having arrows like unto thunderbolts. Like one thirsty drinking water, thou dost address thyself to drinking poison along with thy friends, courtiers, four-fold forces, servants and relatives. Foolish persons unaware of the fruit of their actions, meet in a short time with their own destruction,-so shalt thou very soon meet with thy own end. Thou hast been bound up by the noose of Death; and, proceeding whither, shalt thou save thyself, like unto fish eating up baits with hooks for their own destruction? O Ravana, it is beyond thy power to defeat the Kakutsthas. They shall not forgive thee for this thy encroachment upon their asylum. What hath been perpetrated by thee, coward, is blamed by all, and is the way taken recourse to by thieves and not by heroes. Do thou fight, O Rayana if thou art a hero or wait for a moment and thou shalt lie down on the earth like unto thy brother Khara. Truly hast thou for thy own destruction engaged thyself in these impious acts, which are perpetrated by men on the eve of their death. What person doth that which leadeth solely into sin? Neither the lord of celestials nor the self-create Deity doth engage in such an action." Addressing these moral words, the mighty Yatayu swooped on the back of that Ten-necked Rakshasa. Like unto the rider of a mad elephant, the lord of vultures began to tear Ravana with his sharpened claws, and that one having for his weapons his beak, talons, and wings, began to rive Ravana's back with his beak and claws, and to uproot his hair. Being thus aflicted again and again by the king of vultures, the Rakshasa shook, with his lips quivering in anger. Beside himself with anger, Ravana, holding Janaki fast by her left flank, struck Yatayu with his palms. Yatayu, the subduer of foes, bearing the strokes, tore into pieces his ten left arms with his beak. His arms cut off, instantly sprang up as many others, like unto serpents issuing out of ant-hills, being exercised with the pangs of poison. The mighty Tennecked one, leaving aside Sita, out of anger bore down Yatayu with his fists and feet. Thereupon arose a mighty conflict between the lord of of vultures and the lord of Rakshasas of incomparable prowess. Yatayu addressing himself to displaying his prowess for the benefit of Rama, Ravana taking out his dagger, cut off his two wings, two legs and two sides. The ranger of the night of cruel deeds having sundered his wings, the king of vultures approaching wellnigh the verge of death, fell down on the earth. Beholding him fallen on the grand with his person bathed in blood, Sita. became exceedingly aggrieved and darted towards him like unto a friend. The lord of Lanka beheld Yatayu, fallen on the ground, resembling sable clouds, having a yellow breast and of exceeding prowess.—like unto an extinguished forest-fire. Then Sita the daughter of Janaka, having a moon-like countenance began lamenting, clasping with her hands Yatayu, crushed and fallen on the ground by the vehemence of Rayana's prowess.

Beholding the king of vultures slain by Ravana, that one possessed of a face fair as the moon, striken with grief, broke out into lamentations, saying, "Throbbings of the eyes or other parts of the body, dreams, seeing birds or hearing their voices, are found to augur happiness or misery to men. And, O Rama, although birds and beasts are scampering away before thee on my account, thou understandest not the mighty mishap that has befallen thee. O Rama, this bird, who, moved by kindness, had come to rescue me, owing to my (ill) luck, lies slain on the ground. O Kakutstha, O Lakshmana, save me!" Thus did that best of females, afflicted with fear, bewail; and those near (her) heard her lamentations. Thereat, that lord of the Rakshasas, Rayana, darted towards Vadehi, who, with a faded wreath for her ornament, was bewailing in forlorn guise. Exclaiming repeatedly, "Leave off!" "Leave off," the lord of the Rakshasas got at her, as she was clasping a mighty tree as if it were a creeper. And as she, bereft of the company of Rama in the wilderness, was wailing, saying, "O "O Rama," that one resembling the Destroyer himself, with the view of compassing his own end, seized her by her hair. On Vaidehi being thus outraged, this entire world consisting of mobile and immobile objects, had its nature altered. A dense darkness enveloped (everything). And the air did not breathe there; and the sun grew dim. Espying with his divine vision that Sita was overcome, that Deity, the graceful Great-father exclaimed, "Our work is accomplished." And seeing Sita overpowered, the supreme saints inhabiting the Dandaka forest, concluding the destruction of Ravana to be as good as accomplished without much ado, became at once delighted and aggrieved. As she went on weeping with "O Rama," "O Lakshmana," Ravana—lord of Rakshasas taking her, coursed through the sky. And then the king's daughter hued like molten gold, clad in a vellow silken cloth, looked exceedingly beautiful like unto lightning. And on her yellow cloth streaming up, Ravana looked surpassingly graceful like a hill aflame with fire. And coppery fragrant lotus-leaves belonging to the eminently auspicious Vaidehi showered upon Ravana. And her gold-glowing silken cloth, flying in the air, appeared like clouds coloured by the sunken sun. And her blameless countenance on Rayana's lap in the sky did not appear beauteous without Rama.—like a lotus without its stalk; it appeared like the moon risen tearing away dark clouds. And in the aerial regions her countenance on Ravana's lap furnished with a fair forehead and graceful hair glowing like the interior of a lotus, without scars, graced with white, shining, stainless teeth, having excellent eyes, lovely like the moon, having a shapely nose, a rubeous upper lip,—wearing the splendour of gold in the sky,—that captivating countenance of hers in consequence of her weeping, and of being stained with tears, as also owing to the violence it had undergone at the hands of the lord of Rakshasas-did not appear beautiful without Rama; like the moon risen during the day. And furnished with the hue of gold. Mithila's daughter beside the dark-bodied lord of the Rakshasas, looked like a golden girth round a sable elephant. And Janaka's daughter, yellow-hued like lotus, having the lustre of gold.—and adorned with shining ornaments, coming in contact with Ravana, appeared like lightning embosomed among clouds. And in consequence of Vaidehi's ornaments sending sounds, the lord of Rakshasas resembled an entirely dark rumbling cloud. And as Sita was being borne away, showers of blossoms, falling off from her head, were scattered all around on the earth beneath. And that blossomy shower all around, drawn up by the vehemence of the tenheaded Ravana, again alighted beside him. And the showers of blossoms scattered around Vaicravana's younger brother. looked like rows of burning stars round the foremost of mountains, [Mount Meru, also recognised as Sumeru, Sineru or Mahameru, is the sacred five-peaked mountain of Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist cosmology and is considered to be the centre of all the physical, metaphysical and spiritual universes. Many famous Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist temples have been built as symbolic representations of this mountain, most notable the temple pyramids in Angkor, Cambodia: Bakong, Bakheng, Pre Rup, Ta Keo, Baphuon, and Angkor Wat. Mount Meru or Sumeru is sometimes identified with the Pamir Mountains, northwest of Kashmir.] And the bangles studded with gems, loosened from Vaidehi's feet, fell on the earth, like the lightning circle. Of hue like the light red of tender twigs, Vaidehi set off the dark-bodied lord of Rakshasas, as does a golden cover an elephant. Vaicravana's younger brother carried away Sita, who, like a mighty meteor, filled the heavens with her splendour. And like stars of exhausted religious merit dropping down from the sky, her fiery ornaments began to fall to the earth with sounds. And the chain of the splendour of the moon, removed from Vaidehi's breast, falling down, shone like the Ganga dropping from the sky. The trees filled with various fowls, with their tops waving because of the wind blowing on high and swaying them, seemed to say, "No fear," [unto Sita.] And the pools with their lotuses faded and their fishes agitated, seemed to sorrow for the desponding daughter of Mithila as for their friend. And following Sita's shadow, lions, and tigers, and

other beasts and birds, rushed from all sides in wrath. And the mountains, with their faces washed with water-falls representing tears, and their summits resembling uplifted arms, seemed to lament for Sita, as she was being carried away. And beholding Vaidehi carried away, the glorious Sun, oppressed with sadness, had his rays dimmed and his disc darkened. "Virtue is not; and where is truth? And there is neither sincerity nor kindness.—in a case in which Rayana is carrying away Rama's Vaidehi thus did all creatures lament in numbers. And the young of deer, afflicted with fear, wept with woe-begone faces. And the sylvan deities, looking up now and again with eyes betokening fear, had their persons all in a tremble. For compassing his own destruction, the Tenheaded one carried away the intelligent Vaidehi, bewailing bitterly. Sita, who had come by such misfortune, sweet-voiced. crying, "O Lakshmana" "O Rama," and casting glances on the ground many a time and oft,—the ends of her hair waving and her tilika wiped out. Then oppressed with the load of fear, Sita of luminous smiles,-Mithila's daughter, bereft of her friends -not beholding either Rama or Lakshmana, became pale of countenance.

Seeing him fly up into the air, Janaka's daughter, Maithili, became aggrieved and exceedingly agitated, and great was the fear that possessed her. Her eyes expressing rage, weeping and fright, Sita, as she was being carried away, weeping piteously, spoke to the grim-eved lord of the Rakshasas, saying, "Dost thou not, O base wretch, Ravana, feel shame on account of this act—thou, who, knowing that I was alone, fliest away, carrying me? Coward that thou art, thou it was, who, desirous of carrying me off, by the shape of a deer, hadst, by thy [powers of] illusion taken away my lord. And he also that endeavoured to rescue me, has been slain by thee-the ancient king of vultures, who was the friend of my father-in-law. Great, forsooth, is found to be thy might, thou vilest of Rakshasas; in that thou hast carried me off by simply declaring thy name, but hast not won me in war. Why dost thou not, O execrable one, take shame unto thyself, having perpetrated such a heinous act-having carried off another's wife in the absence of her husband? This fell and foul act of thine fraught with unrighteousness, heroic persons shall bruit about the world. Fie on thy heroism and thy truth,-of which thou didst apeak at that time; and fie also on this character of thine, calculated to sully thy line in this world. What can I do (unto thee), as thou proceedest with speed? But stay thou for a moment; and thou shalt not return with life. Shouldst thou come within the range of the vision of those sons of the king, thou couldst not, although thou shouldst happen to be accompanied with thy army, live for a moment. Even as a bird cannot bear the touch of a flaming fire in a forest, thou canst never bear the touch of their arrows. Effecting thy own welfare, do thou, O Ravana, leave me. If thou do not let me go, my husband along with his brother would strive for thy destruction. As intent upon sensul enjoyment, thou endeavourest to ravish me, this very endeavour of thine, O mean wight, shall come to naught. Not beholding my lord resembling a celestial, I cannot, come under the sway of my enemy, bear to live long. As one dwelling on earth perceives objects in their reversed relations at the time of one's death, so thou dost not perceive what is for thy good or profit. Those moribund do not relish what would do them good. I see thee with the noose of Death wound round thy neck. As, O ranger of night, thou art not affected with fear, albeit the situation is one calculated to raise one's apprehensions, it is clear that thou wilt see the golden trees, the dreadful river Vaitarani flowing with blood, the terrible wood, O Ravana, rife with leaves in the shape of swords, and a sharp Salmali containing blossoms of shining gold, having lapises for its leaves, and bearing iron thorns. But, O shameless one, like a person that hath drunk poison, having done this wrong unto that high-souled one, thou wilt not be able to save thyself. O Ravana, thou art fast fettered in the noose of Death. Having done this foul turn unto that high-souled one, repairing whither, shalt thou obtain respite? Shall not that strong and heroic Raghava, skilled in all weapons, who without his brother, in the twinkling of an eye, in battle slew fourteen thousand Rakshasas, slay thee, who carriest away his beloved wife?" Thus and in other ways, Videha's daughter, lying on the lap of Ravana, overwhelmed with fear and grief, indulged in piteous lamentations. And the wicked (Ravana) with a shaking frame carried away the daughter of the king extremely distressed, speaking much, and speaking piteously, uttering lamentations, and putting forth endeavours (to free herself.)

Carried away (by Ravana), Vaidehi, not finding any defender, saw five principal monkeys stationed on the top of a hill. Thereat, that lady of expansive eyes and surpassing charms, in the hope that they might convey the intelligence unto Rama, flung off in their midst her gold-gleaming silken sheet, and elegant ornaments. But the Ten headed one owing to hurry did not observe the throwing of the cloth along with

the ornaments. Those foremost of monkeys having tawny eyes observed with winkless eyes the large-eyed Sita as she was giving way to grief. And the lord of Rakshasas, passing beyond Pampa, directed his course towards the city of Lanka, taking Mithila's daughter along with him, indulging in lamentations. Experiencing the height of delight, Ravana ravished her, taking her on his lap, like a sharp-toothed serpent of virulent poison. And speedily, like an arrow shot from a bow, he, coursing the welkin, left behind woods and streams and mountains and pieces of water. And coming to the abode of Varuna, that refuge of rivers, the exhaustless ocean—the home of whales and alligators, he crossed over it. In consequence of the carrying away of Vaidehi, Varuna's abode, from grief, had all its waves stilled and its fishes and mighty snakes inert.—And the Charanas uttered in the heavens these words, "O Ten-headed one, this is thy end." Thus did the Siddhas then say. And taking Siti on his lap, representing his own Death,—who endeavoured (to liberate herself), Ravana entered the city of Lanka. And entering the city of Lanka, vast, with all its highways well-arranged, and with people thronging its gates, he entered his own inner apartment. Then Rayana set Sita there, having eyes with dark outer corners, exercised with grief and dole; as if Maya had set his own Asura Illusion (in his own palace). Then the Tenheaded one spoke unto some female friends of terrible visages, "Let no man or woman behold Sita without my permission. And I command that, should she ask for pearls, or rubies, or gold, or apparel, or ornaments, the same should be rendered unto her. She that, whether knowingly or unknowingly should say anything unpleasant to Vaidehi, would hold her life cheap." Having said this unto the Rakshasis, the puissant lord of the Raksahsas, went out of the inner apartment, and thought within himself as to what was to be done (next). And he saw eight flesh-eating Rakshasas of wondrous prowess. And seeing them, the exceedingly powerful (Ravana), blinded by the bestowal of the boon, after extolling their strength and heroism, addressed them, saying, "Equipped with various weapons, do ye speedily take yourself to Janasthana,- that field of carnage-which ere this contained the abode of Khara; and casting off fear at a distance, do ye sojourn in vacant Janasthana with all its Rakshasas slain (by Rama). A great many troops endeued with exceeding prowess, who had been posted in Janasthana, have, along with Dushana and Khara, been slain by the shafts of Rama. Hence unprecedented is my wrath, towering above my patience; and great and fierce also is the hostility I have conceived against Rama. I wish to avenge myself on my mighty enemy. Sleep find I none without slaying my foe in fight. Slaying that slayer of Khara and Dushana, Rama, I shall attain delight like unto that attained by a pauper on gaining riches. Staying in Janasthana, ye shall gather true information touching Rama as to what he is about. Repair all ye rangers of the night carefully, and strive yourselves always for slaying Rama. I have been well acquainted with your strength in many a field, and it is for this that I set ye in Janasthana." Hearing these agreeable and weighty words of Ravana, those Rakshasas, bowing down unto Ravana, left Lanka, and in a body invisibly proceeded in the direction of Janasthana. Having obtained Mithila's daughter, Ravana experienced great joy in establishing her (in his own house); and having created high hostility with Rama, Ravana through blindness rejoiced greatly.

Having commissioned those eight terrible and mighty Rakshasas, Ravana, in consequence of perversion of sense, considered himself as crowned with success. And brooding over Vaidehi, he, sore pierced by the shafts of Kama, hastily entered his charming mansion, with the intention of seeing Sita. And entering that apartment, Ravana-lord of Rakshasas-saw the distressed Sita in the midst of the Rakshasas, with a tearful countenance, oppressed with a load of grief, like unto a bark sinking in the ocean through the violence of the winds; like unto a doe separated from the herd of deer, and surrounded by dogs. Coming to Sita disconsolate in consequence of stress of sorrow, remaining with her head bent down, that ranger of the night, the lord of the Rakshasas. forcibly shewed unto her that mansion resembling the mansion of the celestials, thick with palaces and lordly piles, inhabited by thousands of females; containing birds of vaious kinds; furnished with various gems; with beautiful pillars of ivory gold and crystal and silver, studded with diamonds and lapises. Rayana in company with Sita ascended the beautiful golden stairs, resounding with the sounds of kettle-drums and embellished with ornaments of burnished gold. And those loftly edifices had excellent windows made of ivory and silver, and covered with golden nets. The ground all over was decorated with ambrosia and gems. The Ten-headed one in his own mansion shewed unto Maithilee large tanks and pools covered with various kinds of flowers. (All this) Ravana shewed unto Sita overmastered by sorrow. And after having shewed unto Vaidehi the whole of that goodliest of mansions, that wicked one, with the intention of tempting Sita, spoke unto her, saying, "O Sita, leaving out old men and boys, I am the lord of thirty two kotis of night-rangers of terrible deeds.

And a thousand come forward whenever required for any service.—If such is my sovereignty, all this is established in thee, O large-eyed lady, as well as my life. Thou art dearer unto me than life. O Sita, be thou the mistress of those numerous excellent women who are my wives. Dear, be thou my wife. This is for thy good. Why shoudst thou act otherwise? Do thou relish my speech. Do thou bend thy mind towards me. It behoves thee to favour me, who am burning (in the heat of desire). This Lanka measuring an hundred Yovanas girt round by the ocean, is incapable of being harassed by the celestials themselves headed by Indra. Neither among the celestials nor Yakshas nor Gandharbas nor Serpents, find I any one that can match me in prowess. What wilt thou do with Rama a human being of short life, poor, of small prowess, practising mendicancy? O Sita, bend thy mind unto me. I am a fit husband for thee. O timed one, youth is uncertain. Sport with me here. And, O thou of a handsome countenance, do not wish for the sight of Raghava. O Sita, what power hath he to come hither even in thought? None can fetter the exceedingly fleet wind in the sky, or hold the bright flame of a burning fire. O beauteous one, in these three worlds I find no one that can by his might carry thee away, who art protected by my arms. Do thou govern at Lanka this extensive kingdom. The like of me and celestials and all that are mobile and immobile shall be thy servants. Laving thy limbs with water, do thou gratify me. The evil that thou hadst done, hath been expiated by thy life in the forest: now do thou reap the fruit of thy good deeds. Here are garlands furnished with divine fragrance, and, O Maithili, superb ornaments. Enjoy thou all those along with me. O thou of shapely hips, the car called Pushpaka, resembling the sun, which (formerly) belonged to my brother Vaicravana, was through my prowess won by me in fight. And vast and beautiful is that car furnished with the speed of the mind. Do thou, O Sita, at thy pleasure sport on it along with me. Thy face stainless and lovely to look at, resembling the lotus, doth not, O thou of a comely countenance, O magnificent damsel, appear beautiful in consequence of thy being exercised with grief. When Ravana had spoken thus, that best of females Sita muffling up her moon-like countenance with the ends of her cloth, began to shed gentle tears. Thereat the heroic ranger of the night, Rayana, said unto Sita, distressed, sunk in thought, and deprived of her splendour through anxiety, "O Vaidehi, banish bashfulness, which stands in the way of one's duty. The yearning I feel after thee is in consonance with what the sages prescribe. These tender feet of thine I press upon my heads. Do thou speedily shew thy favour unto me. I am thy slave (ever) obedient unto thee. Let not these words of mine spoken by me under the withering influence of love prove fruitless. Rayana hath never bowed his head to any female." Having said this, the Ten-headed one, come under the subjection of the Destroyer, looked upon Maithili, Janaka's daughter (as his own) saying, "She is mine."

SECTION 56.

Having been thus addressed, Vaidehi unaffected by fear, although exercised with grief, placing a blade of grass between herself and Ravana, answered him, saying, "There was a king named Dacaratha, the bridge of righteousness, like unto a mountain, ever bearing regard towards the truth, and renowned among men, whose son is Raghava. He is named Rama, and is righteous-souled and celebrated over the three worlds. He is long-armed, of expansive eyes,-like unto a celestial-he is my husband. Born in the race of the Ikshwakus, he hath the shoulders of a lion and is possessed of exceeding effulgence—the same that along with his brother, Lakshmana, shall take thy life. If thou hadst wronged me forcibly in his presence, thou wouldst have lain in battle in Janasthana even as Khara." All the mighty Rakshasas of grim visages, whom thou hast extolled (before me) shall be deprived of their venom before Rama, as serpents are before Suparna. The shafts decorated with gold shot by the bow-string of Raghava, shall pierce their bodies, as the waves of the Ganga (beat against) her banks, Although, O Ravana, thou mayst be incapable of being slain either by the gods or the Asuras, yet having roused the high hostility of Raghava, thou wilt not be able to liberate thy life. The strong Raghava will compass the end of what remains of thy life. Like the life of a beast tied to the sacrificial stake, thy own is incapable of being reclaimed, Should Rama look at thee with eyes aglow with anger, thou, O Rakshasa, wouldst be consumed even as Manmatha was by Rudra. He who is able to bring down the Moon or destroy him, and to drink up the ocean dry, will surely liberate Sita from here. Thy days are numbered, and auspiciousness hath bidden thee adieu. Thou art shorn of strength, and thy senses have been dulled. And it is owing to thee that Lanka shall be subject to widowhood. That thou by force hast for naught carried me away from the side of my husband —this sinful act can never conduce to thy felicity. That exceedingly effulgent lord of mine along with my husband's younger brother, summoning up their energy, is fearlessly dwelling in the vacant Dandaka. By means of an arrowy shower in conflict, he will take thy prowess and strength, thy hauteur and wickedness out of thy person. When urged by the Destroyer,

the destruction of creatures is perceptible, then, coming under the sway of the Destroyer, men become careless in their actions. Having outraged me, thou, O worst of Rakshasas, thy time come; for compassing thy own destruction as well as that of the Rakshasas and those dwelling in thy inner apartment. A Chandala cannot tread the dais reared in the midst of a sacrifice beauteous with ladles, and vessels, and sanctified by the twice-born ones. So I, the religiously wedded wife of that one, ever intent on virtue, and (always) firm in my yows, is incapable, thou vilest of Rakshasas, of being touched by thee, a sinner. How can the female that hath always sported with her mate amidst lotuses, cast her eyes on a shag staying among rushes. Do thou either bind or destroy this body deprived of sensation. This body will I not protect, nor yet this life, O Rayana: and I shall not be able to bring blame on myself in this world." Having said these harsh words in wrath, Videha's daughter, Janaki, did not there again say anything unto Ravana. Hearing Sita's words, harsh and calculated to make one's down stand on end, Ravana answered her in words tending to excite one's apprehension, "Hear, O Maithili, my words. O damsel if, O thou of sweet smiles, within this time thou do not turn thyself unto me, the cooks shall cut thee off in pieces to serve my morning meal." Having herself spoken thus, Ravana,—challenger of foes— growing exceedingly wroth, addressed the Rakshasis in these words, "Ye frightful Rakshasis terrible to behold, subsisting on flesh and gore, do ye at once crush her pride." As soon as he had said this, those frightful and terrible Rakshasis with joined hands encircled Maithili. Then the grim-visaged king Ravana, as if riving the earth by his tread, proceeding a pace or two, said, "Do ye take Maithili to the wood of Asokas. There surrounding her, do ye secretly guard her; and there (sometimes) by storming, and (at others) by means of soft speech, do ye all strive to bring Mithila's daughter, like a wild female elephant, under your sway." Thus commanded by Ravana, those Rakshasis taking Maithili along with them, went to the Asoka wood, abounding with trees granting every desire, and filled with various kinds of fruits and flowers; and frequented by fowls fraught with juices at all seasons. And as a doe comes under the subjection of tigresses, Janaka's daughter, Maithili, her frame worked up with grief, came under the sway of the Rakshasis. And like a female deer fast bound by a trap, Janaka's timid daughter Maithili, agitated by the mighty grief, did not attain respite. And greatly up-braided by the fierce eyes (of the Rakshasis), Maithili did not know repose; and, afflicted with grief and fear, she, remembering her beloved lord along with Lakshmana swooned away.

Having slain the Rakshasa, Maricha, able to wear shapes at will, who had been ranging in the form of a deer, Rama speedily turned back along the path. On Sita having entered Lanka, the great father addressed the gratified Devendra of an hundred sacrifices, "For bringing about the weal of the three worlds, and the woe of the Rakshasas, Sita hath been taken into Lanka by the wicked-minded, Rayana, Devoted unto her husband, the exalted lady always brought up in happiness, not seeing her husband, and seeing (on the other hand) environed by numbers of Rakshasis, -is hungering after the sight of her lord. The city of Lanka is situated on the shores of the lord of rivers and streams. How can Rama get a knowledge of that blameless one, staying there? Brooding over the various ills she hath undergone, that exceedingly rare damsel is passing her days. Surely she will resign her existence. Great is the doubt that hath arisen as to Sita putting a period to her existence. Having thyself from here, do thou see the fair-faced Sita. Having entered the city of Lanka, offer excellent clarified butter." Thus addressed by the reverend chastiser of Paka, Devendra in company with sleep, approached the city ruled by Ravana. He then addressed sleep, saying, "Go thou; and stupify the Rakshasas." Thus accosted by Maghavat, that goddess, exceedingly delighted, for securing success to the work of the celestials, covered the Rakshasas with stupor. In the meanwhile, that god, the thousand-eyed lord of Sachi went to (Sita) staying in the woods, and spoke unto her these words, "I am the sovereign of the celestials. Good betide thee! I am here, O thou of luminous smiles! For securing success unto the work of the magnanimous Raghava, I will lend my aid unto thee. Do not, O daughter of Janaka, grieve. Through my grace, he shall along with his forces cross over the ocean. O excellent wench, I have by my supernal power, stupified the Rakshasis. And, O Sita, for this reason, I along with sleep, taking these rice,-rice boiled in clarified butter, have. O Vaidehi, come unto thee. If thou partake of these from my hand, thou shalt never beuteous one, be afflicted either with hunger or thirst, thou of thighs resembling rambha (trunks), for years." Thus addressed, Sita, alarmed said, "How can I know thee for Devendra, Sachi's husband, staying here? By the side of Rama and Lakshmana, I had beheld the signs of the celestials. If, O Devendra, thou art thyself the sovereign of the celestials, show those unto me. Hearing Sita's words, the lord of Sachi did accordingly. He did not touch the earth with his feet, and his eyes remained winkless. He bloomed in youth, and the blossoms did not fade on his attire. Thereupon knowing him for Vasava, Sita was overjoyed. And weeping, she spoke regarding Raghava, "By

luck it is that I had heard of that mighty-armed one along with his brother. As is my father-in-law, the king, as is the master of Mithila, so art thou (unto me), thou whom I behold to-day; my husband hath now found a protector .thy command, O Devendra, will I partake of this payasa cooked with milk, which hath been offered unto me, and which shall enhance (the prosperity) of our race." Thereupon taking the payasa from Indra's hands, that Maithili of luminous smiles (mentally) offered it unto her husband as well as Lakshmana. "If my mighty lord live along with his brother, let this through my reverence for them, be theirs." She then partook of the payasaherself. Having thus eaten it, that one of excellent countenance, had her hunger and rising sorrow removed; and attaining a mental tendency from Indra, Janaki grew glad with reference to the Kakutshthas. And Sakra also for bringing about the success of Raghava's work, with a pleased mind, went to the abode of celestials. And greeting Sita again and again, that high-souled celestial, in company with sleep went back to his own abode."

SECTION 57

Killing the Rakshasa, Maricha assuming shapes at will and ranging in the shape of a deer, Rama vended speedily his way. And as he hurried himself, eager to behold Maithili, jackals began to howl hideously at his back. Hearing their harsh cries, capable of making one's hair stand on end, Rama struck with fear at the voices of the jackals, became filled with alarm. "Ah! I consider this as inauspicious—that these jackals are crying. Escaping being devoured by the Rakshasas, may fair fortune befall Vaidehi! If Lakshmana should have heard the cries which Maricha, knowing my voice, and fixing on the means of harming me, uttered in the form of a deer, Saumitri, hearing that voice, leaving Mithila's daughter and commissioned by herself, must have come near me. Surely, the Rakshasas in a body are desirous of slaying Sita. Becoming a golden deer, Maricha, having allured me far, transformed himself into a Rakshasa, as soon as he had been struck with my shafts; and exclaimed, 'Ah! Lakshmana, slain am I.' It is doubtless, we having left (Sita), whether all is well with her. I having raised the hostility of the Rakshasas for the sake of Janasthana; and many and dreadful are the omens I see (around me)." Thus reflecting as he heard the bowlings of the jackals, the selfpossessed Rama with hasty steps returned to the asylum. Raghava went back to Janasthana, alarmed in consequence of his having been drawn away by the Rakshasa in the form of a deer. And birds and beasts approached that high-souled one distressed and depressed in spirit; and staying on his left set up frightful cries. As he was witnessing the exceedingly dreadful signs. Raghava saw Lakshmana coming with a lacklustre (countenance); and Lakshmana came up to Rama. And depressed in spirit, he was rendered still more sad by that one who, afflicted with depression shared his sorrow. And, seeing that (Lakshmana) had come, leaving Sita in that solitary wood frequented by Rakshasas, his brother fell to reprimanding him. And taking Lakshmana's left; hand, the son of Raghu in extreme distress sweetly spake these rough words, "Alas! Lakshmana, thou hast committed a censurable act; leaving Sita, O mild one, thou hast come hither. Is it well with her? I make no doubt, O hero, but that Janaka's daughter hath either been slain or devoured by Rakshasas ranging the forest. And, considering the many omens that take place before me, O Lakshmana, I do not know whether we shall light upon welfare of Janaka's daughter Sita being alive, O best of men. And as these multitudes of beasts and these jackals are crying frightfully in the flaming direction [i. e. The quarter presided over by the sun, viz., the East.], I do not know, O thou of mighty strength, whether it is well with that daughter of the king. This Rakshasa, who, wearing the shape of a deer, and, alluring me, had drawn me far, hath in some sort been slain by me with much ado; and he became a Rakshasa at the time of his death. Yet my mind is poor and cheerless; and my left eye throbs. Doubtless, O Lakshmana, Sita is not,-she is either carried away, or dead, or is wandering on the way.

SECTION 58

Seeing Lakshmana cast down, cheerless, and come without Vaidehi, the righteous son of Dacaratha, asked him, saying, "Where, O Lakshmana is that Vaidehi, who hath followed me unto the Dandaka forest, and leaving whom thou hast come hither? Where is that one of a slender waist, who is the help in trouble of me, deprived of my kingdom, dispirited, and running about the Dandakas? Without whom, hero, I cannot live for a moment-where is that life's help of me Sita resembling the daughter of a celestial? O Lakshmana, without Janaka's daughter (hued) like burning gold, I covet not the sovereignty of the celestials or the earth. Liveth Vaidehi, dearer unto me than life? Shall this exile of mine be of no avail? O Sumitra's son, on my dying for Sita and thy returning (to the city,) shall Kaikeyi have her desire, and attain felicity; and shall Kaucalya,- her son dead, and herself wearing the guise of a female mendicant, humbly wait upon Kaikeyi when she shall have succeeded in obtaining the kingdom for her son? If Vaidehi live, I will then return to the asylum; but O

Lakshmana, if that one of excellent character should happen to be dead, I will also renounce my life. If, O Lakshmana, Vaidehi ever preluding her speech with a smile should not speak to me when I arrive at the asylum, I shall give up my life. Do thou tell me, O Lakshmana, whether Videha's daughter liveth or not; or whether, in consequence of thy acting heedlessly, that forlorn wench hath been devoured by Rakshasas. Of a tender frame, and a mere girl, Vaidehi, never having experienced unhappiness being cast down, surely weepeth for my separation. When that exceedingly wicked Rakshasa cried, "Lakshmana" at the top of his voice, wast thou also seized with fear? And I apprehend that voice resembling mine was heard by Vaidehi; and, despatched by her from fear, thou mayst have come hither swiftly to see me. Thou hast every way acted unwisely in having left Sita alone in the wood. By this thou hast afforded opportunity to the cruel Rakshasas to repair the mischief (I have done them). The Rakshasas subsisting on flesh are aggrieved because of Khara having been slain; and now, without doubt, those terrible ones have slain Sita. Alas! absolutely sunk am I in peril, O destroyer of foes. What shall I do now? I fear such an event was appointed for me." Thus thinking of Sita, paragon among women, Raghava hastily went to Janasthana in company with Lakshmana. Taking to task his younger brother of distressed visage, Rama, afflicted with hunger and thirst, and dejected in spirits, sighing heavily with a countenance turned pale, entered the asylum and found it vacant. And entering his own asylum, that hero went to the play-grounds (of Sita) and remembering the sporting ground (of Sita) in that abode, he was filled with grief and his down

SECTION 59 When coming out of the hermitage, Raghu's descendant, Rama, after a while, from grief, spake these words to the son of Sumitra, "When confiding myself in thee, I had left Maithili with thee in the wood, why then didst thou go oat, leaving her behind? O Lakshmana, directly I saw thee approach, renouncing Maithili, my mind, apprehending great wrong, became really aggrieved. O Lakshmana, seeing thee coming at a distance, renouncing her, my left eye and arm as well as ray heart keep throbbing." Thus accosted, Lakshmana having auspicious signs, afflicted with great grief, said unto the aggrieved Rama, "I have not come hither, of my own accord, renouncing Sita; but I have come to thee, having been urged thereto by herself with rudeness. The cries of "O Lakshmana, save me," as if uttered by the master, came to the ears of Maithili. Hearing those distressful accents, Maithili from affection [for thee], breaking out into lamentations, and overwhelmed with fear, spoke unto me, "Off," "off." On being repeatedly urged, with "Go," I answered Maithili in these words, tending to inspire her confidence, 'I do not see such a Rakshasa, as can excite his fear. Do thou desist. These cries do not come from him; but must have been uttered by some one else. How can be that can rescue the celestials themselves utter, O Sita, such a blame-worthy and base word as-save [me]? Some one far some purpose, assuming my brothers voice, is crying- O Lakshmana, save me. O beauteous lady, these words, Save me-must have been uttered by some Rakshasa from fear. Thou shouldst not act like a mean woman. Do not be overwhelmed; and banish thy anxiety. There breathes no person, nor yet shall there be born any one in these three worlds who in the field shall vanquish Raghava in fight. Raghava is incapable of being beaten in battle by the very gods headed by Indra.' Thus addressed (by me) Vaidehi, deprived of her sense, shedding tears, spake unto me these cruel words, 'Thou cherishest the vile idea that on thy brother perishing, thou shalt come by me; but me thou shalt never have. As thou dost not go to him albeit he is crying loudly (for help), thou followest Rama in consonance with a hint from Bharata. A foe going about in disguise, thou followest Rama for my sake, prying into Raghava's draw backs; and it is for this that thou dost not go (to him)?' Thus accosted by Vaidehi, I, with eyes reddened in wrath, and my nether lip swollen in ire, rushed out of "the asylum." When Saumitri had spoken thus, Rama transported by grief, said unto Lakshmana, "O gentle one, thou hast done wrong in having come out hither without her. Although thou knewest (full well) that I was able to withstand the Rakshasas, yet didst thou sally out at the angry words of Mithila's daughter. I am not pleased with thee that hearing her harsh speech spoken in wrath, thou hast come hither, leaving Vaidehi behind. Thou hast every way done wrong in not acting out my mandate in consequence of being urged by Sita, and under the influence of indignation. That Rakshasa lieth low, being wounded by my shafts-that had drawn me away from the asylum wearing the form of a deer. I hit him stretching my brow slightly and fixing the shaft on it; when, renouncing his deer-form he became a Rakshasa wearing a bracelet and began to emit distressful shrieks. Wounded by my shaft, he, assuming my voice, and in accents capable of being heard from far, uttered those dreadful words fraught with dole, hearing which, thou hast come hither, renouncing Mithila's daughter

SECTION 60.

As Rama went on, his feet failed him, his left eve began to beat, and a trembling came over his frame. Seeing again and again all these signs, he continually kept on asking (Lakshmana), "Is it well with Sita?" Eager to behold Sita, he proceeded fast; but finding the abode empty, he was filled with anxiety. And proceeding with swiftness, throwing about his limbs, Raghu's son began to survey all around the hut. He then found it empty of Sita, like unto a tank in evil plight and bereft of lotuses-during the winter. And seeing the cottage empty, with its trees as if sorrowing, and its flowers faded, and its beasts and birds sunk in gloom,- shorn of grace, worn out, forsaken by the sylvan deities, strewn with deerskins and Kuca, and twists of Kasa, he wept again and again—"Hath the timid one been carried off, or is she dead. or hath any one eaten her up, or hath she vanished (from the earth), or hath she gone to the wood, or hath she gone to cull flowers and fruits, or hath she gone to the pool for procuring water, or hath she repaired to the river? Although he searched his beloved one carefully, yet he failed to find her out in the wood-land. And that graceful one with his eyes reddened with grief, seemed like a maniac. And he rushed from tree to tree, and bewailing being sunk in an occean of grief traversed all the rivers and mountains. "O Kadamba, hast thou seen where is that one fond of Kadamba groves? If knowest thou this do thou tell me of Sita having an auspicious countenance. O Bilya, tell me pray, if thou hast seen her, wearing silken cloth, resembling cool leaves and having breast like unto Bilya fruits. Or, O Arvuna, she was very fond of thee, tell me if liveth that daughter of Janaka of slender frame. This Kakuvaknoweth for certain about Maithilee having thighs like unto Kakuva. Yon stands beautifully that Banaspati being enveloped with creepers, flowers and leaves and filled with the hum of Vramaras, Surely doth this Tilaka know about her who was fond of her. O Asoka, who doth remove sorrows, do thou make good thy name by making me, who am exercised with grief, see instantly my beloved (spouse). O Tala, if thou hast any pity on me do thou tell me whether thou hast beheld that fair damsel having breast resembling ripe Tala fruits. Do thou tell me without fear, O Jambhu, if thou hast seen my dear one resembling in hue the river Jambhu. O Karnikar, thou appearest very beautiful with this blossoming flowers, tell me if thou hast seen my dear devoted wife who was fond of thee. Thus the highly famous Rama asking about Sita, nearing the various trees such as mangoe, Nipa, Mahasala, Panaca, Kurava, Pomegranate, Vakula, Pumnaga, Sandal and Keta began to traverse the forest like a maniac. Again addressed he the diverse animals—"O deer, knowest thou for certain about Janaki having the eyes of a doe; is she engaged in play with the does? O elephant, methinks thou dost know about the daughter of Janaka having thighs resembling thy trunk; pray tell me if thou hast beheld her. O tiger, fearlessly do thou relate unto me if thou hast seen my beloved Maithilee, having a countenance resembling Moon. O dear! O thou having eyes like unto lotuses! why dost thou fly away? Surely have I seen thee. Why dost thou not address me hiding thyself behind the tree? Wait, wait, O thou fair damsel, thou hast no compassion for me! Never hadst thou mock me before in this way! Why dost thou neglect me now? O exquisitely fair damsel, truly have I found thee out from this thy yellow silken cloth. I have seen thee flying away. Stand if thou hast any love for me. Or, O thou having a sweet smile, thou art not she; truly thou hast been killed or else thou wouldst not have neglected me at this time of dire affliction. True it is that she hath been devoured in my absence by the Rakshasas living on flesh having torn into pieces her limbs. Truly hath her face, resembling the fullmoon, having beautiful teeth a fine nose and white Kundalas, become of pale countenance being brought under the possession of the Rakshasas. Her neck had the hue of sandal and was adorned with necklace—that beautiful tender neck was eaten up by the Rakshasas, my beloved wife wailing. Her arms were tender like leaves and adorned with various ornaments; truly have the Rakshasas eaten them up, shaken as they were, by throwing them here and there. Alas! did I leave her alone only to be devoured by the Rakshasas? And she hath been eaten up like one weak and helpless albeit she has many friends. O Lakshmana, O thou of mighty-arms, hast thou seen where my dear wife is? O dear! O Sita! where hast thou gone?" Bewailing again and again in this strain Rama began to range the forest. Sometimes leaping, sometimes walking in an uncertain direction, again and again he looked like one void of sense. And again intent on searching Sita he furiously engaged in traversing the rivers, mountains, fountains and the woods. He could not wait paitently anywhere. Entering a vast forest he searched every nook and corner for Maithilee; his desire was not satisfied and he again engaged with great

SECTION 61.

Beholding the hermitage and cottage desolate and the seats strewn here and there, Rama the son of Dacaratha looked around. And finding Sita nowhere he raised up his beautiful arm and broke out into lamentations saying, "O Lakshmana where is Sita? Where has she gone hence? O Saumitri, who

labour in the finding out of his dear spouse.

hath carried away my dear one or who hath devoured her? O Sita, if wishest thou to mock me, hiding thyself behind the tree, enough—enough it is—console me who am exercised with grief. O pleasant Sita, without thee these faithful little deer have engaged in meditation being bathed in tears. Without Sita I shall not breathe, O Lakshmana. A mighty grief hath overtaken me in consequence of her being carried away. My father the monarch shall surely behold me in the next world and ask me 'I engaged thee in the observance of a vow; without fulfilling that, why hast thou come here? O shame on thee!' For certain shall my father address me with these words relating to my passionate, false and base conduct. All my desires have now been baffled and I have lost all control over myself and have been exercised with grief. O fine damsel. O thou of slender waist, where dost thou repair leaving me behind like unto fame renouncing a person of vicious nature? Without thee I shall renounce my own life." Being desirous of seeing Sita, Rama afflicted with grief began to bewail in this strain, but did not behold the daughter of Janaka. Being sunk in grief on Sita's account he became worn out like unto an elephant fallen in mud. Thereat for his well being, Lakshmana spoke unto him saying, "O thou of mighty intellect- do not grieve. Do thou put forth thy endeavours along with me. There is that high hill, O hero, containing many a cave. Maithili who is fond of ranging the forest and ever delighteth in beholding the flowery woods, must have entered therein or have gone to the watering-place blooming with flowerets and lotuses. She has gone to the river abounding in fish and Banjulas or has hidden herself somewhere in the forest to frighten us and to know, O best of men, how we can search her out. O thou of great beauty, let us soon engage in quest of her. O Kakuthstha, if thinkest thou that she is somewhere in this forest, we shall leave no quarter untried. Do thou not grieve." After Lakshmana had spoken thus out of fraternal affection, Rama, with a composed heart, set out along with him in quest of Sita. And searching every nook and corner of the mountains, rivers, ponds, table-lands, hills and summits they found Sita nowhere. And searching thus all the mountains Rama spake unto Lakshmana saying "Behold not I the auspicious Vaidehi on this mountain, O Saumitri." Ranging the entire forest of Dandaka, Lakshmana, sore distressed, spake unto his brother of flaming energy, saying "Surely shalt thou come by Maithili the daughter of Janaka like unto the mighty armed Vishnu obtaining this earth after having bound Vali." Being thus addressed by the heroic Lakshmana, Raghava, greatly afflicted with sorrow, replied in piteous accents-"O thou of mighty intellect I have searched every nook of this forest, this pool abounding in blown lotuses, and this mountain containing many a cave and fountain; but nowhere have I seen Vaidehi dearer than my life." Thus bewailing Rama, racked with sorrow consequent on Sita, being carried away, became poorly and afflicted with grief and swooned away for sometime. He lost his sense and his whole frame was worked with grief. Being grfeatly anxious and breathless he sighed hot and fast and began to lament. And sobbing again and again the lotus-eved Rama bewailed with his voice choked with the vapour of grief, exclaiming "Ah Sita!" Thereat his dear brother Lakshmana, aggrieved, consoled him with joined hands. But passing by the words dropping from Lakshmana's lips Rama again and again bewailed not beholding his dear Sita.

SECTION 62

Not beholding Sita the virtuous-souled Rama, of mighty arms, having eyes resembling lotuses, beside himself with grief, lamented (in many a way). Pierced with the shafts of Manmatha, Raghava, as if beholding Sita though he actually did not see her, uttered the following piteous accents—"O my dear, thou delightest greatly in flowers. Covering thy own person with Asoka twigs thou art increasing my grief. Thy thighs are like unto the trunks of plantain trees and thou hast hidden thyself behind the plantain grove. But I percieve thee, O fair one, thou art incapable of keeping thyself hidden. O auspicious one, thou hast entered smiling the Karnikar grove. No more with thy pastime, O dear one, leading to my death. Moreover it is not proper to sport in this way in a hermitage. I know it full well, O my dear, that thou art by nature fond of pastimes. But O thou of expansive eyes, this cottage lieth desolate, do thou come here. Evident it is that Sita hath either been devoured by the Rakshasas or carried away by them, and therefore she doth not approach me, O Lakshmana, who am thus bewailing. These deer, O Lakshmana, with tearful eves have been as if declaring that Sita hath been devoured by the night-rangers. O chaste one, O thou of exquisitely fine hue, O worshipful madam, whither hast thou repaired? O Sita, truly hath the desire of Kaikeyi been fulfilled to-day. I came out with Sita and shall return home without her. How shall I enter again that inner apartment void of Sita? Surely shall the people blame me as being cruel and destitute of energy. That I have no prowess hath already been manifested in the destruction of Sita. When the king Janaka shall come to me after my return home from exile, to ask me of my welfare how shall I meet him? And surely shall he be overwhelmed with grief on his daughter's account when he shall find me without

Sita. Blessed is my father since he is in heaven now. I shall not repair to that city protected by Bharata. Without her even the heaven itself appears to me as desolate. Do thou therefore repair to the city of Ayodhya leaving me in this forest. By no means shall I breathe without her. Embracing him warmly do thou tell Bharata, as instructed by me- 'Rama hath given thee permission to administer this kingdom.' As ordered by me do thou with proper respect salute all my mothers Kaucalya, Kaikeyi and Sumitra and protect them all with great care and respectful compliments. O destroyer of foes, do thou relate at length unto my mother the story of Sita's destruction." Rama bewailing thus, being overwhelmed with grief on account of his separation from Sita having a head of fine hair, Lakshmana became of pale countenance and was greatly distressed at heart.

That son of a king, stricken as he was with grief consequent upon separation from his dear one, was again overwhelmed with a terrible grief after causing sorrow unto his brother. Sunk in the abyss of grief, Rama, sighing hot and weeping piteously, spoke unto Lakshmana who was equally aggrieved, words worthy of being said on that occasion. "Me thinks there is none other on this earth like me, the perpetrator of vicious crimes. My heart or soul is not riven though crushed again and again without respite with a multitude of doleful events. Surely did I perpetrate many a vicious deed in my previous birth, the fruit of which I do now suffer and in consequence whereof misfortune after misfortune hath befallen me. Coming within the compass of my remembrance, the loss of my kingdom, the death of my father, the separation of my mother and other kinsmen culminates my grief. Repairing unto woods, O Lakshmana, in Sita's company my grief was assuaged, nay I did not suffer physical affliction even Without Sita these sorrows have grown anew like unto fire flaming again by means of fuel. Truly my wife, timid as she is, hath been carried away by a Rakshasa by the etherial track. Alas I doubtless it is, that one of pleasant accents, wept piteously out of fear many a time and oft. For certain my dear wife's breast round and sprinkled as it was with red sandal paste, was bathed in blood (while devoured by the Rakshasas)—but there is no death for me. That countenance the beauty of which was enhanced by a head of curly hair and which used to emit forth tender, soft and clear accents, hath become pale, being taken possession of by the Rakshasas like unto the Moon almost devoured by Rahu. Surely have the Rakshasas subsisting on gore drunk her blood in the sky tearing oft the neck of my dear one ever devoted to pious observances. Surely did that one of beautifully expansive eyes cry aloud poorly like unto a hind when she was drawn hither and thither by the Rakshasas encircling her in the forest in my absence. O Lakshmana, sitting at the foot of this hill with me that large-hearted, pious Sita, of smilling countenance, used to address thee on many a topic. This is Godavari, the best of rivers, my dear wife took delight in her— has she gone there?—But she never goes there alone. Or has Janaki having eyes resembling lotus-petals hath gone to bring lotuses? But how is that possible, she never goes without me to bring lotuses. Hath she entered at her pleasure this forest filled with many flowery trees and diverse birds? But that is not possible too-she is timid and feareth much to enter alone in this forest. O Aditya, knowest thou the pious and vicious actions of men; beareth thou testimony to the truth and untruth of their actions-do thou tell me, pray, who am striken with grief, whither hath my dear one repaired, or whether hath she been killed? O Air, there is nothing on earth which is not within the compass of thy vision, do thou relate unto me whether Sita preserving the fame of my ancestry, hath been killed or carried away or if she waiteth on the way." After Rama had bewailed thus being beside himself with grief, Saumitri, ever treading the right path and not of poorly mind spoke words worthy of being said on that occasion.-"Do thou take heart renouncing thy grief and engage with energy in quest of Sita. Persons of high energy are never exhausted on the earth even in the face of arduous works." The highly powerful Lakshmana having spoken thus being afflicted with grief, Rama, the best of Raghu's descendants, did not consider that worth pondering over. Renouncing patience he again indulged in excessive grief.

SECTION 64

Rama stricken with grief spake unto Lakshmana the following piteous words saying, "O Lakshmana, do thou speedily repair to the river Godaveri and learn if Sita hath gone there to fetch lotuses." Being thus addressed by Rama, the quick-paced Lakshmana went to the pleasant stream Godaveri. Reconnoitering full well the river containing many a watering-place Lakshmana spake unto Rama saying. "Searched have I all the watering-places but have found her nowhere—anon I cried aloud but she did not hear. I cannot trace whither hath Vaidehi of slender waist repaired ever assuaging our mental affliction." Hearing Lakshmana' s words, Rama, aggrieved and overwhelmed with sorrow repaired in person to the river Godaveri. Arriving there cried

he "Where is Sita?" Neither did the world of creatures nor the river Godaveri apprise Rama of Sita's being carried away by the Lord of Rakshasas worthy of being slain. Thinking of the terrible figure and monstrous actions of that vicious-souled Ravana, that river did not dare relate unto him anything about Sita, albeit appointed by the creatures to relate the story concerning her and accosted by Rama in piteous accents. Being thus disappointed by the river in beholding Sita, Rama racked with her separation spake unto Lakshmana saving "O thou of auspicious looks, this river Godavari doth give no reply. But O Lakshmana, returning without her what shall I say unto Janaka and Vaidehi's mother? Where hath that Vaidehi gone who used to assuage my grief who had been deprived of kingdom and living in this forest on wild fruits and vegetables? Nights shall appear too long unto me, keeping late hours being deprived of my kinsmen and relatives and not beholding Vaidehi. I can range this Mandakini, this Janasthana and this Pasrabana hill if I can find Sita there. Behold, O hero, the high deer have been casting their looks again and again at men; methinks from their gestures, they intend speaking something uoto me." Beholding them, Raghava, the best of men, looked at them and said in accents choked with vapour—"Where is Sita?" Being thus addressed by that Lord of men the deer rose up all on a sudden and looked up to the sky facing the south and proceeded to the direction by which Maithili had been carried away. And moving by that way these deer eyed the Lord of men and again and again fixed their looks upon that way and earth and passed along emitting cries which was marked by Lakshmana. He marked with attention their movements and cries and spake unto his elder brother like one aggrieved saying-'Being accosted by thee with-'Where is Sita?' these deer have stood up all on a sudden and have been pointing to the south and earth-let us therefore proceed in this directionit may be that we shall either meet with that worshipful madam or find some mementos concerning her." Thereat Kakuthstha, gifted with supreme beauty, proceeded towards the south being followed by Lakshmana and casting his look upon the earth. While proceeding thus, conversing with each other the two brothers beheld some flowers scattered on the high-way

Beholding a collection of flowers scattered on earth, Rama, exceedingly sorry, spake unto Lakshmana in piteous accents saying "O Lakshmana, 1 have come to know that these are the flowers of the forest I gave Vaidehi; with these she decorated her hair. Me thinks the sun, the air and the famed earth have preserved them for my well-being." Having spoken these words unto Lakshmana the best of men the virtuous-souled Rama, of mighty arms, addressed the mountain in front of him containing many fountains, saying-"0 thou the best of mountains, hast thou beheld in this picturesque forest-land, that exquisitely fine damsel racked with my separation?" Exceedingly wroth he accosted the mountain like unto a lion addresing a little deer, saying "Show me my graceful Sita hued like gold before I crush down thy summits." Being thus addressed by Rama on Maithili's account the mountain did not show him Sita. Again addressed him Rama-"Thou shalt by the fire of my arrows, be reduced to ashes-thy twigs and leaves shall be totally destroyed and no one shall resort to thee. O Lakshmana, I shall dry up this river Godavari if it telleth me not about Sita having a moon-like countenance." Rama, exceedingly wroth, cast his looks around as if desiring to burn everything with his eyes and beheld footprints of the Rakshasas on the earth as well as those of Sita moving wildly hither and thither, terrified and desirous to see Rama, while pursued by the Rakshasas. Beholding these footmarks, the snapped bow, the quiver and the chariot broken into many pieces, Rama, terrified spake unto his dear brother. "Behold O, Lakshmana, the remnants of Vaidehi's golden ornaments, strewn hither and thither, and diverse garlands. Behold O Saumitri, the earth covered with drops of blood resembling golden drops. Methinks, O Lakshmana, Vaidehi hath been devoured by the Rakshasas assuming shapes at will, having sundered her in pieces. O Saumitri, there took place a terrible conflict between the Rakshasas, fighting with each other on Sita's account. O gentle one, whose is this snapped bow lying on the breast of the earth adorned and crested with pearls and diamonds? O brother, this belongs either to the celestials or to the Rakshasas. Whose is this golden armour lying shattered on earth, resembling the newly risen sun; in colour and adorned with sapphire? Whose is this umbrella lying broken on earth, containing a hundred rod and adorned with celestial garlands? In whose conflict have these terrible asses, of large proportions, having faces of demon and with breast plates, been killed? Whose is this shattered war-car lying upset on the ground and broken flag resembling in lustre the burning gold? Whose are these terrible arrows feathered in gold, measuring four-hundred fingers, lying without blades on earth? Behold, O Lakshmana, these two quivers have been totally spoiled though filled with arrows. Whose charioteer is this who hath been killed with reins and lash in hands? These foot-marks must be some Rakshasa's. I made these Rakshasas my fatal enemies, assuming shapes at will and of crooked hearts. Poor Sita must have been either dead, carried away by them or

devoured. Virtue did not save her from being carried away in this mighty forest. O Lakshmana, while virtue did not protect Janaki being devoured or taken away by stealth, what person else gifted with heavenly power, on this earth shall bring about my well-being? For this it is that people through ignorance disregard the ever kind Almighty-the lord of creatures and the best of the celestials. Truly shall the celestials regard me as one devoid of prowess, who am mildtempered, kind, ever engaged in the welfare of the humanity. and have controlled all my senses. Observe, O Lakshmana, obtaining me as the stay these accomplishments have been turned into so many blemishes. Truly shall my prowess manifest itself to-day overshadowing all my other accomplishments for the destruction of the Rakshasas and all created beings like unto the rising of the Sun casting the Moon into shade on the day of dissolution. None shall enjoy felicity, O Lakshmana,-Yakshas, Gandharbas, Picachas, Rakshasas, Kinnaras, or human beings. Today shall the welkin be filled up with my arrows. Motionless shall I make all the animals inhabiting the three worlds. I shall arrest the movement of the planets and overshadow the Moon. Stopping the course of the wind and destroying the rays of the Sun and fire I shall envelope the earth with darkness, crush down the summits of the mountains, dry up the pools, blow up the creepers, demolish the Ocean and erradicate the trees. If the celestials do not give me back my Sita I shall bring about the dissolution of the three worlds which would else have been wrought by time. O son of Sumitra, instantly shall the celestials headed by Indra, meet with my prowess, if they do not give back my Sita, ever advancing my wellfare. None shall be able to range the welkin. Behold Lakshmana, being perpetually crushed down by my arrow's shot off my bow, the world shall be disturbed and dislodged and the animals and birds shall be confused and destroyed. Stretching the bow to my ears I shall make the world, for Sita's sake, void of Pisachas and Rakshasas with my arrows incapable of being withstood by created beings. To-day shall the celestials behold the power of my arrows coursing a long distance shot through my ire. Three worlds destroyed on account of my wrath, celestials, Danavas, Pisachas or Rakshasas,-none shall be saved. The dwellings of the celestials. Asuras, Yakshas and Rakshasas shall fall down sundered by my arrows into diverse pieces. I shall dislodge the whole world by my arrows. If the celestials do not give me back my Vaidehi dead or carried away or as she was before, I shall destroy the whole world mobile or immobile and disturb all with my arrows until I see her." Having spoken thus, Rama, with his eyes reddened with ire and lips swollen, tying fast his bark and deer-skin, braided his matted locks. Having done this, being exceedingly wroth he looked like Rudra about to destroy Tripura. Thereat taking his bow from Lakshmana and holding it fast, the effulgent Rama, the conqueror of foes, fixed flaming arrows to it like so many serpents and said being exercised with ire like unto fire on the eve of dissolution.-Lakshmana none shall be able to withstand me, who am inflamed with rage, as debility consequent on old age, death, time, duty are incapable of being averted from their destined ends by the animals. I shall bring about a mighty revolution in the world containing the celestials Gandharba, human beings, Pannagas and the mountains, if I do not get back, in her pristine beauty, my Sita, the daughter of the King of

Rama highly aggrieved on account of Sita's being carried away, addressing himself to destroy the world like unto the fire of dissolution and casting his look, sighing again and again, upon the stringed bow like unto Mahadev desirous of burning down the whole world at the time of dissolution. Lakshmana, having his countenance dried up, beholding his rage not seen before, began with folded hands—"Ere this thou hadst been gentle, self-controlled and engaged in the welfare of all beings. It doth not behove thee now to renounce thy natural temper being influenced by ire. Ever manifested itself in thee, glory par excellence like unto splendour in the Moon, lustre in the Sun, motion in the wind and forgiveness in the Earth. It becometh thee not to devastate the whole world for the crime of an individual being. Methinks for certain, this shattered car must be the property of an individual person, not of many. But I do not know whose is this car with vokes and dresses and what for it hath been shattered? Behold, O thou the son of a King, this terrible spot bathed in blood and raked with hoofs and wheels. Surely here took place a conflict. O thou the foremost of those skilled in speech, it appeareth from these signs that this skrimish did take place with one, not with two. Here are not to be seen the fool-marks of a large army. It therefore doth not behove thee to destroy the whole world for one's individual offence. Kings, gentle and mild by nature do always administer nunishment proportionate to the amount of offence. Thou art always the stay and the best refuge of all animals. Who shall think well, O Raghava, of the destruction of thy wife? The celestials, Danavas, Gandharbhas, rivers, seas, and mountains-none can act unfriendly by thee as the learned priests cannot act

improperly towards those initiated by them. It is thy duty, O king, with bow in hand to search out the person who hath carried away Sita, along with me and the devotees. Explore shall we, with great care, the seas, the forest, the mountains, the fearful caves, the pools and the abodes of the celestials and Gandharbas until we find out the person who hath carried away thy wife. If the celestials do not return thee peacefully thy wife, O Lord cf Kocala, thou shalt adopt measures. befitting the occassion. Thou shalt then uproot the whole world, O lord of men, with thy gold-featherd arrows resembling the thunderbolt of Mahendra, if thou dost not come by thy wife by resorting to good conduct, self-control, lowliness and polity.

SECTION 66.

Rama bewailing thus like one helpless being stricken with grief, overwhelmed with sorrow and losing control over himself, Lakshmana touched his feet and consoling him instantly began:- "By constant asceticism and manifold pious observances king Dacaratha obtained thee like unto the celestials obtaining ambrosia. As I have heard from Bharata, king Dacaratha died for thy separation, attached as he was unto thee for thy accomplishments. O Kakuthstha, if dost thou not bear patiently this impending peril what littleminded person else shall bear it? Compose thyself, O thou best of men. Peril overtaketh every body like unto fire but vanisheth in no time. This is the nature of men. Yavati, the son of king Nahusha, though attained to the state of celestials was however thrown down for an iniquitous deed. The hundred sons, that had been born unto our ancestral priest Vasishtha, were all killed in one day. O lord of Kerala, even Vasumati, the mother of the world, adored of all beings, meeteth with mesery consequent upon earth-quake. Even the mighty Sun and Moon witness eclipse who are the eyes of the world and the very images of virtue and in whom the whole world is stationed. O thou best of men, what of insignificant beings cased in this frail body, even the mighty creatures and celestials are subject to the influence of destiny. I have heard, O best of men, even the celestials headed by Indra are subject to happiness or misery. So it doth not behove thee to bewail thus. O descendant of Raghu, it becometh thee not to lament like an ordinary person even if Janaki is dead or hath been carried away. O Rama, persons, highly experienced and ascertaining right or wrong without being moved, do not lament even in the face of mighty perils. O thou best of men, do thou, after due consideration, ascertain what is proper or improper; persons of thy vast wisdom are cognisant of the right or wrong by dint of their understanding. Without proper exercise, actions, of unknown merit and uncertain issue do not bear fruits. O hero, many a time and oft ere this, thou hadst given me the self-same counsel. Who is capable of counselling thee who art the very preceptor of the gods? O thou of great intellect, even the celestials cannot measure thy mental acumen. Greatly benumbed is thy wisdom with the slumber of grief, and I am to rouse it. O thou the best of Ikshakus, do thou engage in the destruction of thy foes considering well thy celestial and human prowess. O thou best of men, what necessity hast thou to destroy the whole world? Do thou rescue Sita after finding out thy vicious enemy.

SECTION 67

After Lakshmana had spoken these highly sound and pleasant words, Rama, ever taking to what is sound, accepted them. Thereupon that one, of mighty arms, slaking his flaming ire and reclining himself upon his beautiful bow, addressed Lakshmana, saying, "Do thou ponder over, O brother, where shall we repair, what shall we do and by what means shall we come by Sita?" Whereto Lakshmana replied saying unto the highly aggrieved Rama, "It is proper for thee to search this Janasthana filled with a multitude of Rakshasas and covered with diverse trees and creepers. Here are many strongholds in the midst of mountains, clefts of rocks, many caves and numerous cavities filled with various animals. Many are the abodes here belonging to the Kinnaras and Gandharbas. Do thou, along with me, search all these places. Great men, of thy calibre, do remain unagitated even in the midst of difficulties like unto mountains never shaken by the velocity of the wind." Hearing these words, Rama, enraged, fixing sharp and terrible arrows to his bow, began to range the forest with Lakshmana. Thereupon he beheld, fallen on ground, having his person bathed in blood, the king of birds—Yatayu, resembling a mountain peak, and spake unto Lakshmana, saying "It is clear and beyond all doubt that Vaidehi hath been devoured by this Rakshasa, assuming the shape of a vulture and ranging the forest. This Rakshasa hath been reposing at ease after devouring that one of expansive eyes; I shall kill him with terrible straight-coursing arrows, having flaming points." Fixing sharpened shafts to his bow, Rama enraged darted towards the vulture as if moving the sea-girt earth. Vomitting frothy blood Yatayu, the king of vultures, spoke unto Rama, the son of Dacaratha, saying 'O thou of long life, that goddess, whom thou hast been searching in this vast forest like unto Oshadhi, and my life have been carried away by Ravana. I saw her, O Raghava,

carried away stealthily by the powerful Ravana, in thy absence as well as that of Lakshmana. Myself Hearing Sita, for her rescue, O Lord, Ravana was thrown down On earth by me in conflict having his car and unbrella shattered. This is his snapped bow and these are his broken shafts. And this is his war-car, O Rama, shattered in fight. This is his charioteer lying On earth being killed by the velocity of my wings. Having sundered my wings with his dagger, who had been exhausted. Rayana taking Sita, rose high up in the welkin. It behoveth thee not to kill me who had been wounded before by the Rakshasa." Hearing from him pleasant words relating to Sita, Rama, leaving aside, instantly, his mighty bow, embraced him, and rolling on earth having lost self-control through grief, began to lament with Lakshmana. Though highly composed by nature, he was dverwhelmed with doubled grief. And beholding Yatayu, sigh again and again and breathing with difficulty in a helpless plight, Rama, highly aggrieved, spake unto Lakshmana saying, "I have lost my kingdom and have been living in this forest. My Sita hath been carried away and this bird hath been killed (on my account)—This misfortune of mine can burn even the very fire If for assuaging my grief I do enter the mighty ocean, verily shall that misfortune dry up even that lord of rivers. There is none so unfortunate as I, throughout this earth, mobile or immobile, and it is for this bad luck that I have confronted this mighty disaster. This mighty king of vultures is our father's friend and he lieth on earth, killed through the evil turn of my fortune." Uttering these and various other words, Raghava, along with Lakshmana touched his body manifesting his paternal affection. Embracing the king of vultures, bathed in blood, having its wings cut off, Raghava, fell on the ground, exclaiming 'where hath Maithilee gone like unto my life?

SECTION 68.

Beholding Yatayu fallen on the ground by the terrible Rakshasa, Rama spoke unto Lakshmana, having compassion for all, saying "Verily for my service this bird hath breathed its last, being killed by the Rakshasa. O Lakshmana, its voice hath been enfeebled, its vision weakened and its life, greatly exhausted, lieth in a very little proportion in its body. May good betide thee, O Yatayu; if thou art capable speaking again, do thou relate how Sita hath been carried away and thou hast been killed. Why hath Ravana taken away by stealth the worshipful Janaki? What offence did I commit by him that he hath carried away my dear one? O thou best of birds, how looked the moon-like, pleasant countenance of Sita at the time of her being carried away? What did she speak then? What is the prowess, appearance and action of that Rakshasa? Where doth he live, O reverend Sir? Pray tell me, I do ask Beholding Rama, lament like one helpless, the virtuous-souled Yatayu spake in faltering accents-"Sita hath been carried away by Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, creating a mighty illusion producing wind and showers. O darling, myself being worn out that night-ranger, having sundered my wings, fled away with Sita to the southerly direction. O Raghava, my life is about to expire, my eye-sight hath grown of mistaken perception, I see trees before me made of gold having hair resembling Ushira [Andropogon muricatum—(Lat). The root of a fragrant grass. This alludes to a terrible vision which is generally seen by a person on the eve of death—a golden tree having hair.]. Ravana hath taken away Sita at a moment when a person regains soon his lost property. O Kakuthstha, this moment is called Vindya [This refers to Jatayu's astrological knowledge. Vindya is derived from the root Vid--to gain. Thus this moment is favourable to the loser and unfavourable to the taker. Hence Ravana carrying away Sita at this moment shall meet with destruction.], which Ravana hath not been able to perceive. (At this moment) the person who taketh away (a thing) is soon destroyed like unto a fish devouring a hook. Do not therefore entertain the least doubt about thy coming by Janaki. Destroying him at the head of the battle thou shalt soon sport with Vaidehi." Thereupon flesh and gore began to come out of the mouth of Yatayu, the king of vultures, not loosing his sense even while treading the verge of death. Thereupon the king of birds gave up his dear life uttering -"Ravana is the son of Vishrava and brother to Vaishravana (the lord of wealth)." Rama again and again addressed him with joined palms saying, "Do thou speak! Do thou speak." And instantly Yatayu's vital spark rose up in the sky, leaving his bodily frame. Thereupon the king of vultures fell down on the earth by stretching forth his legs, body and head on the ground. Beholding the vulture dead, of huge proportions, resembling a hill and having red eyes, Rama, aggrieved, spoke piteously unto Saumitri, saying-"Living happily, for years, in this forest of Dandaka inhabited by the Rakshasas, Yatayu hath, at last, given up his life. He lived for a long time, of an uplifted person, and hath now laid low on the earth. None can withstand the course of destiny. Observe, Lakshmana, this vulture for my benefaction, hath been killed by the powerful Ravana in his attempt to rescue Sita. For me, hath this Lord of birds, breathed his last, renouncing his large ancestral kingdom. In every status of animal creation, the

heroic, the righteous and the honest, affording refuge unto all, are to be found, even amongst the birds. I do not feel so much affliction, O hero, for Sita's ravishment as I do for this vulture, who hath been killed for me. Like unto the highly famous, effulgent king Dacaratha, this King of of birds is worthy of being adored and worshipped by me. O Saumitri, do thou bring fuels; I shall produce fire therewith and burn the dead body of this king of birds who hath been killed on my account. Placing on a funeral pile, I shall cremate, O Saumitri, the dead body of this king of birds who hath been destroyed by the grim-visaged Rakshasas. Being consecrated commanded by me, do thou, O highly powerful king of birds, attain to that excellent state of existence, which is reached by persons ever performing pious observances, by Ahitagnis [A Brahman who has preserved a sacred fire kept alive perpetually in a family, etc.,—from ahita—placed, agnifire.] by heroes who are not afraid of entering a battle-field and by persons who confer grants of land." Saying this the virtuous-souled Rama, afflicted with sorrow, burned the body of the king of birds, placing it on the funeral pile, like unto his own kinsman. Entering the forest with Saumitri, Rama gifted with prowess, killed plump high deer and stretched forth grass and twigs for offering oblation to that bird. Taking off the flesh of those high deer and clustering it, Rama, of great renown, offered it to the vultures in that pleasant forest-land, abounding in green grass. Thereupon for his speedy arrival at the abode of celestials. Rama recited those Mantras which are being uttered by the twice-born ones. Afterwards repairing to the river Gadaveri the two princes offered water unto that kingly vulture. And offering water unto him according to the prescribed rites of the Sastras, those two descendants of Raghu, after bathing, performed the Udaka [Presentation of water specially to the manes as a religious or obsequal rite.] ceremony for that king of vultures. Having been killed in battle for an arduous but glorious work. that king of vultures, consecrated by the ascetic-like Rama, attained to an excellent state. Having performed the Udaka ceremony for that best of birds and considering him in the light of a father they went away and entered the forest in quest of Sita like unto the two best of celestials—Visnu and Vasava.

Having offered him the gift of water, those two descendants of Raghu wended their way in that forest in quest of Sita and proceeded towards the south-west. Then turning to the south, with bow and arrows in hand, they reached a track not wended by the people. It was a ghastly, impenetrable forest, covered on all sides with groves, trees and creepers. Proceeding by the southerly direction, those two mighty ones, passed hastily by that terrible, dreary forest. Thereupon, the highly effulgent descendants of Raghu entered the dense forest of Krauncha, situated at a distance of six miles from Janasthana. It was a dense forest like unto a collection of clouds, as if smiling on all sides blooming with charming flowers of diverse bues and frequented by various animals and birds. Waiting for sometime here and there they, exercised with Sita's ravishment, explored the entire forest in quest of Vaidehi. Proceeding three Krosas towards the East and passing by the forest of Krauncha the two brothers descried on their way the asylum of Matanga. Having seen that dreary forest frequented by various animals and birds and covered with diverse trees and dense groves, the two sons of Dacaratha beheld a cave in the mountain, deep as the region under the earth and ever enveloped with darkness. Arriving there they espied hard by a grim visaged Rakshasi, having a formidable figure, ever causing fright unto persons of feeble courage, loathesome, terrible-looking, having a huge belly, sharpened teeth, a high person and rough skin, devouring voracious animals and looking fearful with dishevelled hair. Beholding there the two brothers, Rama and Lakshmana, she neared the heroes and saying, 'come, we shall sport' assailed Lakshmana who had been going before his brother. And embracing him she spake unto Saumitri the following words-"My name is Ayomukhee; it is a great gain to thee that thou hast become my beloved one, O my lord. Do thou sport with me, for ever, O hero, in these mountainous strongholds and on the banks of the rivers." Thereat, exercised with ire, Lakshmana, the subduer of foes, uplifting his dagger, chopped off her nose, ears and breast. Having her nose and ears cut off, that terrible-looking Rakshasi, emitting fearful cries, fled away whence she had come. On her departure, proceeding quickly, the two brothers. Rama and Lakshmana, the conquerors of foes, reached a dense forest. Thereupon the highly effulgent and truthful Lakshmana, possessing a pure character, spake, with folded hands, unto his brother of flaming energyleft arm is throbbing, my mind is filled with anxiety and I perceive before me many a bad omen. Do thou put on thy habiliments, O worshipful one, and act by what I say for thy well-being. Methinks from these bad omens some calamity shall soon befall us. O Rama, this terrible bird Banchulaka is emitting fearful cries as if announcing our victory in the conflict." Thereupon while they began to explore the entire forest with their prowess there arose a terrible sound as if breaking down the wood. The forest was enveloped on all

sides with a mighty wind and everywhere was audible a roar filling the wood-land. With a view to ascertain whence the sound proceeded, Rama, with a dagger in hand, along with his younger brother, espied a Rakshasha of huge proportions, having big thighs. The two brothers beheld that Rakshasa stationed before them, having a huge body, devoid of head and neck and therefore a headless demon and having its mouth on its belly. Its body resembled a huge mountain and was covered with sharpened down; its look was terrible like unto sable cloud and its roar resembled the muttering where of. Its one terrible, expansive eye, seeing all, was on the forehead placed on its breast and shone forth like unto the flaming fire and it had huge yellow eye-lashes. Its mouth was greatly widened and covered with rows of huge teeth and it was again and again licking that terrible mouth. And stretching forth its two huge arms extending over a yojanait was devouring bears, lions and deer. It was catching and throwing with its huge hands many an animal, bird and bear. Hindering the way-fare it was awaiting those two brothers. And proceeding a Krosa, they espied that fearful, grimvisaged, headless demon, hindering all creatures with its arms, terrible-looking and appearing like a kavanda from its very situation. Thereupon that one, of huge arms, stretching them forth, got hold of those two descendants of Raghu crushing them with its strength. Those two highly powerful brothers, of mighty arms, with daggers and bows in their hands, were assailed and got hold of by that Rakshasha. Rama was heroic and patient by nature and consequently was not much afflicted: but Lakshmana was a mere boy and impatient by nature and was consequently greatly afflicted. Being greatly distressed, the younger brother of Raghava spake unto him, saying "Do thou behold me, O hero, brought under the hold of this Rakshasha, and re-nouncing me only, O Raghava, do thou get thyself off. And offering me as sacrifice, do thou escape at thy ease. Methinks for certain, O Kakuthstha, thou shalt soon come by Vaidehi and regain thy anscestral kingdom. But remember me always, O Rama, when thou shalt find thyself placed on the throne." Being thus addressed by Lakshmana, Rama spake unto Saumitri—"Fear not in vain, O hero; persons of thy prowess are never afflicted (with fear). Meanwhile the wicked headless, demon, of huge arms, the foremost of Danaves, addressed the two brothers Rama and Lakshmana -- "Who are ye two youthful figures having the neck of a bull and with mighty daggers and bows in your hands? Arriving in this fearful place ye have by chance come within the compass of my vision. Tell me now what have ye to do here, and what for have ye come? I have been waiting here being hungry, and we have come here having daggers and bows with arrows in your hands like unto two oxen having sharpened horns. Nearing me quickly, it will be hard for ye to draw your vital breath." Hearing those words of the vicioussouled Kavandha, Rama having his countenance dried up, bespake Lakshmana-"O thou, having truth for thy prowess, again and again, greater and worse calamities have been threatening us. We have already met with a dire disaster leading to our death, consequent on my separation from my dear one. Mighty is the course of Destiny in all creatures, O Lakshmana. Do thou O best of men, behold even thyself and me stricken with calamity. But O Lakshmana it is not very difficult for destiny to afflict all creatures. Under the influence of destiny even the mighty heroes, well habited in armours are distressed like unto a bridge of sands." Addressing these words unto Saumitri, the resolute, powerful and highly famous son of Dacaratha, having truth for his prowess, composed himself by dint of his own understanding.

SECTION 70.

Beholding both the brothers, Rama and Lakshmana, clasping each other with their arms, the headless demon "O two best of Kshatryas, are ye waiting here beholding me hungry? O ye having lost your sense, ye have been chosen by Destiny as my food." Hearing those words Lakshmana, sore distressed and determined to display his valour, addressed Rama with words worthy of being said on that occasion. "This vile Rakshasa shall seize both of us: let us sunder soon its two huge arms with our daggers. This grimvisaged Rakshasa, of huge proportions, gifted only with the strength of arms, defeating all other persons, hath addressed itself at last to destroy us. It is odious for the Kshatryas to make away with those who cannot defend themselves like unto animals brought for sacrifice." Hearing their conversation, the Rakshasa, inflamed with rage, widening its terrible mouth prepared to devour them up. Thereat Rama and Lakshmana, cognisant of time and place, pleased, sundered its arms off its shoulders with their daggers. Rama, stationed on the right side cut off in no time its right arm with his dagger and the heroic Lakshmana, the left one. Having got its arms dissevered, the terrible-voiced, Kavandha, of huge arms, roaring like unto the muttering of clouds and resounding the heaven, earth and all the quarters, fell flat on the ground. Beholding both its arms cut off, the demon, with its person bathed in blood, asked them poorly-" Who are Being thus accosted by Kavandha, the mighty Lakshmana, gifted with auspicious marks, spake unto it,

about Kakuthstha. "He is a descendant of the Ikshwakus known on earth by the name of Rama, and know me as his younger brother, by name—Lakshmana. Being thwarted by mother (Kaikeyi) in his accession of kingdom, he, renouncing all, hath fled as an exile unto woods, and hath, along with me and his spouse, been ranging this forest. While living in the dense forest the wife of Rama, effulgent like unto the celestials hath been ravished by a Rakshasa. Searching her, have we come here. Who art thou? And what for art thou ranging this forest like unto a headless demon, having thy thighs broken and thy flaming face placed on thy breast?" Being thus addressed by Lakshmana with these goodly words, Kavandha, pleased, recollecting the words of Indra, bespake him,-"O two best of men, ye are welcome! By my good luck it is that I do behold vou. By my good fortune ve have dissevered my shoulders to-day. Do ye hear. I shall relate truly unto you how have I, by my haughtiness, come by this unsightly shape.'

SECTION 71

O mighty armed Rama of great prowess, formerly my beauty, beyond conception, was known all over the three worlds, like unto the beauty of the Sun, the Moon and Indra. used to frighten everywhere the ascetics living in the forest by turning this my beauty into a terrific form. Once on a time assuming this terrible shape I assailed and enraged the great ascetic Sthulashira collecting diverse wild fruits. Thereupon he imprecated curses upon me, saying "Do thou retain this ghastly shape hated of all mankind." Upon my praying unto that angry ascetic for my relief from that curse, he said-Thou shalt regain thy stalwart and beautiful shape when thou shalt be burnt by Rama in a dense forest having got thy arms dissevered by him. O Lakshmana, know me to be the beautiful son of Danu. Through Indra's curse in the battle field I have been metamorphosed into my present shape. After I had pleased him with hard austerites, the Grand-Father of the celestials conferred on me a long life. And therefore I was inflamed with pride and assailed Indra in a conflict, thinking within me, 'I have gained a long life-what can Indra do me? Thereupon by his thunderbolt, having hundred edges, hurled off his hands, my thighs were shattered and my head thrusted into my body. Myself praying for the close of my life, he did not despatch me to the abode of Yama. He only said "May the words of the Grand Sire prove true." Whereto I replied 'How shall I live long without any food, being smitten by thee having a thunderbot in thy hand, and having my head, thighs and mouth crushed down?' Thereat Indra made my hands extending over a Yajana and placed my mouth, having sharpened teeth, on my belly. Thenceforth, stretching out my long arms I used to devour all lions, tigers, wolves and deer ranging the forest. Indra said to me, Thou shalt attain to heaven when Rama, along with Lakshmana, shall cut off thy arms in a battle.' Acting under the conviction that Rama, resolved to destroy my person, shall surely come within the compass of my arms, I do always assail with relish, O worshipful one, O thou best of kings, every animal I meet with in this forest. Thou art that Rama. May good betide thee, O Raghava. Verily did the great ascetic speak unto me that none should be able to assail me but Rama. Being cremated by you, I shall counsel you best and tell you with whom you should contract friendship." Being thus addressed by Danu, the virtuous-souled Raghava spake before listening Lakshmana, 'My renowned spouse Sita was easily ravished by Ravana after I had gone out of Janasthana along with my brother. I know that Rakshasa's name only-but do not know his whereabouts, his figure and his prowess. It behoveth thee to show proper compassion for us, who have been stricken with grief, who are helpless, have been ranging this forest in this way and are ever engaged in the well-being of others O, hero, we shall burn thee after collecting all the branches that have been broken down by the elephants and dried up in time, and digging a big trench. Do thou tell us who hath carried away Sita? And where? If dost thou know it truly do thou perform us this good service." Thereat the Rakshasa, skilled in speech, spake unto Raghava, addressing him thus-"I am not gifted with divine fore-sight and therefore do not know where Maithilee is. I shall let you know of him who shall be able to tell you all about her, after I resume my original shape, being burnt (by thee). I shall furthermore tell thee, O Rama, who knows that Rakshasa. Without being burnt I am incapable of being cognisant of that highly powerful Rakshasa who hath carried away thy Sita. By the influence of curse, I have lost my fore-sight and by my own improper actions I have been transformed into this ugly figure. Do thou cremate me according to the prescribed rites after throwing me into the ditch before the sun, with his worn out carriers descends into the western horizon. Being burnt by thee in the ditch, with due ceremonials, O descendant of Raghu, I shall mention, unto thee, one who knows that Rakshasa, O Raghava, O fleetfooted hero, do thou contract friendship with him gifted with good qualities and he shall assist thee. There is nothing unknown to him, O Raghava in the three worlds. Formerly for some reasons he had travelled all over them.'

SECTION 72.

After Kavandha had spoken thus, the two best of men, Rama and Lakshmana took him to a mountain-cave and placed on fire. Lakshmana kindled the funeral pile, which was ablaze on all sides. Thereupon the fire began to burn down slowly the huge and corpulent body of Kavandha like unto a lump of clarified butter. Afterwards the highly powerful demon, shaking the funeral pile, rose up quickly like a smokeless flame of fire, wearing a clean cloth and a celestial garland. And the graceful demon, wearing an unsullied cloth and having all its limbs crested with diverse ornaments, rose from the pile high up in the welkin with a delighted heart. Thereupon mounting on a famed car, brilliant and drawn by swans and lighting up all the quarters with the effulgence of his person, that highly powerful one, stationing himself in the heaven, addressed Rama, saying:—"Do thou hear truly, O Raghava, of the means by which thou shalt come by Sita. There are six expedients, O Rama, by virtue of which kings acquire all objects. He, in whom misfortune hath culminated, should seek the company of one such. Thou hast, O Rama along with Lakshmana, met with the culmination of misfortune and for which thou hast been assailed with such a disaster as the ravishment of thy spouse. O thou best of my friends, it behoveth thee, therefore to make friends with such a person. Or else I do not find any means for thy success. Do thou hear, O Rama, what I relate. There liveth with four monkeys a heroic, self-controlled monkey by name Sugriva, on that best of mountains Rishvamuka, situated on the banks of the lake Pampa, being driven by his enraged brother Vali, the son of Indra. That mighty, powerful, effulgent lord of monkeys, of immeasurable prowess and truthful vows, humble, patient, intelligent, great, expert, bold, graceful and puissant, hath been banished by his brother, O hero, for kingdom. Surely he shall befriend and assist thee in thy search for Sita. Do thou not plunge thy soul in grief. O thou best of Ikshwakus, none can withstand destiny on this earth, truly unavoidable is it course. Do thou proceed soon, O hero, to Sugriva of mighty prowess, and repairing hence even to-day do thou contract friendship with him, taking vow in the presence of flaming fire that ye shall not envy each other. Despise not that kingly monkey Sugriva, because he is grateful, capable of assuming shapes at will, seeking protection and powerful. Ye too are able to accomplish his wished-for object. Benefitted by thee or not, he shall engage in thy service. He was begotten of the Sun unto the wife of Rikhyraja. He hath been roaming the bank of Pampa being in constant fear of Vali after creating enmity with him. Do thou make friends with that monkey ranging the wood and inhabiting the Rishyamuka mountain after placing thy weapon in the very presence of fire as a witness, because that best of monkeys knoweth minutely all the abodes of Rakshasas, living on human flesh. There is no place under the sun of many rays, O Raghava, O slayer of foes, unknown to him. Exploring, with all his monkeys, the rivers, huge mountains, strongholds and caves, he shall learn about thy spouse. He shall search that exquisitely fine damsel Maithili in Ravana's abode, bewailing on thy separation; and to find her out he shall despatch, O Raghava, many a monkey of huge proportions to various quarters. Whether on the summit of the mount Meru or in the region under the earth, that lord of monkeys, shall give thee back thy blameless spouse, killing all the Rakshasas.'

SECTION 73

Having pointed out unto Rama the expedient for finding out Sita the wise Kavandha began with the following significant words:--"This is the way, O Rama, leading to the mount Rishyamuka, where stand, beautifying the West, the Jambu [A fruit-tree, the rose apple, Lat. Eugenia Jambolana.], Priala [A tree commonly Piyal, Lat. Buchanania latifolia.], Panaca [The bread fruit or Jaka tree, Lat. Artocarpus integrifolia.], Nagrodha [The Indian fig-tree, Lat. Ficus Indica.], Plaksha [Waved leaf fig-tree, Lat. Ficus infectoria.], Tinduka [A sort of ebony, Lat. Diospyros gtutinosa.], Ashathya [A holy fig-tree, Lat. Ficus religiosa.], Karnikar [The name of a tree commonly Kaniyar—Lat. Pterospermum acerifolium.], Chuta [The mango—Lat. Mangifera Indica.], Naga [A small tree, Lat. Mesua ferrea.], Tilaka [A kind of tree commonly Tila.], Naktamal [A tree-Lat. Galedupaarborea Rex.], Neelashok [Blue Asoka, Lat. Jonesia Asock.], Cadamva [A plant commonly Kadamva, Lat. (Nauclea Kadamba.], Karavira [A fragrant plant-Lat. Oleander or Nerium Odorum.], Agnimukhya [The marking nut plant, Lat. Semecarpius anacardium.], Asoka, Raktachandan [Red Sandal wood.], Paribhadraka [The coral tree-Erythrina fulgens.], and many other trees. Ascending those trees or lowering them by force on earth, do thou proceed living on those fruits like unto ambrosia. Passing by this forest, O Kakuthstha, thou shalt reach another abounding in trees blooming with flowers like unto the garden of celestials and Uttarkuruwhere in all the months of the year the trees produce fruits and honey and where all the seasons dwell as in the forest of Chaitkraratha [The garden of the deity Kuvera.]. There stand beautifully many a tree lowered down with the burden of fruits, containing towering branches, dense as a

collection of clouds or a mountain. Ascending those trees and lowering them, Lakshmana shall offer thee, fruits like unto ambrosia. O heroes, ranging from forest to forest, from high mountains to hillocks, ye shall get at the lake Pampa, void of gravels and acquatic plants and hence there is no danger of falling down to the people, having level watering-places, covered with sands and blooming with red and white lotuses. There emit forth musical notes, swans, frogs, cranes and ospreys sporting in the lake Pampa. They are not filled with terror in view of human beings, inexperienced as they are in the matter of destruction. O Raghava, do ye fare on those plump birds like unto a lump of clarified butter and diverse fishes such as Rohita [The Rohi fish, Lat. cyprinus Rohita Ham.], Chakratunda [A kind of fish resembling a wheel in appearance, l, and Nala [A kind of sprat, may be, a shrimp or prawn.]. O Rama, the devoted Lakshmana, shall offer unto thee, various other best fishes, devoid of scale and fins, plump, filled with bones, having destroyed them with shafts and roasted them in fire. And after thou hadst feasted on them, Lakshmana shall bring thee water for drinking on a lotus leaf, smelling like a lotus, coming in contact with flowers, delicious, pleasantly cold, wholesome, void of impurities, transparent like silver and crystal. And while roaming in the evening he shall point out unto thee fat monkeys ranging in the wood and lying in the hollows of mountains. And thou too, O best of men, shalt behold those fat monkeys, who had drunk water, roaring like unto oxen appearing on the banks of a river to drink water. And rambling in the evening, thou shalt assuage thy grief beholding the pleasant water of Pampa and blossoming trees. There, O Raghava, the Tilakas and Naktamalakas, crested with flowers and full blown white and red lotuses shall mitigate thy sorrows. There liveth no person who wears garlands of those flowers. Garlands strung with those flowers never wither away, O Raghava, because the disciples of the great ascetic Matanga lived there with concentrated hearts. Drops of perspiration, falling on the earth from the persons of those ascetics worn out with the burden of the wild fruits collected by them for their spiritual guide, have been transformed by virtue of their asceticism unto these garlands. These garlands do never wither, O Raghava, because of their origination from those drops of perspiration. Even at the present day, O Kakuthstha, there liveth an immortal mendicant woman, by name Savari, who had waited in attendance upon those departed ones. Beholding thee, O Rama, who art adored of all creatures like unto the Deity Himself, that mendicant woman, ever engaged in pious observances, shall attain to the abode of celestials. O Rama, turning to the western bank of Pampa, thou shalt, O Kakuthshtha, behold the incomparable and secret asylum of Matanga. Fearing the divine authority of that great ascetic Matanga, the elephants, though there are many, dare not cross the threshold of his asylum. O Raghava, this forest is widely known as Matanga-wood. Thou shalt sport, O Rama, with a delighted heart in that forest resembling the celestial garden-Nandanaand filled with various birds. There stands in front of Pampa the highly inaccessible mount Rishyamuka, ornamented with many a blossoming tree and guarded on all sides by little serpents. That mount is highly munificient. It was created by Brahma in the days of yore. A person, sleeping on the summit of that hill and dreaming of an accession of wealth, really gets at it after the dream is over. A perpetrator of iniquitous deeds and engaged in impious observances ascending that hill, the Rakshasas seize upon him, asleep, and bruise him. Thou shalt hear the terrible roar of the young elephants ranging in the asylum of Matanga, situated on the banks of Pampa. Thou shalt furthermore observe many a quickly moving, infuriated elephant, resembling clouds in hue and with red temporal juice oozing out of their heads, roaming here and there sometimes separately and again in a band. Those mighty elephants, roaming the forest, return to their woody homes, drinking the pleasant, pure and sweet smelling water of Pampa. And do thou assuage thy grief, beholding there the bears, wolves and Rurus of a tender countenance like unto sapphire, who are harmless and never afraid of human beings. There is a huge cave, O Rama, in that mountain, covered on all sides with rocks and where it is very hard to enter. At the entrance of that cave lies a beautiful, wide lake of cool water, hedged on all sides with trees abounding in fruits. There liveth with other monkeys the virtuous-souled Sugriva, who sometimes resideth on the summit of the hill." Having thus addressed Rama and Lakshmana, Kavandha, highly powerful resembling the sun in effulgence and wearing garlands appeared beautiful on the sky. Thereupon Rama and Lakshmana, preparing to proceed spoke unto that great one stationed in the sky, saying, "Do thou go." Whereto Kavandha replied, saying "Do ye proceed to make good your end" and bidding them adieu, who were well pleased, departed. Regaining his pristine beauty and shining in grace and effulgence that Kavandha, who was on the sky, fixing his looks upon Rama, and pointing out unto him his way, said "Do thou make friends with (Sugriva)".

SECTION 74.

Thereupon Rama and Lakshmana, sons of a kingly father. passing along the way, pointed out by Kavandha, leading to the lake Pampa, proceeded towards the West. They wending their way desirous of seeing Sugriva, there came within the compass of their vision many trees, grown on the summits of the mountains, blossoming with flowers and abounding in fruits tasting sweet like unto honey. Passing the night on the summit of a hill those two descendants of Raghu arrived at the western bank of Pampa and espied the pleasant asylum of Savari. Getting at that charming hermitage covered on all sides with trees and casting their looks around they beheld that female mendicant- Savari. No sooner had that one of perfect asceticism beheld those highly intelligent Rama and Lakshmana than she rose up with folded hands and touching their feet offered them duly water for washing their feet and mouth. Thereupon Rama spake unto that female ascetic, engaged in religious services, saying, "O thou of sweet accents, hast thou got all hindrances to asceticism removed? Is thy asceticism growing stronger every day? O thou having asceticism for thy wealth, hast thou restricted thy anger and fare? Hast thou observed the commandments and attained to mental felicity? Hast thy attendance upon thy spiritual guide borne fruits?" Being thus accosted by Rama that old Savari, of accomplished asceticism and recognised by the Sidhas, approaching Rama spake:-"Favoured with thy presence my asceticism hath attained to its consummation. Blessed is my birth, fruitful is my service unto my spiritual guides and accomplished is my asceticism. O best of men, thou art the foremost of celestials; worshipping thee I attain to the abode of deities. O gentle one, slayer of foes, thou that dost confer honours on men, thyself casting thy auspicious looks upon me, consecrated I, by thy favour, shall attain to the imperishable land of celestials. On thy setting foot on the mount Chitrakuta, the ascetics whom I served, ascending celestial cars of incomparable lustre, departed to heaven. Those great ascetics, cognisant of virtue, said to me, "Rama shall come to thy holy asylum. Do thou receive with great reverence that guest together with Lakshmana. On beholding him, thou shalt attain to that best land of the celestials whence none returneth. O best of men. I was thus told, by those great ascetics, and for thee I have collected various wild fruits growing on the banks of Pampa." Being thus addressed by Savari, the virtuous-souled Raghava spake unto her conversant with the knowledge of past and future, saying, "I have heard from Danu, in truth, about thy divine authority as well as that of thy spiritual guides. If thou purposest so I wish to witness it with my own eyes." Hearing these accents dropping from Rama's lips, Savari showing unto them the vast forest said, "Do thou behold, O Raghava, this forest, crowded with deer and birds resembling a dense cloud. This forest is known as Matanga's wood. Here in this forest the pure-souled preceptors sacrificed unto fire their persons consecrated by the Mantras as Mantra itself. This is that altar Pratyaksthali, ascending which my worshipful preceptors used to offer flowers unto the deities with hands trembling with toil. Behold, O best of Raghus, this altar of incomparable beauty, by virtue of their asceticism, hath been still shedding its lustre on all the sides. Behold, again, the seven seas have appeared here in conjunction, at their very thought, worn out with fasts and therefore incapable of moving on. Even those barks, which they used to place on these trees after ablution have not yet been dried up. These flowers, of blue colour which they offered unto the deities, being engaged in divine services, have not yet been withered away. Thou hast observed this entire forest and heard every thing worth hearing. I purpose now to renounce my body being commanded by thee. I wish to approach those puresouled ascetics, whom I used to wait upon, and whom these asylums belong to. Hearing with Lakshmana the speech of that pious one, Rama gained an excess of joy and exclaiming, "Wonderful it is!" again spake unto Savariof keen austerities,—"O gentle one, I have been worshipped by thee.

Do thou repair at thy ease and pleasure." Being thus addressed and ordered by Rama, Savari, wearing matted locks, rags and the skin of an antelope, surrendered herself unto fire and rose high up in the welkin like onto blazing fire. Adorned with celestial ornaments, wreathed with celestial garlands, sprinkled with sandal-paste and wearing celestial cloth she appeared of exquisite grace and lighted up the quarters like unto lightning. By virtue of her devout meditation, Savari repaired to that holy region when dwelt her spiritual preceptors—the pure-hearted ascetics.

SECTION 75.

After Savari had repaired unto heaven by virtue of her divine prowess, Rama with his brother Lakshmana began to ponder over the pious influence of those great ascetics. Thinking within himself about the divine authority of those great ones, the virtuous-souled Rama spake unto Lakshmana, devoted and ever engaged in his well-being.—"Beheld have I, O gentle one, the wondrous asylum of the pure-souled ascetics filled with diverse birds and tigers rambling friendly with antelopes. O Lakshmana, we have performed ablutions in the

sacred waters of these seven seas and offered oblations unto our manes. Our misfortunes have ended and prosperity hath appeared and my mind is now filled with ecstacy of delight. Me-thinks, best of men, auspiciousness shall soon appear unto us; do thou come, therefore, we shall proceed towards the picturesque lake Pampa. Yon appeareth in view, at no distance, the mount Rishyamuka. Here dwells with four monkeys, the virtuous-souled Sugriva- Survya's son, in constant fear of Vali. I am in a hurry to behold Sugriva the best of monkeys, for my business-Sita's quest-is entirely at his hands." Unto the heroic Rama, speaking thus, Saumitri said .- "Let us depart soon, I am in haste too." Issuing out of Matanga's asylum, the mighty Rama, lord of men, repaired with Lakshmana to the lake Pampa. Exercised with grief, he arrived at the bank of that best of lakes, beholding (as he passed along), vaious trees and pools, the mighty forest covered on all sides with huge trees and flowers and resounding with the noise of lapwings, peacocks, woodpeckers and various other birds and rattling of the bamboos. Beholding, from distance, Pampa of sweet, cool and pure water, Rama performed ablution at the Matanga Sara (a portion of Pampa) and paced slowly towards the lake. Thereupon Dacaratha's son, stricken with grief, bathed in Pampa, covered with lotuses. It was adorned on all sides with Tilakas, Asokas, Punagas, Uddalas and Vakulas. It was a lake girt on all sides with pictueresque gardens, having its waters undulating beautifully and transparent like unto crystal, and covered all around with soft sands. It was filled with fish and tortoise, adorned with trees on its banks, encircled with creepers embracing her like companions and frequented by Gandharbas, Kinnaras, serpents, Yakshas and Rashasas. It was covered with trees and creepers of various kind, of cool water, and enveloped with beauty. It was, somewhere, of red hue, in contact with water lillies, somewhere white with Kumudas, somewhere blue with blue lotuses like unto a blanket of diverse hues. It was filled with white and red lotuses and encircled with blossoming mangoe groves and resounding with the music of the peacocks. Beholding Pampa, ornamented like a damsel with Tilakas, Bijapuras [Common citron, Lat. Citrus-medica.], fig-trees, Sukladrumas [Lat. Symplaces racemesa.], flowery Karavis, blossoming Punnagas, groves of Malati [Great-flowered Jasmine-Lat. Jasminum Grandiflorum.] and Kunda [A kind of Jasmine:-Lat. Jasminum Multifiorum.], Vandhiras [Lat. Memisa Sirisha.], Nichulas [Lat. Barringtonia Acutangula.], Asokas, Saptaparuas [Lat. Abstenia Scholaris.], Ketakas [Pandanus Odoratissumus).], Atimuktas [Lat. Gaertnera Racemosa.], and various others trees, Rama the mighty son of Dacaratha began to lament with Lakshmana. "There stands on its bank the mount Rishyamuka, abounding in various metals and covered with trees of varieagated flowers as mentioned before (by Kavandha). There dwelleth the famous lord of monkeys, Sugriva, the heroic son of the great Rikshyaraja. O best of men, do thou approach the chief of monkeys." Rama, having truth for his prowess, again spake unto Lakshmana, saying, 'O Lakshmana, how shall I live without Sita, who have been deprived of my kingdom, who am poorly and have Sita for my life?" Having said this unto Lakshmana, who had nothing else in view, that best of Raghus, racked with sorrow and grief and oppressed by Cupid, entered the lake Pampa graced with lotuses. Proceeding slowly, observing the forest, Rama beheld and entered with Lakshmana Pampa, girt on all sides with beautiful woods and filled with a multitude of diverse birds.

END OF THE ARANYAKANDAM

KISHKINDHA KANDAM.

SECTION 1.

Repairing with Lakshmana to the lake Pampa filled with red and white lotuses and fish Rama having his senses agitated began to lament. And beholding there that lake his senses were stirred with delight. Troubled with passion he spake unto Saumitri saying,--- "Behold, O Saumitri, beautifully appeareth Pampa of transparent water like unto Baidurja, graced with full-blown red and white lotuses and various trees. Observe again, O son of Sumitra, the picturesque wood-land around the lake, where trees, crowned with large branches resembling the summits of a mountain, appear like so many hills. Mental agony arising from Sita's ravishment and Bharata's grief, have been grinding me who am already stricken with sorrrow. Verily conduceth to my felicity the pleasant lake Pampa of cool water, scattered with various flowers, covered with lotuses, highly graceful, girt with variegated woods abounding in voracious animals and frequented by deer and birds. This green common, chequered with yellow and blue, appeareth of enhanced beauty by the various flowers of the trees as if covered with a blanket of diverse hues. The tops of the trees rich with flowery bunches are gnarled with creepers of blossoming tips. Now hath appeared, O Saumitri, the fragrant spring of pleasant breezes, when greatly prevaileth the influence of Cupid and the trees are graced with fruits and flowers. Behold, O Saumitri, the beauty of the woods, showering flowers like unto clouds pouring forth rain. Various trees growing on rocky surfaces,

moved by the wind have been scattering flowers on the earth. Behold, O Saumitri, the wind is sporting as it were with flowers dropt, dropping and hanging on the trees. The bees, driven off and singing, pursue the wind, moving the flowery branches of the trees. While issuing out of the mountainous hollows the wind is singing as it were and making the trees dance with the musical notes of the delighted cuckoos. The wind, making the tops of the trees collide with each other, is as it were stringing them together. The sandal-cool wind, of pleasant touch, ever removing the exhaustion of toil, is blowing everywhere carrying with it pure fragrance. The trees in this nectar-smelling forest are sounding as it were with the hum of bees. Hillocks overtopped with picturesque and flowery trees stand beautifully on this mountainous expanse. Trees with flowery tops, tossed by the airy currents and crested with the bees, are as if dancing in accompaniment with melodious strains. Behold, the Karnikaras covered with flowers appear on all sides like unto human beings decorated with golden ornaments and wearing yellow cloths. This spring, O Saumitri, sounded by the musical notes of the birds hath been kindling my grief who am without Sita. Cupid hath been smiting me the more who am stricken with grief, and the cuckoos have been defying me, displaying their mirth, O Lakshmana. At the pleasant fountains the delighted Datyuahas with their warblings have been afflicting me who am possessed by Cupid. Formerly my dear one, while in the asylum, delighted with the music of these birds, used to attain to a greater joy addressing me to hear them. Behold, birds of variegated hues, emitting forth diverse notes have been alighting upon the trees, groves and creepers from various quarters. O Saumitri, birds and bees of melodious notes accompanied by their co-mates and delighted with their mutual companionship are on the banks of this lake. There live happily flocks of delighted vultures. The trees sounded by the lascivious murmurs of Datyuhasand Punskokilas have been kindling my amour. The fire of spring having clusters of Asokas as its embers, the hum of bees as its sound, the redness of the twigs as its flame, hath been burning me. O Saumitri, of what avail is this life unto me, not beholding Sita of sweet accents, having eyes with their eye-lashes, and a head of curly hair. O blameless one, this season, when the groves become charming and the border-lands resound with melodious strains of the cuckoos, is the most beloved of my dear one. Methinks, this fire of distress, originating from amorous trouble and enhanced by the influence of spring, shall soon burn me down. My amorous feelings shall attain to an intense height, as I do not behold Sita before, whereas see the beautiful trees around Sita away from my vision and the spring, drying up perspiration, have been both inciting my amour. That one having the eyes of a fawn and ruthless vernal breeze, O Saumitri, have been oppressing me who am overpowered with anxiety and grief. These peacocks and peahens unfurling their wings like unto crystal lattices, have been dancing hither and thither. These maddened peacocks encircled by the pea-hens, have been aggravating my amorous desire who am already possessed by the Cupid. Observe, O Lakshmana, there danceth with her dancing mate on the mountainous expanse, the pea-hen, troubled with amorous sentiments. The peacock unfolding his charming wings is moving after his dear mate mocking me as it were with his cry. Surely the Rakshasa hath not brought my dear one in this forest of peacocks and therefore they dance with their mates in this picturesque forest land. It is unbearable for me to live without Sita in this season of flowers. Behold, O Lakshmana, this attachment is to be seen even amongst the brutes. The pea-hen being influenced by passion is approaching her mate. Sita of expansive eyes would have thus neared me being influenced by amour had she not been carried away. In this season of spring flowers of this forest are of no avail to me. These pleasant flowers of the trees have been uselessly falling on the earth with the bees. The birds exciting my desire have been delightedly warbling in flocks as if welcoming each other Surely Sita, under the influence of another person, is lamenting in the same strain, as I do, if spring hath appeared there. Even if spring hath not appeared there how can Sita having eyes resembling full-blown lotuses live in my separation? If spring is there, what can it do her having a beautiful hip and loins, who hath already been overpowered by a mighty enemy? Surely shall my dear wife of a slender make, having eyes like lotus-petals and of sweet accents renounce her life at the appearance of this spring? Methinks, for certain, the chaste Sita shall not be able to maintain her being at my separation. Vaidehi's attachment is entirely centred in me and mine in her. This cool breeze of a pleasant touch, carrying the fragrance of flowers appears like a firebrand unto me who am thinking of my spouse. That breeze appeareth painful unto me in Sita's absence which, ere this, had been regarded by me as a source of pleasure in her company. This bird set up a cry in the sky at that time* and now sitting on the tree is crying delightedly. [* This refers to the time when Rama was united with Sita i. e. at the time of his wedding, At that time the bird, flying up in the sky set up an inauspicious cry indicating that in no distant time he should be separated from her; and now his sitting on the tree

and cawing delightedly indicated that he should soon be reunited with her.] This bird flying up in the sky brought about Sita's ravishment and this bird shall take me to her having expansive eyes. Hear, O Lakshmana, the maddening notes of those birds sitting on the tops of the flowery trees and setting up their melody. The Vramaras are approaching the Tilakas tossed by the wind like unto intoxicated damsels. This Asoka. enhancing the desires of the amorous, stands here, as if remonstrating with me by its clusters shaken by the wind. There appear, O Lakshmana, those blossoming mangoe trees like unto persons, exercised with passion and smeared with unguents of sandal. Behold, O Saumitri, O foremost of men, the kinnaras are ranging at large in this varieagated forestland on the banks of Pampa. Here the fragrant red lotuses are shedding forth their splendour like unto the newly risen sun. Here appeareth beautifully the lake Pampa of transparent water, filled with blue and fragrant lotuses, swans and Karandhabas and abounding in red lotuses like unto the virgin rays of the sun and having their filaments crushed by the bees. And the beautiful woods around the lake have been manifesting their beauty, filled with chakrabakas and the herds of elephants and deer desirous of drinking water. Behold, Lakshmana, the picturesque view of the lotuses oscillated by the ripples driven to and fro by the wind. I do not delight in my life, not beholding Sita, having expansive eyes like unto lotus-petals and ever fond of lotuses. O how wily is the course of Kama who hath been presenting unto my mind that auspicious one, hard to attain and of sweet-accents! Had I not been overpowered by this season of spring with blossoming trees, I would have been able to put up with the present amorous infliction. The objects which appeared beautiful unto me while in the company of Sita, now seem shorn of all grace in her separation. My eyes pant for beholding those lotus-petals, O Lakshmana, because of their resemblance with Sita's eyes. Issuing out of the trees and touching the filaments, the pleasant wind is blowing like unto Sita's breath. Behold O Lakshmana, the flowery branches of the Karnikaras on the summits of the mountain situated on the southern bank of Pampa. This prince of mountains, beautified with various metals, hath been throwing up dusts of diverse colours driven by the wind. O Saumitri, these mountainous expanses are burning in beauty with blossoming and beautiful Kinsukas void of leaves. These fragrant Malatis, Mallikas, Karavis and lotuses, growing on the banks of Pampa, and fostered by Pampa's water, and Ketakis, Sindhubaras, Basantis, Matulingas, Purnas, Kunda groves, Chiribilyas, Madukas, Banjulas, Vakulas, Champakas, Tilakas, Nagas, Padmyakas, blue Asokas, Ankolas, Kurantas, Churnakas, Paribhadrakas, and vellow Lodhras on the hills like unto manes of a lion, are in flowers. There appear beautifully on the hills, blossoming Chutas, Kobidaras, Muchukundas, Arjunas, Ketakas, Uddalakas, Sirisas, Singsapas, Dhabas, Salmalis, Kingsukas, Raktas, Kuravas, Tinisas, Naktamalas, sandal trees, Syandanas, Hintalas, Tilakas and Nagas. Behold, O Saumitri, many a beautiful and blossoming tree growing on the banks of Pampa and gnarled by creepers having flowery tips. Like unto inebriate damsels, these creepers are embracing the trees, hard by, having their branches tossed by the wind. The breeze, delighted with various tastes is passing from tree to tree, mountain to mountain and forest to forest. Some fragrant trees, covered with flowers and some with buds, appear beautifully green. Saying, 'this is sweet', 'this is pleasant' and 'this is full-blown,' the attached bees are falling to the trees. And rising again they are approaching the other trees growing on the banks of Pampa. This forestland, strewn with flowers dropping spontaneously from the trees like unto a bed sheet, hath become pleasant. O Saumitri, the mountainous levels variegated with flowers, are appearing like unto beds. Behold O Saumitri, the origination of flowers in the trees at the expiry of the winter. The trees as if vieing with each other, have blossomed in this season of flowers. The trees, O Lakshmana, with bees humming around and with flowery branches are as if welcoming each other. This swan, hath been sporting with its mate in the lucid water of Pampa exciting my amour. Truly does this lake like unto Mandakini itself, deserve the accomplishments that are known all over the world. O best of Raghus, I do not desire Ayodhya or the dignity of Indra if that chaste Sita, be found here and if I can live with her. I shall renounce all desires and thoughts if I can sport with her in this picturesque and green forest-land. These trees, clothed in diverse flowery attires, have been exciting my thought in this forest, who have been deprived of my dear one. O Saumitri, behold this Pampa of cool water, enveloped on all sides with lotuses, and frequented by Chakrabakas, Karandavas, Chraunchas, Plabas and high deer. Its beauty hath been further enhanced by the birds caroling. Diverse delighted birds have been exciting my passion, reminding me of my dear spouse, of blameless countenance, having a moonlike face and eyes resembling lotus-petals. Behold on the yonder mountainous expanse of various colours, stags sporting with hinds and myself on the other hand forsaken by Vaidehi having eyes resembling those of an antelope. These deer ranging hither and thither have been distressing my soul.

It is then only that I shall attain to mental quietitude if I can behold Sita on this charming mountainous expanse filled with birds and deer. It is then that I shall draw my vital breath, O Saumitri, if Vaidehi, of slender waist, with me, enjoyeth the fine breeze of Pampa dispersing the fragrance of lotuses and Saugandhikas and ever assuaging grief. Blessed are they, O Lakshraana who enjoy this wild breeze of Pampa. How hath that exquisitely fine daughter of Janaka, my beloved spouse, having eyes resembling lotus-petals, brought under the control of another person, been living forsaken by me? What shall I speak unto that virtuous, truthful king Janaka when he shall interrogate me about Sita's welfare in an assembly? Where is that Sita now who followed me in the track of virtue, who am unfortunate and have been exiled unto woods by my Sire? How shall I keep up (my being) being poorly, O Lakshmana, being forsaken by that Sita who followed me, deprived of kingdom and sense? My heart is sinking not beholding her fine spotless countenance, having eyes resembling lotuses and smelling sweet. When shall I hear again O Lakshmana, the sweet incomparable and auspicious accents of Vaidehi, intervened by smiles and couched in an elegant and easy style? That chaste and exquisitely fine damsel even when afflicted in the woods used to welcome me under the influence of Cupid as if she were delighted and had her sorrows removed. O son of a king, what shall I speak unto Kaucalya in Ayodhya when she will ask mc of her high-souled daughter-in-law's welfare and whereabouts? Do thou proceed. O Lakshmana, and join Bharata gifted with fraternal affection. I am incapable of living any more without that daughter of Janaka." Thereupon Lakshmana addressed unto the high-souled Rama who was thus bewailing like one helpless with the following pregnant and immutable words. "Forsake thy grief, O Rama. May good betide thee. Do not grieve O best of men. Even the sinless persons lose their seuse when they are afflicted with grief. Remembering the grief consequent on separation do thou forsake thy attachment unto thy dear one. Out of an excess of oil even the wick burneth itself. O worshipful one, even if he hideth himself in the region under the earth or in a darker quarter, Ravana shall not be able to draw his breath. Do thou procure information about that vicious-souled Rakshasa; either he shall give up Sita or meet with destruction. Unless he gives back Sita, forsooth I shall kill him even if he enters with her into Diti's womb. Do thou, console thyself and renounce thy poorliness of mind, O worshipful one. Without sufficient endeavours even men of energy do not regain their lost ends. O worshipful one mighty is the course of energy. And than this there is no greater power on earth. And there is nothing unattainable in this world to one gifted with energy. Persons endowed with zeal do never wear away in their actions. And resorting to this energy only that we shall regain Janaki. Do thou not percieve that thou art high-souled and highly educated? And leaving behind grief do thou forsake thy amorous madness." Being thus accosted by Lakshmana, Rama having his mind stricken with sorrow, attained to mental quietitude renouncing grief and dolour. Thereupon Rama, of unimaginable prowess, passed slowly by the pleasant and charming Pampa with banks girt with trees shaken by the

Thereupon the high-souled Rama, stricken with grief passed along beholding the forest-land, fountains, caves and revolving aside (the pregnant words of Lakshmana). And the high-souled Lakshmana, of unagitated mind, intent upon Rama's welfare and wending like unto an infuriated elephant, cheered him up by means of moral and heroic counsels. Beholding their countenances passing strange, that mighty chief, of monkeys, while ranging near the mount Rishyamuka, became highly terrified and motionless. Observing them range there, that high-souled monkey, wending slowly like unto an elephant and stricken with fear and grief, became exceedingly sorry. Espying the highly powerful Rama and Lakshmana there, monkeys, terrified, entered into that holy and pleasant asylum, a worthy refuge and having its inside always frequented by them.

SECTION 2.

Beholding those two high-souled brothers Rama and Lakshmana, heroic and with great scimitars in their hands, Sugriva became terrified. That best of monkeys, of a disturbed mind, cast his looks around and could not stand (patiently) at any place. Beholding those two of great prowess he could not make up his mind to remain there and the heart of that terrified monkey, sank. Pondering over what is more and what is less important the virtuous-souled Sugriva became highly anxious along with that monkey-herd. Beholding Rama and Lakshmana, Sugriva, the king of monkeys, greatly exercised with anxiety spake unto his counsellors, saying-'Forsooth, these two heroes, in false guises and wearing bark, despatched by Vali, have come here traversing the forest stronghold." Beholding these two mighty archers the counsellors of Sugriva, quitting that mountainous expanse proceeded to another best of hills. Thereupon proceeding quickly the commanders of various monkey herds stood encircling the king of monkeys and the chief of leaders. The

monkeys thus sharing in the misery and happiness (of their chief) proceeded jumping from hill to hill shaking the summits thereof, with the velocity (of their persons). Thereupon those mighty monkeys, jumping, broke down the flowery trees of that stronghold. Those best of monkeys, springing all around that mighty hill, proceeded terrifying the deer, the wild cats and the tigers. Stationed on that best of mountains the ministers of Sugriva, coming in the front of that monkey-chief, stood with clapped palms. Thereupon Hanuman, skilled in speech, spake unto Sugriva, terrified and afraid of Vali's wicked wiles, saying:-"Let all the monkeys renounce Vali's fear; in this best of mountains, Malaya-there is no fear of him. I do not behold, O best of monkeys, that wicked Vali of terrible looks, afraid of whom thou hast fled away and for whom thou art anxious. I do not observe here, O gentle one, the wicked-souled Vali, thy elder brother of impious actions and whom thou dost fear and I do not percieve any terror proceeding from him. O monkey-chief, truly manifest is thy monkey-hood and it is through thy lightheartedness that thou art incapable of fixing thy soul. Gifted with intellect and knowledge do thou perform all by means of gestures. A king void of sense cannot govern all creatures. Hearing those pregnant words of Hanuman, Sugriva said in better accents-"Who is not terified beholding those two mighty armed heroes, having expansive eyes, with bows, arrow, and daggers in their hands like unto two sons of a celestial? Methinks these two best of men have been despatched by Vali. Kings have many friends. And it is not proper for me to place confidence in them. People should know that enemies, always treacherous by nature, range under false guises. And those foes, availing of their credulity, bring about their destruction whenever opportunity presents itself. Vali is eminently expert in despatching business. Monarchs, cognisant of many a wily expedient, bring about others destruction. It is proper to discern them by means of disguised spies. O monkey, do thou proceed under a false guise and come by their intentions, examining them aright by their countenances, gestures and words. Do thou ascertain their intention. If dost thou find them delighted, secure their confidence in my favour, by eulogizing me again and again and giving out unto them my views. O best of monkeys,do thou ask them why they have entered this forest, if thou dost perceive that these two archers are pure-souled. Do thou determine the fairness and unfairness of their purpose by means of their gestures and conversation." Being commanded by that chief of monkeys, the son of Maruta purposed to approach Rama and Lakshmana. Assenting to the words of the terrified and unconquerable Sugriva and saying 'Be it so,' Hanuman, the high-souled monkey proceeded where the heroic Rama was with Lakshmana.

SECTION 3

Understanding the words of the high-souled Sugriva, Hanuman, proceeded, springing, from the mount Rishvamuka, towards the descendants of Raghu. Thereupon renouncing his monkey shape, the son of Maruta, not confiding in them, assumed the semblance of a mendicant. Approaching them humbly, Hanuman paid obeisance unto them. And he eulogized them truly in words, sweet and pleasant. Greeting duly those two heroes, having truth for their prowess, that best of monkeys addressed them in sweet accents in consonance with Sugriva's instructions. "Ye are ascetics of celebrated austerities, resembling the Rajarshis and celestials and best of Brahmacharis, why have ye come here causing fear unto these deer and other wild animals of the forest? Surveying around the trees grown on the banks of Pampa, ve have enhanced the beauty of this lake of auspicious water. Who are ye two youthful figures of mighty arms, wearing bark, patient, sighing and troubling these wild animals? Heroic, of leonine looks, gifted with mighty strength and prowess, slayers of foes, and holding a bow like unto that of Sakra; graceful, of a pleasant countenance, of prowess like unto a mighty bull, having hands resembling the trunks of elephants, effulgent, great among men, youthful, beautifying this chief of mountains with the effulgence of your persons, worthy of having kingdoms, and like unto celestials, why have ye come here? Having eyes resembling lotus-petals, heroic, wearing matted locks, resembling each other, have ye come here from the celestial region? Verily the Sun and the Moon have come down to the earth of their own accord. Of spacious breast, heroic, having leonine shoulders, gifted with high energy, stout like unto plump bulls and human albeit looking like celestials, why are not your long, round arms, resembling Paridhas and deserving all ornaments adorned? Methinks ye two are perfectly able to protect this entire earth, filled with forests and oceans, and intersected by the mountains Vindhya and Meru. These thy painted and smooth bows appear like unto the thunder-bolts of Indra adorned with gold. And these beautiful quivers are filled to the brim with sharpened and deadly shafts like unto flaming fire and serpents. And these two daggers, of mighty proportions, furnished with burning gold, appear like unto serpents, let loose. Why do ye not answer me accosting you thus? A certain heroic and virtuous monkey-chief, by name Sugriva, hath been journeying on this

earth, distressed at heart, being driven away by his brother. I have come here being despatched by that high-souled Sugriva—my name is Hanuman, the foremost of monkeys. That virtuous-souled Sugriva desires to make friends with you. And know me to be his counsellor-a monkey, the son of Pavana, ranging every where at my will, coming here, under the guise of a mendicant, from the mount Rishymuka, for the welfare of Sugriva." Having addressed thus those two heroes-Rama and Lakshmana, Hanuman, conversant with words and skilled in speech, did not speak again. Hearing those words, the effulgent Rama, with a delighted countenance, spake unto his younger brother, Lakshmana sitting by him. "He is the counsellor of the high-souled Sugriva, the lord of monkeys and hath approached me, soliciting my friendship in his (Sugriva's) favour. Do thou welcome, with pleasant words, O Saumitri, this monkey-Sugriva's minister, the subduer of foes, affectionate and skilled in speech. None can speak thus who hath not mastered the Rig-veda, borne well the Yajur-vedaand acquainted himself thoroughly with the Shyam-veda. Forsooth he hath studied well all the Grammars, for he hath not used a single inelegant word though he hath addressed me with a number of them. And no defect was perceived on his countenance, eyes, forehead, brows or on any of his limbs. His words,-few, beyond all suspicion, pleasant, and uttered in a mild tone, came out readily of his throat and breast. He has uttered accents, wonderful, ready, accomplished, auspicious and captivating. Whose heart is not moved by these wonderful words, proceeding from heart, throat and brain)? Even an enemy, who hath his sword uplifted, (is moved). O sinless one, how doth that monarch accomplish his objects who hath not got such a messenger? Indeed whose emissaries are so accomplished, all his missions are fulfilled only by virtue of their words." Thus addressed, Saumitri, skilled in speech, welcomed that monkey-Sugriva's counsellor and son of Pavana. 'O learned one! We knew well the accomplishments of the high-souled Sugriva. We shall find out that king of monkey herds. O Hanuman, O best of monkeys, we shall go by whatever thou shalt say, under the instructions of Sugriva. Hearing these skillful words, that son of Pavana, delighted, revolving within him the means for Sugriva's conquest, purposed to bring about a friendly union between them.

Hearing those words (of Rama) and learning his amicable feeling (in relation to Sugriva) as also, seeing that Rama was willing to assist Sugriva. Hanuman, getting exceedingly delighted, remembered Sugriva. "Since this one of successful acts hath been come by and also this business is in hand, the high-souled Sugriva will most probably obtain the monarchy." Then transported with joy, that foremost of monkeys, Hanuman, in these words, replied unto Rama, deft in speech, saying, "Why is it, that accompanied with thy vounger brother, hast thou come to this dense and trackless forest, garnished with the wood-lands of Pampa, and rilled with various kinds of ferocious beasts?" Hearing those words of his, Lakshmana, directed by Rama, informed (Hanunan) of all about Rama, the son of Dacaratha. "There was a king named Dacaratha. Possessed of effulgence, and attached unto righteousness, he, in consonance with his proper duties, for ave, governed the four orders. He hath no hater; nor doth he hate any one. And in relation to all creatures he was like another great-father. And he celebrated Agnishtomaand other sacrifices with presents (to Brahmanas). This one is his eldest son, named Rama, famous among men. He is the refuge of all creatures, and competent to carry out the injunctions of his father. The eldest son of Dacaratha, he is foremost of all his sons in merit. He bears marks of royalty, and hath the prosperity of a kingdom. Deprived of his kingdom, in company with myself, he hath come hither with the view of dwelling in this wood. And, O highly exalted one, this one of subdued senses is followed by his wife Sita even as at the decline of day the exceedingly effulgent Sun is followed by (his spouse) Splendour. I am the younger brother of this one endeued with gratitude and of various lore. Subdued by his virtues, I. Lakshmana by name, have dedicated myself to his service. Worthy of happiness, homage, and intent upon the welfare of all beings, deprived of wealth and living in the forest, he hath his wife carried off by a Rakshasa, wearing shapes at will. Nor have we yet (been able) to ascertain who is that Rakshasa that hath carried off his wife. A son of Diti named Danu, had, by virtue of an imprecation, undergone Rakshasa-hood. He it is who had related unto us all about the capable Sugriva.— "That exceedingly puissant one shall have a knowledge of the ravisher of thy wife." Having said this, Danu beaming (with a halo) went to heaven. Thus have I related unto thee all as it fell out. Both Rama and myself have saught the shelter of Sugriva. Having given away profuse wealth and attained high fame, this one who formerly was the lord of the worlds, now wishes to make Sugriva his master. That one attached unto virtue, that refuge (of all)—the son of that shelter (of all beings) hath come under the protection of Sugriva. That spiritual guide, who ere now was worthy of being the shelter (of all) and who (actually) was the refuge (of

all creatures)-Raghava, hath saught the shelter of Sugriva. That Rama in whose happiness and favour the subjects found their felicity, seeketh the good graces of Sugriva. Famed over the three worlds, the eldest son of that monarch who had always and for aye honoured all the kings of the earth crowned with every virtue,-viz. Rama, hath sought the protection of Sugriva, lord of monkeys. On Rama being overwhelmed with sorrow, tried by grief, and having come under his refuge, it behoveth Sugriva along with the leaders of bands to show favour unto Rama." When Sumatra's son shedding tears had spoken thus, that one skilled in speech, Hanuman, answered in these words, 'Persons of such a stamp, endeued with understanding, of controlled anger and subdued senses, should be seen by the master of monkeys; and such come within one's ken through blessed luck. He also hath been driven out of his kingdom, and hath incurred the hostility of Vali. And his wife torn away from him, he dwelleth in this wood, in fear, having been exceedingly harassed by his brother. That son of the Sun, Sugriva, along with us, will help thee in seeking out Sita. Having said these sweet and hurried words, Hanuman said unto Raghava, 'I will (now) repair unto Sugriva.' When Hanuman had said this, the righteous Lakshmana duly paying homage unto the former, addressed Raghava, saying, 'From the glad way in which this son of the god of the wind is speaking, it appears that he also seeks thy service; and, arriving (at this region) thou also, Raghava, hast reaped success. He speaketh openly with a delightful light in his countenance; and cheerfulness. (It seems) that the heroic Hanuman, son unto the God of wind doth not speak anything that is false.' Then that vastly wise one Hanuman the son of the wind god departed, taking with him the heroic descendants of Raghu, for (presenting them) unto the monarch of monkeys. Renouncing the guise of a beggar, and assuming the form of a monkey, that foremost of monkeys went away, placing those heroes on his back. And then the heroic monkey, the son of the wind-god, of wide fame, and great prowess, with his mind perfectly pure, considering himself as crowned with success, and experiencing exceeding delight, arrived at that best of mountains in company with Rama and Lakshmana.

SECTION 5.

Having departed from Rishyamuka, and arrived at the Malaya hill, Hanuman informed the king of monkeys of (the arrival of) the descendants of Raghu. "O exceedingly wise one, this one that hath come here is Rama having truth for his prowess. This is Rama having truth for his prowess, in company with his brother, Lakshmana. Rama the son of Dacaratha, is born in the race of the Ikshwakus, Ever doing the will of his sire, he has been sent hither, in order that his father's verity may stand in tact. Rama, who hath come to the forest, is the son of him who hath propitiated Fire with Rajasuyas and horse sacrifices,—dispensing Dakshinas and kine by hundreds and thousands—and who hath governed the earth by asceticism and truthful speech. His son Rama hath come to the forest through a woman. While that high-souled one having his senses under control was dwelling in the woods, his wife was carried off by Ravana; and he (Rama) hath (in consequence) sought thy protection. Do thou, granting an interview unto the brothers Rama and Lakshmana-both of them worthy of homage— who are eager for thy friendship, receive them respectfully." Hearing Hanuman's words, Sugriva—lord of monkeys, becoming visible (at his will), gladly spake unto Raghava, "Sir, you are versed in morality, and bear love towards all. The son of the wind-god hath faithfully described your virtues unto me. That you, O lord, are anxious to contract friendship with me who am a monkey does me honour and is my gain. If you relish friendship with me, do you take this stretched arm and my hand with yours,—and bind yourself fast with a vow." Hearing these sweet words of Sugriva, (Rama) exceedingly delighted, pressed Sugriva's hand with his. And contracting friendship with Sugriva, Rama experiencing great joy embraced him warmly. Then that subduer of foes, Hanuman, leaving off the guise of a beggar, in his native shape produced a fire with two pieces of wood. Then worshipping that flaming fire with flowers, he, well pleased, carefully placed it between them (Rama and Sugriva.) Then Sugriva and Raghava went round the fire; and (thus) they were fastened in friendship. And with delighted hearts, both of them-the monkey and Raghava began to gaze at each other, yet they did not feel satiated. Thou art the friend of my heart. Our happiness and misery are common,"—Sugriva, rejoicing greatly, said these words unto Raghava. Then spreading a beautifully blossoming spray of Sala, full of foliage, Sugriva made an awning and sat down with Raghava. Hanuman, the son of the wind-god with great joy gave unto Lakshmana a bough of a sandal tree, plentifully blossoming. Next Sugriva, feeling high rapture, with his eyes expanded with joy, answered Rama blandly in sweet words, saying, "Oppressed have I been, O Rama; and here am always afflicted with fear. Deprived of my wife, I have, agitated with apprehension, sought refuge in this dense wilderness. I am afflicted with fright, and worried by fear, with my senses bewildered in this wood. Wronged have I been by Vali, my

brother; and I have incurred his hostility, O Raghava. And, O exalted one, do thou dispell the fear of me, who am tormented with fear on account of Vali. And, O Kakutstha, it behoves thee so to act that I may not become subject to fear." Thus addressed, the powerful Kakutstha, knowing righteousness, and devoted to virtue, answered Sugriva, smiling, "O mighty monkey, that the outcome of amity is good offices I am well aware of. I will slay that captor of thy wife Vali. These infallible sharpened shafts of mine, resembling the sun, feathered with the plumes of the Kanka, like unto the thunderbolt of the great Indra, having sharp heads and even knots, like infuriated serpents, -being let go with vehemence, shall alight upon the impious Vali. Do thou today behold Vali slain with sharpened shafts, resembling venomous snakes,—like unto a torn hill lying on the ground." Hearing those words of Raghava fraught with his welfare, Sugriva supremely rejoiced, said these words, informed with rapture, 'Thou hero! Thou lion among men! by thy grace shall I obtain both my beloved and my monarchy. O God among men, do thou so deal with that foe, my elder brother, that he may not again wrong me." The left eyes of Sita, the lord of apes, and night rangers,—respectively like the lotus, gold, and flaming fire, throbbed when the friendship between Rama and Sugriva was contracted.

SECTION 6

Sugriva well pleased again addressed Raghava, the son of Raghu, saying, "O Rama, this servant of thine, foremost of my counsellors, Hanuman, hath related (unto me), the reason of thy arrival in this lone forest. Thy wife, Maithili, daughter unto Janaka, separated from thee as well as the intelligent Lakshmana, and weeping (in consequence) was carried off by a Raksha. Seeing for opportunities of doing mischief that Raksha, having slain Jatayu, hath caused unto thee the grief that comes of separation from one's wife. But thou wilt soon be relieved from the sorrow that comes of separation from one's wife. Her will I bring like unto the ravished Devacruti. O repressor of foes, whether she be in the nether regions or under the sky, I will, bringing thy wife, make her over unto thee. O Raghava, know my words to be true. O mighty-armed one, like unto poison, thy wife is incapable of being digested even by the gods and Asuras with Indra (at their head). O mighty-armed one, leave off sorrow, I will bring back thy beloved. From guess I find that it was doubtless Mithila's daughter whom I saw when she was being carried away by that Raksha of terrific deeds. She was crying, 'Rama, Rama, Lakshmana, Lakshmana,' and in the lap of Ravana she looked like the wife of the Snake-chief. Seeing me along with my four counsellors stationed at the hill, she dropped down her scarf and her ornaments. All these, O Raghava, I have taken and kept (with me). I will bring them. It behoveth thee to recognise them." Thereupon Rama spoke unto the sweetspeeched Sugriva, 'Bring (them), at once, my friend. Why dost thou tarry?' Having been thus addressed, Sugriva swiftly entered a deep cavern in the mountain, with the view of doing what was dear unto Raghava. Then taking the scarf as well as the ornaments. "Look at this," (Saying this) the monkey held them before Rama. And taking the sheet and the ornaments, (Rama) had his eyes filled with tears, like the moon covered by the dew. And from affection for Sita, (Rama,) his eyes filled with tears, deprived of patience, fell down to the ground. And placing the elegant ornaments on his bosom, he sighed again and again, like an enraged serpent in a hole. And seeing Sumitra's son at his side, Rama shedding ceaseless tears, began to lament piteously, "O Lakshmana, behold this scarf and these ornaments which Vaidehi, while being carried away, let fall from her person to the earth. Surely Sita, while being ravished, let these fall on a sward, for these remain as before. Thus accosted, Lakshmana spoke, saying, "I do not know her bracelets; I do not know her ear-rings. But I know full well her bangles on account of my always bowing down unto her feet." Thereupon Raghava said these words unto Sugriva, "Tell me, O Sugriva, at what place didst thou see Sita, while she, dear unto me as life, was taken away by the fierce-looking Rakshasa? And where doth that Raksha, who hath brought on this high peril, and for whom I will slay all the Rakshasas, live? He, that hath carried off Mithila's daughter, and roused my wrath, hath certainly for his own end, opened the door of death. Tell me all about that ranger of the night, that deceitfully hath carried away my dearest wife from the forest. My foe, O lord of monkey, will I to-day send to the neighbourhood of Yama.'

Thus addressed by the aggrieved Rama, the monkey, Sugriva, his accents obstructed by vapour and his eyes filled with tears, said with joined hands, "I do not know the hidden abode of that exceedingly wicked Rakshasa,-nor do I know his heroism and prowess, or the lineage of that one sprung from a vicious race. O vanquisher of foes, leave off sorrowing. I promise unto thee truly, I will exert so that thou mayst obtain Maithili. Slaying Ravana with his hosts, and putting forth my manliness capable of pleasing others, I will speedily act so that thou mayst be pleased. Do not be overwhelmed

with grief: summon the fortitude that is in thee. Such lightness of sense doth not become persons like thee. I also have experienced mighty disaster arising out of separation from my wife; but I do not weep in this wise, - nor do I forsake my fortitude. A despicable monkey as I am, I do not grieve for her,-and what again shall I say of one that is magnanimous, endued with meekness and firmness, and great? It behoveth thee to restrain thy falling tears by patience. It behoveth thee not to resign that patience which is the dignity of persons possessed of the quality of goodness. Persons endued with firmness of understanding by help of their intellect, do not in calamity consequent on separation from dear ones, or on the occasion of loss of wealth, or of fear arising from thieves, wild beasts, etc, or of loss of life itself, lose their self-possession. He that is senseless as well as he that suffers himself to be overwhelmed with grief, losing all control over self, drown themselves in sorrow like a boat bearing a heavy load in water. I soothe thee from the love I bear towards thee. Do thou have recourse to manliness. It doth not behove thee to let grief overcome thee. Those that indulge in sorrow, know no happiness; and their virtue goeth out of them. Therefore it behoveth thee not to grieve. The life even of him that is mastered by sorrow is in jeopardy. Therefore, thou foremost of monarchs, leave off that grief. Do thou entirely have recourse to fortitude. In the spirit of a friend I tell what is for thy good: I do not instruct thee. Honour the amity I bear towards thee. It behoveth thee not to weep." Thus sweetly consoled by Sugriva, Raghava with the end of his cloth wiped his face tarnished with tears. And after that lord, Kakutstha, had recovered his natural state through the words of Sugriva, he embraced Sugriva and addressed him, saying, "O Sugriva, that which, pleasing and profitable, proper and fit, ought to be done by a friend, hath been done by thee. Solicited by thee, I have, O friend, regained my natural tone of mind. Such a friend is rare, specially at such a time. But thou shouldst strive to trace Maithili as well as bring about the destruction of that fierce Rakshasa, the impious Ravana. Do thou also without reserve say what I shall have to do for thee. Like corn sown in a fertile field in the rainy season, every concern of thine shall attain success. O best of monkeys, do thou verily consider as true the words that I have uttered through affection. Falsehoods have I never spoken before, nor will I ever say one (in future). This I promise to thee. I swear by truth itself." Hearing Rlghava's words, and in special his promise, Sugriva felt exceedingly delighted along with this monkey ministers. Thus fast bound in friendship, the man and the monkey conversed with each other about (topics) which each thought fit, connected with their joys and griefs. Hearing the words of that illustrious monarch of kings, that hero-greatest of monkeysconsidered and felt in his heart as if his work had already been accomplished.

SECTION 8

Sugriva, rejoiced at the words of Rama, said "unto that hero, the elder brother of Lakshmana, who was well pleased. "I am, without doubt, worthy of being favoured by the gods, since thou accomplished and furnished with virtues art my friend. By thy help, O Rama, one can, O sinless one, obtain the kingdom of the celestials, -what is to be said of one's kingdom, O lord? I, who have, in the presence of Fire, gained for my friend (thee) sprung from the Raghava race, am, O Raghava worthy of being honoured by my friends and relations. Thou also shalt by and by learn that I am a fit friend for thee; but I can not speak unto thee of the qualities that abide in me. O free one, the felicity of high-souled and selfgoverned friends like thee abounds and is enduring. Pious friends look upon the silver, and gold, and the elegant ornaments of pious friends as common property. Whether rich or poor, happy or miserable, good or bad, a friend is the greatest refuge (of his friend). Witnessing such affection, people can, O sinless one, forsake wealthy comfort, and even their native land for the sake of their friends." Thereat the graceful Rama, in front of the intelligent Lakshmana resembling Vasava, said unto Sugriva of a pleasing presence,
—"It is even so." The next day seeing Rama as well as the mighty Lakshmana seated on the ground, Sugriva briskly cast his eyes about the forest. And hard by that lord of monkeys discovered a Sala tree, bearing a few beautiful blossoms, with its wealth of foliage, decked by blade bees. Thereat tearing off a beautiful bough full of leaves, Sugriva spread it (on the earth), and then sat down with Rlehava. And seeing them seated, Hanuman breaking off a branch of Sala, humbly made Lakshmana sit down. Seeing Rama seated at his ease in that best of mountains abounding in Salaflowers, and cheerful like the ocean, Sugriva from love spoke unto Rama sweet and excellent words, of which the letters vibrated with delight. 'Wronged by my brother, I deprived of my wife and exceedingly distressed and exercised with fear live in this foremost of mountains, Rishyamuka. And, O Raghava, my senses wildered, having been oppressed by Vali, and having incurred his enmity, I am afflicted with fear, and tormented with fright. O thou, that removest the fear of all creatures, it behoveth thee who am tormented by fear and am helpless, to

extend thy favour unto me." Thus accosted, that ever energetic one knowing righteousness and devoted to it, Kakutstha, smiling, said unto Sugriva, "Benefits make friends, while injuries denote enemies. Even this very day will I slay him that hath deprived thee of thy wife. O exalted one, these feathered shafts of exceeding energy, sprung from the Kartikeya forest, decked with gold, furnished with the plumes of the Kanka, resembling the thunderbolt of the great Indra, having smooth knots, and sharp heads, are like enraged serpents. Thou shalt behold thy brother and enemy, who is named Vali slain by my shafts, and lying like a dislodged hill." Hearing Raghava's words, Sugriva-lord of hosts felt excess of joy and exclaimed, "Excellent well! Excellent well!" "O Rama, overwhelmed am I by grief. Thou art the succour of those afflicted with sorrow. Having made thee my friend, I express to thee my grief. I have, in the presence of Fire by giving thee my hand, made thee my friend. Thou art dearer unto me than life itself. This I swear unto thee by Truth. Having made thee my friend, I inspired with confidence am unbosoming myself to thee. The sorrow, that is in my heart, is constantly enfeebling my mind." Having proceeded thus far, he, his eyes filled with tears and his words faltering because of vapour, could not speak aloud. And Sugriva suddenly restrained, before Rama, the force of tears, like unto the tide of a river. And having restrained his tears and wiped his fair eyes, that energetic one, sighing heavily, again went on,-'Formerly, O Rama, I was deprived of my kingdom and reproached in harsh language by the strong Vali. And he also took away my wife dearer unto me than life; and my friends have been imprisoned and been bound. That wicked wight, O Raghava, seeks my life. Many monkeys commissioned by him have been slain by me. It was, O Raghava, in consequence of this fear that when I (first) saw thee, I did not come out. This is all the fear that oppresses me. My adherents are only these headed by Hanuman. It is for this that although reduced to the greatest straits I have been able to preserve my life. These affectionate apes protect me on all sides. They go when I go, and stay when I stay. Why should I expatiate? In brief, Vali my elder brother, famed for his prowess, is my foe. Even by his death my present pain would be removed. Both my life and my happiness are bound up with his death. I have, O Rama, communicated unto thee, the way in which my grief might be removed. Whether in joy or in sorrow, a friend is the refuge of his friend." Hearing these words, Rama said unto Sugriva, 'What for arose hostility between thyself and Vali? I wish to hear this (related) faithfully. Having learnt the cause of your hostility, and ascertained your strength and weakness, I will, O monkey, understanding the irritation that hath ensued. compass thy happiness. Great is my wrath, on hearing thee disgraced; and like a downpour in the rainy season my ire increases, shaking my very heart. Do thou cheerfully and confidingly speak while I fix the string to my bow. As soon as my shaft is off, thy foe is beaten." Thus addressed by the highsouled Kakutstha, Sugriva, along with the four (other) monkeys, experienced exceeding delight Then with a cheerful countenartce, Sugriva began to unfold unto Lakshmana's elder brother the cause of their hostility.

"My elder brother named Vali-destroyer of foes, was formerly highly honoured both by my father and myself. At the death of our father, the counsellors, saving.—'This is the eldest son', made him, who was well loved (of all), lord of the monkeys in the kingdom. While he was governing the kingdom which had belonged to his father and grand-father, I, at all times, in humiliation, remained like a servant. There was one endued with energy, named Mayavi. He was the eldest son of Dunduvi. Formerly there arose a mighty hostility between himself and Vali. And it came to pass that one night when all had fallen asleep, (Mayavi) coming to Kishkindha, began to emit roars in great wrath, and challenged Vali to an encounter. My brother, who was fast asleep, hearing those dreadful yells, could not bear them; but at once rushed out vehemently. And as he rushed out in wrath, for the purpose of slaying that foremost of Asuras, he was opposed by his wives as well as myself, who humbled himself before him. But moving them aside, that exceedingly powerful one sallied out. Thereupon out of affection I also went out with Vali. And seeing my brorher and me present from a distance, the Asura, seized with a panic, fled with speed. And as he was rushing on in fear and when we had proceeded further, the moon arising, discovered the way. And the Asura, coming by a capacious and impregnable hole covered with grass (on the surface), entered it amain; and we remained there. Seeing his enemy enter the hole, Vali, overcome by anger, and with his senses agitated, spoke unto me, saying, "Do thou, O Sugriva, carefully stay at the mouth of the hole, while I entering in, slay my foe in battle." Hearing his speech, that subduer of foes was besought by me (for permission to enter the cave along with him). But making me swear by touching his feet he entered the cave. And after he had entered the cave, and as I remained at its mouth, a space of over a complete year rolled away. And seized with sorrow (I reflected), 'As I do not see my brother, he must be lost'—and my mind was alarmed,

apprehending his death. After a long time, I saw frothy blood issuing from the cave. Thereat I was greatly aggrieved. And roars of Asuras also reached my ears; but I could not hear the cries of my superior, engaged in conflict. And from these signs concluding my brother to be slain, I, closing the mouth of the cavern with a crag, huge as a hill, and afflicted with grief, after performing his watery rites, came (back) to Kishkindhi, O my friend. And although I carefully concealed (the matter), the counselors heard it all. There they, assembled together, installed me (in the kingdom). And, as I was ruling the kingdom with justice, it came to pass that after having slain his foe, the Danava, that monkey (Vali) came to Kishkindha. Then seeing me installed, he, with his eyes reddened in wrath, slaying my counsellors, spoke harsh words to me. And although I was capable of chastising him, yet my mind influenced by a sense of my brother's dignity, did not incline towards that sin. Having slain his foe, he then entered his city; and I, honouring that high-souled one, duly saluted him. He withal did not with a glad heart utter his benediction. And, O lord, I, bowing, touched his feet with my crown; yet from anger Vali did not extend to me his grace.

SECTION 10

Then wishing for my welfare I strove to propitiate my angry brother, wrought up with wrath, who was seated (there). By good luck it is that thou hast come off safely; and that thou hast slain the foe. O thou that rejoicest the forlorn, thou art the only protector of me who am helpless. I hold this umbrella furnished with many ribs, resembling the moon risen; as well as this chowri containing hair,—do thou accept my service. O king, suffering greatly, I remained for a whole year at the mouth of the cave. And seeing blood issuing from the cave, I had my heart agitated with grief and my senses extremely overwhelmed. Then closing up the mouth of the cavern with a mountain summit, and returning from that place, I again came back to Kishkindha. Seeing me enter in a dejected mood, the citizens and counsellors installed me, but it was not done with my will. Therefore it behoves thee to forgive me. Thou art the king, O worthy of honour; and I am, as before, ever (thy servant). I was entrusted with regal power in consequence of thy absence. This kingdom consisting of courtiers and citizens, remains now rid of its thorns. It was established in me as a trust. And I protected it as such. Do not get wroth, O mild one, O destroyer of foes. I beseech thee with bent head, and, O king, with joined hands. With the view of preventing any one to wish to conquer this kingdom vacant (of its ruler). the citizens and counsellors unanimously, by force, entrusted me with regal authority." As I said this softly, the monkey reproaching me, said unto me 'Fie on thee,' and censured me greatly. And bringing together the subjects and favourite counsellors, spoke unto me, before friends, highly improper words. 'Ye know that formerly one night the mighty Asura Mayavi, getting enraged, challenged me (to a fight) desirous of an encounter with me. Hearing his speech I sallied out of the palace, and was followed by this horrible brother of mine. Thereat seeing me with one to assist me, and finding that we had come upon him, that mighty Asura, fled, seized with fear. And fleeing on, he (at length) swiftly entered a huge hole. Knowing that he had entered that dreadful and large cave, I spoke unto my brother of a crooked presence,-Without slaying (this Asura) I cannot return to the palace. Do thou wait at the mouth of the cave while I slav him. This one is stationed here-thinking thus, I entered that inaccessible cave. And as I searched (for the Asura), one entire year passed away. And that wicked wight who had roused my alarm in consequence of his disappearance, was (at length) slain by me in one day, along with his friends. Then as he emitted yells in the subterranean region, the cave was filled with his blood and it became difficult to come out of it. Having with ease slain my powerful foe, I could not find the outlet of the cavern, its mouth having been closed. Then as I again and again cried "Sugriva, Sugriva," I became exceedingly sorry for not receiving any reply. Thereat I threw down the stone after striking it many times with my legs. Then coming out by its mouth, I have come to this city. Seeking my kingdom, the crafty Sugriva had shut me up there, forgetting fraternal love.' Saying this, that monkey, the shameless Vali, exiled me with a single cloth on. O Raghava, I have been discomfitted by him, and been deprived of my wife. And from fear of him, I have wandered over the whole earth having forest and seas. And aggrieved in consequence of my having been deprived of my wife. I have (at length) entered this best of mountains, Rishyamuka, which for a certain reason is incapable of being approached by Vali. Thus have I mentioned unto thee the great cause of this hostility, O Raghava, innocent as I am, I have come by this mighty misfortune. O thou that inspirest the fear of all creatures, by chastising Vali it behoveth thee to grant thy grace unto me, who am tormented with fear in connexion with Vali, O hero." Thus accosted, that energetic one knowing righteousness, smiling, began to address Sugriva in words fraught with morality. These sharpened shafts of mine, resembling the sun, and never missing, shall furiously fall upon the wicked Vali. So long as thou dost not see that stealer of thy wife, so long only shall the impious Vali of vile

character, live. By what I myself feel, I see that thou hast sunk in a sea of sorrow. But I will deliver thee; and thou shalt attain both thy wife as well as this kingdom. Hearing that speech of his, capable of enhancing joy and manliness, Sugriva overjoyed, spoke those words informed with high sense.

SECTION 11

Hearing Rama's words capable of enhancing joy and manliness. Sugriva highly honoured the former and extolled him, saying, "Enraged, thou, with thy sharp and flaming shafts, capable of piercing into the vitals, canst burn up the worlds, like the sun at the universal dissolution. Heedfully hearing from me of Vali's strength, prowess and fortitude, do thou afterwards, ascertain what is fit. Before the sun rises, Vali can easily range the ocean from west to east and from south to north. Ascending the tops of mountains, Vali possessed of prowess throws up their summits, and then again swiftly holds them. And displaying his strength, vehemently crushes in the woods various stout trees. There was one assuming the shape of buffaloe named Dunduvi, resembling in splendour the summit of Kailaca. That one possessed of prowess had the strength of an hundred elephants. That wicked one of a gigantic body inflated by his prowess and blinded by the boon he had received once went to that lord of streams-the Sea. Passing beyond the Sea, with waves upon him,—and containing heaps of gems, he said unto the mighty deep—"Grant me battle." Thereat the righteoussouled and mighty Ocean arose and, O king, said these words unto that Asura, who had been urged by Death, O thou that art skilled in fight, I am not competent to offer thee fight; but listen to me who will tell thee who shall offer the fight. There is a monarch of mountains in a mighty forest, —the great refuge of asceticism, the worker of the weal (of all), an Asura, celebrated by the name of Himavan containing great cascades and furnished with many fountains and caves. He can compass thy incomparable pleasure. Concluding that the ocean was afraid, that foremost of Asuras, presented himself in the wood of Himavan, like a shaft shot from a bow. Thereupon Dundhuvi began to throw down many white crags resembling the foremost of elephants; and sent up shouts. Then resembling white clouds, mild and possessed of a pleasing shape. Himayan, stationed on the summit, spoke, Dundhuvi, O thou that art attached to righteousness, it behoveth thee not to distress me. I am the refuge of all those ascetics who are not expert in military arts." Hearing those words of that intelligent lord of mountains Dundhuvi, with reddened eyes, said:—"Afraid of me and hence void of energy if thou art incapable of fighting with me, do thou name him who is ready to fight with me who am desirous of entering into conflict." Hearing these words the virtuous-souled Himavan, skilled in speech, spoke unto that great Asura, exercised with ire. "O greatly wise one, there lives in Kishkindha, of incomparable beauty, the mighty and highly graceful monkey-the son of Sakra, by name Vali. That mighty wise one, skilled in warfare, is capable of fighting with thee on equal terms like unto Namuchi with Vasava. Do thou speedily repair unto him if dost thou wish for a conflict. He is always expert in military exploits and is hard to repress." Hearing Himavan's words, Dundhuvi, inflamed with ire, went to Kishkindha-Vali's capital. Assuming the figure of a terrible buffaloe, with sharpened horns like unto a cloud big with water, ranging on the sky in the rainy season, and approaching the gate of Kishkindha that highly powerful one set up a terrible roar, shaking the earth like unto the sound of a kettle-drum. Like onto an elephant he felled, out of haughtiness, the trees around, and rent the earth with his hoofs scraping it with his horns. Vali was in the female-apartment at that time, and unable to bear the sound came out with his wives like onto the Moon with stars. Thereupon that lord of monkeys and other wild animals, spoke openly unto Dundhuvi, saying, "O Dundhuvi, obstructing this my city-gate, why dost thou set up a terrible roar? Dost thou know my mighty strength? Do thou save thy own life.' Hearing those words of that intelligent lord of monkeys, Dundhuvi, with reddened eyes spoke:—"O hero, it becometh thee not to speak thus before thy wives. Do thou enter into conflict with me and thy prowess shall be ascertained thereafter. Or I shall suppress my wrath for this night and do thou, O monkey, enjoy till the rise of the Sun. Embracing all the monkeys, inviting all thy friends, do thou, that art the lord of the monkey herds, honour them with gifts. Do thou survey Kiskindha and make thy children kings. And do thou enjoy with thy wives—it is me that shall crush down thy pride. He, who destroyeth a person who is given up to drinking, reckless, emaciated and deprived of weapons, and one like thee, sunk in the abyss of voluptuousness, committeth the sin consequent upon the destruction of an embryo," Whereto replied Vali, laughing, unto that wicked lord of Asuras, leaving aside all his wives, headed by Tara. "If thou art not afraid of fighting, do not consider me as one given up to drinking only. Do thou regard this my attachment as a draught in this conflict, to be drunk by the heroes." Saying this, Vali, taking his golden garland, conferred on him by his father Mahendra, addressed himself for the conflict. Holding

him by the horns, Vali, that lord of monkeys, setting up a terrible roar, hurled Dundhuvi resembling a mountain. And bellowing a thundering voice, Vali crushed (him) down. And blood began to trickle down from the pores of his ears. Both of them desired to subdue each other—and thus there arose a terrible conflict between Vali and Dundhuvi. Thereupon fought Vali equalling Sakra in prowess, by fists knees, legs, stones and trees. And thus there was a skirmish between the monkey chief and the Asura. And in this conflict Asura's strength was greatly reduced, while that of Sakra's son was highly enhanced. Holding up Dundhuvi he threw him on the ground. And in that dreadful skirmish Dundhuvi was greatly reduced. And there was a profusion of blood falling from the ears of that one crushed down. Thereupon that one of mighty arms fell down to the earth and breathed his last. And taking up with his arms that lifeless one, the mighty Vali hurled him with great force at distance of a yojana. While thus thrown down by force, drops of blood, falling from his mouth, driven by the wind, fell upon the asylum of the great Saint Matanga. O great one, beholding the drops of blood there, the great ascetic, angered, thought within himself-"Who might be the author of this sprinkling of blood? Who is that wicked-souled, vicious-minded, stupid person, who hath all on a sudden sprinkled me with blood?" Saying this, that best of saints issued out (of the hermitage) and surveyed a lifeless buffalo lying on the earth, like unto a huge mountain. And apprehending by virtue of his asceticism that this hath been committed by a monkey, he imprecated a mighty curse on the perpetrator (of that iniquitous deed).—"He shall not enter here who hath spoiled the sanctity of my forest with showers of blood. And surely he shall be killed (on entering). Forsooth shall that wicked one cease to exist if he strideth within a yojanaaround my asylum, who hath felled these trees by throwing the body of the Asura. His counsellors or any one related to him, who shall resort to this my forest (shall meet with the self-same fate). They shall not live here; hearing this from me let them take their own ways. And even if they live here, forsooth, shall I curse them too. This my forest is being protected by me every day like unto my own son- and the monkeys are always used to destroy its leaves, trees and roots. Forgive them I to-day—but if I find any tomorrow, he shall be turned into stone for many thousand years." Hearing those words of the saint, the monkey herd issued out (of the forest). And beholding them (coming out of the forest) Vali spoke-"Why have ye all—the dwellers of the Matanga forest approached me—Is it all well with you?" Thereupon they related unto Vali, wearing a golden garland, the cause of the Saint's curse by him and other monkeys. Hearing those words. Vali approached that great ascetic and solicited him with folded hands. Disregarding him, the ascetic entered into his asylum and Vali was overwhelmed with the fear of curse. O Lord of men, afraid of the curse that monkey chief purposed to repair unto the mount Rishyamuka. Knowing for certain, O Rama, that he shall not enter this forest, I have been living here with my ministers, devoid of fear and grief. Here is the collection of Dundhuvi's bones, killed on account of his own haughtiness, resembling a huge mountain. These are the seven huge Sala trees, clothed in branches, which Vali could simultaneously divest of leaves by virtue of his prowess. I have related unto thee, O Rama, the incomparable prowess of his. Do thou tell me now, O hero, how canst thou destroy him in the conflict?" Unto Sugriva speaking thus, Lakshmana smiling replied:—"Performing what, shalt thou confide in (Rama's ability) to destroy Vali?" Thereupon Sugriva bespake him-" These seven Sala trees, before thee, the mighty Vali, formerly pierced, all at a time, with one shaft. If Rama can aim at one of these only with one arrow and if he can, O Lakshmana, throw the bones of this dead buffalo at a distance of two hundred bows-I shall consider Vali slain." Having addressed Rama thus, Sugriva, having blood-red eyes, thought aside for a moment and again spoke unto Kakuthstha:--"He is heroic and proud of his prowess-his heroism and strength are known all over the world. He is a mighty monkey and incapable of being repressed in a battle. His actions are such as are above the power of the celestials. Revolving them within myself and terrified I have repaired to this mount Rishyamuka. And thinking of that lord of monkeys, unconquerable and irrepressible I dare not leave this Rishyamuka. And exercised with fear and anxiety, therefore, I have been wandering in this mighty forest along with my devoted counsellors, headed by Hanuman. And having secured in thee a worthy and sincere friend. O best of men. O thou that art loving unto thy friends, I have taken thy shelter like unto Himavat himself. Cognisant am I of the prowess of my highly powerful and wicked brother, but I have never witnessed thine in a conflict, O Raghava. I do not compare thee with Vali, nor do I disregard or frighten thee—forsooth have I greatly been alarmed by his terrible actions. O Raghava, thy words, patience and figure are the proofs of thy heroism—truly do they bespeak of thy valour like unto fire hidden by ashes." Hearing those words of the high-souled Sugriva, Rama, smiling, spoke unto that monkey, saying-"O monkey, if thou dost not confide in my valour, soon shall I

create thy confidence about my warlike abilities." Having

thus addressed Sugriva and consoling him, the highly powerful Raghava, of mighty arms—Lakshmana's elder brother, lifting up easily with his thumb the dried frame of Dundhuvi-hurled it at a distance of ten yojanas. Beholding that Asura's body thrown thus, Sugriva, again addressed unto the heroic Rama, before Lakshmana and the monkey herd, the following pregnant words:-"Friend, formerly this body was wet and corpulent, and it was thrown with great difficulty by my brother Vali, mad with voluptuousness. And O Raghava, it is now divested of flesh and hence light like unto grass and consequently it has been hurled by thee with ease, O descendant of Raghu. And unable am I to ascertain who is the mightier? There is a good deal of difference, O Raghava, between a body, wet and dried. There is still doubt. O worshipful one, which of you is the mightier? Truly shall thy strength be manifested in the piercing of one of these Sala trees. Having stringed the bow like unto the trunk of an elephant and stretching it to thy ears, do thou shoot this mighty arrow. Doubt that is none that this arrow flung by thee shall bore this Salatree. There is no need of discussion any more; do thou perform O king, what dost thou think proper for me, contracted, as thou hast, friendship with me, with a solemn vow. Like unto the sun amongst the planets, like unto the Himalaya amongst the mountains, like unto the lion amongst the quadrupeds thou art the foremost of men in

SECTION 12.

Wearing those pleasant words of Sugriva, the highly effulgent Rama, to create his confidence, took up his bow. That one, conferring honours upon others, holding his terrible bow and a shaft, darted it towards the Sala, filling all the quarters with a sound. The arrow, clear as the gold itself, hurled by that one of mighty strength, perforating the trees, entered into the mountainous expanse and the sevenfold regions of the earth. And that shaft, gifted with wonderful velocity, piercing all the trees entered again into the quiver. Having beheld those seven trees bored by Rama's arrow, that monkey chief attained to an excess of surprise. Thereupon Sugriva, exceedingly glad, and delighted with his actions, bowing down his head on the earth and stretching his ornamented person on the ground, addressed with clasped hands, that heroic descendant of Raghu-Rama, the foremost of those conversant with religious lore, with the following pious words—"O best of men, O lord, what of Vali, thou art capable of destroying with thy arrows, in the conflict, even the celestials headed by Indra. O Kakutstha, who can stand before thee in a battle, who hath pierced the seven trees, and the mountain, and the earth with one arrow? Obtaining thee as my friend like unto Mahendra and Varuna, my grief hath been removed and I have attained to an excess of delight. Do thou, O Kakutstha, even to-day destroy, for my welfare, my brother Vali. This I do pray unto thee with folded hands. Thereupon embracing- Sugriva, of a pleasant countenance and like unto Lakshmana, the highly wise Rama spoke unto him, saying, "Soon shall we repair unto Kishkindha.—Do thou go before, Sugriva, and invite thy false brother, Vali, to battle." Thereupon proceeding quickly to Kishkindha, Vali's capital-they all stood waiting in that dense forest, hiding themselves under the trees. With a view to call Vali, Sugriva. tying fast his cloth (around the waist) set up a terrible roar, as if rending the sky (therewith). Hearing the terrible uproar of his brother, the mighty Vali, highly angered, issued out of his city, like unto the Sun from the western shores (where he sets). Thereupon there arose a mighty conflict between Vali and Sugriva like unto the planets Mercury and Mars fighting with each other on the sky. The two brothers, exercised with ire, struck each other with palms like unto Acani and with fists resembling adamant. Thereupon Rama, with bow in hand, beheld those two heroes resembling each other, like unto two Acwins. And Raghava did not discharge that mortal shaft untill he could perfectly ascertain who was Vali and who was Sugriva. In the mean time, being defeated by Vali, Sugriva fled away and not beholding Raghava, proceeded towards Rishvamuka. And wearied, worn out with blows, and having his person bathed in blood, he, followed by Vali, angered, entered that mighty forest. Beholding him enter that forest, the highly powerful Vali could not pursue him there for fear of the curse but said:-"Thou art released to-day." And Raghava too, with his brother and Hanuman, entered that forest, where the monkey chief Sugriva was. Beholding Rama approach with Lakshmana, Sugriva, stricken with shame and casting his looks on the earth, addressed him poorly, with the following words:- "Accosting me with 'do thou call (Vali), displaying thy valour and making me struck by the enemy, what improper, conduct hast thou shown by me? Thou shouldst have spoken me then truly, O Raghava, —"I shall not destroy Vali" and I would not have gone there. The highsouled Sugriva speaking thus poorly, Raghava again spoke unto him, saying:—"Do thou hear, O Sugriva, O worshipful one, why I did not discharge my arrow then. By ornaments, dress, stature and movements thyself and Vali are just the same, O Sugriva. By voice, by words, by looks or by valour, O monkey, I could not make out any distinction. O best of

monkeys, being thus surprised by the similarity of your countenances I could not discharge that foe-destroying and quick-coursing shaft. I was so afraid of thy resemblance with ali that I thought that lest the mortal shaft might destroy thee. O hero, O lord of monkeys, if any disaster befalleth thee, who art already overwhelmed with miseries, through my ignorance or childishness, they shall be known all over the world. Mighty is the sin that ariseth from the destruction of one who hath been offered shelter. Myself, Lakshmana, and that exquisitely fine damsel-Sita-are all at thy servicethou art our only refuge in this forest. Do thou again enter into conflict, therefore, and do not fear, O monkey. And do thou behold even, in this very moment, Vali, moving restlessly on the breast of the earth, wounded by my shaft. Do thou make some mark on thy person, O lord of monkeys, by which I shall be able to recognize thee when engaged in a duel (with thy brother). O Lakshmana, plucking this auspicious Gaja flower, do thou put it round the neck of the high-souled Sugriva." Thereat that highly graceful one with the garland around his neck appeared like unto a cloud. And appearing in a graceful person and attentive to Rama's words he again entered Kishkindha with him.

SECTION 13.

Thereupon the high-souled Rama, along with Sugriva, proceeded from the mount Rishyamuka to Kishkiudha, maintained by Vali's prowess, raising up his gold crested mighty bow and taking his battle arrows like unto Aditya. The mighty Sugriva, bending low, proceeded before the highsouled Rama and Lakshmana. They were followed by the heroic Hanuman, the mighty Nala and Neela, and the highly powerful Tara, the leader of the monkey herd. They beheld as they proceeded, trees, lowered down with the weight of flowers, rivers of clear water flowing to the ocean, mountain hollows, hills, caves, cavities, and principal peaks and charming rills. They beheld on their way, pools filled with water clear as Baidurya and beautified with lotuses-full blown and buds, and resounded with the cries of Karandhabas, swans, geese, Banchulas, water-fowls, Chakrabakas, and various other birds. They surveyed all around in the forestland, deer ranging fearlessly at large and grazing on tender grass. They beheld frightful wild elephants having white teeth. ranging alone—the destroyers of river banks and enemies of pools. And observing many an infuriated monkey like unto elephants, resembling so many moveable mountains riving the mountainous expanses crusted with dust, and many other wild beasts and birds the followers of Sugriva wended their way. They proceeding quickly, Rama, the descendant of Raghu, beholding the forest filled with trees, spake unto Sugriva, These trees skirted by plantain groves, dense as a collection of clouds, appear as clouds in the sky. Great is my curiosity, O friend, to learn what are these. And I wish to have my curiosity removed by thee." Hearing the words of the high-souled Raghava, Sugriva began to describe that great forest.—"In this extensive asylum, O Raghava, removing the toil (of the travellers) filled with gardens and trees and abounding in delicious fruits, roots and water, dwelt seven Saints, having control over their senses. Those seven Saints, dwelling on the mountain, passed days and nights in water with their heads down and after seven nights used to live upon air. In this wise, passing seven hundred years they repaired bodily unto heaven. By virtue of their asceticism, this asylum is walled by trees and incapable of being conquerred even by Indra, the celestials and the Asuras. Birds or other wild animals do not enter this asylum; whoever entereth this by mistake never returneth. There is audible, O Raghava, the sound of the dressing of Apsaras. their sweet-winged accents and that of their music and drums; and herein pervadeth the celestial fragrance. Hereburneth the fire Treta: and the smoke and cloud sable like unto the wings of a pigeon envelope the tops of the trees. And there appear the trees, having their tops saturated with smoke and cloaked with clouds, like unto so many Baidurya hills. Do thou, O Raghava, O virtuous-souled one, make obeisance unto them along with thy brother Lakshmana, with concentrated heart and folded palms. There resteth no sin in their persons, O Rama, who bow unto those self-controlled Saints. Thereupon Rama, along with his younger brother Lakshmana, made obeisance unto those high-souled ones. And having paid homage (unto the sacred memory of those great ones) the virtuous-souled Rama, his (younger) brother Lakshmana, Sugriva and other monkeys, proceeded with delighted hearts. And wending a distant way from that hermitage of the seven great ones, they beheld Kishkindha, hard to conquer and occupied by Vali. Thereupon, Rama, his younger brother and the monkeys taking their weapons, entered, to encompass the destruction of their enemies, the city (of Kishkindha) reared by the prowess of Indra's son

SECTION 14

They all, repairing quickly unto Kishkindha, Vali's capital, stood waiting in the dense forest, hiding themselves behind the trees. Casting his looks all around in the forest, Sugriva, having a huge neck and fond of woods, became exceedingly

enraged. Setting up a terrible uproar and rending the sky with his cry (Sugriva) encircled by his kinsmen, invited (Vali) to battle. Thereupon roaring like unto a huge cloud, preceded by a mighty wind, Sugriva, gifted with leonine motion, and resembling the newly risen Sun, finding Rama expert in business, spake unto him, saying:--"Thou hast readied Kishkindha, Vali's capital, adorned with gold, filled with pennons and instruments and surrounded by monkeys. Do thou make good thy promise. O hero, thou hadst made before to encompass the destruction of Vali like unto the season making the creepers filled with fruits." Being thus accosted by Sugriva, the virtuous-souled Raghava, the slayer of foes, addressed him with the following words:--"Uprooting the Gaja creeper, Lakshmana, hath placed it around thy neck as an emblem (to distinguish thee). Thou dost appear more beautiful, O hero, with this creeper around thy neck like unto the sun on the sky engarlanded by the stars. I shall, O monkey, by the discharge of one shaft in the conflict destroy thy fear and enmity proceeding from Vali. Do thou show me, O Sugriva, thy enemy, in the guise of a brother. Wounded (by my shaft) Vali shall roll in the dust in the forest. And if regaining his life he comes in thy view, do thou leave this field. showering abuses upon me. Thou didst behold seven Talas riven by a single shaft of mine and did thou therefore consider Vali destroyed to-day by my prowess in the conflict. Though fallen in distress before, I never spoke an untruth, being always guided by an inclination to acquire virtue. Like unto the deity of hundred sacrifices causing the rice fields bring forth their fruits by means of profuse showers, I shall fulfill my promise by dint of my prowess. Do thou therefore renounce all doubts about it. Do thou call Vali, wearing a golden garland. Do thou make such a sound, O Sugriva, as may bring out that monkey chief (from his city). He hath subdued his breath, is proud of victory and fond of warfare; thou couldst not repress him before. Forsooth that Vali shall come out, leaving the company (of his wives). Hearing the war cry of his enemy, he shall never put up with it, specially, as he boasteth of his prowess before his wives." Hearing Rama's words. Sugriva, having a gold-yellow hue, set up a terrible roar, as if riving the sky. Terrified by that sound, the kine, losing their countenance do move hither and thither like unto damsels, oppressed on account of their kings' neglecting (to protect them). And the deer fly away like unto the horses defeated in a warfare. And the birds fall down on the earth, like unto planets, losing their purity. Thereupon confiding in Rama's words, that son, of Suryya (Sun) having his energy enhanced by means of his prowess resembling the ocean agitated by the wind, began to roar like unto cloud.

SECTION 15

While residing in the female apartment, Vali heard the uproar of that high-souled Sugriva-his wrathful brother. And hearing that mighty roar, shaking the whole world of creation, his pride was in no time, crushed and he attained an excess of ire. Thereupon, Vali, having a golden hue, greatly exercised with wrath, instantly lost the effulgence of his person like unto the sun possessed by Rahu. And looking terrible by his teeth and having eyes resembling burning fire in consequence of ire he appeared like unto a pond, having the lotuses thereof uprooted with their stalks and fibres. And hearing that unbearable sound, the monkey, issued out speedily, as if riving the earth with his foot marks. Embracing him warmly and showing her affection, Tara, afraid and mortified, addressed him with the following words, presaging his future welfare:-"Do thou renounce, O hero, this thy ire, coming like the course of a river, like unto one, leaving aside the garland, which he used in the night, after rising from bed. O monkey chief, do thou engage with him in conflict, tomorrow. O hero, thy enemy is very insignificant and hence there will be no deterioration on thy part. Thy hastily issuing out doth not please me; do thou hear, why I do prevent thee. Formerly this Sugriva invited thee angrily to battle and being defeated and wounded by thee fled away. That one, who had been defeated and harassed by thee formerly, is now calling thee. Indeed it hath excited my fear. His pride, his energy, and his terrible uproar do indicate that there is nothing insignificant (at the bottom). I do not think Sugriva has come here without any to assist him. For sooth he hath taken shelter of some body, and securing which he hath been setting up such a terrible uproar. That monkey is clever by nature and gifted with intellect. And Sugriva shall not desire friendship with any one without having a test of his prowess. Hearken, O hero, I shall relate unto thee today, the auspicious words, I heard ere this, from the prince Angada. He hath related unto me all about Sugriva, what be heard from bis emmissaries while journeying in the forest. The two heroic sons of the king of Ayodhya-Rama and Lakshmana, incapable of being defeated in a battle and born in the race of Ikshawkus, have repaired unto woods. To accomplish Sugriva's welfare, those two heroes, hard to repress, have come here. He is the main stay of thy brother in the battle; Rama hath sprung up like unto the fire of dissolution and is the repressor of enemy's prowess. He is the refuge of the saints and the prime shelter of the afflicted. He is the protector of those grinded by their

enemies and is the only possessor of fame. He is gifted with knowledge and intellect and ever abideth by his sire's commandments. Like unto Himalaya, the king of mountains, containing diverse metals, he is the mine of various accomplishments. It doth not behove thee therefore to enter into conflict with that high-souled Rama, incomparable in prowess and hard to conquer in battle. Hearken, O hero, I desire to speak something more -I do not wish to excite thy wrath. Do thou instantly confer upon Sugriva, the dignity of heir apparent (to thy throne). O hero, O king; do not quarrel with thy younger brother. I do consider it thy welfare to contract friendship with Rama and regain Sugriva's affections, renouncing all thy inimical feelings. This thy younger brother, even when remaining at a distance, should always be maintained by thee. Whether by thee, or at a distance, he is always thy best friend—I do not find his equal on earth. By conferring on him gifts and honours do thou receive him back. And do thou renounce thy enmity and let him sit by thee. Methinks, that large-necked Sugriva is thy best friend-there is no other resource for thee than to secure thy brother's friendship. If thou dost wish to go by my desire, if thou dost regard me as thy well-wisher, do thou perform what I do request thee for thy welfare. Be pleased and hear my beneficial words. It doth not behove thee to yield to the influence of ire -thy conflict with that son of the king; of Kocala, gifted with the prowess of Sakra, will not conduce to thy welfare.' Thereupon Tara spoke unto Vali these suitable and wellmeaning words—but they did not satisfy him, possessed by Kala, as he was, on the eve of his destruction.

SECTION 16.

After Tara, having a moon-like countenance, had spoken thus, Vali, remonstrated with her and said—"O thou of exquisite loveliness, my brother, and specially my enemy, is roaring lowly and haughtily—and how shall I put up with it? O timid damsel, heroes, who have never been defeated and have never fled away from the battle field, had rather meet with death than put up with this ignominy. I am incapable of bearing this proud uproar of Sugriva, having a defective neck and desirous of entering into conflict with me. Fearing danger from Raghava, thou needst not entertain any anxiety on my account. Why shall that virtuous-souled and grateful Rama perpetrate iniquity? Do thou therefore return with my other wives. Why do thou follow me again? Thou hast already shown thy friendship and respect for me. I shall repairing thither, only fight with Sugriva. I shall crush down his pride and not destroy him. I shall deal with him mercifully in the battle as thou dost wish and being struck with fists and trees he shall fly away. Forsooth, that vicious-souled one shall not be able to withstand my pride and proficient skill in warfare. O Tara, thou hast already displayed thy attachment unto me by giving me good counsels. By my life, do thou go back with the other members of my household, I shall only return after bringing about the discomfiture of my brother in the battle. Thereupon, Tara, dexterous and of sweet accents, embracing Vali, went round him, with tears trickling from her eyes. And having performed Sastayana or the ceremony of benediction, that one gifted with a knowledge of Mantras, and desirous of Vali's success, went, overwhelmed with grief, to the innerapartment in the company of other females. After Tara had departed to her own quarters with her female companions, he issued out of the city sighing like an enraged serpent. And the quick-paced Vali, exceedingly wroth, sighing, cast his looks around with a view to behold his enemy. And that highly efiulgent one espied Sugriva, having a golden yellow hue, tightly clothed, standing firm on the earth and shining like unto burning gold. And beholding Sugriva stationed thus, the greatly enraged Vali, of mighty arms, put on his clothes tightly well. Highly powerful and closely habited, he, clinching his fists, proceeded towards Sugriva, and waited for the action. Sugriva too, clinching his fist and exceedingly wroth, proceeded towards Vali, wearing a golden garland. And beholding Sugriva, adept in warfare, having his eyes reddened with ire, advance quickly, Vali spake:-"Behold, I have clinched this terrible fist, arranging close my fingers; and one blow from me will take away thy life." Being accosted thus by Vali, Sugriva, exercised with wrath, spake unto him, -"This my fist shall strike thee on thy head taking away thy life." Thereupon being struck by Vali, waxing wroth and approaching him quickly he began to vomit out gore like unto a mountain having springs. And Vali too was struck down by Sugriva, fearlessly taking up a Sala tree, like unto a mountain clapped by a thunderbolt. Being thus smitten by the tree and overwhelmed with the strike of Sala he was troubled like unto a heavily laden boat in the midst of an ocean. And these (two brothers) gifted with mighty strength and prowess and motion of Suparna, and having huge persons fought with each other like unto the Sun and Moon on the sky. They were inimical to each other and intent on finding their mutual dark sides. And Vali, gifted with strength and prowess, fared better in the conflict, and that highly powerful son of Sun-Sugriva, was worsted. And having his pride crushed down by Vali and strength greatly reduced, Sugriva in anger pointed him out

unto Rama. Thereupon there took place a mighty conflict between them like unto Vitra and Vasava by means of trees with branches, hills, nails, hard as thunderbolts, fists, knees, legs and arms. And these two monkeys ranging in the forest, fought with each other, having their persons bathed in blood, and roaring like unto clouds. And Raghava again and again beheld the weak points of that monkey chief Sugriva, losing his strength by and by. And beholding that chief of monkeys greatly distressed, the highly powerful and heroic Rama cast his looks upon his shaft, having the destruction of Vali in view. And fixing on his bow an arrow resembling a serpent, he stretched it like unto Death drawing out his cycle of time. Being terrified by the sound of his stringing of the bow the birds and beasts, dismayed as on the eve of dissolution, fled away into different quarters. And a mighty shaft, like onto thunderbolt and resembling flaming fire, being hurled by Rama, alighted on the breast of Vali. Being wounded by that shaft that highly powerful chief of monkeys, gifted with prowess fell down on the earth. Like unto Sakra's banner in the full-moon of Aswin, Vali, with his throat choked with vapor, losing all sense and sighing hard, fell dead down to the ground. As the great God Hara emitted forth fire with smoke from his mouth, so that best of men like unto Death hurled an excellent, flaming and foe-destroying shaft, resembling gold and death itself. Thereupon being bathed in blood that son of Vasava, fell senseless on the ground, in the conflict like unto a blossoming Asoka growing on a hill and Sakra's banner struck down on the earth.

SECTION 17.

Thereupon Vali, adept in warfare, wounded by Rama's shaft, fell down to the ground like unto a felled tree. Ornamented with burning gold, he stretched the whole length of his person on the ground like unto the banner of the Lord of celestials, loosened and thrown (off the chariot). That lord of monkeys being levelled to the ground, his kingdom appeared like unto the sky, shorn of the Moon. Though struck down to the earth, neither vitality, effulgence nor prowess did renounce the body of that high-souled one. That excellent gold and jewel-crested garland conferred on him by Sakra maintained the vitality, effulgence and prowess of that lord of monkeys. Being adorned with that golden garland, that heroic lord, of monkey-herds, appeared like unto an evening cloud. Though felled to the ground, his beauty appeared as if divided into three, namely, his garland, his body and the shaft piercing his heart. The arrow thrown off Rama's bow pointing out unto him the way to the celestial region, became an excellent means to that hero. Beholding the broad-chested and mighty-armed Vali, Mahendra's son, wearing a golden garland and having a flaming countenance and yellow eyes, thus struck down to the earth, resembling a flameless fire in the field of battle, like unto Yayati, slipped from the abode of the celestials on the wane of his peity, like unto a tree falling down to the earth at the time of Dissolution, hard to repress as Mahendra himself, incapable to withstand like Upendra, Rama, followed by Lakshmana, approached and beheld him. And paying respects unto that hero falling on the earth like unto a flameless fire and eying him again and again those two highly powerful brothers, Rama and Lakshmana neared him. And beholding that highly powerful Raghava and Lakshmana, Vali addressed them with the following bold and pious words. And thereupon Vali, of mitigated prowess, waning vitality, motionless and stretched on the ground, spoke unto Rama, proud of warfare, saying these pregnant words.—"What merit hast thou reaped by destroying me, who was not engaged in fight with thee? I was exercised with ire, being engaged in conflict (with another person) and for thee I have met with destruction. People speak highly of thee, O Rama, on this earth, describing thee as coming of a high family, gifted with manliness and prowess, ever engaged in the welfare of thy subjects, compassionate, energetic, of firm resolution and knowing time. Punishment, control of passions, forgiveness, piety, firmness, truth, prowess and suppression of the wicked—these all are the royal virtues. And knowing thy high pedigree, and all these thy accomplishments I approached Sugriva with a hostile intention, albeit prevented by Tara. Before I saw thee I had thought within myself:-- 'Forsooth Rama shall not destroy me, engaged as I am with another person and hence not prepared to fight with him.' I do now know thee as one who hath spoliated his soul through impious actions, feigning religion while in truth an irreligious person, resorting to all vicious deeds, like unto a well crusted with grass, unrighteous while passing under the cloak of honesty and religion like unto a hidden fire. I have not done thee any wrong either in thy kingdom or in thy city. Nor have I passed by thee. Why hast thou then destroyed me, who am a monkey ranging always in the woods, living on fruits and roots and who have come here to fight with another person? It appears that thou art of a kingly father and of a graceful countenance. And, O king, there are marks of piety on thy person. Who, born in the race of Kshatryas, versed in religious lore, having his doubts removed and marks of peity on his person, perpetrates such an iniquitous deed? Thou art born in the family of Raghus and

known all over the world as being pious. Being clothed in righteousness why dost thou commit such an unrighteous act? Chastisement, charity, forgiveness, piety, truthfulness firmness, prowess and the punishment of the iniquitous are the virtues of a king, O prince. We are, O Rama, wild beasts ranging in the forest and living on roots and fruits-our nature is such-but thou art a man, O king. Land, gold and silver are the causes of dissension. But who is there who is avaricious enough to get by our forest habitations and fruits? The royal virtue consists in humbly and freely administering discipline, favour and punishment. Kings by no means, should follow their whims. But thou art angry and unsteady by nature, capricious, perfectly narrow-minded in the discharge of thy royal duties and dost use thy bow and shafts (any where and every time). Thou hast no attachment for virtue, no comprehension of right things and art always guided by thy passions albeit thou art a lord of men. O Kakutstha, destroying me sinless, with thy shaft and perpetrating such a digraceful act, how shalt thou relate it unto the pious. Those, who commit treason, destroy Brahmins and kine, who are theives and always engaged in the destruction of animals, and who are athiests and marry before their elder brothers are married, do all go to hell. The villainous, the avaricious, those who kill their friends and elope with their preceptor's wives, do always visit the land of the vicious. And there is not the least doubt about it. My skin is npt worthy of thy touch and my bones and hairs should always be avoided by the Virtuous. And my flesh is not worthy of being eaten by persons of thy piety. A hedge-hog a porcupine, an iguana, a hare and a tortoise—these five animals only, having five toes, are worthy of being eaten by the Kshatryas and Brahmins, O Raghava. The wise, O R£ma, do not touch my skin and bones and my flesh is not worthy of being taken-I am that (monkey) having five toes who have been killed by thee. Alas! disregarding the well meaning and truthful words of Tara, I have placed myself under the control of Kala(Death). O Kakuthstha, the Earth hath got thee as her husband like unto a good natured damsel being wedded to a husband who hath forsaken his own religion. How art thou, who art wicked, narrow-minded, a liar and ever intent upon bringing about others' misfortune, born of the loins of the high-souled Dacaratha? I have been killed by an elephant—Rama, disregarding the virtue of the pious, breaking the chord of character, and neglecting the goad of religion. Perpetrating this inauspicious, and improper act, blamed of the worthy what shalt thou speak unto the pious when thou shalt return in their company? The prowess, thou hast displayed towards me. careless. O Rama thou dost never employ for the suppression of the iniquitous. O son of a king, hadst thou fought with me openly thou wouldst have, forsooth, seen the abode of Death being killed by me. O Rama, like unto a serpent destroying persons asleep, thou, that art under the control of vice, hast killed me, who am hard to repress, keeping thyself out of my sight in the battle. I have been killed by thee, desirous of encompassing Sugriva's well being. Hadst thou apprized me of thy object before, I would have got thee thy Maithili in the course of a day, and brought, by the neck, that vicious-souled Rakshasa-Ravana, the ravisher of thy spouse without putting an end to his life in the battle. Whether in the deep ocean or in the region under the earth, I shall bring thy Maithili like unto an Ashyatari. It is perfectly proper that Sugriva shall inherit my kingdom on my ascension to heaven. And it is equally improper that I have been viciously killed by thee in the battle. Every one in time meets with death and hence there is nothing to be sorry for me. But do thou think of a proper reply thou shalt give to the people (when asked about the cause of my destruction)." Having said this, that high-souled Son of monkey-chief, greatly distressed being wounded by (Rama's) shaft and having his countenance dried up, became silent, fixing his look upon Rama, resembling the sun.

SECTION 18

And thus Rama was addressed by Vali, wounded and senseless, with those modest, pious and auspicious words. And being thus reproached he spoke unto that excellent lord of monkeys, gifted with virtue and other accomplishments, resembling the Sun shorn of its lustre, a cloud which has already discharged its waters and fire extinguished .- "Not cognisant of virtue, knowledge, passion and custom, why dost thou blame me like a child? Why dost thou purpose to address me thus out of fickleness, consequent upon thy monkeyhood not asking thy wise elders recognized by the preceptors? This land, abounding in hills and woods, belongs to the Ikswakus. Along with it was conferred on them the power of administering favour and chastisement unto beasts, birds and human beings. The upright, virtuous and truthful king Bharata, cognisant of virtue, knowledge and passion and ever engaged in adminstering favour and punishment, governs this kingdom. That king is said to be cognisant of time and place; in him dwelleth modesty, truthfulness, prowess and a love for discipline. Ourselves and other kings, being commanded by him to practise piety, have been journeying in this wide world desirous of multiplying virtue. That foremost of monarchs,

Bharata—lover of virtue, governing this entire earth, who dares perpetrate an iniquity? Stationed in the excellent virtue of our own and placing Bharata's commandments on our heads, we shall consider how we shall punish them who go astray (from the path of virtue). Thou hast oppressed virtue and perpetrated a gross iniquity. Thou hast placed thyself under the control of thy passions and deviated from the track of royal duties. The elder brother, father, and the instructor-these three should always be regarded in the light of a father if they tread the paths of virtue and morality. A younger brother, a son and an accomplished follower should always be regarded as sons. And virtue is always at the bottom of all such considerations. O monkey, the religion of the good is indeed very subtle and can comprehend great things—the immortal soul can understand what is good or bad. Fickle as thou art, how canst thou comprehend what is proper, consulting with thy monkey companions who are equally stupid and light-hearted, like unto one, born blind, leading with another such? I do fairly speak unto thee that it is not anger only that has led me to bring about thy destruction. Do thou consider why I have killed thee-thou hast ravished thy brother's wife renouncing that ever-existing virtue. Thou, the perpetrator of many evil deeds, hast got by Ruma, the wife of thy brother —the high-souled Sugriva. O monkey, thou hast thus violated the path of virtue. And thus I have punished thee who hast ravished thy elder brother's spouse. O thou, the leader of monkey-herds-I find no other alternative than to punish him who acts against humanity and violates the sacred sanctions of custom. I am a Kshatrya coming of a high pedigree. I cannot put up with thy immoral conduct. Sastrassanction the destruction of one who under the influence of passion ravishes his own daughter, sister and younger brother's wife. This is Bharata's commandment-the lord of earth, and we have been satisfying his orders. Thou hast disregarded virtue. A wise man, living in virtue, cannot let go one who hath passed by the sanctions of morality. Bharata hath sanctioned the destruction of the amorous; and we, O lord of monkeys, following his orders, though proper, to encompass the destruction of one like thee who hath spoliated virtue and morality. Like unto Lakshmana, I have contracted friendship with Sugriva. And with a view to regain his wife and kingdom, he resolved to engage in my well-being. I too also promised the same before the monkeys. And how can a man of my position neglect to make good his promise? For these causes of very great moment, favoured by virtue, I have administered unto thee this condign punishment. Do thou now approve it. Thy discomfiture is quite of a piece with the sanctions of morality— and to assist friends is one of the codes of religion. Hear, Manu hath composed a couple of couplets tending to the purification of character and highly prized by the virtuous as well as myself. Those who, perpetrating iniquity, bear with fortitude the punishment, inflicted by their soverign get at the abode of the celestials being purified like unto the pious. People are freed from their sins, when they confessing their crimes, are either punished or forgiven. But the monarch who doth not punish the perpetrator of an evil deed, is visited by a mighty sin. Formerly an iniquity, like one perpetrated by thee, was committed by a devotee who was punished severely by my forefather Mandhata. And other lords of earth punish in the same way the authors of misdeeds. What more, the perpetrators of crime, themselves undergo penances and are thus released from their sins. Therefore do not repent any more, O best of monkeys. The punishment, I have inflicted on thee, is in consonance with the sanctions of morality. We are not our own masters. Hearken, O best of monkeys, there is another argument (for thy destruction); and hearing which, O great hero, it behoveth thee to renounce thy ire. Many persons living on flesh, either lying in ambush, or openly catch and pierce by means of net, noose and trap, many a deer, terrified and trusted, taking to their heels or quarrelling with their companions, careful or careless. They are not to blame in this and I do not cherish, O best of monkeys, any mortification or ire for this. And even many royal ascetics, versed in religious lore, go a-hunting; and hence thou hast been killed by me with a shaft, O monkey, in the conflict. And I am justified in killing thee, whether thou dost fight or not since thou art a monkey. There is no doubt, O best of monkeys, that the monarchs confer life and piety auspicious and hard to attain. It doth not therefore behove any one to injure them, to blame them and to use improper words by them-since they are the celestials ranging on this earth under the semblance of man. Not knowing virtue and growing angry why dost thou blame me who am following the religion of my forefathers?" Being thus accosted by Rama, Vali, greatly mortified and informed of the principle of religion, observed no delinquency in Raghava. Thereupon that lord of monkeys spake unto Rama, with folded hands, saying "There is not the least doubt, O best of men in all that thou hast said. An inferior person can by no means address his superior improperly. It doth not behove thee, O Raghava, therefore to blame me for those unpleasant words which I used towards thee, out of foolishness. Thou hast acquired a practical mastery over the principles of religion and art ever engaged in the welfare of thy subjects.

Thy eternal power of ascertaining the crime and meeting its condign punishment is perfectly clear. Do thou know me as the foremost of sinners and one who hath deviated from the track of morality. Do thou conduct me, with pious words, to a better land." Vali, having his throat choked with vapour, addressed again and again, Rama, with piteous accents, saying:—"I do not mourn so much for me, Tara, or other friends as for my son Angada, eldest and wearing a golden Angada [A bracelet worn on the upper arm.]. Brought up by me from his very infancy, he shall by my separation, wear away like unto a pond having its liquid contents drunk up by an elephant. He is my only son, dear and born of Tara. A mere child and of unripe understanding as he is, that one of mighty strength should always be protected by thee, O Rama. Do thou regard favourably Sugriva and Angada. Thou art their protector, and chastiser punishing them for their sins. O king, O lord of men, it behoveth thee to regard Sugriva and Angada in the same light in which thou regardest Bharata and Lakshmana. It behoveth thee to so arrange as Sugriva may not disregard that chaste Tara who is blameable for my folly only. He, who is favoured by thee, abideth by thy commandments and acteth after thy heart, can acquire kingdom, attain to heaven, and govern the earth. Desiring to have my destruction brought about by thee, I entered into conflict with my brother Sugriva, albeit prevented by Tara.' Having addressed Rama thus, the lord of monkeys stopped. Thereupon Rama consoled Vali, of clear understanding with the following moral words, acceptable unto the Saints. "O best of monkeys, do thou not consider ourselves as well as thyself blameable. We are more conversant, than thou, with the principles of religion. They never lose their virtue being proficient in the mode of ascerting crime and punishing itone administering punishment unto the criminal and the criminal receiving it. And therefore receiving punishment (from me) thou hast been released from thy sins and acquired a knowledge of religion. Do thou therefore renounce thy grief, thy illusion and the fear that is lurking in thy heart. It is impossible for thee, O foremost of monkeys, to withstand the course of dispensation. There is not the least doubt, O lord of monkeys, that Angada shall be brought up by me and Sugriva in the same way as he was by thee." Hearing these sweet, collected and pious words of the high-souled Rama,—the represser of the enemies in a battle,—the monkey again addressed him with the following pregnant words-"O lord, O thou having Mahendra's prowess, I do propitiate thee for my having insulted thee with improper words, senseless as I was being wounded by shafts. Do thou forgive me, O lord of monkeys

SECTION 19

Being thus accosted with reasonable words, that lord, of monkeys, lying on the ground and wounded with shafts, gave no reply. Having his limbs dissevered by stones, being struck with trees and wounded by Rama's shaft, he became sensetess at the approach of death. His spouse Tara heard that Vali, the foremost of monkeys, had been killed in the conflict by Rama's shaft. Hearing the heart-rending news of her husband's demise, she, big with a child, issued out of the mountain cave with a troubled heart. And beholding Rama with a bow in his hand, the mighty monkeys, followers of Angada, fled away, terrified. Thereupon Tara observed those monkeys flying away terrified like unto deer alienated from their herd, having lost their king. And the chaste lady, racked with sorrow, spoke unto those monkeys, afraid of Rama, wounded with shafts and exercised with grief, saying:-"O monkeys, why are ye dying away, terrified and distressed, leaving behind that foremost of kings before whom ye were used to fight? Hath Vali been killed by Rama, waiting at a distance with fleet and distant coursing shafts, being requested by Sugriva for kingdom? Hearing the words of that wife of the monkey, they, wearing shapes at will, addressed that damsel with words, worthy of being said on that occasion,-"O thou, having thy son alive, do thou go back and bring up thy son Angada. Death himself, under Rama's semblance, hath snatched away Vali. He was killed by (Rama's) shafts, resembling thunderbolts, as if clapped by thunder itself, having bored trees and big stones (hurled by Vali). That king of monkeys, having Sakra's prowess, being made away with, this host of monkeys have been taking to their heels being overwhelmed with consternation. Let the heroes defend the city and install Angada on the throne. And on his being installed the monkeys shall serve Vali's son. O thou having a fine countenance, the monkeys shall enter this stronghold, although it is a favourite place with thee. Herein dwell many forest-rangers, wifeless and having wives. And we are really afraid of them, avaricious, and formerly deprived of their wealth by us." Hearing those words of the monkeys, lying at a little distance, that lady, smiling sweet, spoke unto them, words worthy of herself—"That great lord of monkeys, my husband, being dead, what shall I do with my son, my kingdom and myself? I shall place myself at the feet of that high-souled one, who hath been killed by Rama's shaft." Having said this, (Tara) proceeded, overwhelmed with grief, weeping and striking her bead with her hands. While

proceeding, she espied her husband lying on the ground like unto the destroyer of the lords of monkeys who have never been discomfitted in a battle field, hurling mountains like unto Vasava hurling thunderbolts; emitting a roar like unto a big cloud assisted by a mighty wind; resembling Sakra in prowess and like unto a cloud accompanied by rain; the represser of repressers; a mighty hero discomfitted by an equally powerful one; like unto a lion killed by a tiger for flesh; worshipped of all mem; like unto a chaitya [A pile of stones.], adorned with pennons and altars, scattered and broken by Garuda with a view to kill serpents. And she espied Rama reclining his person on a mighty bow, his younger brother and her husband's younger brother. Passing them by and getting at her husband and beholding him killed in battle, she. losing her senses fell down to the ground. And thereupon rising again like one asleep, she, beholding her husband engarlanded by death, cried aloud, exclaiming "O son of worshipful sire." And beholding Tara like unto a she-elephant and Angada, bewailing in this wise, Sugriva attained to an excess of grief.

SECTION 20.

Beholding her husband lying dead on the ground with the life-destroying shafts of Rama, Tara, having a moon-like countenance, approaching, embraced him. And seeing him slain with shafts like unto an elephant, resembling a lord of mountains and an uprooted tree, Tara, racked with grief began to bewail—"O hero, O foremost of monkeys, O powerful one, O thou terrible in warfare, why dost thou not welcome me to-day who am guilty of some iniquity by thee? Rise, O best of monkeys, and lie down on a better bed; monarchs do not stretch themselves on earth. O lord of earth, indeed earth is thy favourite wife; since renouncing me, thou, though dead, art serving her with thy body. Evident it is, O hero, that while engaged in a lawful conflict, thou hadst created another city of Kishkindha,in the region of the celestials. All thy enjoyments with me in nectar-smelling woods, have been brought to a close. Thou, the lord of monkey-herds, being slain, I am deprived of joy and hope and am sunk in the abyss of grief. Forsooth, my heart is uncommon hard, since beholding thee on the ground it hath not been sundered into thousand pieces being overwhelmed with grief. Sugriva's wife was carried away and banished by thee and this is the result of thy action, O foremost of monkeys. O lord of monkeys, out of thy ignorance thou didst neglect all my well meaning words which I said, being intent on thy welfare and benefit. O worshipful one, thou shalt captivate today, the hearts of the dexterous Apsaras, proud of their youth and beauty. Forsooth, thou hast been by force brought under the control of Kala, since thou hast been discomfitted by Sugriva, albeit thou art above the control of others. Destroying Vali unseasonably, while engaged in conflict with another person, and perpetrating such an iniquitous deed, Kakuthstha doth never relent. Unused to miseries before how shall I, being an object commiseration, put up like one helpless, with my widow-hood and grief. How shall the heroic and youthful Angada, brought up in luxury and happiness, be regarded by his uncle, senseless with wrath? Do thou cast for good, O my son, thy looks towards thy pious sire, for since now it will be hard for thee to see him again. Do thou console thy son, favour me with orders, smell his head, as thou art going to journey in a foreign land. By destroying thee, Rama, hath performed a great action, since by this he hath been released from his vow unto Sugriva. O Sugriva, do thou gain thy ends and get back thy Ruma; devoid of anxiety do thou govern thy kingdom-thy enemy, thy brother hath been slain. O lord of monkeys, why dost thou not welcome me, thy beloved spouse, who am bewailing thus? Behold, thy other wives are also mourning in the same wise." Hearing the bewailings of that she-monkey, others, taking Angada, distressed and overwhelmed with grief, began to cry piteously.-"O hero, having Angada on thy arms, why art thou proceeding on a journey for good in a foreign land leaving behind (thy son) Angada. It doth not behove thee (to leave aside) thy dear son, gifted with diverse accomplishments and wearing a charming and beautiful cloth. O thou of long arms, O lord of monkeys, if I have offended thee in any way, do thou forgive me, after ascertaining my crime. O hero, I touch thy feet with my head." Bewailing thus piteously with other she-monkeys, Tara, having a blameless countenance, stationing herself where Vali was, resolved to put an end to her being by fastings.

SECTION 21

Thereupon beholding Tara fallen (on the ground) like unto a star dropt down from the sky, Hanuman, the lord of monkey-herds, consoled her again and again.—"Animals, unagitated, attain to happiness or misery, as an outcome of their actions performed (in their previous existence) by merits or demerits. Why dost thou mourn for others, thyself being an object of moruning? Why dost thou feel commisseration for the poor, thyself being poorly? In this body like unto a babble who is there who mourneth for another? It behoveth thee now, O thou having thy son alive, to look after prince Angada and

think of those duties which remain to be executed by thee (after the demise of Vali). Do thou know that life and death of the animals is very unsettled. It is therefore proper to perform what tends to the welfare of afterlife. It doth not behove thee, O learned damsel, to mourn like others. He even, who (while living) was surrounded by thousands of monkeys cherishing hopes, hath met his destined end. This hero discharged his royal duties in consonance with the sanctions of morality and was gifted with various kingly accomplishments such as conciliation, charity and forgiveness. He hath attained to the land of kings and it becometh thee not to mourn for him. O blameless damsel, all these foremost of monkeys, this thy son Angada, this kingdom of the monkey chief, do belong to thee. Do thou soon despatch, O passionate lady, these two (Angada and Sugriva) exercised with grief as they are (for the performance of Vali's funeral rites). And abiding by thy commandments let Angada govern the earth. Let Angada perform all those ceremonies, which should be gone through by sons according to the Sastras and which are for the wellbeing of the king; this is the time for the performances of those funeral rites. Performing the funeral ceremonies of the lord of monkeys do thou install Angada. And beholding thy son thus established on the throne thou shalt be able to pacify thy grief?" Hearing those words of Hanuman, Tara, racked with grief consequent upon the loss of her lord, bespake him who was standing there:-"I would rather die with this hero who hath been slain than have a hundred sons like Angada. I cannot myself govern this kingdom nor can I confer it upon Angada. Such duty devolves upon his (Angada's) uncle Sugriva now. O Hanuman, do thou not consider that I shall confer this kingdom upon Angada—O best of monkeys, father is son's friend (in this respect) not mother. There is no other resource for me tending to my welfare both in this world and the next than taking refuge onto this lord of monkeys. It is becoming for me to serve this bed which hath been resorted to by the hero, slain (and lying before me.)

SECTION 22.

Vali, ranging on the verge of death, casting his looks around and sighing faintly, espied his younger brother Sugriva before him. Welcoming that lord of monkeys with clear accents, Vali addressed him affectionately saying:—"O Sugriva, do thou not take to thy heart the improper conduct I have shown towards thee, being attracted by inevitable foolishness, subject as I was to sin. Methinks, O brother, it is not our fortune to enjoy at the same time the double bliss of fraternal affection and the enjoyment of kingdom, or else why has it happened otherwise? Do thou acquire to-day this kingdom of the forest-ranges and know me as one who hath departed to the abode of Death. Soon shall I renounce my life, kingdom, my exquisite grace and my blameless fame. It behoveth thee, O hero, O king, to perform what I shall speak unto thee in this plight, however difficult it might be. Do thou behold Angada fallen on the ground with tears in his eyes-a little boy, incapable, brought up in luxury and deserving happiness. Do thou maintain this my son, dearer than my life, like unto thy own son, born of thy loins, satisfying all his wants in my absence. O best of monkeys, like unto me, thou art his father, protector, conferrer of gifts and remover of fear. This graceful son of Tara equals thee in prowess and shall precede thee in the destruction of Rakshasas. This youthful Angada, Tara's son, gifted with energy and strength, shall perform befitting exploits displaying his prowess in the battle. Surasen's daughter is wonderfully expert in ascertaining subtle things and giving counsels in the time of danger. Do thou, without the least doubt perform what shall the chaste lady instruct thee to do; for Tara's advice never goes without effect. It behoveth thee to perform Raghava's service fearlessly or else thou shalt be visited with sin: on his being insulted thou shalt be injured. O Sugriva, do thou put on this celestial golden garland-herein dwelleth the bounteous Sree who shall renounce me after my death." Having been accosted thus by Vali, out of fraternal affection, Sugriva renouncing joy again became pale like unto the Moon possessed by Rahu. Renouncing his inimical feelings, being thus addressed by Vali and carrying out his words energetically Sugriva accepted the golden garland as ordered (by him). And conferring (upon Sugriva) that golden garland and beholding his son before him, Vali, resolved upon death, spake unto Angada, saying:--"Do thou place thyself now under the control of Sugriva, ascertaining time and place, putting up with misery for thy welfare and iniury. O thou having long arms, Sugriva shall not regard thee much, if dost thou remain in the same wise in which thou hadst been brought up by me before. O slayer of foes, do thou never mix with Sugriva's enemies, and place thyself always under Sugriva's control, having subdued thy senses and being intent upon thy master's (Sugriva's) welfare. Do thou not cultivate too much of friendship nor be wanting in it—for both of these extremes are sources of disasters. Do thou therefore follow the golden mean." After he had said this, his eyes became expanded, his teeth were opened and his appearance became ghastly. And greatly pained by shafts he breathed his last. And thereupon, the monkeys, the foremost of those who

go jumping, having lost their chief, bewailed and cried. On that monkey chiefs departure to the land of celestials. Kishkindha was divested of her lord, and gardens, hills and woods were all rendered lonely. That best of monkeys, who fought a dreadful battle with the high-souled Gandharbas, being dead, all other monkeys became of pale countenance. 'Vali entered into a terrible conflict with the mighty-armed Golava and fought for ten years and five, for nights and days without respite. And on the sixteenth year, Golava was killed. Bringing about the destruction of that wicked Gandharba, Vali, having terrible teeth, saved us all from fear. How hath he been killed to-day?" Like unto kine, incapable of enjoying peace in a mighty forest filled with lions, their chief being dead, these forest-rangers could not attain to felicity on the demise of that lord of monkeys. Thereupon, Tara, sunk in the gulf of disaster, eying the countenance of her deceased lord, fell down to the ground embracing Vali like unto a creeper clinging for its support to a mighty but broken tree.

SECTION 23

Thereupon smelling the face of that lord of monkeys, Tara again addressed her deceased lord, known all over the world, saying:-"O hero, disregarding my words, thou art lying on the uneven earth, hard and filled with gravels. O lord of monkeys, the earth is dearer unto thee than I, since thou art lying there embracing her and art not welcoming me. O hero, O dear, O brave lord, wonder it is that God under the semblance of Rama, hath placed himself under the control of Sugriva: hithertofore he shall be regarded as a hero. Why art thou not awake, hearing the bewailings of bears and monkeys who used to wait upon thee, powerful, as well as that of Angada and myself? Alas! thou art lying on this bed of the heroes, being slain in the battle, where formerly, thy enemies destroyed by thee, used to lie down, thou born of a pure family, O thou that art fond of warfare, O my dear, O conferror of honours, whither hast thou departed making me husbandless? Let not the wise, henceforth, confer their daughters upon the heroes. Alas! behold me, the wife of a hero, made a widow in no time. Shattered is my honour and destroyed is my happiness and I am sunk in the deep abyss of grief. Forsooth, this my firm heart is not sundered into hundred pieces, beholding my husband slain! Thou art my friend, my dear husband and a great hero-and thou hast met with destruction, being struck by another man. A husbandless woman is always styled by the wise as widow, although she might have a son and enough of riches. O hero, thou art lying down in a pool of blood issuing out of thy own person, like unto thy own bed having a red-dyed bed-sheet. Thy body is on all sides besmeared with blood and dust and I am incapable of embracing thee with my arms, O best of monkeys. Surely hath Sugriva satisfied his hostile intention to-day, whose fear hath been removed by one shaft, discharged by Rama. Thyself departing to the land of the dead, I have been eying thee simply, being prevented from touching thy person by the shaft piercing thy heart". Thereupon Neela took out that shaft from the person of (Vali) like unto a flaming serpent lurking in a mountain cave. There beamed the shaft extracted from his body like unto the rays of the Sun, stationed on the summit of the setting hill. And there poured forth from all his wounds, streams of blood, like unto showers of melted copper and other metals falling from a mountain. And (Tara) washed, with tears, her heroic husband's body covered with dust and wounded with weapons. Beholding her husband thus slain and besmeared with blood, she spake unto her son, Angada, having coppery eyes, saying: —"Behold this terrible declining stage of thy Sire. Here is the end of his hostilities collected by his impious actions. O my son, do thou bow unto thy kingly father, the conferrer of honours, who hath departed to the abode of Death, having a flaming person like unto the rising Thus accosted, Angada rose up and, saying, "I (do touch my Sire's feet)," embraced his father's feet with his plump arms. (Thereupon Tara said)-"Saying 'Do thou live long' why dost thou not welcome Angada, to-day as before, who hath bowed unto thee? I am with my son, standing by thee who art dead, like unto a cow with her calf, having the bull slain by a lion. How hast thou, without me, thy wife, bathed in the water of Rama's shafts, at the end of thy battlelike sacrifice? Why do I not behold here that favourite golden garland of thine, which was conferred on thee by the lord of celestials, pleased in a battle? Royal grace hath not renounced thee, O conferrer of honours, albeit thou art dead, like unto the rays not quitting the king of mountains, even after the Sun is set. Thou didst not act by my wholesome words, nor could I prevent thee. And I am now destroyed with my son, along with thee in the battle. Truly hath Sree (goddess of wealth) renounced me.'

SECTION 24.

Beholding Tara emerged in a deep and mighty ocean of grief, Vali's younger brother was overwhelmed with penitence, in consequence of the unbecoming destruction of his brother. And seeing her countenance full of tears, the high-souled (Sugriva), racked with grief and repentance, approached slowly Rama along with his followers. And nearing him, with

a bow in his hand, having arrows like unto serpents, famed and having auspicious marks on his person, he spake unto Raghava, seated there, saying—"O lord of men, thou hast fulfilled thy promise by carrying it out into practice; and as for wretched me, O son of a king, I shall refrain today from all enjoyments. This queen lamenting piteously, these subjects and retinue bewailing, being overwhelmed with grief, this king being slain, how can kingdom please me? O Rama out of anger, and passion, and on account of my being insulted by him, I did formerly desire to bring about my brother's destruction. But that lord of monkey-herds being slain, best of Ikshwakus, I am truly pierced to the quick with anguish. I do prefer living for good in the mount Rishyamuka, earning my livelihood somehow or other, to the accession of heaven by destroying (Vali). This highly intellectual and high-souled one spake unto me "Do thou range at large, I do not wish to destroy thee." Such words were really becoming of him, O And these words and this action become me (vile as I am). How can a brother, O Rama, however avaricious he night be, relish the destruction of his qualified brother, comparing the happiness of a kingdom, with the grief (consequent upon his brother's demise)? He did not desire to slay me, lest his greatness might be spoiled; but alas! through my wicked sense, I performed an iniquity by taking the life of my brother. Being struck by him with branches of trees, while I fled away and wept, he, consoling me, said only "Do not do this again." He all along maintained his fraternal feelings, his honesty and piety; but (woe to me) I have displayed my wrath, passion and monkey-hood. O friend, like unto the lord of celestials perpetrating sin by destroying Biswarupa, I have been, by bringing about the destruction of my brother, visited with this sin, beyond comprehension, avoidable, undesirable and invisible. Indra's sin was shared by earth; water, trees and women; but who is there who will bear and desire to participate this monkey's sin? Perpetrating such an improper and irreligious act, tending to the decay of my family. I do not deserve the respect of my subjects and the heir-apparentship; what of kingdom, O Raghava. I am the perpetrator of a vile and disgraceful sin, blamed of all in this world. And like unto a current of rain going downwards, this mighty grief hath overcome me. This mighty and infuriated elephant of a sin, having the destruction of a brother as its body, repentence, as its trunk, head, eyes and tusks, hath been crushing me like unto the banks of a river. Alas! O best of kings, this unbearable sin hath been driving away all pious feelings from my heart like unto alloy leaking out of discoloured gold when molten in fire, O Raghava. Methinks, for me, O Raghava, these mighty monkeys and Angada are almost half-dead (with grief). A good-natured and obedient son is rare. Where is to be found Angada's equal? O hero, there is no such land where I may meet again my brother. The heroic Angada shall not live to-day—and if he lives, his mother shall live to bring him up. Forsooth, without her son, she shall not live long. Therefore shall I enter this flaming fire with a view to place myself on the same level with my brother and his son and all these mighty monkeys shall engage in quest of Sita, abiding by thy commandments. O son of a king, they shall all carry out thy orders even in my absence, do thou, therefore, order me (to enter fire) who am the destroyer of my own race, have performed an inquity and do not deserve living any more." Hearing the words of Vali's younger brother, who was bewailing thus, Rama, the heroic descendant of Raghu and the slayer of foes, remained stupified for some time with tears in his eyes. In the mean-time, Rama, patient like unto the protector of the world, worked with curiosity, looked again and again towards the bewailing Tara sunk in the gulf of disaster. Thereupon the principal counsellors raised up the brave spouse of the lord of monkeys, having graceful eyes and lying ou the earth, embracing her husband. And snatched away from her husband and trembling, she beheld Rama, with bow and arrows in his hand, burning like unto the Sun by virtue of his own effulgence. And beholding him gifted with all royal marks, having beautiful eyes and never seen before, that one, having the eyes of a fawn, thought within herself. "This great one must be Kakuthstha." And the worshipful Tara, worked with grief, and overwhelmed with disasters, bewailing, neared quickly that high-souled one, resembling the lord of celestials and hard to approach. And having reached the pure-souled Rama, who had his ends fully attained in battle, the high-minded Tara, having her frame worked with grief, spake unto him, saying:-"Thou art immeasurable, hard to approach, highly pious, prudent, of controlled senses and increasing fame, forgiving like unto earth and of blood-red eyes. Thou hast bow and arrows in hand, art highly powerful and of a tough body. And renouncing human grace that hast assumed the grace of a celestial person. Do thou slay me with that self-same shaft with which my dear one was slain. And thus slain, O hero, I shall be near him for Valii doth not relish the company of any other woman but me. O thou having eyes resembling clean lotus-petals, this (hero) departing to the abode of celestials and not beholding me there, shall not delight in the company of Apsaras, wearing diversified garments and copper-coloured corronets. Even in the land of celestials. O hero, Vali shall

turn pale with grief in my separation, like unto thee in the picuresque dale of the Lord of mountains, separated from the daughter of the king of Videha. Thou knowest well that a handsome man is greatly afflicted with the separation of his spouse; and knowing this, do thou slay me, and Vali shall not be tormented with grief consequent upon my absence. Highsouled as thou art, thou art thinking that thou shalt, slaying me, be visited with a sin arising from the destruction of a female. But do thou kill me, O son of a king, knowing me as the soul of Vali, and thou shalt not be responsible for destroying a woman. According to the Vedas and various other sacred texts, wives are inseparably blended with their husbands. And the wise say that there is no other gift better than that of a wife in this world. Thou shalt, O hero, confer me religiously upon my dear one and by this gift thou shalt be saved from the sin consequent upon killing me. It doth not behove thee not to kill me, who am exercised with grief, without my lord, snatched away from him and reduced to such a (pitiable) plight. O lord of men, I cannot live long without that highly intelligent lord of monkeys, having an elephantine gait and wearing an excellent golden garland." Thus accosted, the high-souled lord consoling Tara, spake unto her the following well-meaning words.--"Do thou not lose thyself, O wife of a hero. This whole world of creation is being guided by God's dispensation. And by Him is administered misery or happiness as people say. These three worlds cannot neglect His dispensations and are entirely subject to Him. Thy son shall attain to the heir apparentship of the throne and thou shalt enjoy excellent joy therefrom This hath been decreed by the Almighty. Wives of heroes do never relent." Being thus consoled by the high-souled (Rama) gifted with prowess, and the slayer of foes, Tara, the wife of a heroic husband, and wearing a graceful garment, ceased bewailing.

Thereupon, Kakutstha, with Lakshmana, equally aggrieved, said, consoling Sugriva, and Tara together with Angada. "Grief and lamentations do not tend to the welfare of the deceased. It therefore behoveth ye to perform the after ceremonies. Ye have satisfied the worldly practice with a profuse discharge of tears. It is not proper to delay the performance of appointed actions. Time is the prime cause in this world, and the source of the accomplishment of actions. And Time it is that leads men to actions. No one is the lord of another person, and no one leads him to actions. People are subject to their actions of previous existence and Time aids them. Even the Eternal being cannot withstand the ways of Time. He never decayeth and no one else can withstand the course of Time. It hath no friend, no cause and no one can overcome it. It hath no kinsman, no relation; even it is not subject to itself. The wise can percieve the work of Time. Piety, wealth and desire are all subject to it. Vali, the lord of monkeys, hath attained to his own true state, reaping the fruits of his actions, acquired by virtue of his royal accomplishments —namely, forgiveness and charity. The abode of the celestials, which was conquered by this highsouled one by his former piety, hath now been occupied by him after resigning his body. This is the best course of Time that hath been attained to by the lord of monkey-herds. No more with lamentations therefore; do thou perform the actions that are worthy of being performed on this occasion.' After Rama had spoken thus, Lakshmana, the slayer of foes, addressed Sugriva, senseless with grief, with the following sound words:-"Sugriva, do thou perform the funeral ceremonies of Vali along with Tara and Angada. Do thou collect for cremation many a dry fuel and celestial sandal. Do thou console the unfortunate Angada, who is beside himself with grief. Do not conduct thyself like an ignorant person, for this city is now under thee. Let Angada bring clothes. garlands, scents, clarified butter, oil and other necessary articles. O Tara, do thou go and bring soon a conveyance; for speediness is a special virtue on an occasion like this. Let the monkeys dress themselves who can convey this hearse. The powerful and the capable only shall carry Vali". Having thus addressed Sugriva, Lakshmana, the enhancer of Sumitra's joy and the destroyer of foes, stood before his elder brother. And hearing the words of Lakshmana, the counsellor respectfully entered the cave with a view to bring the conveyance. And taking that conveyance carried by the monkeys and worthy of being carried by the heroes, he issued out again of the cave. It had a celestial throne and was like unto a war-chariot and had trees and birds painted on it. It was painted on all sides with the figures of foot soldiers, had latticed windows and was like unto the car of the Siddhas—spacious and artistically and stoutly built by artizans with beautiful carvings like unto a wooden hill. It was ornamented with excellent ornaments and beautiful garlands, sprinkled with red sandal and skirted with strong ribs. It was covered with flowers and lotus-garlands crusted with precious clothes and had the colour of the rising Sun. Beholding such a conveyance, Rama spake unto Lakshmana, saying—"Do thou soon conduct the funeral service of Vali." Thereupon Sugriva, along with Angada, placing Vali on the conveyance, began to bewail.

And placing the lifeless body of Vali on it, he covered it with various ornaments, garlands, and clothes. Thereat Sugrira, the king of monkeys, ordered for the performance of Vali's funeral rites. "Let the monkeys go before, scattering many a precious jewel and let the conveyance follow them. Let the monkeys perform the obsequies of our master with such grandeur as befits the riches of the kings on this earth." With a view to perform the funeral ceremonies of Vali, the counsellors and other monkeys, having lost their king and embraced Angada, proceeded weeping. And other subject monkeys followed them. And all other she-monkeys, headed by Tara, having lost their lord, bewailed, exclaiming again and again—"O hero, O hero".—And they, thus bewailing piteously, followed their lord. And in response to the bewailings of she-monkeys, hills and forests, as if, bewailed on all sides. Monkeys, ranging in the forest, made funeral piles on the banks of the hill-streams and in solitary watery nooks. Thereupon laying down from their shoulders the conveyance, those foremost of monkeys stationed themselves in a corner, being stricken with grief. And Tara, beholding her husband's body on the conveyance, placed his head on her lap and bewailed, overwhelmed with grief. "O lord of monkeys! O my lord! O my dear one! O thou used to luxuries! O thou having long arms! O my darling! behold me. Why dost thou not behold these monkeys, racked with sorrow? O conferrer of honours, thy countenance looks as if beaming with joy; although thou art dead, and thou appearest as if alive, having the hue of the setting Sun. O monkey, Death himself, under the semblance of Rama, is attracting thee, who with one shaft in the battle, hath rendered us all widows. O best of kings, these she-monkeys cannot go by jumping. Dost thou not percive that they have travelled so far on foot? Those thy wives, having moon-like countenances, have always thy welfare in view. Why dost thou not, O best of monkeys, cast thy looks towards them and Sugriva? O king, these thy counsellors, thy wives headed by Tara, and all these citizens are bewailing around thee. O slayer of foes, do thou despatch thy counsellors to the city and we shall all enjoy in this forest, excited with amour." The other she-monkeys, worked with sorrow, raised up Tara bewailing thus being exercised with grief consequent upon the demise of her husband. Thereupon Angada along with Sugriva, overwhelmed with grief, weeping, placed his Sire's body on the funeral pile. And putting fire duly, he circumambulated his Sire, bound for a journey for good. Having duly cremated Vali's body, the foremost of monkeys arrived at a river of auspicious water with a view to perform the watery ceremony. And all these monkeys along with Sugriva and Tara, placing Angada before them, sprinkled water. And the highly powerful Kakuthsha, equally aggrieved like Sugriva, being as poorly, cronducted duly the obsequious ceremonies of Vali. Thereupon cremating Vali, gifted with unequalled prowess, slain with one shaft of the foremost of Ikswakus, and like unto flaming fire, Sugriva appeared before Rama who was in the company of Lakshmana.

And thereupon those foremost of monkeys waited there, surrounding Sugriva exercised with grief and wearing wetted cloth. And they all, approaching the mighty-armed Rama of unwearied actions, stationed themselves with folded hands like unto the great ascetics around the Grand-Father (of the celestials). Thereupon Hanuman, the son of Marut, resembling a golden hill and having a countenance resembling the rising Sun, spake with folded hands, saying:-"By thy assistance, O Kakuthstha, O lord, this great ancestral kingdom of the highly powerful monkeys, having sharpened teeth, incapable of being acquired by the high-souled ones, hath been attained to (by Sugriva). Being commanded by thee, he along with his friends, entering this city, shall perform the royal duties. And being duly bathed he shall worship thee particularly, with garlands, jewels, scents and oshadhis. It behoveth thee to enter this pleasant mountain cave and satisfy these monkeys by installing (Sugriva on the throne)." Being thus accosted by Hanuman, the highly intelligent Raghava, skilled in speech and the slayer of foes, replied: - "O gentle Hanuman, abiding by my Sire's mandate, I shall not enter a hamlet or a city for these fourteen years. Let Sugriva, the foremost of monkeys, enter this magnificent celestial cave and do ye all instal him speedily on the throne." Having thus addressed Hanuman, Rama spake unto Sugriva, saying:-"Conversant with customs as thou art, do thou instal this generous and heroic Angada, gifted with prowess and honouring customs, as the heir-apparent of the throne. This brave and eldest son of thy elder brother- Angada, is truly worthy of the heir-apparentship. O gentle one, this month of Srabana, which is the first of those four months which make up the rainy season, hath set in and this is not the time therefore to institute any enquiry about Sita. Do thou therefore enter thy auspicious city and I shall live in this mountain along with Lakshmana. Pleasant indeed is this mountain cave, spacious, filled with air, water and many lotuses. Thou shalt engage in endeavours to bring about the destruction of Ravana, after Kartika sets in. This is not the proper time, O gentle one, and do thou enter thy own city.

And being installed on the throne do thou enhance the joy of thy friends." Being thus commanded by Rama, Sugriva, the foremost of monkeys entered the pleasant city of Kishkindha, reared by Vali. Encircling that lord of monkeys thousands of them entered the city. Beholding the lord of monkeys, the subjects bowed unto him, lowering their heads on the ground. Welcoming the subjects and raising them up, the highly powerful Sugriva entered the pleasant inner apartment of his brother. On his entering the city, his friends installed the highly powerful foremost of monkeys-Sugriva, on the throne like unto the celestials placing the thousand-eyed Deity (on the kingdom). The monkeys brought for him a copper-coloured golden umbrella, white chowries, a magnificent golden staff, diverse jewels, various seeds and medicating drugs, roots and flowers of glomerous fig trees. white clothes, white sandal paste, fragrant garlands, flowers growing in water and on land, celestial sandal and various scents, fried grain, gold, Priyangu honey [A medicinal plant, and perfume.], clarified butter, curd, tiger-skin, a pair of excellent sandals, gorochana [A bright yellow pigment prepared from the urine of a cow.] and red Arsenic. Carrying all those things there came sixteen maids, highly delighted. Thereupon those monkeys pleased the foremost of twice-born ones with jewels clothes and eatables, with a view to instal that best of monkeys. And these conversant with mantrasthrew clarified butter, sanctified by mantras, into flaming fire burning on a Kuca bed. And placing him on an excellent throne facing the east, uttering duly mantras in that golden room situated on the summit of the picturesque palace and beautified with magnificent coverlets and garlands, and collecting pure water from various rivers, sacred places and oceans, those foremost of monkeys kept it in golden jars. Gaya, Gabaksha, Gabaya, Sarava, Gandhamadana, Main da, Divida, Hanuman and Jambuban, installed Sugriva with auspicious horns of a bull and golden jars according to the rites prescribed by Sastras and sanctioned by the great saints like unto the celestials installing the thousand eyed Deity with pure, fragrant water. Sugriva being installed thus, these highsouled and foremost of monkeys, by hundreds and thousands, began to clatter with delight. Abiding by Rama's words, Sugriva, the lord of monkeys, embracing Angada, conferred on him the heir-apparentship of the throne. And Angada being thus installed, those best of monkeys, highly delighted, adored the high-souled Sugriva, extolling him again and again. Angada and Sugriva being thus established, they all, greatly delighted, praised again and again the high-souled Rama and Lakshmana. And the city of Kishkindha, filled with stoutly built people and adorned with pennons and flags. appeared beautiful in the mountain cave. Communicating unto the high-souled Rama the news of installation, the highly powerful lord of monkey hosts (Sugriva) getting back his wife Ruma, regained the kingdom like unto the lord of celestials.

SECTION 27

On Sugriva being installed and the monkeys entering the cave, Rama, along with his younger brother, got at the Prasrabana hill, resounded with the noise of tigers and deer, filled with terrible lions, covered with diverse trees, creepers and bowers, inhabited by bears, monkeys, Gopuchyas and cats, resembling a collection of clouds and always auspicious. Rama, along with Saumitri, selected for his habitation, a spacious cave, situated on the summit of that hill. Making the above condition with Sugriva, Rama, the pure-souled descendant of Raghu, spake unto his humble younger brother Lakshmana, the enhancer of wealth, the following sound words, worthy of being spoken on that occasion-"O Saumitri, O slayer of foes, in this pleasant and spacious mountain cave filled with air, we shall pass the rainy season. O son of a king, this summit of the hill is excellent and picturesque, beautified with white, black and coppery stones, filled with diverse metals and river frogs, covered with diverse trees and pleasant creepers, resounded with the musical notes of various birds and cries of peacocks and beautified with various flowery trees, such as Malati, Kundas, Sindubara [A small tree-vitex negundo.], Sirisa [A kind of tree-acacia sirisa.], Kadamba [A kadam, neolamarckia cadamba, commonly known as burflower-tree, laran, or Leichhardt pine.], Arjuna [A tree—pentaptera arjunee.], and Sarja [The Sala tree, shorea robusta; another tree, pentaptera arjuna.]. O son of a king, this pond filled with full blown lotuses shall always be near our cave. This cave shall be worthy of our habitation, O gentle one, having its north-eastern part low and the western part high. There is, O Saumitri, at the entrance of the cave, a level, beautiful, spacious stone, black like unto collyrium. Behold O my brother, on the north, the summit of the hill, resembling collyrium and a rising cloud. There appears on the south a beautiful white hill resembling the Kailaca filled with various metals. Behold before the cave the mudless stream, flowing towards the east like unto Janhavi [The river Ganges—literally~the daughter of the saint Janhu.] in the Trikuta [The name of a mountainliterally it means-having three peaks.] mountain. This rivulet appears like unto a damsel ornamented and clothed,

being filled with various trees, such as—Sandal, Tilaka, Sala, Tamalas, Atimuktas [A tree, dalbergia onjeimaisis, a mountain ebony.], Padmaka, Saralas [A sort of pine, pinis longifolia.], Asokas, Baneeras [A sort of cane or ratan, calamas rotany.], Timidas, Vakulas, Ketakas,Hintalas, Tinicas, Neepas, Vetashas, Kritamalakas growing on her banks. This rivulet resounded with various notes of hundreds of various birds, filled with Chakrabakas attached to each other, crowded with geese and Sarasas, having picturesque banks, and various jewels, is as it were laughing on all sides. Here it appears covered with violet lotuses, here with red lotuses and there again with celestial white water-lilies. This pleasant and picturesque stream is filled with various water fowls and Chakravakas and served by many a saint. Behold there the rows of pleasant sandal trees and those Kukuvas which have grown up as it were like unto mental emotion. Picturesque indeed is this place, O slayer of foes, and we shall happily live here, O son of Sumitra. At no distance, O son of a king, from this place is situate the pleasant city of Sugriva-Kishkindha, filled with forests. Hear then, O best of conquerors, the sound of music, and the clatter of monkeys mingled with the sound of Mridangas. Forsooth is rejoicing Sugriva—the foremost of monkeys, getting back his wife, regaining his kingdom, and attaining to regal splendour.' Having said this, Raghava, along with Lakshmana, dwelt in that Prasravana hill abounding in caves and bowers. He did not attain to a best felicity although he lived in that pleasant hill filled with many things. Pondering over the ravishment of his spouse, dearer than his life, beholding the setting of the Sun in particular, he did not go to sleep, although he laid himself on the bed in the night. His younger brother Lakshmana, equally aggrieved, spoke unto Kakutstha, thus bewailing being exercised with grief and almost beside himself with sorrow, consequent upon Sita's bereavement, saying: "It doth not behove thee to lament thus, being exercised with grief-it is not unknown unto thee that people, thus bewailing do exhaust themselves by and by. O Raghava, thou art devoted to pious actions and the services of the Deity in this world- and pious, energetic and dost believe in the existence of God. Without being persevering thou shalt not be able to destroy in conflict thy enemy-that terrible, willy Rakshasa. Do thou renounce thy grief and take recourse to energy and thou shalt be able to slay that Rakshasa with all his family. What of the destruction of Ravana, thou art O Kakutstha, capable of uprooting the earth with oceans, forests and hills. Rains have set in and do thou wait for the autumn when thou shalt encompass the destruction of Ravana with his kingdom and kinsmen. I, too, am exciting thy latent energy like unto fire hidden in ashes with oblations. Welcoming the auspicious and well-meaning accents of Lakshmana, Raghava again spake unto him the following affectionate words:- "O Lakshmana, truly do thy words become thee, affectionate, devoted, truthful and intent on my welfare as thou art. Renouncing this grief standing in the way of all business. I shall call forth, the more, this my energy on the occasion of displaying my prowess. I shall live here, awaiting the autumn and abiding by thy words and awaiting as well Sugriva's pleasure and the clear currents of the rivers. Heroes receiving favours always return them; the ungrateful lose the friendship of the honest." Considering Rama's words as highly sound and welcoming them therefore, Lakshmana, with folded hands, spake unto Rama of graceful appearance, displaying his own intelligence—"O lord of men, I fully approve of all thou hast said. The monkey-chief shall soon engage in our service. Resolved on the destruction of thy enemy, do thou spend here this rainy season awaiting the autumn. Subduing thy wrath, and awaiting the autumn, do thou with me spend these four months in this hill filled with deer, capable as thou art of encompassing the destruction of thy enemy.'

SECTION 28.

Thereupon encompassing the destruction of Vali, installing Sugriva and dwelling on the summit of the Malyabana hill, Rama spake unto Lakshmana, saying, "This is the time—the beginning of the rainy season—do thou behold the sky enveloped witn clouds resembling so many hills. The sky, drinking the liquid contents of the ocean through the rays of the Sun, and being enceinte for nine months, is giving birth to showers. Ascending the sky by the steps of clouds, one can ornament the Sun with garlands of Kutajas and Arjunas. Like unto a wound covered with a torn cloth, the sky is enveloped with cool clouds, coppery with the rays of the setting Sun, and yellow at another end. The sky, having mild breezes as its breath, sprinkled with sandal-like evening rays and covered with yellow clouds, is appearing as it were like one stricken with amour. The earth, afflicted with perspiration and filled with new water, is emitting forth vapour like unto Sita racked with sorrow. Ketaka smelling breezes may be drunk up in the cavity formed by putting the hands together, like unto cold water discharged off the clouds and mixed with camphor. This hill, having blown Arjunas and Ketakas and rid of its enemies like unto Sugriva, hath been bathed with showers. These hillocks, having clouds for dark deer-skins, heavy showers for

sacred threads and having caves filled with air, are appearing like so many Brahmins who have finished their studies. The sky, being struck by thunders like unto so many golden lashes, is, as if, groaning under a deep mental agony. Methinks, the lightning, shining by the violet clouds, is appearing like unto the poor Vaidehi at the lap of Ravana. These quarters, enveloped with clouds and having therefore the Moon and stars hidden, are indeed very pleasant unto those who are under the influence of Cupid. Behold, O Saumitri, on the summits of the hill the flowery Kutajas enveloped with the vapour arising out of the earth, gladdened at the approach of the rainy season and exciting my amour who am stricken with grief. (In this season) the dust is watered, the air is saturated with dews, all the evils of the summer are stopped, the kings no longer proceed on royal marches and those journeying in a foreign land return their native homes. The Chakrabakas along with their mates are proceeding, being desirous to live in the Manasa Saravara; and in consequence of incessant rains, chariots and other conveyances cannot pass along the wayfares. Somewhere hidden, somehere open, the sky, covered with clouds, appears like a vast ocean, being encircled here and there with hills. There speedily pass by the hill streams, being resounded with the cries of peacocks, carrying with the current Sarja and Kadamva flowers and having their coppery contents mixed with the metals of the mountain. People (in this season) live upon many a sweet rose-apple; and ripe mangoes, of diverse colours, being shaken by the wind, fall on the earth. The clouds, resembling the summits of a mountain, having lightnings for pennons and cranes for garlands, are muttering like unto infuriated elephants in a field of battle. The forest-lands, having their green pastures emerged in water, with peacocks dancing all around with joy and clouds discharging their watery volumes incessantly, are appearing more graceful in the evening. (In this season) clouds, surrounded by cranes and heavily laden with water, are constantly moving, sometimes resting on the high summits of the mountains and emitting a muttering sound. And rows of cranes, fond of clouds, rising up in the sky, delighted and moved by the wind, are appearing like a garland of white lotuses, spread along the welkin. And the earth, covered with green grass and variegated with newly born insects, is appearing like a damsel clothed with a white blanket spotted here and there with lac. (In this part of the year) sleep is gradually overcoming the great God Narayana, the river is flowing speedily towards the ocean, the delghted cranes are approaching the clouds and the damsels are proceeding towards their lovers. The peacocks are dancing at the forest skirts the Kadamya trees are covered with flowers, the bulls have become attached unto kine and the earth has become charming with corns and forests. The rivers are flowing by; the clouds are discharging waters; the infuriated elephants are emitting terrible roars; the forest-lands are growing more charming; persons, separated from their wives, are growing more anxious; the peacocks are dancing with delight and the monkeys are greatly comforted for Sugriva's attaining to the kingdom. By the fountains in the forests, the infuriated elephants delighted with the fragrance of the Ketaka flowers and maddened with the noise of the water falls, are emitting terrible roars along with the peacocks. The black bees, resorting to the branches of the Kadamba trees and overwhelmed with showers, are, as if, slowly discharging their temporal juice - namely the honey of flowers collected by them ere while. The branches of rose-apple trees containing enough of fruits like unto a collection of char coal are so appearing as if the black bees are drinking the juice thereof. The dense clouds, ornamented with pennon-like lightnings and emitting terrible roars, are appearing like so many elephants, mad after fighting. The infuriated lord of elephants, following in the track and ranging in the hills and forests, hearing the muttering of clouds and taking it for the uproar of another elephant, has turned back, with a view to enter into conflict with him. Somewhere the bees are humming, somewhere the peacocks are dancing -somewhere are ranging the infuriated elephants-and in this way the forestland has assumed diverse appearances. It appears like unto a drinking-place, covered with Kadambas, Sarjas, Arjunas and lotuses growing on land, filled with water resembling honey and with the dance and cries of mad peacocks. The birds, having their wings discoloured, being wet with water, delighted and thirsty, are drinking the drops of clear water falling on leaves and discharged by the Lord of celestials [According to Hindu mythology Indra is the god of rains.]. The sonorous humming of the bees, being accompanied by the gutteral sound of the frogs and the mutterings of the clouds, resembling the sound of Mridangas, an organised music, as if, hath begun in the forest. Sometimes dancing, sometimes setting up loud cries, sometimes placing themselves against the tops of the trees, the peacocks, having beautifully ornamented exteriors have commenced music in the forest And rising from their perpetual sleep by the muttering of clouds, the frogs, assuming various shapes and making diverse sounds, are setting up cries being distressed with new watery showers. The rivers, carrying Chakrabakasas their breast and leaving behind their old banks, are approaching, being

excited, their own lord with various new presents. Clouds, big with new waters coming in contact with violet ones are appearing as such; and sometimes, touching the hills burnt by forest-fire, are appearing like deep-rooted hills. The elephants are ranging in this charming forest-land, carrying the fragrance of Neepas and Arjunas, having its green swards filled with Indragopas [A coccinella, a ladybird.] and with delighted, peacocks dancing all around. The black bees, delighted, are drinking honey, embracing the shower-distressed and new filaments of the lotuses and Kadamva flowers. (In this season) the elephants are infuriated, the bulls are delighted, the lions have grown more powerful, the hills are charming— the kings are devoid of all active pursuits, and the Lord of celestials is engaged in sport with clouds. The clouds ranging in the welkin and discharging heavy showers, are roaring like unto ocean; and the rivers, ponds and pools are deluging the earth with their watery contents. (In this season) heavy showers set in-the wind bloweth mightily and the rivers breaking down their banks flow quickly blockading the wayfares. The mountains are, as if, displaying their own beauty and grace being as it were bathed by the cloud-like jars, conferred by the lord of celestials and brought by the wind like unto a king sprinkled by men. The sky is enveloped with clouds and neither the sun nor the stars can be seen- the earth is satisfied with new showers-and the quarters being covered with darkness cannot be seen. The high summits, of the mountains, being washed by showers and beautified by far-stretching waterfalls resembling pearls, are appearing more graceful. The heavy mountain waterfalls, losening the rocks and stretching over the caves filled with the cries of peacocks, are appearing like a pearl-necklace. And the quick streaming waterfalls, of the mountains, washing the summits of the hills, and resembling the pearls, are being deposited in the cave at the foot. And watery drops resembling the pearls of the necklaces used by celestial damsels are pouring on all sides. The setting of the Sun is announced by the birds taking to their nests, lotuses growing pale and Malatis blossoming. The royal marches are all stopped, and the soldiers, who have already marched are waiting in the way-hostility and wayfares have been equally blockaded by water. This month of Bhadra is the time of studying for those Brahmins, who chant Sama Vedas. Having roofed all his houses and stored up his food, Bharata, the king of Kocala hath set upon the performance of Asharasacrifices. The river Saraju is now brimful with water. Seeing me return as if Ayodhya herself is making a delightful noise. Clearly manifest are now all the signs of the rainy season and Sugriva, rid of his enemies, established on the vast kingdom, and regaining his wives, hath attained to best felicity. And I am. O Lakshmana. waning everyday like unto the banks of a river, being separated from my spouse and deprived of my vast kingdom. Immense is my grief, inaccessible is this rainy season and mighty is my enemy, Ravana; methinks it is impossible for me to bring about the discomfiture of my foe. Owing to the unfitness of the season (for marching against my foe) and the wayfares being inacessible, I cannot possibly request Sugriva (to march) although he is prepared to abide by my mandate. Moreover after a good deal of affliction he has regained his wives, and my service is of very great difficulty; so I do not wish to request that monkey-chief now. Forsooth, shall Sugriva think of the benefits (he has received from me) after enjoying rest for sometime, when the time for action shall arrive. Therefore I shall, O Lakshmana, live here, awaiting the pleasure of Sugriva and the clear currents of the rivers (the autumn). Heroes receiving benefits, do always return them. The ungrateful lose the good wishes of the great ones." Being thus accosted, Lakshmana, with folded hands, respecting highly his words, spake unto the graceful Rama, pointing out his own welfare. "Forsooth shall that lord of monkeys carry out all thy wishes. Do thou therefore spend here the rainy season, awaiting the autumn.

SECTION 29.

Beholding the clear welkin, void of clouds and lightnings. filled with Sarasas and sprinkled with the charming rays of the Moon, Hanuman, the son of Marut, versed in religious lore and political economy, and conversant with effects proper to the time or season, approaching the Lord of monkeys, addressed him with various sound, reasonable and pleasant words, well-meaning, true and teaching the means of acquiring forgiveness, piety and wealth. Acquiring riches Sugriva hath grown careless for the collection of righteousness and wealth, is following the track of the vicious, and is addicted to the satisfaction of sensual appetiteshaving all his actions stopped and desires attained—and given to enjoyments with damsels. Having attained all his desires and wishes, his own wife and the much-desired-for Tara, Sugriva is sporting with them, day and night, without any affliction, like unto the Lord of celestials with Gandharbas and Apsaras. Placing all the royal affairs at the hands of the counsellors, without looking to them, and confiding fully in their abilities he is living like one under the influence of passions-"Thou hast attained thy kingdom, fame, and thy vast ancestral wealth. It now behoveth thee to

perform thy duties by thy friends. Truly doth his kingdom, fame and prowess increase who is cognisant of the seasonableness of time and doth good to his friends. O king, truly doth he attain to a vast kingdom, who hath the same wealth, soldiery and body with his friends. It becometh thee, therefore, who art crowned with a good character, and who dost wend a blameless track, to work out thy friend's wellbeing (as promised by thee). He who doth not engage in the service of his friends renouncing all business, becometh void of all energy and involved in unnecessary troubles. And he, who engageth in his friend's service after the proper season is over, does nothing to his well-being, though he performs a great thing. O slayer of foes, soon shall the time for performing thy friend's service, be over; do thou therefore encompass Raghava's good, namely the searching out of Vaidehi, Oking, Rama, conversant with the seasonableness of time and wise as he is, is not informing thee of it, though the proper time is past; and though he is in hurry, he is waiting for thee. Raghava as well as Lakshmana, who are the instruments of thy attaining to this vast kingdom, and thy friends for so long a time, are persons of incomparable prowess by virtue of their unequalled accomplishments. He hath already performed thy service, and it behoveth thee now, O lord of monkeys, to command the foremost of monkeys to engage in his service. To engage, out of season, in a service, uncalled for, is not blameable; but to defer the performance of an action in proper time after promising is indeed an object of censure. O lord of monkeys, thou dost engage even in the service of one who doth thee no good, then why shalt thou not engage in the benefit of Rama who hath favoured thee by encompassing the destruction (of Vali) and securing for thee thy kingdom? O lord of monkeys and bears, truly thou art gifted with prowess and strength, why dost thou not prepare thyself for satisfying Dacarathee's commands? Dacarathee himself is capable of subduing the celestials, Asuras and great serpents-he is simply awaiting the fulfilment of thy promise. He hath performed a great service at the risk of his life—we shall therefore find out Vaidehi whether she is in this earth or in the welkin. Even the celestials, Danavas, Gandharbas, Asuras, Marutas, Yakshas are afraid of him in the battlefield-what of the insignificant Rakshasas. O lord of monkeys, it therefore behoveth thee to do good by all means unto the powerful Rama, who benefitted thee before. O lord of monkeys, who is there amongst us, who shall not at thy command proceed unto water, sky or the region under the earth? O blameless one, there are more than one koti of invincible monkeys under thee do thou command, who shall proceed and to what quarter?" Hearing these words of Hanuman, said on a very proper occasion, the intelligent Sugriva, made up his mind for a worthy end. Thereupon the highly intelligent Sugriva ordered the ever active Neela, to collect soldiers from various quarters. "Do thou so arrange as all my hosts and soldiers with their commanders soon come here. Do thou soon bring here at my behest all the energetic and quick-coursing monkeys and commanders spreading their conquests to the end of the earth. (After their arrival) do thou thyself inspect and count all those monkeys. He who shall not reach here within fifteen days shall be punished with the loss of his life. There is no need of scrutinizing my orders. Abiding by my order, do thou see along with Angada all the elderly monkeys." Having thus arranged, that best of monkeys entered the inner apartment.

SECTION 30

Sugriva having entered his palace, and the sky being cleared of the clouds, Rama, racked with grief, passing the rainy season and beholding the yellow welkin, the clear disc of the Moon, the autumnal night sprinkled with the rays of the Moon, the amour-stricken lord of monkeys, the ravishment of the daughter of Janaka, and the season well-nigh expired, became overwhelmed with sorrow and senseless. And regaining his sense after sometime, the highly intelligent king-Raghava began to think of Vaidehi although always present in his mind. And beholding the clear sky void of lightnings and clouds and filled with the noise of Sarasas. Raghava began to lament piteously, stationing himself on the summit of the hill ornamented with metals of golden hue. And beholding the autumnal sky he engaged in the meditation of his beloved spouse. How shall that Sarasa-voiced damsel be pleased to-day, who, while sporting in the hermitage, used to warble like Sarasas, to invite them. Beholding Asana trees, as if covered with golden flowers and not beholding me how shall that damsel be pleased? How that exquisitely fine damsel having a sweet voice shall be pleased to-day, who used formerly to awake at the sounds of the drakes? Hearing the noise of her companions—Chakrabakas, how shall that one, of expansive eyes resembling lotuses, live? Without her having the eyes of a fawn, I do not attain to felicity to-day, ranging at large by ponds, streams, pools and in forests and woods. Forsooth shall Cupid excited by the approach of the autumn, distress her the more on account of my separation and her personal charms." Thus bewailed that best son of a king like unto the bird Saranga soliciting water from the lord of celestials. And the graceful Lakshmana, returning from the picturesque mountain-summits where he had sojourned in

quest of fruits, beheld his elder brother. And beholding in that lonely forest his brother, racked with anxious thoughts hard to bear and almost beside himself (with grief) the highminded Saumitri, prompted by his brother's grief, spoke unto him very poorly, saying:-"O worshipful one, what hast thou perpetrated by placing thyself under the control of passions and defeating thy manliness? Thy deep and devout meditation hath been purloined by thy grief; and it is by religious contemplation that thy grief shall be terminated now. O brother, after going through the ceremonies of bathing and so forth, and acquiring peace, do thou bring all thy time under thy control by virtue of the concentration of soul; and being of unmitigated strength do thou resort to power and help, the key-notes for the accomplishment of thy great object. O lord of men, Janaki, husbanded by thee, is not capable of being easily possessed by others. O hero who getting at a flame of fire, doth not burn himself?" Thereupon Rama spoke unto Lakshmana, gifted with royal marks, addressing him with natural and resolute words and saying:- "What thou hast said, is sound, well-meaning, sanctioned by polity and speaks of piety, wealth and forgiveness. It should therefore, without the least doubt, be performed by me. It behoveth me to engage in contemplation about the eternal truth regarding the Deity and in ascetic observances. Or else O Prince, it is not proper to think of the fruits of a difficult, highly developed and energetic action." Thereupon thinking of Maithelee, having eyes resembling lotus-petals, Rama spoke unto Lakshmana with a dried countenance. "Having satisfied the earth with a profuse discharge of water, produced crops and thus, finished his work, the thousand eyed Deity is sitting silent. O son of a king, the clouds, muttering a long and deep sound and approaching the hills and trees, are calmed having discharged their liquid contents. Having made the ten quarters dark blue, the clouds, resembling blue lotuses, have become calm, like unto elephants without temporal juice. O gentle one, high gales accompanied with rains, big with water and fragrant with Kutaja and Arjuna flowers being driven before hither and thither, have now become silent O innocent Lakshmana, the sounds of clouds, elephants, peacocks, and fountains, have been all stopped. Hills, having variegated summits, being washed by dense clouds and thus free from dirt and impurities. do appear elegant being sprinkled by the rays of the Moon. Forsooth hath the autumn set in, dividing its grace in the branches of Saptachada trees, in the rays of the Sun and Moon with stars and in the gaits of the excellent elephants. Surely hath the autumnal grace resorted to many things. And it hath appeared more profusely in the lotuses blossomed by the first rays of the Sun. Scented sweet with the flower of Santachada trees, borowing the musical notes of bees, following the wind and subduing the pride of infuriated elephants, the autumn is appearing very elegant. The swans are playing with Chakrabakashaving splendidly spacious wings, fond of cupid, crusted with the filaments of lotuses, and arriving at the banks of the rivers. The autumnal grace is appearing more elegant being divided in infuriated elephants, in proud kine, and in streams of clear currents. Beholding the sky divested of clouds, without manifesting the beauty of their tails and renouncing their attachment unto their beloved mates, amusements and beauty, the peacocks are as if all engaged in meditation in the forest. The forest-lands are as if a-blaze with many a sweet-scented picturesque Priyaka trees, having a golden hue and their tops lowered down with the weight of flowers. The gaits, of the elephants rendered idle with a profuse discharge of temporal juice, fond of forests and water lilies, smelling the fragrance of the flowers of Saptachhada trees and accompanied by their mates, have become slow. The sky is clear like unto a sword—the streams have become of feeble currents—the wind, cool and scented with the fragrance of white esculent waterlilies, is blowing—and quarters have become devoid of darkness. The mud has been dried up by the rays of the Sun and the earth is filled with dust-this is the time for preparation for inimical kings (to enter into conflict). The bulls, having their beauty enhanced by the autumn, and their body covered with dust, delighted, infuriated and hence desirous of entering into skirmish, have been setting up terrible roars in the midst of kine. The sheelephants, moving slowly, fond, passionate and accompanied by other members, have been following their passionate mates, in the forest, embracing them. Leaving behind their excellent ornaments-the tails, the peacocks, getting at the banks of the rivers, have been going away poorly and with depressed hearts as if being remonstrated with by the Sarasas. Having terrified the Karandavas and Chakrabakas with their mighty roars, the elephants, having cleft trunks and being agitated again and again, have been drinking water in the ponds filled with full blown lotuses. The drakes have been jumping delightedly into the rivers, mudless, covered with sands, full of clear water filled with kine and resounded with the notes of Sarasas. Now hath stopped the noise of rivers, clouds, fountains, water, the high winds, the peacocks and the mirthless frogs. And venomous snakes of vareiagated colours, having lived for a pretty long time during the rains without food, have on the approach of the autumn, come out of their dens, hungry, in quest of their prey. The red-dyed evening

hath renounced the welkin, being delighted at the touch of the rays of the Moon and opening a little her eyes-the stars. Having the rising Moon for her elegant countenance, the stars for her excellent open eyes and the rays for a piece of white garment, the night appeareth like a damsel wearing a white cloth. Having fed on ripe white rice, the excellent rows of delighted Sarasas are flying quickly up to the sky like unto a well-strung garland shaken by the wind. The water, of the lake filled with sleeping drakes and water lilies, is appearing like the sky in the night, devoid of clouds and filled with the Full Moon and stars. The ponds, having the drakes scattering hither and thither for their girdles and engarlanded with full blown lotuses and water lilies, are appearing like so many damsels ornamented with diverse ornaments. The sound set up by the wind in the dawn like unto that of a pipe accompanied by the music of a trumpet, being mixed with the noise of the caves and bulls are as if multiplying each other. The banks of the rivers are being dressed by the newly blossomed flowers shaken by the mild breezes and Kacas. like unto clean, washed silken clothes. The black bees, bold, given to drinking honey, rendered vellow with the filaments of lotuses and Asana flowers, delighted and accompanied by their mates are following the wind in the forest. The clear water, the blossoming flowers, the noise of Craunchas, the ripe white rice, the mild breezes, the clear Moon announce the approach of the Autumn-the removers of the rains. The rivers, having fishes for their girdles, have become of slackened course like unto damsels moving slowly in the dawn being enjoyed by their husbands. The mouths of the rivers, filled with Chakrabakas, covered with aquatic plants and clothed with Kacas are appearing like unto the countenances of damsels pasted with yellow pigments. The most powerful Cupid hath taken up his terrible bow in this forest filled with Asana flowers appearing like unto arrows and the hum of delighted bees. Having satisfied the people with a profuse discharge of water, filled the rivers and pools and covered the earth with crops, the clouds have disappeared renouncing the sky. The rivers in this season of autumn have been gradually showing their banks. O thou of excellent looks, the ponds (in this season) appear exquisitely fine, being filled with Kurarabirds and Chakrabakas. O son of king, this is the time of preparation for inimical kings, desirous of defeating one another. O son of a king, this is the best time for royal marches, but I do not find Sugriva preparing himself for that end. There appear on the summits of the hills flowers Asanas, Saptaparnas, Kavidaras, Bandhugeebas, and Tamalas. Behold, O Lakshmana, the banks of the rivers filled with swans, Sarasas Chakrabakas and Kuraras Stricken as I am with grief, these four months, the season of rains, appeared unto me like a hundred year, not beholding Sita. Like unto Chakrabakas following their mates, Sita, taking the terrible forest of Dandaka for a picturesque garden, used to follow me there. O Lakshmana, Sugriva, is not inclined to show any commiseration towards me, who am separated from my beloved spouse, deprived of my kingdom, banished and striken with sorrow. Regarding me as one without any to back him, deprived of his kingdom, insulted by Ravana, wretched, of a distant land, under the influence of amour and therefore seeking his help, (Sugriva hath not felt pity for me). O subduer of foes, O thou of excellent looks, for these reasons, I have been insulted by that vicious-souled king of monkeys— Sugriva. Having appointed the time to institute enquiries about Sita, that wicked-minded one hath now forgot it on the accession of his new dignity. Do thou therefore repair to Kishkindha and speak of me unto that stupid lord of monkeys-Sugriva, addicted to rural enjoyments. And do thou tell him-'He, who breaks his promise made unto a powerful benefactor who solicits his favour, is regarded by people as vile. He is a true hero and an excellent person who verifies his words whether good or bad. Ungrateful they are who do not, after attaining their ends, engage in the service of those of their friends who have not accomplished their objects; even those living on raw flesh do not feed on their gore after their death'. And ask him if he wishes to behold in battle-field the golden bow resembling a lightning. And ask him more, if he wishes to hear the terrible twang of my bow resembling the noise of thunder, when I am enraged in battle. O hero, O son of a king, when apprised of my prowess assisted by thee, will he not recapitulate in his mind (that he may be destroyed by us like unto Vali)? O conqueror of enemies' cities, does not that lord of monkeys, after accomplishing his object, think of the conditions under which our friendship was contracted? Does not that lord of monkeys think that he has spent four months in enjoyments, having promised and appointed the season, after rains, (for making) enquiries about Sita"? Does not Sugriva feel pity for us, who are racked with sorrow, being addicted to drinking with friends and counsellors? Do thou go, O hero, O thou of mighty strength and relate unto Sugriva these my angry words, 'O Sugriva, do not neglect thy promise and wend the way trodden by Vali. I killed Vali only with my shaft in the battle-field; but if thou dost deviate from the path of truth I shall destroy thee along with thy kinsmen and relatives.' O thou best of men, do thou speedily relate unto him all those benefits which we shall reap by his actions,

for the proper season is well-nigh past. O best of monkeys, do thou carry out thy promise remembering the eternal existence of virtue. Do thou not behold the spirit of Vali in the abode of Death, being killed by the shaft discharged by me." Beholding his elder brother thus enraged and bewailing, the fiery-spirited Lakshmana, the best of men, became enraged with Sugriva.

SECTION 31

Lakshmana again addressed his high-minded elder brother, the son of a king, influenced by passion, stricken with grief, and poorly, with the following words. "That monkey shall not follow the actions of the pious, shall not think of the great fruit (the accession of kingdom) reaped by our friendship; he shall not enjoy the riches of the monkey-kingdom because he has not the right understanding to make good his promise. Owing to the wane of his understanding in consequence of thy favour he is addicted to rural enjoyments and hath forgot to return thy benefits. O hero, killed let him espy his elder brother Vali. It is not proper to confer kingdom upon that wicked-minded one. I am unable to bear the outburst of my ire-forsooth shall I kill to-day-that liar Sugriva. May the son of Vali with other principal monkeys engage in quest of that daughter a king." Beholding him rise up from the seat with bow in his hand and greatly wrought up with anger and hearing him thus announce his intention about the destruction of Sugriva, Rama, the slayer of foes, spake unto him the following humble words worthy of being spoken on that occasion. "Persons like thee on this earth do not perpetrate the crime of destroying their friends. He is truly a great hero and an excellent person who subdues anger by his right understanding, O Lakshmana, it is not proper for thee to bring about the destruction of thy friend; do thou follow thy former friendship and good feelings. Avoiding harsh words do thou address Sugriva, who has violated his promise, with soothing words." Being thus duly counselled by his elder brother, that best of men, the heroic Lakshmana-the slayer of foes, entered the city. Thereupon the highly intelligent Lakshmana of right understanding, and ever intent upon the welfare of his brother, taking up a bow like unto Indra's, resembling the summit of a hill and terrible as Death himself, entered, wrought up with ire, the abode of the king of monkeys like the hill Mandara. Intelligent like Vrihaspati and ever abiding by his elder brother's behest, Lakshmana, revolving in his mind what he should say as well as Sugriva's answers, and enveloped with the fire of anger arising from the excitement of his brother's amour, and therefore displeased, proceeded quick as air. And on he proceeded, felling down by his velocity, Sala, Tala, and Asvakarna trees, throwing aside the mountain summits and other trees, breaking rocks into pieces with his feet and striding very quickly like unto a fleetcoursing elephant. And that best of Ikshwakus, beheld that splendid city of the king of monkeys, hard to enter, surrounded by monkey-herds, and mountains. And having his lips swollen with anger for Sugriva, Lakshmana beheld the terrible monkeys walking outside the city. Beholding that best of men—Lakshmana, the monkeys resembling elephants entered the mountainous stronghold and took up the summits of the hill and huge trees. And observing them armed, Lakshmana was doubly inflamed with anger like unto fire kindled with fuels. And beholding Lakshmana, highly enraged, terrible as Death himself at the time of dissolution. the monkeys stricken with fear, fled away, by hundreds, into various quarters. Thereat those foremost of monkeys, entering the palace of Sugriva, communicated unto him, Lakshmana's ire and approach. That amorous chief of monkeys, attached unto Tara, paid no heed to the words of those foremost of monkeys. Thereupon those terrible monkeys. resembling hills, elephants and clouds, went out of the city being commanded by the minister. Some of them had sharpened teeth and nails, some were grim-visaged, some had teeth like those of tigers, some had the strength of ten elephants, some had the strength of a hundred elephants and some had that of a thousand elephants. Thereupon Lakshmana, angry, espied the city of Kishkindhda hard to enter and surrounded by mighty monkeys with trees in their hands. And getting over the ditch around the city walls, those terrible-looking monkeys stationed themselves openly. And meditating upon Sugriva's error and his brother's interest, the self-controlled Lakshmana, heroic, proceeded onwards. Sighing hot and hard, that best of men-Lakshmana, with reddened eyes appeared like unto smoky fire. He appeared like unto a terrible serpent of five mouths, having the top of the arow for his tongue, the bow for his expanded hood and his own prowess for the poison. Beholding him like the flaming fire of dissolution and enraged lord of serpents, Angada, out of fear, became exceedingly sorry. Thereupon the far-famed Lakshmana, having his eyes reddened with ire, spoke unto Angada, saying"-O child, do thou inform Sugriva of my arrival. O conqueror of foes, do thou tell him: Lakshmana, the younger brother of Rama, being stricken with grief on account of his brother's disaster, hath come to thee and is waiting at the gate. If it pleaseth thee, do thou make good thy promise.' Saying these words do thou speedily return, O my

child, O conqueror of foes." Hearing Lakshmana's words, Angada, overwhelmed with grief, aproaching his uncle said-Saumitree hath arrived here.' Being greatly agitated with harsh words, Angada, with a pale and poorly countenance issued out speedily and approaching, touched first the king's feet and afterwards with reverence Ruma's feet. That one of exceeding prowess first touched the feet of his uncle then saluted again his mother and afterwards touching the feet of Ruma related unto them every thing in full. That monkey. possessed by amour and under the influence of liquor, being asleep could not hear (what Angada had said). Beholding Lakshmana highly enraged, the monkeys, possessed by fear, began to make noise as they were welcoming him. They, approaching Lakshmana began to set up a terrible roar like unto thunder and resembling the uproar of lions and the noise of water-falls. By that terrible sound awoke that monkeychief, having coppery eyes, agitated, adorned with garlands and possessed by liquor. Hearing the words of Angada, the two counsellors of Sugriva, intelligent and of magnificent looks, along with him, approached that lord of monkeys. And those two ministers Yaksha and Pravaba, to give him proper counsels, informed (that monkey-chief) of the arrival of Lakshmana. Satisfying Sugriva with words pointing out his welfare, they sitting by him, spake unto that lord of wind resembling the king of celestials, saying:-"Of those two great and truthful brothers Rama and Lakshmana, who are born as men, worthy of attaining to kingdom and who have gained for thee thy kingdom, Lakshmana, with a bow in his hand, is waiting at thy gate. And afraid of whom, the monkeys, trembling, are setting up terrible roars. That Lakshmana, Raghava's brother, having words for his charioteer, and perseverance for his chariot, hath approached thee at his brother's command. O blameless king, by that Lakshmana—Tara's darling, Angada hath been despatched unto thee. O king, of monkeys, that highly powerful one, having his eyes full of ire, is waiting at thy gate, as if burning down with his eyes all the monkeys. O king, along with thy children and friends do thou repair unto him speedily and bowing unto him with thy head down do thou pacify his wrath. And do thou, O king, with a composed heart, perform what the virtuous-souled Rama hath ordered thee to do and thus fulfil thy promise.

SECTION 32.

Hearing the words of Angada as well as of Lakshmana' s wrath, the self-controlled Sugriva along with his counsellors, left his seat. Ascertaining the weight and lightness of the present occasion, that one, expert in counsels and abiding by their advice spake unto the expert counsellors, saving: have not done him any wrong, nor have I spoken unto him any improper word. I do not know why Raghaya's brother Lakshmana hath become offended with me. Lakshmana hath been falsely apprised of my imaginary weakness by my enemies, always looking to my dark sides. It behoveth ye all, to ascertain now speedily according to your knowledge and right understanding (the cause of Lakshmana's wrath). I do not fear Lakshmana or Raghava; but friends enraged without any cause do invariably produce fear. It is easy to contract friendship but very difficult to sustain it; for owing to the fickleness of our minds, a very slight cause brings about separation. I have not done him any good proportionate to what the high-souled Rama had done for me; and it is for this reason that I am afraid of him." Being thus addressed by Sugriva—Hanuman, the foremost of monkey-counsellors, spoke, according to his own understanding, saying:-"It is no wonder, O lord of monkeys, that thou hast not forgot the unexpected benefit, (thou hadst received at the hands of Rama). To encompass thy well-being, Vali, powerful as the Lord of celestials, was fearlessly destroyed by the heroic Raghava. There is not the least doubt, that Raghava, out of love, is enraged with thee, and hath despatched his younger brother Lakshmana, the enhancer of prosperity. O thou foremost of those conversant with time, the auspicious autumn, green with Saptachhada flowers, hath set in and thou, given up to enjoyments, doth not percieve it. The sky, having the clouds removed, is full of clear stars and planets. The quarters, the ponds and rivers are all clear. O best of monkeys, finding thee forgetful, Lakshmana hath come here to inform thee that the proper time hath arrived. Do thou patiently hear all these harsh words of the high-souled Rama, racked with sorrow and separated from his spouse, which Lakshmana, shall relate unto thee. Thou hast acted improperly towards him, and I do not find any thing tending to thy welfare but thy satisfying Lakshmana with folded hands. The kings should be addressed with auspicious words by their counsellors always ministering unto them proper counsels. And it is for this reason, I am addressing thee with these sound words. Raghava, taking up his bow, while enraged, can bring under subjection the entire world inhabited by the celestials, Asuras and Gandharbas. Remembering his former service, it doth not behove thee, grateful as thou art, to excite his wrath, who should be pleased again. Bowing unto him, with thy children and friends, do thou, O king, satisfying thy promise, seek his shelter like unto a wife placing herself under

the control of her husband. O lord of monkeys, it doth not behove thee, to neglect even in thought, the behests of Rama and his younger brother; for thou art fully aware of the prowess of Raghava like unto the lord of celestials, and passing human power.

SECTION 33

Thereupon, Lakshmana, the slayer of foes, commanded, entered, at the behest of Rama, the pleasant city of Kishkindha situated in the centre of caves. Beholding Lakshmana, the highly powerful monkeys, having huge persons and waiting at the gate, stood all with folded hands. And seeing Dacaratha's son highly enraged and sighing again and again, the monkeys stood silent and did not interrupt him. The graceful Lakshmana espied that huge picturesque and celestial cave adorned with jewels and flowery gardens. It was filled with palatial buildings, various jewels and flowery trees, producing at all times wished-for fruits. It was beautified with good-looking monkeys-children of the celestials and Gandharbas wearing celestial garlands and clothes and assuming shapes at will. It was fragrant with the sweet smell of sandal wood, Aguru and lotuses and its highways were equally fragrant with the smell of honey. And Lakshmana beheld there many spacious buildings like unto the hills Vindhya and Meru and rivers of clear water. And he also surveyed the picturesque dwellings of Angada, Mainda, Divida, Gavaya, Gabaksha, Gaja, Sarava, Vidhutmali, Sampati, Suryaksha, Hanuman, Beerabahu, Subahu, Nala, Kumuda, Sushena, Tara, Jambaban, Dadhibaktra, Neela, Sunetra and Supatala like unto sable clouds adorned with excellent garlands, filled with rice and jewels and beautiful damsels. Unobstructed the highly powerful Saumitri entered the picturesque abode of Sugriva like unto the Sun entering into a collection of dense clouds. The abode of this lord of monkeys was like unto the palace of the Lord of celestials, ornamented with the tops of white buildings resembling the summits of the Kailaca hill and flowery trees producing at all times, wished-for fruits; covered with beautiful trees having cool shades and bearing celestial fruits and flowers resembling the molten-gold. And that virtuous-souled one, crossing the seven rooms filled with conveyances and seats beheld the secret apartment (of that monkey-chief), having many a gold and silver bed-steads with excellent coverlets and fine seats. No sooner had he entered the inner apartment than he heard a musical sound, well-measured and accompanied by the music of the stringed instrument. And that highly powerful one beheld in the abode of Sugriva many a beautiful damsel proud of their youth and beauty, sprung from respectable families, adorned with splendid ornaments, engaged in stringing excellent garlands. And he observed Sugriva's servants, well fed, contented, not hurry in offering their services and without splendid ornaments. Hearing the sounds of women's girdles and their Nupurs [An ornament for their toes or feet.], the graceful Lakshmana became highly ashamed. And highly enraged at the sound of the ornaments, the hero filled all the quarters with the twang of his bow. Lakshmana of mightyarms stood silent in a nook, thinking of his improper conduct of entering into (Sugriva's) seraglio, albeit he was wrought up with ire in consequence of Sugriva's neglecting Rama's service. Thereupon Sugriva, the lord of monkeys, being apprised of Lakshmana's approach by the twang of his bow and terrified, trembled on his throne, and thought aside:—"Forsooth hath Saumitri, fond of his brother, come, whose approach was announced by Angada before. Informed before by Angada of his approach, and made doubly sure by the twang of the bow, that monkey came to know of Lakshmana's arrival and turned pale. Thereupon Sugriva, the foremost of monkeys, wrought up with fear, addressed the fine looking Tara with the following well-meaning words:—"O beautiful lady, dost thou know, why hath the mild-natured younger brother of Rama, arrived here enraged? O blameless lady, dost thou perceive any cause of the Prince's wrath? Forsooth, that best of men, is not enraged for a slight cause. Considering aright, dost thou speedily inform me if I have performed any improper act towards Rama. O fine lady, do thou approach him in person and pacify him with soothing words. Beholding thee, that pure-souled one shall not be worked with ire; great men do never behave roughly towards the females. Approaching him do thou console him and thereafter I shall see that conqueror of foes having eyes resembling lotuspetals." Thereupon Tara, with faltering feet and eyes wild with wine, the golden chains of her zone flowing (about her hips),—graced with auspicious marks, saught Lakshmana's presence with downcast looks. Beholding Tara, the queen of the lord of monkeys, Lakshmana, the high-souled son of a king, restraining his anger on the approach of a female, stood with his head hung down, conducting himself like an ascetic. Renouncing modesty under the influence of liquor, and finding the king's son well pleased, Tara spake unto Lakshmana, bold and loving words, in order to console him. "O son of a king, what is the cause of thy wrath? Who is there who hath not abode by thy commands? Who can remain without anxiety, beholding fire in a forest filled with dried trees?" Hearing the soothing words of Tara, Lakshmana,

undaunted, spoke again, greatly manifesting his friendship:-"O thou intent on thy husband's welfare, dost thou not perceive that thy husband is by and by losing piety and wealth, being addicted to amorous enjoyments? O Tara, thy husband doth not think of us who are moved with sorrow- but is addicted to sensual enjoyments only, being surrounded by parasites. (Having promised that he would institute enquiries about Sita after four months), that lord of monkeys hath well-nigh spent the entire period, being influenced by liquor and addicted to enjoyments along with thee. For the attainment of piety and wealth, drinking is not a proper course. It is by drinking that people lose piety, wealth and desire. He who doth not return the services of his benefactor, loseth piety. He who loseth friendship with a qualified friend, loseth wealth. He is the best friend who is gifted with wealth and is truthful; and thy husband hath relinquished such a friend gifted with these two qualities. And, therefore, he doth not abide by the virtue of preserving friendship. O thou expert in business, this being the case, do thou advise us as to what we should do." Hearing the sweet words of Lakshmana consonant with piety and wealth, Tara again addressed him about Rama's business, yet remaining unaccomplished, with words inspiring confidence,—"O son of a king, this is not the time for displaying thy wrath; it is not proper to be angry with one's own friends. O hero, it behoveth thee to put up with the error of him who hath thy welfare in view. O prince, who, accomplished with excellent virtues, gets enraged with one of inferior merits? O prince, who, like thee, an offspring of asceticism, is worked up with ire against the virtue of forgiveness? I know the (cause of the) wrath of that heroic monkey's friend. I know the time for action. I know what thou hast done for us. I know what is due from us to thee. And, O foremost of men, I also know the irrisistible force of Kama. I know by whom Sugriva has been taken captive, and that his heart is not now in the work. As thou hast come under the governance of anger, thy mind has not felt the influence of desire. Even a human being that hath conceived love, does not stay for place or time or interest. Do thou forgive that lord of the monkey race, thy brother, influenced by carnality, who is by thee, and who through the urgency of lust, has banished shame. Even Maharshis finding delight in religion and asceticism, setting their hearts upon satisfying lust, (ultimately) become fast bound by ignorance. But this is a monkey, volatile by nature, and hath, furthermore, been enjoying regal state-why should he not act thus? Having thus said unto Lakshmana of immeasurable intelligence words fraught with high import, that female monkey, her eyes drooping with languor, again sadly spake in this wise for the behoof of her husband, "O foremost of men, although Sugriva has come under the sway of desire, he hath, to secure thy good, ere this issued orders for preparations to be made. And monkeys by hundreds and thousands and kotis, inhabiting various mountains, possessed of exceeding prowess have already arrived (here). Do thou therefore, O mightyarmed one, come. (Having rushed towards the inner apartment), thou hast not suffered in character. For the good to behold others' wives in a friendly spirit, cannot bring on unrighteousness." Permitted by Tara, that long-armed repressor of foes, urged on by (the required) speed, entered the inner apartment. There seated on a superb seat spread with a costly carpet, he found Sugriva resembling the sun himself, his person decked with noble ornaments, of a dignified presence, famous, wearing gay garlands and attire, invincible like unto the great Indra. And surrounded by dames adorned with elegant ornaments and wreaths, Sugriva with his eyes still more reddened in wrath, looked like the Destroyer himself. Then deeply embracing Uma, the largeeyed hero of the hue of fine gold, seated on an excellent seat, saw the powerful Saumitri having expansive eyes.

SECTION 34.

Seeing that foremost of men, Lakshmana, exercised with wrath, as he entered in without let, Sugriva was seized with sadness. And seeing Dacaratha's son, wroth, and breathing hard, and flaming up in energy, and burning in consequence of the calamity that had overtaken his brother, that chief of monkeys started up, leaving his golden seat, like unto the mighty ornamented standard of the great Indra. And as Sugriva rose up, Uma and the other females rose up, like unto stars appearing in the sky when the full moon has risen. And with eyes reddened, and his hands folded, the graceful Sugriva came (before Lakshmana) and stood there like a mighty Kalpa tree. And the wrathful Lakshmana spake unto Sugriva stationed among women, having Uma for his second, and resembling the moon with the stars, saying,-"The king that is nobly endowed by heredity, and is kind, that hath subdued his senses, and is grateful and truth-telling, obtains renown in this world. And who is more wicked than that king who. rooted in unrighteousness, makes false promises unto friends intent upon his welfare? He that speaks a falsehood with reference to a horse, becomes guilty of the deaths of an hundred horses: he committing himself to a falsehood relative to a cow, reapeth the demerit of slaying a thousand kine; while he that uttereth an untruth touching a person, destroys self as well as his kindred. That ungrateful wight that, having at first attained benefit at the hands of his friends, doth not requite it, is, O lord of monkeys, worthy of being slain by all creatures. Seeing an ingrate wretch, the wrathful Brahma sang the (previous) sloka, bowed down unto by all the worlds. Do thou understand that, O monkey. The pious provide deliverance for the cow-killer, the wine-biber, the thief, and the violator of vows; but for the ungrateful person there is no deliverance whatever. Thou art ignoble and ungrateful and lying, O monkey, since, having been formerly benefitted by Rama, thou dost not requite his services. Having been benefitted by Rama, thou, anxious to repay his kindness, shouldst exert thyself in search of Sita. But, of false promises, thou hast been indulging in gross enjoyments,-nor doth Rama know thee for a serpent, croaking like a frog. A sinful wretch and of wicked soul, thou hast obtained the kingdom of the monkeys through the agency of the eminently virtuous, kind and high-souled Rama. Thou dost not acknowledge the good offices rendered unto thee by the high-souled Raghava; and therefore, slain by means of sharpened shafts, thou shalt soon see Vali. The way that hath been wended by the slain Vali, is not yet narrowed. Do thou, O Sugriva, desist in time: do not walk in the wake of Vali. Do not behold the shafts resembling thunder-bolts shot from the bow of that best of the Ikshwakus. Then, attaining happiness, thou shalt pass thy days in peace. Nor do thou mentally neglect Rama's business.

When Sumitra's son, Lakshmana, had spoken thus, flaming in energy, Tara of face fair as the moon, said unto him, "O Lakshmana, thou ought not to speak thus: and this lord of monkeys does not deserve to hear this harsh speech from thy lips, in especial. Sugriva is not ungrateful, or cunning, or heartless; nor doth he, O hero, deal in falsehood; nor is he deceitful. Nor hath the heroic monkey, O hero, forgotten the good, incapable of being done by others in battle, that the hero, Rama, hath done in his behalf. And, O afflictor of foes, through Rama's grace, Sugriva hath here attained fame and the enduring empire of the monkeys, as well as Uma and myself. Having lain down miserably before, Sugriva, now that he hath attained this supreme happiness, doth not heed his urgent duties, like the ascetic Vicwamitra. Attached unto Ghritachi, O Lakshmana, the pious and mighty ascetic, Vicwamitra looked upon ten years as one day; and that best of those conversant with time, Vicwamitra of mighty energy, did not perceive that the time (for doing a certain act) had arrived. What is to be said of other people? O Lakshmana, it behoveth Rama to forgive one who hath all the bodily exigencies, who is fatigued, and who is not satisfied with the pleasures of Kama. Nor, O Lakshmana, doth it behove thee, without ascertaining the exact import of things, to become suddenly subject to wrath, like any inferior person. O chief of men, persons endowed with the quality of goodness, like unto thee, do not suffer themselves to come under the sway of passion, without (at first) needfully revolving matters. I crave thy favour with concentrated mind, thou that knowest morality. Renounce the mighty grief that springs from thy ire. This is my conviction that for compassing Rama's welfare, Sugriva can resign Uma and myself, and Angada, and the kingdom and wealth and corn and animals. Slaying that worst of Rakshasas, Sugriva will bring Raghava with Sita, like unto the moon accompanied by Rohini. Without slaying hundreds, of thousands of Kotis, and thirty six Ayutas, thousands, and hundreds of irrepressible Rakshasas wearing shapes at will, (Rama) can not slay Ravana, by whom Maithili hath been carried away. They are incapable, O Lakshmana, of being slain (by Rama) in battle, unless he is supported (by others). Ravana is a wily warrior, and hence is the special need of Sugriva. That knowing lord of monkeys, Vali, had told me all this. I do not know how Ravana had secured this host: I say what I had heard from Vali. For rendering thee assistance, the foremost monkeys have been despatched in order to summon to the conflict numerous principal monkeys. Expecting these powerful and exceedingly strong ones, for attaining Raghava's end, this lord of monkeys doth not (yet) sally out. Things, O Saumitri, have beforehand been so satisfactorily arranged by Sugriva, that this very day the mighty one will be joined with all those monkeys. This very day billions of bears and thousands of golangulas as well as innumerable Kotis of monkeys flaming in energy shall join thee. Therefore, O subduer of enemies, banish thy anger. Seeing this thy face wrought up with wrath, and thy eyes appearing like red sores. the wives of the best of monkeys experience no peace, and they are agitated by the fear that exercised them of late.'

SECTION 36.

Humbly addressed in these words informed with morality, Sumitra's son, resuming his native mildness, accepted them. On his accepting the speech, the lord of monkeys like a wet cloth cast off from him the fear he had conceived on account of Lakshmana. Then Sugriva-lord of monkeys- tore away the gaudy and variegated garland on his neck-potent with many a virtue, and became deprived of energy. And that master of all the monkeys, Sugriva, gladdening Lakshmana of

dreadful prowess, humbly observed unto him, "Thou son unto Sumitra, by the favour of Rama have I received back my lost luck, my fame, and this eternal monarchy of the monkeys. O king's son, who is capable of repaying even in part an action like that of the divine (Rama) renowned by means of his own acts? By virtue of native energy, and merely with my help, the righteous Raghava shall recover Sita and slav Ravana to boot. What need of assistance to him who with a single shaft rived seven giant trees, a mountain, and the Earth, O Lakshmana. what is the use of help to him the sounds of whose stretching bow made the Earth tremble with her mountains? O best of men, when that foremost of men shall set out for slaying his enemy, Ravana along with those going before him, I will follow him. If through my confidence, or presuming upon our amity. I have transgressed in any way, (Rama) ought to excuse his servant,-for there is no servant that doth not transgress." When the high-souled Sugriva had said this, Lakshmana became well pleased, and he spake from love,-"Having, in especial, thee endeued with humility, my brother, O monarch of monkeys, is every way strong, O Sugriva. Such is thy strength, O Sugriva, and such thy self-denial, that thou art fully worthy to enjoy the good fortune of the king of monkeys. O Sugriva, by thy help, the puissant Rama shall speedily slay his foe. Of this there is not the least doubt. O Sugriva, what thou, virtuous, grateful and never turning away from fight, hast said is fit and proper. What knowing person, excepting, O foremost of monkeys, thyself and my elder brother, can speak so? Resembling Rama himself in strength and prowess, thou, O chief of monkeys, hast been ordained his help by the gods. But, O hero, do thou speedily go out with me and soothe thy friend aggrieved for the ravishment of his wife. And do thou, my friend, forgive what rough speech, on hearing the utterances of Rama sunk in grief, I have given thee.'

Thus addressed by the magnanimous Lakshmana, Sugriva said unto Hanuman, staying beside him, "Those that dwell on the summits of Mahendra, Himavat, Vindhya and Kailaca; on Mandara, the peaks of Pandu and the five hills; on mountains wearing the hue of the infant sun, and ever bright; and those inhabiting the West, beyond the sea; on mountains in the mansions of the sun, looking like the evening sky; and those dreadful foremost of monkeys that inhabit Padmachala, those monkeys that, resembling collyrium-like clouds, and having the strength of the lord of elephants, dwell in the Anjana hill; monkeys, possessing the splendour of gold, inhabiting the caverns of Mahacaila; those resorting to the sides of Meru, as well as those dwelling in the Dhumra mountains; and those, having the hues of the infant sun, dwelling in the Maharuna mountain, drinking the Maireya wine; and those dwelling in mighty fair and fragrant forests and romantic hermitages all round, lying on the skirts of woods,-do thou at once bring all these—all the foremost monkeys of the world, by means of gifts and conciliation, and through the agency of more than usually fleet monkeys. I know those monkeys that I have first despatched, to be gifted with great velocity,-yet, for urging speed upon them, do thou send other foremost of monkeys. Do thou directly bring up here those monkey-chiefs that are given up to lust or are dilatory. Those wicked ones, that finding fault with the royal mandate, do not (come in) at my command within ten days, must be slain. Let those hundreds and thousands and kotis of leonine monkeys that abide by my mandate, hie (hence) at my behest. Let (monkeys) resembling clouds or mountains, cover up the sky; and let the foremost monkeys of dreadful forms march hence at my command. Let all the monkeys on earth, acquainted with motion, hying themselves and summoning speed at my command, bring all the monkeys." Hearing the words of the monkey-king, the son of the Wind-god despatched powerful monkeys in all directions. Despatched by the king, the monkeys, ranging the sphere of birds and stars, immediately went through the welkin. And on oceans and mountains, in forests and tanks, the monkeys began to send away all the apes on behalf of Rama. Hearing the mandate of that king of kings, Sugriva, resembling the Hour of death, the monkeys, conceiving fear for Sugriva, set out. And monkeys resembling collyrium (in hue), numbering three kotis, endeued with huge might, set out from the Anjana hill for the place where Raghava was. And ten kotis having the splendour of molten gold, inhabiting the mountain where the sun sets, set out. And a thousand kotis, hued like the lion's mane, came from the peaks of Kailaca. And of those dwelling in Himalaya, subsisting on fruits and roots, numbering a thousand and kotis, a thousand appeared. And thousands of dreadful monkeys of terrible deeds, hued like charcoal, numbering kotis, rushed suddenly from Vindhya. And there exists no record of the number of those inhabiting the shores of the ocean of milk, and the dwellers in the Tamala forests, as well as those subsisting on cocoanuts. And, as if drinking up the sun, the mighty monkey host came from forests and caves and rivers. And it came to pass that those heroic monkeys that had gone away to spur others on, found a mighty tree on Himavat. On that sacred mount in days of yore there took place a pleasing Mahecwara

[The celestial horse-sacrifice.] sacrifice. There the monkeys found grateful fruits and roots sprung from the streams of sacrificial oblations, and resembling ambrosia. He that partakes of those excellent fruits and roots sprung from the sacrificial ingredients, doth not experience hunger for a month. Those prime monkeys, feeding on fruits, gathered those sapid fruits and roots and medicinal herbs. And for compassing the good of Sugriva, repairing thither, the monkeys brought ordorous blossoms from the sacrificial ground. And all those foremost of monkeys, taking all the monkeys of the earth, hastily set off in the van of the herds. And in a short while, those fast-fleeting apes speedily reached Kishkindha, where the monkey Sugriva was. And taking the healing herbs and the fruits and roots, the monkeys made them over to Sugriva, and said, "Having traversed mountains, rivers and forests, all the monkeys of the earth bend their steps towards thee in obedience to thy command." Hearing this, Sugriva—lord of monkeys—was well pleased, and with a glad heart accepted all those presents.

SECTION 38

Having accepted all those presents, (Sugriva), after soothing the monkeys, dismissed them. Having dismissed the thousands of apes, who had performed their task, he deemed himself as well as the mighty Raghava as having secured success. Then Lakshmana in sweet words spoke unto the exceedingly strong chief of monkeys-Sugriva-gladdening him, "If it please thee, O placid one, I will go out of Kishkindha." Hearing Lakshmana's soft speech, Sugriva, highly delighted, said, "Be it so. Let us go. I abide by thy behest." Having said this unto Lakshmana of auspicious marks, Sugriva dismissed the women with Tara at their head. Then Sugriva in a loud voice summoned the foremost monkeys, saying, "Come (hither)." Hearing his words, those monkeys that could present themselves before the females, did so with joined hands. To them, who had presented themselves. said the king, of splendour resembling that of the Sun, "Do, ye monkeys, bring hither a car." bearing his words, monkeys uniting vigor with celerity, brought a car lovely to behold Seeing the car brought up, the lord of monkeys said unto Sumitra's son, "O Lakshmana, ascend speedily." Having said this, Sugriva in company with Lakshmana swiftly ascended the golden car resembling the sun, yoked with numerous steeds. With a pale umbrella held over his head, and white chowris waving around, with conchs and trumpets blowing, eulogized by bards, Sugriva marched out, having obtained supreme regal auspiciousness. And surrounded by hundreds of high-spirited apes and armed people, he proceeded whither Rama was staying. — And having arrived at the excellent spot which was the home of Rama, that highly energetic one alighted from the car along with Lakshmana. And having come to Rama, Sugriva (stood) folding his hands. And when Sugriva had folded his hands, the monkeys also did so. And beholding the mighty host of the monkeys resembling a tank filled with lotus buds. Rama was well-pleased with Sugriva. And raising up the monkey-king who had bent his head at Rama's feet, Raghava embraced him from love and regard. Having embraced Sugriva, that righteous one said unto him, "Be seated." And seeing Sugriva seated on the ground, Rama said, "He, O best of monkeys, is a king who, O hero, in season follows righteousness, pleasure and profit, always dividing the same (among all.) He that, renouncing righteousness and the good, devotes himself to pleasure solely, is like a man that falling asleep on the top of a tree, wakes when he hath fallen down. That king is verily virtuous that, engaged in uprooting foes and advancing friends, attends to all the three ends. O destroyer of foes, the time is come for exertion; do thou, O lord of monkeys, bethink thyself along with thy monkey ministers." Thus addressed, Sugriva said unto Rama, "O mighty-armed one, my lost luck, and repute, and the entire monkey kingdom I have received back through thy gift, owing to thine and thy brother's grace, thou foremost of victors. He that, having received a good office, doth not requite it, reapeth obloquy among persons. These hundreds of prime monkeys. O destroyer of enemies, have come here, bringing with them all the monkeys of the world. O Raghaya. bears and monkeys, heroic Golangulas-acquainted with woods and forests and strongholds, and of terrible shapesand monkeys who are the sons of deities, wearing forms at will-stay on the way, O Raghava, surrounded by their own armies. And, O hero, O repressor of foes, monkeys surrounded by hundreds, and hundred thousands, and kotis, and ayutas, and sankus [A Sanku is a thousand Arvudas; a Madhya is an Arvuda ten times; an Antya is a Madhya ten times; a Samudra is a Madhya twenty times; and a Parardha, a Samudra thirty times.], and arvudas, and hundreds of arvudas, and madhyas, and antyas, wait (here). And samudras, and parardhas of monkeys—leaders of herds—inhabiting Meru and Vindhya. resembling clouds or hills, and in might resembling the great India, are on their way unto thee, O king. They will join thee for battling the fiend in the field; and, slaying Ravana in fight, shall bring Mithila's daughter.'

Thereat the puissant son of the Earth's lord, witnessing the preparations made by the heroic monkey, remaining under his command, appeared like a blown blue lotus.

SECTION 39.

As Sugriva was speaking thus with joined hands, that best of the righteous, Rama, embraced him with his arms, and then replied, "That Indra poureth down showers, is no wonder, nor that this thousand-raved Sun dispells darkness from the sky; nor yet that, O mild one, the Moon by his rays causes the clear night. (And in a similar way), friends like thee bring delight, O subduer of foes. O mild one, that whatever is graceful, should be harboured in thee is not strange. I know, O Sugriva, that thou always speakst what is for my good. Assisted by thee, my friend, I shall in battle vanguish all my foes. Thou being my friend and my ally, shouldst assist me. That worst of Rakshasas hath carried away Maithili, to bring down destruction upon himself, even as Anuhlada ravished Puloma's daughter, Sachi, deceiving her sire. That Ravana I will at no distant date slay with my sharpened shafts, even as that slaver of enemies, he of an hundred sacrifices—slew the haughty father of Paulomi." Presently appeared volumes of dust, and the hot and fierce rays of the sun were hid in the sky. And darkened by the gloom, all sides became bewildered. And the entire earth with her mountains, forests, and woods, trembled. Then the whole ground was covered with innumerable monkeys gifted with great strength, and having sharp teeth, and resembling kings of men. Then surrounded by leaders of monkey-herds and retinues numbering hundreds of kotis, and monkey chiefs from rivers, and mountains, and seas, endowed with prodigious strength, and other apes inhabiting forests, having voices resembling clouds-and monkeys hued like the infant sun, or white like the moon, or coloured like the filaments of the lotus, or pale, having their homes in the Golden mountain-in all, numbering ten thousand kotis,—appeared the graceful and heroic monkey, named Satavali. Then, having the splendour of the Golden hill, the puissant sire of Tara was seen at the head of many thousand kotis. Then Uma's father, that lord, the father-inlaw of Sugriva, arrived, accompanied with other thousands of kotis (of monkeys),-resembling the filaments of the lotus, of face like unto the youthful sun, intelligent, the foremost of monkeys-supreme among them all. And Hanuman's father, the graceful Kecarin, appeared in company with many thousands of monkeys. And Gavaksha-sovereign of Golangulas-endowed with dreadful might, appeared, surrounded by thousands of kotis of monkeys. And Dhumra of bears endowed with terrific speed—destroyer of foes appeared, surrounded by two thousand kotis. And the leader of herds, named Panama, of exceeding prowess, came, accompanied with three kotis, mighty and dreadful. And the leader of herds, named Nila, of huge body, resembling a mass of blue collyrium, appeared with ten kotis. Then the exceedingly powerful Gavaya—leader of herds, having the splendour of the Golden mountain, arrived with five kotis. And that powerful leader of herds—Darimukha, came, surrounded by thousands of kotis, and took up his post by Sugriva. And Mainda and Dwivida—sons of Acwi both—of mighty strength, appeared with kotis upon thousands of kotis of monkeys. And the powerful and heroic Gaya (came), surrounded by three kotis. And the king of bears, Jambavan by name, (came), surrounded by ten kotis, and enlisted himself under the command of Sugriva. And (the monkey) named Rumana, possessed of energy, and strong, came swiftly, surrounded by an hundred kotis of powerful monkeys. Then, followed at his back by hundreds and thousands of kotis, came the monkey, Gandhamadana. Then came the young prince Angada, in prowess resembling his sire, -accompanied by a thousand padmas and an hundred sankhas. Then appeared at a distance, accompanied by five kotis of monkeys endowed with dreadful prowess,-Tara, having the splendour of a star. And then appeared Indrajanu, the heroic monkey and leader of herds-lord of eleven kotis-surrounded by them. Then followed Rambha, resembling the infant sun, accompanied by an ayuta, a thousand, and an hundred. Then appeared to the view the stout monkey, named Durmukha, heroic lord of herds, surrounded by two kotis. And Hanuman showed himself, surrounded by a thousand kotis of monkeys, resembling peaks of Kailaca, of dreadful vigor. And the exceedingly energetic Nala came, attended with an hundred kotis, a thousand, and an hundred monkeys, living in trees. Then surrounded by ten kotis (of monkeys), came the shapely Darimukha before the high-souled Sugriva, from a country bordering on a river. And Sarabha, Kumuda, Vahni, the monkey Rambha,-and many other monkeys-lords of herds-passing ennumeration-wearing shapes at will, came, covering the entire earth with her mountains and forests. And all the monkeys of the world were some of them coming and others putting up. And monkeys- some of them dripping, and some leaping, and some roaring-gathered round Sugriva, like clouds gathering round the sun. And, crying in various tones, prime monkeys furnished with arms, with bent heads spoke humbly to that lord of monkeys-Sugriva. And

before Sugriva with joined hands. Sugriva standing with joined hands, expeditiously informed Rama of the arrival of the monkey-leaders in hot haste; and then spake (to them), saying, "O chiefs of monkeys, stationing the forces duly near mountain-rills and all the woods, let him that is conversant with the army, ascertain who have come and who have not.'

SECTION 40.

Xhen that lord of monkeys, the successful Sugriva, spake unto Rama-lion among men and destroyer of hostile - saying, "Those foremost monkeys endeued with strength and capable of wearing any shape at will, and possessed of the splendour of the mighty Indra,—that inhabit my territories, have come and stationed themselves. And these monkeys—dreadful, and resembling Daitvas and Danavas are accompanied by powerful monkeys of terrific prowess, who have displayed their virtue in many a field, -and are of famed renown in battle and, powerful, and who have mastered languor and are celebrated in prowess and sterling in their profession. O Rama, these kotis of apes that have arrived, inhabiting earth and water and various mountainous tracts. are at thy service. All abide by thy command-all are intent upon the welfare of their master, and, O subduer of foes, they are competent to bring about thy end. And in company with many thousands and innumerable ones that have shewn their ability in many a field, have come monkeys dreadful, and resembling Daityas and Danavas. If, O lion among men, thou conceive that the time is ripe, tell it (unto me). It behoves thee to command those forces, remaining under thy sway, Although I am full well acquainted with the work in which they are to be employed, yet thou ought to order them as to what they are to accomplish." When Sugriva had spoken thus, Dacaratha's son, Rama, embracing him with his arms, said, 'O placid one, do thou learn whether Videha's daughter is alive or not: as well as ascertain the country, where, O thou endowed with eminent wisdom, liveth Ravana. Having come at Vaidehi and Ravana's abode, shall I then appoint the time along with thee. O lord of monkeys, I am not the master in this matter, nor Lakshmana: thou art the cause of this undertaking, as well as, O monarch of monkeys, the lord. Do thou therefore. O lord, command these as to what is to be done by them in my behalf. O hero, thou certainly knowest my business. My second friend (Lakshmana being first), thou art potent, wise, conversant with seasonableness, cognisant of profit, and engaged in our welfare." Thus addressed, Sugriva in presence of Rama and the intelligent Lakshmana, said unto a leader of herds and lord of apes, named Vinata, having the splendour of a hill, blazing and emitting sounds as those of clouds, "O foremost of monkeys, accompanied with apes resembling the sun and the moon, thou cognisant of time, place and morals, and sagacious in deciding course of action,—surrounded by hundreds and thousands of active apes, march towards the Eastern quarter, furnished with woods, forests and hills. There, in mountain fastnesses, and forests and rivers. do thou search Videha's daughter, Sita, as well as the abode of Ravana. And while on the search around for Rama's beloved wife, Sita, daughter-in-law unto Dacaratha, thou shouldst search the beautiful Bhagirathi, and the Sarayu, and the Kauciki; the Kalindi, and the charming Yamuna, and the mighty hill bordering thereon; and the Saraswati, and the Sindhu, and the Sona with water resembling ruby; and the Mahi and Kalamahi, garnished with woods and hills,-the large tracts-Brahmamalas, Videhas, and Malavans, and Kacikosalas, and Magadhas, and Pundras, and Angas; and grounds native to silkworms, and containing mines of silver; and mountains and cities embosmed in the sea. Do thou also search through the houses in Mandara, belonging to people having ears resembling cloths, reaching their nether lips, and mouths resembling iron, -one-footed and fleet withal; and whose descendants never deteriorate;and to anthropophagi; and hunters dwelling on islands; having sharp hair, gold-hued, pleasing, and subsisting on raw fish; and to creatures-tiger-man forms-terrible to behold; and, ye dwellers of woods, do ye carefully search those places that are accessible by crags and bounds, -and the island of Yava, adorned by seven several kingdoms, and the island of Suvarna, and Rupayaka,-thronged by gold miners. And, going beyond the island of Yava, (one comes upon) the hill called Sisira, which pierceth the heavens by its peaks, and is inhabited by gods and demons. In all these mountain fastnesses, cascades and woods, do ye together search for the renowned wife of Rama. Then, arriving at the rapid red waters going under the name of Sona, and repairing to the other shore of the ocean, the abode of Siddhas and Charanas, do ye search all round for Ravana in company with Sita in the sweet sacred spots and picturesque woods. And ye should explore forests, mountain-sprung streams, wild tracts subject to storms, and mountains containing caverns. Then it behoves vou to examine horrible ocean islands, heaving with waves, terrific, resounding,-of haughty bearing in consequence of winds. There, huge-bodied Asuras, hungering for a long period, permitted by Brahma, capture creatures, resorting to shades. And adroitly arriving at that great sea, like unto clouds at the universal dissolution, inhabited by mighty

snakes, sending loud sounds,-and there, after passing the terrific sea of red waters called Yellow, ye will behold a mighty knarled Salmali, There, built by Vicwakarman, peaklike, gigantic, resembling Kailaca, (towereth) the mansion of Vinata's offspring, named Mandeha. There, grim Rakshasas named Mandehas, resembling hills, of diverse shapes, capable of inspiring fear, hang head foremost on the rocks. Day after day at sunrise, these Rakshasas heated (by solar rays) and struck dead by Brahma energy, again and again (hang on the crags). Then wilt thou, O thou that art hard to repress, proceeding, view the sea named Kshiroda, having the hue of pale clouds, and looking like a necklace, because of the ripples (on its surface). In it there are the mighty white mountains going by the name of Rishada, covered with trees bearing oderous blossoms; as well as the tank known under the name of Sudarcana, swarming with swans and shining silver lotuses having golden filaments. Desirous of sport, resort to this tank delighted troops of Vivudhas and Charanas, Yakshas, Kinnaras and Apsaras. Leaving behind Kshiroda, ye monkeys ye will soon after behold the Jalada sea, striking terror into all beings. There presideth that mighty ire-born Energy of the Sage Auryi, (embodied in) the mouth of a mule. This wondrous (universe) containing mobile and immobile things and fraught with great impetus, is the aliment of this Energy. There are heard the cries of feeble creatures inhabiting the sea, who began to wail on witnessing the mouth of the mule. On the north of the Swadu sea, lie thirteen yojanas (of land), named Jatarupacila [Lit. of gold and stone.], exceeding spacious, and of the splendour of gold. There, ye monkeys, ye will behold that serpent, the holder of Earth—resembling the moon, and with expansive eyes like lotus-petals-seated at the summit of the mount,—that one worshipped of all deities, having a thousand heads,—the god Ananta, clad in blue apparel. And by the dais (there) at the top of the mount is the golden palm, planted by that high souled one,—which is like a banner. The chief of the celestials reared it in the Eastern region. After that is the fair Rising mountain. Its golden peak measuring a hundred yojanas, reaching unto the heavens, rises nobly, with mountains at its base; and looks beautiful with Salas, palms, Tamalas, and flowering Karnikaras,-golden, splendid and resembling the sun. There, spreading a yojana around, towering up ten, is the peak named Saumanasa-all certainly of gold. There, formerly on the occasion of invading the earth with three paces, that foremost of persons, Vishnu, planting his first foot, planted the other on the summit of Meru. The sun, having passed by Jamvudwipa on the north, and, arriving at that mighty and eminent summit, (Saumanasa), again becometh visible to the dwellers of Jamvudwipa. There are seen those Valakhilya Maharshis, named Vaikhanasas,-wearing the hue of the sun, leading an ascetic mode of life. This is the island of Sudarcana, before which all creatures inspire energy and have their sight granted to them. You should search for Ravana with Vaidehi all round the top of that mountain as well as in its forests and woods. (Here) the first twilight enfolded in the glory of the golden hill and that of the high-souled Sun, appeareth roseate. As this is the first gateway of both Earth and Heaven, and as the sun first rises in this quarter, this is called the East. Ye should search the breast of its mountain, and fountains, and caves for Ravana in company with Vaidehi. Beyond that, is the exceedingly impassable Eastern quarter, thronged by the celestials.—covered with darkness and devoid of the sun and the moon. Do ye search for Janaki in all those rocks, woods and streams as well as in such spots as I have not mentioned. Ye foremost of monkeys, the monkeys are competent to proceed thus far. Beyond this, of the tract without sun and without limit, I know nothing. Meeting with Vaidehi and (arriving at) Ravana's mansion, do ye, having reached the Rising hill, turn back, when it shall be a full month. Do not stay longer than a month. If ye do, ye shall be slain by me. Having attained your end, do ye turn back, having met with Maithili. Having adroitly explored (the tract) loved of Mahendra, plated with woods, do ye, ye monkeys, having come at Sita—the beloved wife of that descendant of Raghu-desist, attaining happiness."

SECTION 41

Then having sent away that mighty host of monkeys, Sugriva despatched to the South others competent to perform tlie several tasks entrusted to them. And appointing the exceedingly mighty Angada as the leader of those heroic monkeys, that hero, the lord of monkey bands, conversant with the countries intended to be explored, despatched heroes endowed with speed and prowess, headed by Angada, Nila the son of Fire, and the monkey Hanuman, and the exceedingly energetic Jambavan, son unto the Great-father, and Suhotra. and Sarari, and Saragulma, Gaya, Gavakshya, and Gavaya, Sushena, Vrishabha, Mainda, Dwivida, and Gandhamadana. and Ulkamukha and Ananga—sons of Fire both. And the lord of monkeys began to describe unto the monkey-chiefs those tracts in those directions, that were difficult of access. "Ye will behold Vindhya having an hundred summits, and brushed with various trees and shrubs, and the romantic river Narmada, frequented by mighty serpents; and the Godavari*,

and that mighty river, the captivating Krishnaveni, and the Mekhalas and Utkalas, and the cities of Dacarna; and Avravanti and Avanti, and the Vidarbhas and Nishtikas and the charming Mahishakas. [* The Godavari flowing through the countries to the east of the Vindya mountains.— The Vindhya Range (also known as Vindhyachal) is a complex, discontinuous chain of mountain ridges, hill ranges, highlands and plateau escarpments in the centre of ancient India. In the Mahabharata, the range is also referred to as Vindhyapadaparvata. The Greek geographer Ptolemy called the range Vindius or Ouindion.] And ye will see also the Matsyas and Kalingas and Kaucikas all round, and the forest of Dandaka, with mountains, rivers and caverns; and the river Godavari, and the Andhras, and Paundras, the Cholas, the Pandyas, and the Keralas. Then shall ye repair to the mountain Ayomukha [Another name of this hill is Malaya.], plated with ore, having taking summits, graceful, furnished with picturesque flowering woods,— the mighty mountain having groves of excellent sandal. At the foot of the Malaya mountain endeued with exceeding energy, ye will behold the noble stream Kaveri, of pleasant waters, where sport troops of Apsaras. (There) you will see that foremost of saints. Agastya. resembling the sun. Permitted by that gratified high-souled one, ye will cross over the great river, Tamraparni, abounding in alligators. Like a youthful female in relation to her lover, she (Tamraparni), with both her waters as well as islets concealed under beautiful sandal woods, bathes in the sea. Proceeding (therefrom), the monkeys shall see the grand golden gates belonging to the walls of the capital of the Pandyas. Then arriving at the main, ye shall ascertain your ability or otherwise of crossing the same. In the bosom of the deep there, Agastya hath placed that foremost of mountains—the charming Mahendra, having picturesque plateaus; golden, and beautiful,—with a portion of it sunk in the great ocean. For aye, He of a thousand eyes at Parvas visiteth this mountain embellished by various blossoming trees and creepers; beauteous with divinities, and saints, and the foremost Yakshas and Apsaras; thronged by numbers of Siddhas and Charanas; and of surpassing loveliness. On its other shore is an island extending over an hundred yojanas, inaccessible to men and of splendid aspect. Do ye explore it all round. There, in particular, ye must every way search for Sita. That country belongs to the impious Ravana, worthy of being slain-the lord of Rakshasas, like unto the thousand-eyed (deity) in splendour. In the midst of the Southern sea belonging to him (Ravana), there is a Rakshasi, named Anga, who procureth her prey by casting her shadow. Having (by your search) satisfied yourselves as to those countries where ve might suspect Sita to be, do ye, your doubts dispelled, proceeding beyond that, (Lanka), search for the spouse of that monarch endeued with unbounded energy. extending over an hundred yojanas, a lovely hill, named Pushpitaka, the abode of Siddhas and Charanas; resembling the rays of the sun or the moon,—resting on the waters of the ocean, looks splendid, piercing the heavens with its giant peaks. Of this (mountain), there is a particular golden summit, which the sun approaches. It is incapable of being beheld by the ungrateful or the atheistical. Bowing your heads down unto this hill, let the monkeys search on. Leaving behind that irrepressible one, (ye will come upon) a mountain difficult of approach, extending over fourteen yojanas, named Suryyavan. Passing by that also, (ve will see) a mountain, named Vidyut. filled with trees, beautiful at all seasons, and bearing all desirable fruits. There, feeding upon excellent and costly fruits and roots, and drinking delicious honey, let the monkeys pass beyond it. There is the hill named Kunjara, grateful both to the eye and the mind,-where Vicwakarma had built the abode of Agastya [in that hill.]. There (rises) that stately golden pile, adorned with various gems, extending over one yojana, and ten in height. In in that hill also there is that palace, which is the abode of snakes; having spacious ways, incapable of being captured, guarded around, and protected by dreadful snakes and sharp-toothed serpents of virulent poison; where dwelleth Vasuki, the exceedingly terrible king of snakes. Proceeding heedfully, ye must explore that Bhogavati palace; as also whatever concealed places may lie there. Going beyond that place, (ye will see) the mighty mountain named Rhrishava, in the form of a bull, full of all gems, and possessed of grace,—where are produced excellent Gocirshaka, Padmaka, and Haricyama sandals, and which in effulgence resembles fire. But, seeing that sandal, ye must by no means ask any questions: certain Gandharbas. named Rohitas, are on guard over that wood—the lords of Gandharbas, in splendour like unto five suns,-Cailusha, Gramani, Ciksha, Cuka, and Babhru. After that, (Rhishava), at the extremity of the Earth is the abode of persons of pious acts, whose bodies are composed of the Sun, the Moon and Fire. And there reside persons who have won the heavenly regions. After that are the awful regions of the ancestral manes, which ye must not approach. This is the metropolis of Yama, covered by deep gloom. Ye heroic monkey chiefs, ye can seek thus far. Further there is no course for those endeued with motion. Having examined all these, as well others that may come within your ken, it behoves you, after having

ascertained Vaidehi's course, to return (hither). He that, returning within a month, shall say,—"I have seen Sita," shall pass his days in happiness, enjoying affluence like mine own and indulging all pleasures. He shall be dearer unto me than life itself, and none dearer (unto me) than he; and although he might commit innumerable wrongs, still should he become my friend. Possessed of immeasurable strength and prowess, and sprung from lines crowned with sterling virtues, do ye strive manfully in such a glorious way that the king's daughter may be recovered."

SECTION 42

Having despatched those monkeys in a southern direction, Sugriva spoke unto the monkey named Sushena, resembling a mass of clouds. Approaching his father-in-law, Tara's father, possessed of dreadful prowess, the king, bowing and with joined hands, spoke unto him. And Sugriva commanded the Maharshi's son, Maricha, and the mighty ape, Archishmat, surrounded hy the heroic foremost of monkeys, - possessing the splendour of Mahendra, gifted with sense and vigor; and resembling the offspring himself of Vinata in brightness; and Marichi's son,—the Marichas—the mighty Archirmalyas, all these sons of the saint —(to march) towards the West, saying,-"Ye monkey-chiefs, let twice hundred thousand monkeys led by Sushena (set out) to search Vaidehi. Ye foremost of monkeys, do ye explore the Saurashtras, the Bahlikas, the Chandrachitras, and (other) populous and fair provinces and spacious cities, and Kukshi, dense with Punnagas, and filled with Vakulas and Uddalakas; as well as the tracts covered with Ketaka trees; and auspicious streams bearing their cool waters westward; and the forests of ascetics; and mountains embosoming woods. There having explored tracts resembling deserts, and cold cliffs towering high, and the West, covered with mountain ranges, and extremely difficult of access,—and proceeding at a little more to the west, it behoves you to have a view of the sea. And proceeding on, ye monkeys, ye shall see (the ocean), whose waters abound in whales and alligators, ye monkeys. Then the apes shall sport in tracts covered by Ketakas, and dense with Tomalas and woods of cocoanuts. There shall ye look for Sita and the mansion of Rayana, in hills and woods on the shores of the sea: and (explore) Murachipattana, and the delightful Jatapura, and Avanti, and Angalapa, as well as in the wood (called) Alakshita, and spacious monarchies, and emporiums. There is a mighty mountain where the Sindhu falls into the sea, Somagiri by name; having an hundred summits and tall trees. In its plateaus there are certain birds (called) Sinhas. These lift up to their nests whales and elephants. The proud elephants carried to the nests and remaining on the summits of the mountain, possessing the roar of clouds, having been gratified (with food), range around this extensive table-land filled with water. The monkeys, capable of wearing shapes at will, should swiftly search its golden summit towering to the sky and filled with graceful trees. Proceeding further, the monkeys shall behold the golden summit of Pariyatra rising from the sea and extending over an hundred yojanas. There dwell all around in a body four and twenty kotis of ascetic Gandharbas, resembling fire, dreadful, practicising impiety, and like unto flames of fire. The monkeys of dreadful prowess should not present themselves before those, nor should they take any fruits from that country. Those heroes are hard to approach; and they are truthful and possessed of great might. And there they of dreadful prowess stow away their fruits and roots. There ye should needfully search for Janaki. Ye have no fear whatever from them; do ye only follow your native nature as monkeys. There, in hue like lapises, abounding in various kinds of trees and plants, is a mighty hill of an adamantine basis, called Vajra; beautiful, famous, and measuring an hundred yojanas in height and area. There let the monkevs carefully explore the caves. On the fourth side of the Ocean is a mountain named Chakravan. There Vicwakarma forged the discus (called) Sahasrara. There, slaying Panchajana and the Danava, Hayagriva [Lit. horse-necked.], the Best of male beings obtained the discus as well as the conch. In those beautiful plateaus and huge caves, ye should everywhere search for Ravana with Videha's daughter. Sunk in the depths of the sea, is a very great mountain named Varaha, having golden peaks and measuring four and sixty yojanas. In it is a city named Pragjyotisha, all of gold. There dwells the wicked Danava named Naraka [i.e. in the Varaha hill.]. There do ye everywhere search for Ravana along with Vaidehi in the beautiful plateaus and huge caves. Passing beyond that foremost of mountains, whose sight betrays the secret of its bowels being freighted with gold, (ye shall come upon) the mountain Sarvasauvarna, furnished with fountains and cascades. Coming to it, elephants, and boars, and lions, and tigers, on all sides roar ceaselessly, wrought up by the echoes their own cries have produced. This is the mountain named Megha, where the graceful green-horsed vanquisher of Paka, Mahendra, was installed king by the gods. Having passed by that mountain protected by Mahendra, ye shall repair to sixty thousand hills of gold; in hue like the infant sun, and blazing on all sides and embellished by blossoming golden trees. In the midst of them is established as king, Meru, best of mountains.

Formerly the Sun being well pleased, conferred a boon on this mountain, and he addressed the mountain, saying,-'By my grace all the hills that are under thy protection, shall be golden day and night; and also those gods Gandharbas and Danavas that shall dwell in thee, shall be filled with reverence for me and to the boot attain a golden glory.' Coming to the excellent mountain Meru, Vicwadevas, the Vasus, the Maruts and the celestials, adore the Sun in the western twilight. Adored by them, the Sun, becoming invisible, repaireth to the Setting hill. In half a muhurta, the Sun swiftly passes over this (mountain), measuring, as it does, ten thousand yojanas. On its peak rises an edifice; resembling the sun (in splendour); consisting of palatial mansions built by Vicwakarma; and graced by goodly trees rife with various birds,-the residence of the high-souled Varuna, bearing the noose in his hand. Between Meru and the Setting hill, towers a tall palm having ten heads. Golden and graceful, it shineth on a variegated dais. In all these, difficult of access, as also in rivers and tanks, ye should thoroughly search for Ravana along with Vaidehi There dwells there the righteous and famous Merusavarni, sanctified by virtue of his own asceticism, and like unto Brahma, himself. Bowing down your heads to the earth, ye should ask the Maharshi Merusavarni, resembling the sun, touching Mithila's daughter. On the departure of night, the sun dispells the darkness of the world to this extent, and then enters the Setting hill. Ye foremost of monkeys, the monkeys are able to proceed thus far. Beyond this, of what is sunless and boundless I know nothing. Having come to Vaidehi and Ravana's mansions, and arrived at the Setting-hill, do ve return on the month being complete. Ye must not stay above a month; and if ye do, ye must be slain by me. And along with you goeth that hero, my father-in-law. Ye, abiding by his orders, should listen to all that he sayeth. My mighty-armed father- in-law. gifted with great strength, is my spiritual preceptor. All of you possessed of prowess, yourselves certainly constitute the measure whereby to ascertain the wisdom or otherwise of a course. Making this one also into a measure, survey the western quarter. Having requited the good that hath been done to us, we shall attain our end. De ye also determine what else is agreeable (unto Rama), and in consonance with place, season and profit, should be performed by you in the matter of this business." Then those monkeys- the monkey chiefs headed by Sushena, having heard Sugriva's deft speech, set out for the quarter protected by Varuna.

SECTION 43

Having directed his father-in-law to proceed to the West, that best of monkeys, the all-knowing king Sugriva, lord of apes, then spake unto the heroic monkey, named Satavala, words fraught with good unto himself as well as unto Rama, - "Surrounded by hundreds and thousands of rangers of the forest like thyself, in company with the offspring of Yama as well as the counsellors in a body, do thou, O thou possessed of prowess, entering the northern quarter furnished with the Hima caila, search everywhere for the illustrious spouse of Rama.—Having performed this task satisfactorily, and brought about what is dear unto Dacaratha's son, we shall, O best of those that achieve success, be freed from our debts. The high-souled Raghava hath done us good. If we can serve him in turn, our life shall be crowned with success. Even the life of him that accomplishes the work of one to whom the former is not obliged, is successful,—what then is to be said in respect of him that hath served one formerly? Pondering this, those that are engaged in our welfare, should so act that Janaki may be discovered. And this formemost of men is worthy of being honoured by all creatures; and Ramacaptor of hostile capitals-hath also found delight in us. Endowed with sense and prowess, do ye explore these many inaccessible places, rivers and mountains. Having searched there Mlechahhas, Pulindas, Surasenas, Prasthalas, Bharatas, Kurus, and Madrakas, and Varadas, as well as the cities of Kambojas, Yavanas and Sakas, do ye explore Himavan. And in tracts of Lodhras and Padmakas, and in Devadaru woods do ye search thoroughly for Ravana along with Videha's daughter. Then, coming upon the hermitage of Soma, frequented by gods and Gandharbas, do ye repair to the mountain called Kala possessing spacious plateaus. In those mighty mountains, as also in others and in their caves, do ye search for that exalted lady, the blameless wife of Rama. Having passed beyond that mighty mountain containing gold in its womb, it behoves you to go to the mountain called Sudarcana. Then (lies) the mountain called Devasakha, the home of feathered tribes; abounding in various fowls, and embellished with diverse trees. In its golden tracts, fountains and caves, do ye search for Ravana along with Videha's daughter. Going beyond it, (ye come upon) a vacant land, measuring an hundred Yojanas, without mountains, or rivers, or trees; and void of all living beings. Speedily passing that desert land capable of making one's hair stand on end, ye shall feel delighted, on coming to the pale Kailaca. There (ye will behold) the charming mansion of Kuvera, resembling pale clouds, of burnished gold, built by Vicwakarma; where (lies) the spacious tank overflowing with lotuses and lilies,

thronged with swans and Karandavas, and frequented by troops of Apsaras. There king Vaicravana, the lord of Yakshas, bowed down unto by all creatures,—the graceful giver of riches-sporteth along with the Guhyakas. In the offshoots belonging to Kailaca resembling the moon, as also in their caverns, do ye thoroughly search for Ravana in company with Vaidehi. And coming to the Krauncha mountain, ye should, having your wits about you, enter its inaccessible cavern; for that is well known as difficult of entrance. There dwell certain Maharshis, high-souled, of effulgence resembling that of the sun-complete god-like shapes,-who are sought by the deities themselves. And ye should thoroughly explore the other caves of Krauncha, its plateaus and peaks; its passes and sides. (Then is) the treeless Manasa—abode of birds—the scene of Kama's austerities. Way there is none for creatures, or for gods, or for Rakshasas. That also must be explored by you,—that mountain with plains and plateaus. Going beyond Krauncha, (ye shall see) the mountain, named Mainaka. There is the residence of the Danava, Maya, reared by himself. Mainaka also with its plains, plateaus and woods must be searched by you. There are all over, the homes of females with faces resembling those of horses. Going beyond that part, (ye shall come to) the asylum inhabited by Siddhas; where are ascetics-Valakhilyas, Siddhas and Vaikhanasas. Saluting those Siddhas, who have been cleansed of their sins on account of their asceticism, ye should in humble guise ask them concerning Sita. There is the Vaikhanasa tank filled with golden lotuses; and ranged by graceful cranes of the hue of the infant sun. Kuvera's vehicle. the elephant known (by the name of) Sarvabhauma, ever rangeth that country in company with she-elephants. Going beyond that expanse of water, (ye come upon) a sky void of stars, and where the sun and the moon have been put out; and that land is visible by the rays, as if of the sun, proceeding from (the persons of) self-luminous, god-like ones, who are reposing there, after achieving success in austerities. Leaving behind that region, (you come to) a stream named Sailoda. On its both banks are bamboos named Kichaka. These take the Siddhas to the other shore and bring them back again. There (are seen) the northern Kurus, the abode of those that have acquired religious merit. And there are tanks there with their waters crowned with golden lotuses. There are rivers by thousands with copious blue lapis leaves. And the pools here, resembling the tender sun, are embellished with assemblages of golden red lotuses. And that tract is every where filled with costly gems, and jewels, and woods of blue lotuses, having filaments splendid like gold; and with round pearls and costly jewels. And the rivers there have islets covered with gold; and are crowded with lovely hills of gold, bright as fire, furnished with all kinds of precious stones. And the trees there, thronged with birds, bear flowers and fruits daily; and, charged with savoury juices, publishing superb perfumes, and of delicious feel, they confer every wish. Other excellent trees bring forth attires of divers kinds, and ornaments decked with pearls and lapises.—coveted alike by males and females. And other excellent trees bear fruits fit to be partaken at all seasons. And other excellent trees bring forth precious beds dight with costly jewels and furnished with variegated covers. And other trees bring forth charming wreaths, and costly drinks, and various kinds of viands. And females adorned with every accomplishment, and endowed with youth and beauty, and Gandharbas and Kinnaras, and Siddhas and Nagas and Vidyadharas, of blazing splendour, ceaselessly sport there in company with females. And all of righteous deeds, and all engaged in amorous disports, and all furnished with desire and profit,-dwell in that place in association with their females. And there are continually heard there the sounds of instruments and the voice of song mixed with sweet hilarous laughter, capable of taking all creatures. No one is depressed there; nor doth any one there want any desirable object; and day after day the delightful qualities find their developement there. Passing beyond that is the Northern ocean. In the bosom (of the deep) is the mountain named Somagiri, golden and of great dimensions. Albeit without the sun, yet through the brightness of the Soma mountain, the land shines forth with all the loveliness and reality of one warmed by the sun. There that Soul of the Universe, the adorable Sambhu, fraught with the spirits of the eleven Rudras-that lord of the gods-Brahma-dwelleth, surrounded by the Brahmarshis. Ye cannot proceed to the north of the Kurus; nor is there way in that region for any other creatures. And that mountain is named Soma, incapable of being entered even by the gods. Sighting this, you should speedily turn back. Ye foremost of monkeys, the monkeys are competent to proceed thus far. Beyond that, of regions sunless and limitless I know nothing. Ye should search all these which I have described (unto you); and ye should also turn your attention to others besides, which I have omitted to mention. Ye that are comparable unto the wind or fire, by accomplishing the work of beholding Videha's daughter, ye will do what is held as exceedingly dear unto Dacaratha's son as well as highly grateful to me. Then, having achieved success, do ye, along with your friends, honoured by me, and crowned the earth in company with your wives,—the support of all

SECTION 44.

Sugriva had declared his conviction that he relied particularly upon Hanuman. And convinced as to the ability of that best of monkeys to accomplish the work, Sugriva, that lord of all the dwellers of the woods, well pleased, spoke unto Hanuman, son unto the wind-god, saying,-"O foremost of monkeys, neither on the earth, nor in the sky, nor in the etherial regions, nor yet in water, find I any obstacle to thy course. The entire worlds with Asuras, and Gandharbas, and Nagas, and men, and gods, with oceans, and the earth and the regions beneath—are well known unto thee. And thy motion, vehemence, energy and fleetness are, O hero, O mighty ape, even like those of thy sire, the powerful wind-god; and there exists no creature on earth that is like unto thee in energy. Therefore do thou bethink thee how Sita may be recovered. Even in thee, O thou versed in policy, are strength, and wit, and courage, and policy, and conduct in consonance with season and place." Thereat, understanding that success in the task depended upon Hanuman, and also knowing what Hanuman was, Raghava reflected,—"This lord of monkeys is every way confident concerning Hanuman; and Hanuman himself is even more confident of achieving succes in the work. He that hath been tested by his deed, and who hath been considered worthiest by his master, having been commissioned in this business,—success in the work is certain." Then beholding that monkey who was the fittest for the task, that exceedingly energetic one, (Rama), with his mind and senses exhilarated, considering himself as already crowned with success, felt the excess of joy. And well pleased, that subduer of enemies handed to Hanuman a ring inscribed with his name, as a sign unto Ihe king's daughter. "By this sign, O foremost of monkeys, Janaka's daughter will be able to see thee fearlessly, as one that hath come from me. Thy firmness, O hero, and sterling prowess, as well as Sugriva's saying, tell me greatly of success." Thereupon, taking that (ring), and raising his joined palms to his head, that foremost and best of monkeys, saluting (Rama's) feet, went away. Then taking with him that mighty host of monkeys, that hero, the son of the wind, resembled the moon of bright disc in the sky. garnished by the stars, after the clouds have departed. "O thou of excessive strength! I take refuge in thy might. O thou endowed with the prowess of the foremost of lions! do thou, O son of the Wind, O Hanuman, exert thyself so, summoning the great strength thou art master of, that we may obtain Janaka's daughter."

Summoning all the monkeys, that foremost of monkeys, king Sugriva, spake unto them all touching the success of Rama's work. "The monkey-chiefs, knowing the stern command of their lord, should search in all these places.' Then, covering up the earth like locusts, they marched away. Expecting tidings of Sita, Rama remained that month in the vicinity of that cascade, in company with Lakshmana. And that heroic monkey Satavali swiftly set out for the northern regions covered by the monarch of mountains. And that leader of monkey herds, Vinata, proceeded towards the eastern quarter. And that monkey, Hanuman-leader of monkey-herds-in company with Tara, Angada and others. went to the South, inhabited by Agastya. And that lord of monkeys, Sushena, lion among monkeys, went to the terrible western quarter, protected by Varuna. Then, having properly despatched (his forces) in all directions, that general of the monkey hosts, being pleased, gave himself up to sport. Thus despatched by the king, the monkey-chiefs proceeded apace respectively towards their destined quarters. And the monkeys possessed of great strength cried and howled and roared and shouted and rushed and sent up loud ululations. Thus despatched by the king, the leaders of monkey-herds, said, "We shall bring back Sita, and slay Ravana. I alone shall slay Ravana engaged in conflict. And slaying (him), I shall this very day swiftly carry off Janaka's daughter, trembling because of fatigue, (saying unto her), 'Rest thou.' I singlehanded shall recover Janaki even from the nether regions. I shall uproot trees and rive mountains. I shall cleave the earth and vex the deep." (And some said), "I can, without doubt, clear a Yojana at one bound;" and another said, "I can clear an hundred;" and a yet another, "I can more than an hundred. And neither on earth, nor in sea, mountains, woods, nor nether regions, can my course be obstructed." Thus did the apes proud of their strength, severally speak in presence of the sovereign of the monkeys.

On the monkey-chiefs having departed, Rama said unto Sugriva —"How is it that thou knowest all the quarters of this earth?" Thereupon, the self-controlled Sugriva, bowing low, said unto Rama, - "Do thou listen to my words. I shall relate everything. When Vali pursued the Danava Dunduvi [The real name of this Danava is mayavi. He is confusedly called Dunduvi and Mahisha, the latter, in consequence of the

implication that his father having assumed the shape of a buffalo, he has also a like shape.], wearing the form of a buffalo, towards the Malaya mountain, Mahisha entered a cave of that mountain. And Vali also, desirous of slaying the Asura, entered Malaya. And I was made to stand at the mouth in humble guise; nor did Vali issue out, although a good year rolled away. Then the cave became filled with blood gushing out vehemently. Seeing this, I became amazed, and exercised with the poison of grief on account of my brother. And I. losing my sense, thought that my superior had for certain been slain. And I placed a crag huge as a hill at the mouth of the cave. (And thought I), 'Mahisha, unable to issue out, needs must meet his end.' And despairing of his (Vali's) life, I retraced my steps to Kishkindha. And obtaining the spacious kingdom along with Tara and Uma, I began to pass my days in peace in company with his counsellors. Then came that foremost of monkeys, having slain him (Mahisha). Thereupon, I, influenced by fear, in consideration of his dignity, made over to him his monarchy. But Vali, his senses exercised with sorrow, anxious to slay me, in company with his counsellors, pursued me, who took to my heels. Hotly pursued and chased by Vali, I surveyed various streams and woods and cities. And I surveyed the earth like the hoof-print of a cow, or the image reflected from a mirror, or a fire-brand whirled (in the air.) Then repairing to the East, I see various trees, and mountains, and charming caves, and diverse tanks. And there I behold the Ascending mountain decked with gold,-and that daily abode of Apsaras—the sea of milk. And chased by Vali, and flying on, I suddenly veered round, and then again, master. off I went. And changing that direction, I again made for the South crowded with trees belonging to Vindhya, and embellished with sandal woods. Then seeing Vali in the mountain among trees, from the south I, pursued by Vali, betook myself to the western quarter. And beholding various countries, and arriving at that foremost and best of mountains— Asta [The Setting hill.]—I turned to the north; and (passed) Himavat, and Meru, and the Northern sea. But pursued by Vali, refuge find I none. Then out spake Hanuman endeued with understanding, 'O king, now I remember me how that lord of monkeys, Vali, was cursed by Matanga in this very hermitage. If Vali enters (into this asylum), his head becomes cleft in hundred. There we shall dwell happily without anxiety,' O king's son, thereupon, we went to the Rhisyamuka mountain, nor did then Vali enter there from fear of Matanga. Thus, king, did I actually see all the world. And from that place I came to this cave.'

The principal monkeys, having been ordered by the monkey-king, speedily went in all directions to their destinations for the purpose of seeing Vaidehi. And on all sides they explore watery expanses, and streams, and lawns, and commons, and cities, and tracts rendered impassable by torrents. And the leaders of monkey-herds search all those countries, described by Sugriva,-containing mountains, woods and forests. Engaged during the day in search of Sita, at night the monkeys seek the ground (for sleep). In every place, by day coming to trees aye enjoying every season, and crowned with fruits, the monkeys prepared their beds at night. Counting that day [i.e. the day of their departure.] as the first, the principal monkeys, after the month had run out, resigning all hope, came to the Fountain and met with the monkey-king And having explored the Eastern regions, as directed, the exceedingly strong Vinata not having been able to see Sita, came back, in company with his counsellors. And then that mighty ape, Satavali, daunted in spirits, arrived with his forces, after having searched all through the North. And having searched the West in company with his monkeys, Sushena, on the month being complete, presented himself before Sugriva. And coming to Sugriva seated along with Rama behind the Fountain, and saluting the former, Sushena said unto Sugriva, - "Searched have been all the mountains, and deep woods, and streams, and islands embosomed in the ocean, and the various provinces. And also searched have been all the caves which have been described by thee; and searched have been all the groves entertwined with plants; and thickets: and difficult and uneven grounds. And huge animals have been sought out and slain (by us). And all the impracticable places we have explored again and again. O lord of monkeys, possessed of great strength and nobly born, it is Hanuman who will be able to ascertain the whereabouts of Mithila's daughter. And the Wind's son, Hanuman, hath followed even the path by which Sita hath gone."

SECTION 48

The monkey Hanuman in company with Tara and Angada swiftly set out for the quarter assigned by Sugriva. And having proceeded far along with all those foremost of monkeys he explored the caves and woods of Vindhya: spots inaccessible in consequence of streams intervening in front of mountains; and tanks; and tracts filled with trees; and various mountains rife with wild trees. And having searched in all directions, the monkeys could not find Maithili, Janaka's daughter Sita. And subsisting on various fruits and roots, they were overcome with fatigue, after searching dreadful forests, void of water, still and tenantless, as well as other forests of a similar nature. And having searched that country as well mighty forests containing caves, those leaders of monkey-herds fearlessly explored other places, difficult of access, where the trees are fruitless, and without flowers and foliage; where the streams are waterless, and where roots even are rare; where there are no buffaloes, or deer, or elephants, or tigers, or birds-or any other animals that are found in forests. And there are there neither trees, nor annual plants, nor creepers, nor herbs,-and in that place there are no pleasant pools, with cool leaves, and filled with blown lotuses; and it hath been renounced by the black-bees. There dwelleth a Maharshi, Kandu by name, an eminently pious, and truthful ascetic, irascible, and irrepressible because of his practice of self-discipline. In that wood his son, a boy of ten years, his sands having run out, breathed his last; and it is for this that the mighty ascetic hath come under the influence of passion. And cursed by that high-souled one, the entire mighty forest hath become unfit to harbour (any creatures); difficult of entrance; and devoid of birds and beasts. The monkeys carefully search the skirts of its woods, mountain-caves, and the sources of its streams. And those high-souled ones, devoted to the good of Sugriva, did not find Janaka's daughter, or her ravisher, Ravana. And entering (into a wood), they saw a terrible Asura, concealed by the shrubs and plants-of dreadful deeds, and cherishing no fear even of the gods. And seeing that dreadful Asura, seated like a hill, and resembling a mountain, they all tightened their cloths. And that strong one also, saying unto the monkeys, "Destroyed are ye," and uplifting his clenched fist, rushed after them in rage. And as he darted suddenly, Angada, the son of Vali, knowing, "This is Ravana," administered unto him a slap Struck by Vali's son, that Asura, his mouth vomitting blood, fell down to the earth like a hill toppled down. And on his having breathed his last, the monkeys, elated with victory, thoroughly searched that mountain cavern. And when they had satisfied themselves that the cave had been searched all through, the dwellers of the woods entered another fearful mountain cavern. And after having searched (that place) also, they came out fatigued; and with desponding hearts sat them down at a distance under the shade of a tree.

When the eminently wise Angada, fatigued, spake unto all the monkeys, cheering them, -'Woods, and mountains, and rivers, and impenetrable wilds, and valleys, and mountain caverns have been thoroughly searched. But Janaki we have failed to find anywhere.—or that wicked wight, the Rakshasa that hath ravished Sita. And we have spent a great part of the term that had been assigned by Sugriva of stern commands. Therefore, banishing languor, sadness, and invading drowsiness, do ye together search all round. Do ye so search Sita, that she may be found out (by us). High spirits, ability and forwardness in action are said to conduce to success Therefore it is that I speak thus unto you. Ye dwellers of the wood, do ye to day rummage this impenetrable wood; renouncing grief, do ye again search through this forest. Those who act, for certain behold the fruit of their endeavours; but if people once give way to grief, they cannot again attain vigor. Ye monkeys, king Sugriva is irascible; and inflicteth sharp punishments. He should be always feared, as also the magnanimous Rama. I tell you this for your good. Act accordingly, if ye list. And do ye also express what else ye are capable of." Hearing Angada's words Gandhamadana said in candid words faint from thirst and fatigue,-"What Angada hath said unto us is worthy of him, and is beneficial and good. Do you follow his speech. Let us afresh search hills, caves and rocks, vacant forests and mountain cascades,-in accordance with what the high-souled Sugriva hath laid down. Let all in a body rummage the wood, and the mountain caverns." There rising up, the mighty monkeys again began to range the South close with forests belonging to Vindhya. And the monkeys ascended the Silvern Hill resembling the autumnal welkin, graceful, and furnished with summits and valleys. And eager to behold Sita, those excellent monkeys began to search the Lodhra wood, and the Saptaparna forests. And ascending its top [i. e. the top of the Silvern Hill.], those ones endeued with immense prowess, experiencing fatigue, could not find Vaidehi, the beloved spouse of Rama. And having surveyed that hill having many a grot, so far as the eye could range, the monkeys looking all round, descended (the eminence). And having descended to the earth, the monkeys, bewildered, and losing their consciousness, rested for a while at the foot of a tree. And their fatigue having gone off a little, the monkeys, having been refreshed for a while, again prepared to explore the whole South. And the monkey chiefs, headed by Hanuman, having set out (on the search), began to range all through Vindhya.

The monkey, Hanuman, in company with Tara and Angada searcheth the caves and woods of Vindhya,-caverns all around haunted by lions and tigers, and in vast inaccessibls cascades in that foremost of mountains. And they came to the south-western summit of the mountain. And when they sojourned there, their (appointed) term had not expired. And that spacious country, consisting as it did, of caves and grots and woods, was difficult to search. And there the wind-god's offspring searched all over the mountain. And each apart remaining at no great distance from the others, Gaya, Gavakha and Gavaya, Sarava, Gandhamadana, Maindi, Dwivida, and Hanuman, Jambavan, the youthful prince Angada, and Tara, remaining in sight of the wood, after having searched the South-lands covered with mountain ranges, were searching (about), when they espied an unenclosed cavity, difficult of entry, named Vrikshavila, guarded by a Danava. And tried by hunger and thirst, worn out with fatigue, seeking for water, they found that cavity surrounded by trees and plants. And, with their bodies drenched and reddened with lotus dust, Kraunchas and swans and cranes and Chakravakas, came out of the cavity. And drawing nigh to that fragrant and inaccessible cave, those superior monkeys were struck with amaze, and became eager (to enter into it) And with their minds filled with doubt those vigorous foremost of monkeys gladly approached that cave; abounding in diverse animals, resembling the residence of the lord of Daityas [i. e. the subterranean regions, the Underworld.], dazzling, and dreadful, and impenetrable on all sides.—Then Hanuman the son of the wind-god, possessed of the splendour of a mountain-summit, cognisant of woods and forests, said unto the grim-visaged apes, "Having explored the South, (containing) countries enveloped with mountain chains, we have ail got fatigued, but we have failed to find Mithila's daughter. And from yonder cave come out swarms of swans and cranes and kraunchasand chakravakas, drenched with water. For certain here is a well or a watery expanse. And at the mouth of the cave there are these cool trees." Hanuman having said this, all the monkeys went into the cave covered with darkness; without the sun or the moon. capable of making one's down stand on end. And seeing lions, and birds and beasts (ranging around), those tiger-like monkeys entered that cave covered with darkness. And (there) neither their ken, nor their vigor, nor yet their prowess was baffled: and their speed resembled the wind, and their sight remained unimpaired albeit in darkness. And those foremost of monkeys rushed into the cavity; and beheld displayed (before them) an excellent and charming scene. And embracing each other in that fearful cave rife with various trees, they passed over an hundred yojanas. And deprived of their sense, and tried with thirst, and bewildered, and thirsting for water, they for a time vigilantly descended in darkness down the cave. And emaciated, with woe-begone faces, and spent, those monkeys despairing of their lives, (at last) saw light. And those mild ones, coming to a spot free from darkness, saw golden trees, possessed of the brightness of flaming fire. And Salas and palms, and Tamalas, Punnagas, Vanjulas, and Dhavas, Champakas, Naga trees, Karnikaras in flower; with variegated golden bunches and twigs, and crests of clusters, and plants,—embellished with golden garniture; resembling the infantine sun,—on daises composed of lapises;-golden trees with resplendent bodies, having the hues of purple lapises; and lotus-plants flocked with fowls; and (spots) surrounded by large golden trees, like unto the infantine sun; and tanks with large fishes of gold and lotuses, containing pleasant waters—all these they saw there. And the monkeys saw there golden as well as silvern vehicles, and elegant dwellings all round veiled with nets of pearls; having golden balconys; with their grounds paved with gold and silver; and furnished with lapis lazulis. And on all sides they saw trees bearing fruits and flowers resembling coral; and golden black bees, and honey all round, and various spacious seats and beds about dight with gold and jewels. And searching in that cave, the exceedingly effulgent heroic monkeys saw heaps of golden, silver and bell-metal vessels; and heaps of excellent aguru and sandal; and pure fruits and roots; and costly vehicles and various kinds of sapid honey; and loads of costly attire; and lots of variegated woolen cloths and deer-skins; as well as a female, from near. And they found her there, wearing a black deer-skin,— a female ascetic, with restrained fare-as if flaming in energy. Amazed, the monkeys sat them down in a body. And then Hanuman asked 'Who art thou? And to whom doth this cave belong?' And Hanuman like unto a hill, bowing down unto the old women with joined hands, asked her, saying,—'Who art thou? And tell me, to whom belong this edifice and the cave as well as all these jewels."

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Having said this unto that female clad in a piece of black deer-skin, Hanuman asked that highly religious ascetic practising pious offices, "Having rashly entered this cave enveloped in gloom, we have been exercised with hunger and thirst; and are extremely faint. And, having entered this mighty cave underneath the earth, we have become thirsty. And seeing all these wonderful phenomena, we have become afflicted, and bewildered; and have lost our sense. To whom belong these golden trees resembling the infantine sun; and

the pure fruits and roots; and the houses and vehicles of gold and silver, -veiled in networks of jewels, and furnished with golden windows? And by whose energy are these golden trees (here), bearing flowers, crowned with fruits, grateful to the sight, and breathing rich odour? And golden lotuses spring in lucent water,-how golden fishes are discovered in it along with tortoises! Have these sprung from thy power; or do they owe their existence to the ascetic energy of any other? It behoves thee to relate all this unto us who are ignorant of everything." Thus addressed by Hanuman, the female ascetic practising righteousness, and engaged in the welfare of all beings, replied unto Hanuman,-"O foremost of monkeys, there is one, named Maya, spreader of illusions. By him hath this entire golden grove been constructed through his wonderful power of construction. He that hath reared this excellent golden grove, and this charming mansion, was formerly the Vicwakarma [The name of the celestial architect.] of the principal Danavas. Having for a thousand years practised austerities in this vast foiest, he obtained a boon from the Great-father,- in virtue of which he had attained consummate mastery in his art, as well as absolute control over the materials required therein. Having accomplished everything, that powerful one, commanding every enjoyment, for a time happily dwelt in this mighty forest. Then he, happening to conceive a passion for an Apsara, Hema (by name), Purandara, vigorously wielding his thunder-bolt, struck him dead. Then Brahma conferred on Hema this fine forest and this golden mansion, with the perpetual privilege of enjoying every pleasure herein. I, Sayamprabha by name,—the daughter of Merusavarni, guard this house of Hema, O foremost of monkeys. Hema, skilled in dance and song, is my dear friend. Having received her blessing, I guard this vast forest. What is thy errand? And why is it that ye have arrived at these lone woods? And how have you managed to see this inaccessible forest? Having partaken of these fruits and roots intended for use, and drunk, do ye detail all this to

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Then to all the monkey-chiefs, after they had rested, the female ascetic, engaged in righteous practices, eagerly said "Ye monkeys, if your pain hath gone off in these words.consequence of the fare of fruits which you have partaken, and also if it be fit to be heard by me, I would listen to your narration." Hearing her words, Hanuman, the son of the wind-god, in all candour began to relate everything faithfully. "The Sovereign of all this world, resembling Mahendra or Varuna, Rama, the graceful son of Dacaratha, entered the woods of Dandaka, in company with his brother, Lakshmana, as well as his spouse, Vaidehi. His wife hath been forcibly carried off by Ravana. His friend is that heroic king, the monkey named Sugriva. By that monarch of the foremost monkeys have we been despatched (hither). And we have, joining company with these prime monkeys headed by Angada, come to the South, protected by Yama, and inhabited by Agastya. And we have been commissioned, 'Do ye all search for the Rakshasa Ravana, wearing forms at will, along with Videha's daughter, Sita'. Having searched through the forest as well as the ocean on the South, we, becoming hungry, sat down at the foot of a tree. And with pallid countenances, we all, absorbed in thought, sank in a wide sea of anxiety, which we could not cross. And casting our eyes around, we spyed a huge cave covered with trees and plants and enveloped in gloom. And (it came to pass that) from this (cave) came out swans, drenched with water, with drops of water on their wings,-and plumed kuravas and cranes. 'Let us enter here', said I unto the monkeys. And they also arrived at that conclusion. And thereupon they, bestirring themselves, entered into the cave. And firmly griping each other's hands, they at once made entry into the cave covered with darkness. This is our errand; and it is on this job that we have come. And having come to thee, hungry and exhausted, we, who had been sore tried by hunger, have been entertained with fruits and roots, agreeably to the code regulating hospitality. And as thou hast saved the monkeys, who were weary and suffering from hunger, tell (me), -what benefit shall the monkeys do thee in return?" Thus addressed by the apes, the all-knowing Sayamprabha replied unto the monkey-chiefs, saying,-"Well pleased am I with the fast-footing monkeys. But by one engaged in my duties, there is no work that is desiderated." Thus accosted in excellent words fraught with asceticism and righteousness. Hanuman spoke unto that one of faultless eyes. saying,—"We all take refuge in thee, practising piety. The term that had been fixed by the high-souled Sugriva in respect of us, shall all be spent in this cave. Therefore it behoveth thee to deliver us from this place. And it behoveth thee to save us, exercised with fear for Sugriva,-who, happening to override Sugriva's command, shall lose our lives. And, further, O thou that practisest righteousness, great is the task that is to be performed by us. But if we stay here, that work of ours shall remain unaccomplished." Thus addressed by Hanuman, the ascetic said,-"Once entering, hard it is for any one to return (hence) alive. But by the potency of my asceticism acquired through self-discipline, I shall deliver all the monkeys from

this den. Ye foremost of monkeys, do ye close your eyes. No one is able to issue out of this place without closing one's eyes." Then they, eagerly desirous of going out, closed their sight with their hands furnished with tender fingers. And the magnanimous monkeys, with their faces covered with their palms, were in the twinkling of an eye, liberated from the den by her. And then the pious anchoret spoke unto them there. And when they had come out of the fearful den, cheering them up, she said,— "This is the fair Vindhya mountain filled with various trees and herbs. This is the Pracravana hill; and this is the great deep. Fair Fortune! I go to my abode, ye foremost of monkeys." Having spoken thus, Sayamprabha entered that captivating cave.

Then they saw the ocean-abode of Varuna-shoreless,

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resounding, rife with dreadful billows. Exploring the mountain fastness of Maya [Named Rhikshavila.], they spent the month that had been set by the king. Then sitting down at the foot of the Vindhya mountain, containing blossoming trees, at that time [i. e. at the beginning of winter.] those high-souled ones indulged in reflections. And beholding vernal trees bending beneath the load of flowers, and environed by hundreds of plants, they were inspired with apprehension. And each knowing that spring had appeared, they, the term apppointed for their task having run out, dropped down on the ground. Thereat, with bland words properly honouring the aged apes and the rest dwelling in the woods, that monkey having the shoulders of a lion or a bull. and plump and broad arms—the youthful prince Angada, endowed with high wisdom, spoke,—"We have come out at the mandate of the monarch of monkeys. While we sojourned in the cave, a full month had passed away, ye monkeys. Why do yoti not understand this? We set out, engaging that our term of search should reach no further than the end of Kartika [October.]; but that hath expired. Now, what next is to be done? having received the orders (of the king), ye, conversant with morality, engaged in the welfare of your master, expert in every work,incomparable in execution, and renowned in every quarter, have come out, commanded by the lord of monkeys. Now, having failed to attain our object, we shall meet with death, There is no doubt whatever about this. Who, having been unsuccessful in doing the mandate of the king of monkeys, enjoyeth ease? Now all the rangers of the forest should fast unto death. Naturally stern, Sugriva, established as our master, shall not forgive us, when we repair there, after having disgressed thus. Sita not having been found out, Sugriva, for certain, shall commit this sin [i. e. slay us.]. Therefore it is fit that, forsaking our sons, and wives, and wealth, and homes, we this very day sit down to starve ourselves to death. Death at this place is preferrable to the unequal punishment (we must meet with at the hands of Sugriva). And, further, I have not been installed heirapparent by Sugriva: I have been sprinkled by that foremost of kings, Rama of untiring energy. Entertaining enmity against me of old, the king, seeing this lapse, must be firmly determined to take my life by means of a severe sentence. What is the use of suffering my friends to look on my disaster at the last moment of my existence? Therefore even on this sacred shore of the sea shall I sit down to starve myself." Hearing the tender prince speak thus, all those principal monkeys pathetically observed,— "Sugriva is harsh by nature, and Raghava loveth his wife dearly. The time appointed having passed by, seeing us (come) without attaining success in the task, and seeing us arrive without obtaining a sight of Vaidehi, (Sugriva) shall certainly slay us from the desire of doing what is agreeable to Raghava. Those who have transgressed, cannot come to the side of their master. Having come hither as the principal servants of Sugriva, we shall either see Sita or obtain information concerning her, or else, O hero, we shall repair to the mansion of Yama." Hearing the speeches of the monkeys afflicted with fear, Tara said,use of indulging in grief. If ye relish it, let us all entering the cave, dwell there. This place abounding in flowers and waters, meats and drinks.— which hath been brought forth by the power of illusion, is incapable of being approached. Here we have no fear from Purandara, or Raghava, or the king of monkeys." Hearing the welcome words of Angada, the monkeys, being convinced, said,-"Do thou this very day so order that we may not be slain.

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When Tara, bright as the moon, had spoken thus, Hanuman felt as if Angada had already deprived (Sugriva) of his kingdom.172 Hanuman deemed Vali's son as endowed with intelligence consisting of eight elements; with power of four kinds; and the four and ten virtues; as ever fraught with energy, strength and prowess; as growing in grace like the moon during the lighted fortnight; as resembling Brihaspati in intelligence; and in prowess, his own sire; and as ever listening to Tara's counsels, as Purandara listens to the counsels of Sukra. And Hanuman versed in all branches of learning, finding Angada Backward in the affair of his master, began to inspire him with fear. He, wealthy in words, laying

under contribution the second of the four means, had created division among those monkeys. On their being divided, he (Hanuman) set about raising Angada's apprehension by various fear-fraught speech, referring to punishments. "O Tara's son, thou art for certain more capable of fight than even thy sire; and thou art also able to hold the monkeykingdom as firmly as he. But, O foremost of monkeys, the monkeys are always inconstant in character. Bereft of their wives and sons, they shall not bear thy behest. And they shall never take to thee. This I tell thee in presence of all. And I will tell thee what. Thou neither by the virtues of conciliation, charity and the rest, nor by chastisement, shalt succeed in drawing to thy side this Jambavan, or Nila, or the mighty ape Suhotra, or myself. A strong one wronging another that is weak, can live: therefore a weak person anxious for selfpreservation, should never wrong (a strong individual). Thou considerest that this cave may serve for thy protectress, having heard of it (said by Tara); but to rive the same is but light work for the shafts of Lakshmana. Formerly this was cleft a little by Indra, with his thunderbolt hurled (against it); but now Lakshmana would pierce it like a leaf-stalk, by means of his keen arrows. Lakshmana hath many an iron arrow like Indra's thunderbolt or that of the sky, capable of riving even mountains. O subduer of enemies, soon as thou shalt set up here, the monkeys, making up their minds, shall forsake thee. Remembering their wives and sons, ever anxious (on account of Sugriva), pining for domestic happiness, and aggrieved (at their pitiable plight), they shall turn their backs upon thee. Then forsaken by thy kindred as well as friends seeking thy welfare, thou shalt be struck with affright even at a quaking blade of grass. If thou make head (against Sugriva), the sharpened shafts of Lakshmana, terrible, of exceeding impetuosity and mighty vehemence, and incapable of being baffled, shall be eager to slay thee. On the contrary, if thou in humble guise present thyself (before him) along with us, he shall establish thee in the kingdom, in consideration of thy being the next heir. A righteous sovereign, steady in vow, clean, and truthful in promise, thy uncle, who cherishes affection for thee, shall not by any means chastise thee. And he loves thy mother, and his life is for her; and she hath no other son. Therefore, O Angadu, go along with us.'

SECTION 55

Hearing Hanuman's speech, uttered meekly, fraught with morality, and reflecting honour upon Sugriva, Angada said,— "Firmness, and mental sanctity, mercy, candour, prowess, and patience, are not in Sugriva. He that, while her son is living, appropriateth the beloved queen of his elder brother, mother unto him by morality, is hated of all beings). How can he that could cover up the mouth of the cave, when he had been desired by his brother gone on martial mission, to guard the same,--(how can he) know morality? Whose good office rememhereth he who could forget the renowned Raghava himself of mighty deeds, after having, in the name of truth, taken his hand? How can he reap religious merit, that directed us to search Sita here, from fear of Lakshmana, and not from fear of unrighteousness? What noble person, in especial, sprung in his race, shall any longer repose confidence in that impious one of unstable soul who hath run amuck of morality? Meritorious or otherwise, how can Sugriva, having installed in the kingdom me, son (of his enemy) and the enemy sprung in his race,-suffer me to live? How can I, whose counsels have been revealed, who have transgressed, and who have been deprived of my power, repairing to Kishkindha like one forlorn and feeble, live? For the sake of his kingdom, Sugriva, wily, cunning and cruel, shall put me in solitary confinement. For me fasting to death is better than being confined and suffering the consequent misery. Do ye grant me your permision; and go to your homes, ye monkeys. I vow before you, to the palace I will never repair. At this very spot will I fast for death; as death is good for me. Bowing unto the king as well as unto the powerful Raghava, ye should communicate my well-being unto Sugriva-lord of apesand my health and peace unto my mother Uma. And it behoves you also to console my mother, Tara. Naturally fond of her son, and overflowing with tenderness, that lorn one, hearing of my death at this place, shall certainly renounce her life." Having said this, Angada, saluting the elders, with a woebegone face entered the earth covered with grass. When he had entered, those foremost monkeys, stricken with sorrow, weeping shed warm tears from their eyes. And censuring Sugriva and praising Vali, they, surrounding Angada, determined to starve themselves to death. Taking to heart the speech of Vali's son, those prime monkeys, sipping water, sat down facing the East. And sitting on the edge of the water on grass pointing to the south, the foremost monkeys, wishing for surcease, thought within themselves,-"Even this is fit for us." And as they spoke of the exile of Rama and the demise of Dacaratha, the carnage in Janasthana, the slaving of Jatavu. the ravishment of Vaidehi, the slaughter of Vali, and the ire of Rama, the monkeys were seized with fear. When those monkeys resembling mountain-summits had entered in, they set up cries, which, like unto the rumbling of clouds, making the sky resound, made that mountain with its rills reverberate.

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When the monkeys had been seated in that mountain, with the intention of putting a period to their existence through fasting, a king of vultures happened to come to that quarter. And that long-lived bird was named Sampati, the beautiful brother of Jatayu, famous for his strength and prowess. Issuing from a cavern of the mighty mountain Vindhya, he, seeing the monkeys seated, well pleased, said— "Verily man reapeth the fruit of his former acts; and therefore it is that this food ordained to that end, comes to me after a long time. I shall feed on these monkeys, one by one, slaying them one after another." Eying those apes, the bird expressed himself thus. Hearing this speech of the bird coveting his food, Angada faintly spoke to Hanuman, "Behold! through Sita's simplicity this one—the very son of the Sun. Yama—hath come to this place, to exterminate the monkeys. Rama's work hath not been done; nor the royal mandate. And this disaster hath arrived unthought of by the monkeys. Ye have in detail heard all that, inspired with the desire of doing what is good unto Vaidehi, that king of vultures, Jatayu, did here. In this way, all creatures, even the brute species, compass the welfare of Rama, renouncing their lives, as we do. It is because of the love and tenderness they bear towards (Rama), that people do good unto each other. And therefore the righteous Jatayu, of his own accord laying down his life, hath done the pleasure of Rama. We also, overcome with fatigue and (almost) dying, have come to this forest; but Mithila's daughter we find not. Happy is that king of vultures, having been slain by Ravana in battle. He hath got quit of the fear of Sugriva, and hath also attained supreme state. In consequence of the death of Jatayu and that of king Dacaratha, as well as owing to the ravishment of Vaidehi, (the lives of) the monkeys have come into jeopardy. Rama's and Lakshmana's abode in the forest with Sita, Raghava's slaying of Vali with a shaft, the slaughter of innumerable Rakshasas by the enraged Rama. and (finally) this mishap—all these owe their orgin to the bestowal of the boon on Kaikeyi." Seeing the monkeys stretched on the earth, and hearing their piteous words describing their grief, that magnanimous king of vultures, with his mind agitated, said (this). And hearing the words that issued from Angada's mouth, the sharp-beaked and high-toned vulture, said,— "Who is it that, making my mind tremble, speaketh of the death of my brother, Jatayu, dearer unto me than life? How happened in Janasthana the fight between the Rakshasa and the vulture? It is after a long time that to-day I hear the name of my brother. I wish to alight from this mountain-fastness. I have been well pleased by listening after a long time to the celebration of the virtues of my younger brother, cognisant of qualities and worthy of being extolled by reason of his prowess. Ye foremost of monkeys, I wish to hear of the destruction of Jatayu, who dwelt in Janasthana. And how could Dacaratha, whose beloved eldest son is Rama, dear unto his superiors, be the friend of my brother? I can not move in consequence of my wings having been burnt by the solar rays. But I wish that ve may take me down from this mountain.

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Hearing his accents faltering through grief, the leaders of monkey-herds, alarmed by his action, did not repose confidence in his speech. Seated for the purpose of fasting to death, the monkeys, seeing the vulture, with terror thought within themselves,—"He shall eat us all up. If he eat us up, who have sat down to fast to death, we shall secure success, and speedily attain our end." Then those monkey-chiefs resolved thus. And descending from the summit of the mountain, Angada spoke unto the vulture,-"There was a lord of monkeys named Rhiksharaja, endowed with prowess. That king, O bird, was my grandsire. He had two virtuous sons, exceedingly powerful both—Vali and Sugriva. My father, Vali, was famed in the world for his deeds. And it came to pass that mighty monarch of all this earth, descendant of the Ikshwakus, the great and graceful car-warrior, Rama, son unto Dacaratha, intent upon the injunction of his sire, resorting to the path of righteousness, entered the woods of Dandaka in company with his brother, Lakshmana and his wife Vaidehi. And his spouse was forcibly carried away from Janasthana. And the friend of Rama's father, the king of vultures, named Jatayu, saw Videha's daughter, Sita, as she was being carried away in the sky. And after having thrown down Ravana from his car, and placed Maithili on the ground, (that vulture) old and overcome with fatigue was (at length) slain by Ravana in battle. Thus slain by the powerful Ravana, the vulture, having had his funereal obsequies performed by Rama (himself), hath attained excellent state. Then Raghava made friends with my uncle, the high-souled Sugriva; and he also slew my sire. My father had debarred Sugriva from the kingdom along with his counsellors; but Rama, having slain Vali installed him (Sugriva) And established in the monarchy by him (Rama), Sugriva is (now) the master of the monkeys and king of all the foremost monkeys. By him have we been sent. Despatched hither by Rama, we have searched for Sita all round, but Vaidehi we have not found, as one doth not find the solar splendour at night. And it came to pass that, having heedfully explored the Dandaka forest, we through ignorance entered a cave lying open before. That cave, thou must know, was constructed by the illusive energy of Maya. And there we spent a month—the term which had been fixed by the monarch. Doing the behests of the king of monkeys, we, having over-stayed the term which had been appointed, have from fear sat here down for the purpose of fasting unto death. On that Kakutstha being wrought up with wrath, as well as Sugriva together with Lakshmana, we, repairing thither, shall lose our lives."

SECTION 58

When the monkeys, whose lives had well nigh departed out of them, had spoken these piteous words, the vulture, in solemn accents, with tears in his eyes, said unto the monkeys, "Ye monkeys, ye have said that my younger brother, named Jatayu, hath been slain in battle by the powerful Ravana. On account of my age and want of wings, I, although hearing this, bear it. Nor have I strength to-day to clear scores touching my brother's enmity. Formerly, while engaged in the destruction of Vritra, he and I, burning for victory, soared in the sky near the flaming sun, garlanded by glory. Thence impetuously wheeling round, we went to the celestial regions along the etherial way. And it came to pass that, coming midway of the sun, Jatayu was faint. Witnessing my brother severely struck by the solar rays, and exceedingly stupified, I from affection shadowed him with my wings. Thereat, my pinions scathed, I dropped down on Vindhya, ve foremost of monkeys; and staying here, I could not know the circumstances that have befallen my brother." Thus addressed by Jatayu's brother, Sampati, the eminently wise prince Angada answered, -"if thou art indeed the brother of Jatayu, having heard what I have related, tell (us) if thou knowest touching the abode of that Rakshasa. Tell us if thou knowest anent that short-sighted worst of Rakshasas, Ravana, whether staying far or near." Thereat, rejoicing the monkeys, the exceedingly energetic elder brother of Jatayu spoke words worthy of him, -"Ye monkeys, my pinions have been burnt; and I am a vulture shorn of strength. Therefore I will help Rama well by my words. I know the realms of Varuna, and Vishnu's Trivikrama [i. e. the worlds enveloped by his three steps during his Dwarf Incarnation, worlds, the wars of the gods and Asuras, and the churning for ambrosia. And albeit age hath deprived me of energy, and albeit my life hangs loosely on me, yet, if this is Rama's work, it should be done by me first. I have seen a youthful and beautiful female, adorned with all ornaments, carried away by the wicked Ravana,—the lady (all the while) crying, 'O Rama!' 'O Rama!' 'O Lakshmana!' And taking her ornaments from her person, she was throwing them on the ground. Her silken cloth seemed like the solar splendour on the summit of a mountain; and herself beside the sable Rakshasa, looked like the lightning in the welkin (beside clouds). From your relation of Rama, I conclude that she must be Sita. Now listen to me as I tell you about the abode of that Rakshasa. Son unto Vicrayana and brother unto Vaicravana, the Rakshasa named Ravana resides in the city of Lanka. And the lovely city of Lanka, reared by Vicwakarma, lieth a full hundred yojanas hence on an island in the sea; furnished with golden gateways, filled with variegated daises, lordly gold-gleaming palaces; and girt round with great walls hued like sunshine. There stayeth Vaidehi, forlorn and clad in a silken cloth,—confined in the inner apartment of Ravana, and carefully guarded by Rakshasis. In Lanka protected all round by the sea, ye shall behold Janaka's daughter, Maithili. At the end of the ocean after a full hundered yojanas, arriving at its southern shore, ye shall see Ravana. Ye monkeys, do ye hie thither speedily with vigor. I perceive by my knowledge that having seen (that place), ye shall come back. The first course belongs to forktailed shrikes and others living on grain; the second, to those that live on animals and fruits; the third is ranged by Bhashas; the fourth by Kraunchas, Kuvaras and hawks; the fifth by vultures; the sixth belongs to swans endowed with youth and beauty; and the next to the Vainatevas. We have derived our origin from Vainateya [Aruna, son unto Vinata.]. (By despatching you thither), I shall avenge the heinous deed perpetrated by the cannibal, as well as the wrong done by Ravana unto my brother. Resting here, I see Ravana and Janaki. We have excellent Sauparna clairvoyance. For this reason, as well as owing to the energy consequent on our feeding on certain kinds of flesh, we, ye monkeys, can see a little further than an hundred yojanas. Therefore (the Deity) hath ordained such food for us as are fraught with the power of making one see from a great distance. And the abode of cocks and others being underneath trees, their sight is limited to the extent which they require to see. Do ye look about for means to cross over the salt waters. Having met with Vaidehi, do ve. having achieved success, come back. I wish to be taken by you to the ocean-abode of Varuna I will offer water unto (the manes of) my high-souled brother, who hath gone to heaven." Thereat those heroes, the monkeys possessed of exceeding energy, carried to the destined spot on the shore of the ocean, Sampati, whose wings had been scathed. Then carrying that lord of vultures back to the self-same place, the

monkeys, furnished with information (concerning Sita), experienced great joy.

SECTION 59.

Then hearing that ambrosial speech of the vulture-king, the monkey-chiefs, being delighted, kept on parleying (on that topic). Then Jambayan—foremost of monkeys—together with all the monkeys, arising suddenly from the ground spoke unto the vulture-king, saying,-"Where is Sita? By whom hath she been seen? And who hath carried away Mithila's daughter? Do thou tell ue all about this, and (thus) prove the path of those rangers of the woods. Who is there that doth not take heed of the force of Dacarathi's [Lit. Dacaratha's son. The term it applied in especial to Rama.] and Lakshmana's arrows, speeding with the vehemence of thunder?" Thereat, cheering up those monkeys, who had risen from their attitudes of fasting, and who were all attention to hear news concerning Sita, he (Sampati), well pleased, said these words,-"Listen as to how I came to know of the ravishment of Vaidehi, Sita, at this place; and who it was that told me where that one of expansive eyes is. For a long time I lay here. old, and of feeble life and energy. That best of birds, my son named Suparcwa, coming to me, at the proper hour maintained me with food. Gandharbas are exceedingly lascivious; serpents are exceedingly wrathful; fear is excessive in deer; and we have excessive hunger. Once on a time my son, going forth about sunrise to procure food for me who was suffering from hunger and (accordingly) eager for it, came back in the evening without any flesh. Hurt (by my speech uttered) in consequence of my non-receipt of food, that enhancer of my joy, asking my forgiveness, said these words fraught with fact,—'Father, taking to my wings at the proper time for procuring flesh, I (went) and stood, obstructing the pass of the Mahendra mountain. There stood I looking down, obstructing the way of thousands of creatures ranging the sea. There I saw somebody resembling a mass of crushed collyrium, going away, taking a female resembling the rising sun in splendour. Seeing them, I had made up my mind that they should serve for thy fare, when he humbly in a pacific manner begged for way. Even among the mean, there is none on earth that can slay people who assume a mild attitude. What shall I say, alas! of superior ones like myself? And summoning celerity, he went on as if pushing off the sky by his energy. Then the rangers of the air and other beings worshipped me. And the Maharshis said unto me,-By luck it is that Sita is still living -He together with a female, having passed by thee, certainly augurs good fortune unto thee. —Then those eminently handsome Siddhas spoke thus unto me.-This is Rayana, the king of the Rakshasas, said they unto me. And I (stood), beholding the wife of Rama, son unto Dacaratha,throwing off her ornaments and silken apparel, overwhelmed by might of sorrow, with hair dishevelled crying out the names of Rama and Lakshmana. This O father, is the reason of my passing the time.' That best of those skilled in speech, Suparcwa, said all this unto me. Even hearing of this, I could not think of putting forth prowess. How can a bird bereft of wings, undertake any thing? But listen! I will tell you as to what I am capable of through speech, intellect and merit, and what ye can exert your manliness in. I will do what is agreeable unto you by my words and my intention. That which is Dacarathi's work is also mine. Of this there is no doubt. Ye, foremost in intelligence, strong, intellectual, and incapable of being overcome by the gods themselves, have been despatched by the monarch of monkeys. And Rama's and Lakshmana's shafts furnished with the feathers of the Kanka, are competent to afflict or save the three worlds. And although the Ten-necked one is endowed with strength and energy, yet to you who are competent, nothing is hard to accomplish. There is no need of delay. Make up your minds. Persons like you do not give way to laziness in enterprise.'

SECTION 60.

When the vulture had offered oblations of water unto the manes of his deceased brother and finished his ablutions, the monkey-chiefs sat down in that charming mountain, surrounding him. And inspired with confidence (in the words of the Nicakara), Sampati, from delight, said unto Angada, who was seated, surrounded by all the monkeys,-"Remaining silent, do ye, ye monkeys, needfully hear what I say. I will tell you truly how I came to know Maithili. My body being affected by solar heat, and my wings burnt by the rays of the sun, O sinless one, I formerly fell to this summit of Vindhya. On regaining my senses after six nights, during which I was insensible, I looked around in bewilderment, but could not recognise anything whatever. Then closely viewing oceans and mountains, rivers and tanks, and woods and countries, my thoughts came back to me. And seeing this place abounding in cheerful birds, containing woods and crested with summits. I for certain concluded it to be Vindhya on the shores of the Southern sea. And here lay a sacred asylum, honoured even by the celestials, and here dwelt a saint named Nicakara, of fierce austerities. And after Nicakara cognisant of virtue had gone to heaven, I bereft of that saint, passed eight thousand years in this mountain. Descending with

difficulty from the uneven top of Vindhya, I again came to the earth covered with sharp-pointed grass. I was eager to see the saint; and (therefore), with much ado I came to him; and Jatayu and myself saw that saint many a time and oft. A fragrant breeze blew about the hermitage; and no tree was found that did not bear flowers and fruits. Approaching the holy asylum, I, desirous of beholding the worshipful Nicakara, waited at the foot of a tree. Then at a distance I saw the saint, flaming in energy and irrepressible.—returning northwards. And as creatures gather round a giver, bears and Srimaras, tigers, lions, and various reptiles, were going along, surrounding him. And knowing that the saint had arrived (at his home), the animals went away, as go away forces together with counsellors, when the sovereign hath entered (his palace).—The saint was glad on seeing me. Then re-entering his asylum for a short space, he came out and enquired for my mission. 'O mild one, in consequence of thy feathers having undergone alteration, I cannot recognise thee. Thy two wings have been blasted by fire; and thy powers in thy frail frame are (in the same condition). Aforetime I saw two vultures like unto wind in speed,—kings of vultures, brothers, wearing shapes at will. Thou art I know, elder, O Sampati; and Jatayu is younger to thee. Assuming human forms, you had taken hold of my feet. Now, what ailment hath attacked thee? And why have thy plumes fallen off? And who hath dealt this punishment unto thee? Do thou tell all this unto me, who am asking thee'.

SECTION 61.

Thereat Sampati related unto the ascetic all about his fearful, arduous, and rash act of following up the sun. "O reverend sire, in consequence of my body suffering from sores, I, my senses bewildered from shame, and myself fatigued, cannot utter words. From pride for power of flight, I and Jatayu, being intoxicated by conceit, began to voyage the sky afar off, with the view of testing each other's prowess, binding ourselves by the vow that we would follow the Sun so long as he did not enter that mighty Setting mountain, - and appear before the ascetics on the summit of Kailacya. And simultaneously plunging (into the aerial deep) we saw on the earth beneath separate cities resembling car-wheels; and here the sound of musical instruments; and there the tinklings of ornaments. And (at places) we beheld many a damsel clad in red attire, engaged in singing. And swiftly darting up into the sky and approaching the path of the Sun, we saw a wood interspersed with swards. And we saw the earth covered with crags and masses of rocks, and intersected by streams resembling threads. And Himavan, and Vindhya, and that mighty mountain, Meru, appeared on the earth like elephants in a tank. Then we began to sweat, and to be filled with regret; and fear seized us both. And we became bewildered; and fainted away frightfully. And we knew not the south, or the west, or the quarter presided over by Fire [South-east.]; and the world that was still burning at the end of a yuga, appeared (unto us) as if it had been consumed quite. And my mind, combined with my eyes waxed feebler. And then fixing with might and main my eyes as well as my mind (on the sun), I could by a violent exercise of my energy behold the sun. And the sun shining, appeared unto us like the earth in extent. Then, without asking me Jatayu dropped to the earth. Seeing him, I at once descended from the sky and Jatayu was not burnt in consequence of having been shielded by my wings. And scathed through the agitation, I fell through the aerial way. I guessed that Jatayu fell in Janasthana. And I myself, my wings blasted, and rendered inert, fell on Vindhya. Deprived of my kingdom, and my brother, and my wings, and my prowess, I wishing to put a period to my existence, will hurl myself headlong from this summit of the mountain.

SECTION 62

Having said this unto that foremost of ascetics, I smitten with grief, began to weep. Thereat, after, reflecting for a while, that reverend one said,-"Thy wings together with two smaller ones shall grow again; as also thy sight, energy, prowess and strength. And having heard of it, and also seen it through ascetic power, I know that a great deed is going to take place. There shall be a king named Dacaratha, increaser of the Ikshwaku race. He shall have a son, named Rama, endowed with exceeding energy. And he (Rama) shall repair to the forest in company with his brother, Lakshmana; that one having truth for prowess, having been commissioned to that effect by his sire. A fiend named Rayana, the lord of Rakshasas, incapable of being slain by either the gods or the Danavas, shall carry off his (Rama's) spouse in Janasthana. And albeit tempted by viands and objects of enjoyment and desire, the famous and highly virtuous one, plunged in grief, shall not pertake of those things. And knowing that Videha's daughter (hath been fasting for many a day), Vasava shall offer Vaidehi payaca like unto ambrosia, difficult of being procured even by the gods. Receiving that food, Maithili, knowing that it hath come from Indra, took up a little of it from the surface, and dropped it to the earth for Rama. Whether my husband as well as his younger brother live, or they have attained godhead, let this food serve for them.'

Rama's envoys, having been despatched thither, shall come hither. Thou shouldst relate unto them all the facts connected with the queen of Rama. Do not by any means go hence; and in this case, whither, again, wilt thou repair? Do thou stay here for season and place. Thou shalt regain thy wings. I could this very day furnish thee with wings. But, by staying here in this condition, thou wilt be able to compass the welfare of the worlds. Even thou shalt do that act in behalf of those sons of the king, of the Brahmanas, of the spiritual preceptors, of the ascetics, and of Vasava. I also am desirous of beholding the brothers, Rama and Lakshmana. I do not wish to hold this life long. I would renounce my life.' That Maharshi, conversant with the nature of things, told me this."

SECTION 63.

Having praised me with these and many other words, and bidden me adieu that one skilled in speech, entered his own habitation. Issuing out gently from the cave of that mountain, I, ascending Vindhya, was expecting you. The space covered by the time intervening between then and to-day is a little over an hundred years; and laying up in my heart the speech of that ascetic. I have been awaiting season and place. Setting out on his great journey, on Nicakara having gone to heaven, I distracted with various thoughts, have been consumed by grief. My rising intention of doing away with myself I have suppressed in consideration of the words of the ascetic. The reason which he had imparted unto me for preserving my life, hath removed my pains, even as a flaming fire (dispells darkness). And knowing the prowess of the impious Ravana, I said in rage to my son, versed in speech,—'Hearing her lamentation, and knowing Rama and Lakshmana bereft of Sita, why didst thou not deliver her?' My son did not do this good office unto Dacaratha, influenced by affection for him. As he was speaking thus in the midst of the monkeys, his wings sprang up in presence of the rangers of the forest. Thereupon, seeing his person furnished with grown pinions hued like the infant sun, he experienced incomparable raptures, and addressed the monkeys, saying,- "By the grace of that Rayarshi of immeasurable energy, my wings, which had been burnt up by the rays of the sun, have grown again. To-day I have got (back) the strength and prowess which I possessed while my youth was yet present. Do ye strive every way. Ye shall meet with Sita. And my getting (back) my wings inspires (us) with confidence as to success." Having said this unto all the monkeys, that ranger of the sky and best of birds. Sampati, anxious to ascertain his power of flight, flew up from the mountain summits. Hearing his words, those powerful monkeys, with vigour (enhanced), seeing success before them, felt the height of joy. Then those foremost of monkeys, in vigor resembling the Wind, getting occasion for displaying their prowess, intent wpon searching the Janaka's daughter, set forward towards the quarter crested by Abhijit. [Abhijita bhimukhan (accusative) Abhijit—the name of a star. Abhijit may also mean—he who is to be conquered. Then the sense would be, "the region in which Ravana was."]

SECTION 64

Having heard all this related to them by the vulture-king, the monkeys possessing the strength of lions, filled with delight, bounded and set up a roar. Hearing from Sampati that Ravana was to be slain, the monkeys growing glad, came to the ocean, with the desire of seeing Sita. And coming to that country, these ones prossessing dreadful prowess, beheld (the sea) reflecting the image of this entire mighty world. And arriving at the northern side of the Southern sea, those exceedingly powerful heroic monkeys took up their quarters there. And seeing the sea, here as if asleep, there, as if playful, and at another place with surges measuring mountains; and thronged with the foremost Danavas inhabiting the nether regions; and capable of causing one's hair to stand on end, those powerful monkeys were seized with sadness. And seeing the sea, incapable of being crossed even as the sky, all the monkeys began to lament, saying,-"What is to be done?" And that best of monkeys- (Angada), seeing the army cast down because of the sight of the sea, began to comfort the monkeys, afflicted with fear. "We should not indulge in grief. Grief is injurious.— Grief destroys a person even as a wrathful serpent doth a boy. He that, when the time is come for displaying his prowess, indulges in sorrow, growing weak in energy, fails to attain his object." That night having passed away, Angada in company with the monkeys, joined by the old ones, again took counsel with them. And that monkeyhost surrounding Angada, resembled the host of Maruts environing Vasava. Who save Vali's son (stationed) at one place and at another Hanuman, could be capable of stilling that force? Then saluting the elders as well as the army, the graceful Angada— repressor of foes—spoke words fraught with sense,—"What person, endued with exceeding energy, shall now leap over the main? Who shall serve that subduer of enemies, Sugriva, ever intent on truth? What monkey can leap over an hundred yojanas? Who shall deliver leaders of herds from a mighty fear? By whose favour shall we, crowned with success and rendered happy, returning from this place, shall behold our wives and our sons, and our homes? By whose

favour shall we joyfully meet Rama, and the mighty Lakshmana, and that dweller in the woods, Sugriva? If any monkey among you is competent to bound over the deep, let him at once confer on us Dakshina in the shape of deliverance from fear." Hearing Angada's speech, none said anything. And that host of monkeys wavered. Then that foremost of monkeys again addressed those monkeys, saying,—All of you are the foremost of strong ones, and of steady prowess. And ye have sprung in blameless lines, and are ever honoured (by the king). And yet no one of you can promise to undertake this journey? Ye best of monkeys, unfold your respective powers in bounding."

SECTION 65

Hearing Angada's speech, those foremost monkeys one after another began to speak, touching their respective competence in coursing-Gaya, and Gavaksha, and Gavaya, and Sarabha, and Gandhamadana, and Mainda, and Dwivida, and Angada, and Jambavan. And Gaya said.—"I can leap over ten yojanas" And Gavaksha said,—"I shall go twenty yojanas" And the monkey Sarabha said to those monkeys,—"Ye monkeys, I shall go thirty yojanas." And the monkey, Rhishava, said to those monkeys,—"I shall, without doubt, go forty yojanas" And the exceedingly energetic monkey, Gandhamadana, said, -"I shall, for certain go fifty yojanas And the monkey Mainda said unto the monkeys there,shall undertake to leap over sixty yojanas." And then the highly energetic Dwivida said,—"I shall, for certain, go seventy vojanas. And the highly powerful Sushena, possessed of strength-foremost of monkeys said- "I declare that in motion I am equal to eighty yojanas." As they were speaking thus, the oldest of them all, Jambavan, saluting them, answered-"Formerly we had power of motion. But now we have waxed exceeding old. Although this is so, yet we can not overlook this, as both Rama and the monkey-king (by sending us) have become sure of success. At present do thou understand the course that is ours. I shall go ninety yojanas. There is no doubt whatever about this." Jambavan said this unto those choice monkeys. But (formerly) my prowess in leaping was forsooth not such. Of old in the sacrifice of Virochana's son, the eternal Lord Vishnu, when he had covered the entire universe with three steps, was circumambulated by me. But I who was all this, have waxed old, and my vigor sits feebly upon me. In my youth, however, my strength was exceeding great and incomparable. Now I can only by my own energy, course thus far. But such a bound shall not bring success on our undertaking. After this, saluting the mighty monkey, Jambavan, the wise Angada spoke straight sense, saying,—"I can go over this mighty hundred yojanas; but there is no certainty as to my power of returning.' Thereat, Jambavan, cognisant of speech, said unto that foremost of monkeys,-"O foremost of leonine ones, we know thy power of motion, thou art capable of coursing a hundred thousand yojanas, as well as of coming back. But we say that even this is what is fit. My child, the master must on no account be commanded by his servants. O foremost of monkeys, all these should be commanded by thee. Thou art our spouse, and (at the same time) occupying the position of our husband. The master is the spouse of the army. This is the way of the world, O repressor of foes! O subduer of enemies, thou art the root of this business. Therefore, my child, thou shouldest always be maintained by us like a wife. The root of any work must be preserved. This is the policy of those versed in business. The root existing, all the virtues, obtaining fruit, certainly meet with success. Thou, O thou having truth for prowess art the instrument of this undertaking, and, O subduer of enemies, furnished with sense and vigor, thou art the occasion herein. And, O foremost of monkeys, thou art both our superior, and our superior's son; and resorting to thee we are enabled to accomplish our object." Thereat that mighty monkey, Angada, son unto Vali, answered the exceedingly wise Jambavan, when he had spoken,-"If I go not, nor any other powerful monkey, then we should for certain again sit ourselves down to fast unto death. Without doing the mandate of the intelligent lord of monkeys, we, repairing thither, shall not behold ourselves alive. He is extreme both in showing favour and in anger. Disregarding his order, we shall, going there, meet with destruction And his ire shall, not take any other course. Therefore it behoves thee, capable of seeing issues, to reflect." Thus addressed by Angada that powerful and heroic monkey Jambavan answered Angada in excellent words, saying,—"That business, O hero. shall not moult a feather. I shall despatch even him who shall bring about success."-Then that heroic monkey ordered the foremost of monkeys, the highly heroic monkey Hanuman, who stood apart, convinced (of the wisdom of Jambavan's decision.)

SECTION 66.

Surveying the monkey-host consisting of many hundreds and thousands,—crest-fallen, Jambavan thus spake unto Hanuman,—"O hero among the monkey-multitude, best of those versed in all branches of learning, staying apart in silent, why dost thou not speak? O Hanuman, thou art alike in

energy and strength, equal to Sugriva, monarch of monkeys, and to Rama and Lakshmana. Arishtanemi's son, the mighty Vainateya [Offspring of Vinata, Garuda's mother.], famous by the cognomen of Garutroin, is the foremost of birds. Many a time and oft I have seen that exceedingly powerful, mightyarmed one, endowed with strength of will, -raise up serpents in the ocean. The strength that is in his wings is equal to the might and virtue of thy arm. Thy energy and prowess are not surpassed by him. And thy strength, and thy understanding. thy energy, and thy vigour, O foremost of monkeys, (is known among all creatures). Why dost not thou prepare thyself furnished with everything that is noble or great, (for this feat)? That foremost of Apsaras,—the famous Punjikathala, more famed under the name of Anjana, is the spouse of the monkey Kesarin. Famed over the three worlds, and incomparable on earth by virtue of her beauty, by an imprecation, my son, she was born in the monkey-race, capable of wearing shapes at her will. Once on a time, that daughter of the high-souled lord of monkeys, Kunjara,-endeued with youth and beauty,decked in a delightful garland, and clad in silk, -assuming a human form, was ranging on the summit of a mountain, resembling a mass of clouds in the rainy season. And it came to pass that as that one of expansive eyes was standing on the summit of the mount, the Wind gently stole away her elegant yellow cloth with crimson skirts. And he had a sight of her fair and fine face, together with her well-developed breasts. And soon as the Wind saw that illustrious one of spacious hips and slender waist, and whose every limb was lovely, --- he was amain overcome by desire. And all his frame possessed by Manmatha, and deprived of self, the Wind embraced that blameless one by means of his long arms. Thereat, influenced by fear, that one of excellent vows said,— 'Who is it that desireth to lay violent hands upon my chastity?' Hearing Anjana's words, the Wind answered,— 'I do not wrong thee, O thou of shapely hips. Let not fear enter thy heart. As, O famous damsel, by embracing thee, I have mentally entered into thy womb, thou shalt bear a son, intelligent and endeued with prowess. And, gifted with great strength, and possessing exceeding energy, and having vast vigor, he shall equal me in bounding and leaping.' Thus addressed, O mighty monkey, thy mother, O long-armed one, O foremost of monkeys, gave birth to thee in a cave. And in that mighty forest, thou, a child, desirous of eating, seeing the Sun risen, and taking him to be a fruit, sprang up and leaped into the sky. And, O mighty monkey, going three thousand yojanas, thou, struck by his energy, didst not feel poverty of spirit. And, seeing thee rushing through the heavens, O mighty monkey, Indra, growing wroth, hurled his thunder-bolt at thee. Thereat, breaking thy left jaw, thou (didst fall) on the mountain-top. From this circumstance, thy name hath been known as Hanuman [Hanu-means jaw. Hanuman means-he with the (fractured) jaw. This could indicate that Hanuman was a bold and ruthless warrior.]. Witnessing thee beaten back, that bearer of perfumes himself, the Wind, that breaketh everything before him, in wrath did not blow through the three worlds. Thereat, all the gods—lords of the universe influenced by fear in consequence of the triune world waxing agitated, began to pacify the wrathful Wind. And on the Wind being mollified, Brahma conferred on him a boon, saying,-'O child, O thou of true prowess, (thy son) shall be incapable of being slain in battle by means of weapons.' And seeing Hanuman sustain no (serious) injury consequent on the impact of the thunder-bolt, He of a thousand eyes, pleased in his soul, also conferred on (thee) an excellent boon, O lard, -Thy death shall take place according to thy will. Thou, endowed with dreadful vigor, art the son of Kesari by his wife; and, resembling the Wind in energy, thou hast sprung from his loins. Thou art the son of the Wind, my child—equal to him in the power of leaping. Now we are without our lives. And now thou, endowed with dexterity and vigor, and like another king of the monkeys, art before us. On the occasion of Vishnu's enveloping the earth with three steps, I, O child, had circumambulated the earth with her mountains woods and forests, one and twenty times. Then, commissioned by the gods, we had gathered annuals, which being cast on the deep, caused ambrosia to come out after churning. At that time, great was our strength. But now I have grown old, and my prowess hath left me. At present we have thee, furnished with every virtue. Therefore, possessed of vigor, do thou bestir thyself, and bound over (the main). Thou art the most qualified of all. This entire monkey host is eager to behold thy prowess. O redoubtable monkey, do thou arise! Do thou leap over the mighty ocean. Thy motion, Hanuman, surpasseth that of all beings. All the monkeys are depressed. Why, O Hanuman, dost thou overlook this? Put forth thy vigor, O thou endowed with mighty vehemence, like Vishnu crossing over the three worlds in three steps." Exhorted by the foremost of monkeys, that one famed for his speech, that monkey, the offspring of the Wind-god, gladdening the monkey-hosts, wore (a fit) shape for crossing the ocean.

SECTION 67.

Seeing that foremost of monkeys enlarge his person for crossing over an hundred yojanas, and suddenly filled with energy,(the monkeys) at once renounced sorrow, and, filled with delight, set up ululations and fell to eulogizing the mighty Hanuman. And, struck with amazement, they, (staying) all round, joyfully gazed (at him); even as creatures beheld Narayana, when stretching forth his three steps, he prepared himself (for the succeeding feat). And, eulogized by them, the wondrous mighty Hanuman increased; and, flourishing his tail from joy, attained strength. And as, extolled by the principal elderly monkeys, he became fraught with effulgence. his beauty was great. As a lion fills himself with vigor in an open cave, so the son of the Wind-god filled himself with energy. And the face of him, as that intelligent one was filling himself with force, was aflame like a frying-pan, or like unto fumeless fire. Rising in the midst of the monkeys, Hanuman with his down standing on end through joy, saluting the aged monkeys, said,—"Wind, the friend of Fire, shattereth mountain-summits; and, ever blowing in the eye of the sky, he is possessed of strength, and is of immeasurable (might). Begot from his loins, I am the son of the fast-coursing and high-souled Wind, coursing swiftly. I am his equal in all these accomplishments. I can, without once stopping, circumambulate the extensive and heaven-cleaving mountain, Meru, for a thousand times. And, dashing the ocean with my arms, I can deluge the world with its mountains, rivers and lakes. Lashed by the force of my legs and thighs, that abode of Varuna, the sea, out which have sprung the ferocious aquatic animals, overleaps its continents. And for once that lord of birds, Vinata's offspring, living on serpents, courseth through the welkin. I can course through it a thousand times. And I can touch the flaming effulgent Sun ere, beginning his journey from the Rising hill, he ascends the Setting hill. And, ye foremost of monkeys, I can, fiercely rushing on, come again without touching the earth. And I can bound beyond stars and planets, suck up the oceans, and rive the earth. And a monkey, I can, leaping, crush mountains; and, leaping, I can drain the mighty ocean dry. And, when I shall leap in the sky, flowers from various shrubs and trees shall follow me to-day. And then my course, (flecked with flowers), shall resemble even the sky (studded with stars). And, ye monkeys, then all creatures shall see me, now ranging through the profound firmament, now shooting up, and now descending on the other shore). Resembling Mahameru, me ye shall behold, ye monkeys, making my way, covering up the sky, as if devouring up the heavens. I shall, leaping and concentrating my energy, scatter the clouds, shake the hills, and suck up the ocean. The strength of Vinata's son, or the Wind-god's, or mine, (surpasses that of every other creature). None save the sovereign of birds, or the exceedingly mighty Wind, can follow me in flight. In the twinkling of an eye I shall spread through the unsupported sky, like lightning darting from clouds. And at the time of leaping over the ocean, my form shall resemble that of the energizing Vishnu, when He had assumed the triune energy. I perceive through my intelligence, (and my mental motion tallies), that I shall behold Vaidehi. Therefore, ye monkeys, rejoice. In vehemence like unto Garuda, I shall, I conceive, go an Ayuta yojanas. I can, suddenly summoning energy, bring hither ambrosia from the very grasp of Vasava or Brahma, himself. I shall leap sheer over Lanka. Even this is my impression." Filled with delight, the monkeys there amazed see that foremost of monkeys, endued with immeasurable might, storming. And, hearing his speech capable of removing the grief of kindred, that best of monkeys Jambavan, transported with joy, said,—"O hero! O son of Kesari! O offspring of the Wind! the huge sorrow of thy kindred hath, my child, been destroyed by thee. And these foremost of monkeys assembled, who wish for thy welfare, shall, with intent minds, perform acts tending to thy weal,so that thou mayst succeed in thy undertaking. And by the grace of the saints, and with the permission of the aged monkeys, and by the blessing of the superiors, do thou bound over the mighty main. Till thou return, we shall stay on one leg. The lives of all these rangers of the forest shall go along with thee." Then that tiger-like monkey said unto those rangers of the woods.—"None in this world would be able to sustain my impetus in the act of bounding. Here are these summits, firm and spacious, of this mountain, Mahendra, thronged with crags. I shall rush forward from these summits of Mahendra, interspersed with trees and adorned with masses of ore. And as I leap over a hundred yojanas, these mighty summits shall sustain my impetus." Then he equalling the Wind, that monkey, the son of the Wind-god, pounder of enemies, ascended that best of mountains, Mahendra; covered with various trees and flowers, furnished with swards; ranged by deer; containing plants and blossoms with trees bearing fruits and flowers daily; having tigers and lions and infuriated elephants; swarming with maddened birds; and abounding with fountains. Ascending (Mahendra), that foremost of monkeys endeued with exceeding strength, and resembling Mahendra himself in prowess, began to range from one mighty summit to another. Thereat, hurt by the arms of that high-souled one, that mighty mountain began to cry, like a mighty mad elephant tormented by a lion. And water rushed out of masses of rocks scattered around. And that mighty mountain had its deer and elephants afflicted with afright;

and its giant trees shaken: and its spacious uplands deserted by various Gandharva couples engaged in drinking and dalliance, and by birds flying away, and by bevies of Vidyadharas; and its huge serpents distressed, and its cliffs and peaks toppling down. And with its serpents hissing, with their bodies half issuing (from their holes), the mountain seemed as if it shone with pennons displayed. And the heap of crags forsaken by saints exercised with fear and agitation, looked doleful, like a wayfarer left in a vast forest by his companions. And that intelligent, magnanimous and heroic monkey—destroyer of hostile heroes,—endowed with speed, concentrating his soul on his energy, mentally went to Lanka. END OF KISHKINDHAKANDAM.

SUNDARA KANDAM. SECTION 1.

Then that repressor of foes [In particuler Hanuman.] resolved to follow the path of the Charanas, in quest of the place where Sita was carried off by Ravana. And bent on achieving a hard task, in which he had no help-mate and none to withstand the monkey, with his neck and head raised, resembled the lord of kine. And frightening fowls, and crushing trees with his breast, and slaughtering numbers of beasts, that exceedingly powerful, intelligent and staid one began to range at ease in lapis-hued lawns resembling water, like a lion bursting in energy. And on the level of that foremost of mountains, filled with nonpareil Nagas, and embellished with natural and unmixed metals, red and darkblue, and black and pale, and pale-red, and lotus-hued, and variegated; and crowded with god-like Yakshas and Kinnaras and Gandharvas and Pannagas, excellently attired,-Hanuman stationing himself, resembled a Naga in a lake. Then joining his hands to the Sun, Mahendra [Indra.], Wind, the Self-create, and all Beings, he set his heart upon his journey. Then having, with his face to the East, joined his palms to his Sire, that blessed one began to attain proportions for journeying towards the South. And sure as the sea increases on the occasion of a Parva, (Hanuman) determined on his leap, experiencing exhilaration, began, in the midst of the foremost monkeys, to increase for the behoof of Rama. Attaining measureless magnitude, he desirous of crossing over the ocean, pressed the mountain with his arms and legs. And roughly handled by the monkey, the mountain anon shook for a while; and all the blossoms showered down from the tops of the trees. And covered all over with heaps of fragrant flowers thrown off from the trees, the entire mountain wore one floral look. And afflicted by that one of first-rate prowess, that mountain shed water, like an elephant in rut. And hard beset by that powerful one, the mountain Mahendra put out the golden, silvern and collyrium sheen (that appertained thereto). And the mountain began to cast forth huge crags containing red arsenic; and its middle resembled smoke embosoming a sparkling flame. And sore tormented by the monkey engaged in harassing them, all the creatures dwelling in the caverns cried in frightful tones. And that mighty chorus of the creatures consequent on the mountain's agony filled the entire earth, all the cardinal points, and the groves. And snakes bringing out their spacious hoods marked with blue streaks, vomitting fierce fire, began to bite at the rocks with their fangs. And those gigantic crags, bit at by those enraged (snakes) of virulent venom, flamed up with fire and were shivered unto a thousand fragments. And those medicinal herbs that grew there, albeit endowed with the virtue of neutralizing poison, could not tame the fierceness of the venom of those serpents. Then, conceiving that the mountain was being riven by Brahma Rakshasas, the ascetics, becoming agitated, as well as the Vidyadharas together with their females, began to flee away. And forsaking their golden seats and cans on the drinking grounds, and costly vessels, and water-pots plated with gold, and diverse suckable viands and meats of various kinds, and bucklers of bull hides, gold-hafted swords,-beings with wreathes on their necks, inebriate, bearing red garlands and unguents, having red eyes resembling lotuses, flew into the firmament. And fair ones decked in chains and bangles and Keyuras and bracelets, struck with amaze, with a smile rose in the sky along with their paramours. And witnessing this mighty phenomenon, Vidyadharas and Maharshis, mounted into the sky, gazing at the mountain. And they heard the words of spirit-pervaded ascetics, and Charanas, and Siddhas, stationed in the azure sky: "This mountain-like Hanuman, son of the Wind, endeued with exceeding vehemence, is anxious to cross over the main-abode of Varuna. And undertaking an arduous task in the interests of Rama and monkeys, this one wishes to go to the other shore of the sea hard to reach." Hearing this speech of the ascetics, the Vidyadharas saw in the mountain that foremost of monkeys of immeasurable might. And that one resembling fire shook and bristled his down; and he set up a tremendous roar resembling a mighty (rumbling) cloud. And springing up, he lashed his tail furnished all over with hair and folds, like the king of birds handling a serpent. And the tail of that one endued with exceeding impetus, bent and brandished, seemed like a gigantic serpent carried off by

Garuda. And the monkey planted his arms resembling mighty clubs, fast (on the mountain); and his waist became slender: and his legs were contracted. And contracting his arms and neck, that graceful and powerful one summoned energy, and strength, physical and mental. And looking at his way from a distance, Hanuman, raising his eyes up, and fixing his gaze at the sky, suspended his breath in his breast. And planting his feet firmly, that one endowed with mighty strength, Hanuman, foremost of monkeys, contracting his ears up, sprang forward; and that best of monkeys spoke unto the monkeys, saying,— "As a shaft shot by Raghava, courses like the wind, so will I course to Lanka ruled by Ravana. And if I fail to find Janaka's daughter in Lanka, I shall with the selfsame speed repair to the regions of the celestials. And if I do not find Sita in Lanka, after taking so much trouble, I shall bring the Rakshasa king bound. Either attaining complete success, I shall come hither (back); or uprooting Lanka, with Ravana in it, I shall carry it hither." Having observed this, the monkey Hanuman, foremost of monkeys, endowed with speed, without pausing for thought, suddenly sprang up. And that powerful monkey deemed himself like unto Suparna. And as he flew up, the trees situated in that mountain, in consequence of his violent rush, shrinking their boughs, rolled over on all sides. And drawing up blossoming trees filled with maddened lapwings, by the vehemence of his flight, he coursed on in the clear sky. And those trees borne up by the vehemence of his flight, followed the monkey for a while, like friends following a friend that hath set out for a far country. And pulled up by the impetus of his (rushing) thighs. Salas and other mighty trees followed Hanuman, as an army follows its monarch. And surrounded by innumerable trees having their tops crested with flowers, Hanuman wearing a mountain-like appearance, was wonderful to behold. And those trees that were more ponderous, plunged into the salt sea, as plunged the mountains into Varuna's abode, afflicted with the fear of Mahendra [Or Maha Indra, i. e. Indra the Great.]. And strewn with various sprouts and buds and blossoms, the monkey resembling a mass of clouds, looked lovely like a hill filled with glow-worms. And uprooted by the force of his rush, those trees, their flowers fallen off, plunged into the sea, like friends returning to their homes (after having accompanied their friend some way). And blown by the wind caused by the monkey, the various variegated flowers of the trees in consequence of their lightness, showered down on the sea. And covered with heaps of fragrant flowers of diverse hues, the monkey resembled a mass of clouds embellished by lines of lightning. And the waters (of the ocean) strewn with blossoms carried off by his motion, appeared like the sky garnished with charming stars (cresting the same). And his arms stretched in the sky, seemed like five-hooded snakes issuing from a mountain. And he appeared as if he was drinking up the mighty deep with its multitudes of waves, or as if that redoubtable monkey was desirous of sucking up the sky itself. And as he coursed the orbit of air, his eyes flashing like lightning, resembled two craters aglow on a mountain. And the eyes of that foremost of tawny-hued ones resembled the sun and the moon stationed in a vast yellow aureola. And beside his coppery nose, his face looked coppery, as looks the solar disc on the approach of eve. And the uplifted tail of the Wind-god's offspring engaged in bounding, appeared beautiful in the sky like the raised standard of Sakra. And the exceedingly wise son of the Wind, Hanuman, having white teeth, with his tail coiled up, looked handsome like the sun with his disc. And on account of his waist being deeply coppery, that mighty monkey appeared like a mountain running a mighty torrent mixed with minerals and red chalk. And the wind that had got into the armpits of that leonine monkey who was crossing over the main, roareth like clouds. And as a meteor consisting of many smaller ones, darting from above falleth down (to the earth), rushed on that foremost of monkeys. And then that stalwart monkey resembling the careering sun, resembled a mad elephant fettered by the middle, whose bulk has increased immensely. And as he coursed above, on account of the reflection cast by his body (on the bosom of the deep), the monkey looked like a bark swaved by the breeze. And wherever that mighty monkey went about the sea, the state of things appeared to undergo a violent convulsion owing to impetus imparted by his body And that mighty monkey possessed of exceeding speed, rushed on, raising multitudes of surges on the sea by his breast resembling rock. And the wind begot of the monkey as well as that of the clouds, issuing out, made the dread-sounding ocean roll violently. And pushing up multitudes of highheaving billows from the salt waters, that tiger-like monkey rushed on, separating earth and heaven. And that one endeued with vehement speed passed over surges in the mighty main resembling Mandara or Meru; as if counting them. And the waters lashed up to the clouds by the force (of his speed), looked like autumnal clouds overspreading the sky. And then whales and alligators and fishes and tortoises appeared plainly visible, like the persons of individuals, when the cloth hath been taken off them. And sea-serpents, seeing that tigerlike monkey proceeding in the sky, took him for Suparna himself. And the shadow of the leonine monkey, measuring

ten yojanas in width and thirty length, seemed the more handsome in consequence of his deed. And that shadow resembling masses of white clouds, falling on the salt waters and following the wind-god's son, seemed exceedingly beautiful. And that exceedingly energetic mighty monkey possessed of a gigantic body, appeared splendid in the unsupported aerial way, like a winged mountain. And the deep beside the course that was being vehemently pursued by that elephantine monkey, was suddenly turned into a watercourse. And coursing through the regions of fowls like the monarch of the feathered race, Hanuman, pushing away masses of clouds, resembled the wind himself, And collossal clouds scattered by the monkey, pale and crimson and blue and mangistha-hued, looked exceedingly lovely, And now entering into the clouds, and now emerging from them, he looked like the moon, sometimes hid and sometimes visible. And beholding that monkey engaged in bounding with celerity, gods, Gandharbas and Danavas began to blossoms (on him). And as he was leaping, the Sun did not burn him; and the Wind ministered unto him, for the success of Rama's work. And the saints hymned his praises, as he was leaping on in the sky. And applauding the ranger of forests, they raised the voice of song. And nagas and Yakshas, and various (races of) Rakshasas, eulogized (him), on beholding that tiger-like monkey, Hanuman, in the act of bounding. And Hanuman, that lord of monkeys, being engaged in the act of bounding, the Ocean, wishing glory unto the race of the Ikshwakus, thought within himself, "Truly shall I be blamed of all persons if I do not assist this lord of monkeys— Hanuman. Reared I have been by Sagara, the foremost of the race of the Ikshwakus-and this monkey is their counsellor. It therefore doth not behove me to tire him out. It becometh me to do that by which the monkey may take rest in me and, relieved, may happily traverse the remaining way." Having arrived at this wholesome resolution, the Ocean spake unto that best of mountains, Mainaka, hued in gold and situate in the waters, saying, "O lord, thou hast been placed here by the king of celestials as an outer gate against the Asuras inhabiting the region under the earth. Thou too, from then, hast been waiting at this gate, unapproachable by the Asuras, rising up again and again and whose prowess is well-known (unto the Lord of celestials). O mountain, thou art capable of expanding thyself upwards, downwards and on thy sides. I do command thee therefore, O best of mountains, to rise up. That best of monkeys, the energetic Hanuman, the performer of mighty deeds, engaged in Rama's service, worn out with fatigue, waiteth above thee. Beholding the exhaustion of that leader of monkeys, it behoveth thee to rise up." Hearing the speech of the Ocean, the golden mountain Mainaka, covered with tall trees and creepers, rose up instantly from his watery bed. Like unto the Sun of bright rays rising out of the watery expanse, he uplifted himself from the Ocean. Being thus commanded by the Ocean, the great mountain, covered on all sides with water, immediately brought forth his peaks. The sky was as if cleft by these golden summits like unto the rising of the Sun, inhabited by Kinnaras and large Serpents. The golden summits of that mountain being thus lifted up, the dark-blue sky assumed the golden hue. And by those highly resplendent golden peaks that best of mountains assumed the brilliance of a thousand suns. Beholding before him that upheaved mountain in the midst of the salt Ocean, Hanuman regarded it, as a barrier for ave. Like unto Wind dispersing clouds, that mighty monkey with great velocity crushed down those up-lifted peaks with his breast. Being thus crushed down by that monkey, the best of mountains, being apprized of his prowess, began to shout with joy. Thereupon, with a glad heart assuming the semblance of a man and stationing himself upon his own summit, that mountain-chief addressed Hanuman, saving, "O best of monkeys, forsooth hast thou been engaged in this arduous task. Coming down on my peak do thou take rest. This ocean was reared by one born in the family of Raghus. And beholding thee engaged on Rama's behoof he is worshipping thee. The best and everlasting virtue consists in returning benefits unto one who hath benefitted us. Bent on returning benefits unto Raghu's race, he deserveth respect from thee. And to welcome thee properly I have been despatched by him with the message-Traversing over a hundred yojanasthis monkey hath been worn out with fatigue; let him voyage to the remaining way after resting for a while on thy summit. Do thou therefore, O best of monkeys, remain here and take rest. And feasting on these many fragrant and sweet fruits and roots. O foremost of monkeys, do thou relieve thyself of the toil and proceed. O leader of monkeys, my relation with thee is replete with many virtues and known all over the three worlds. O Son of Maruta, O best of monkeys, I know thee to be the foremost of all monkeys. Even an ordinary guest should be adored by him who abideth by virtue, what of thee great as thou art? O thou lion among monkeys, thou art the son of Maruta, the foremost of celestials and art his equal in speed. Thou that art conversant with virtue, being worshipped, Maruta himself receiveth offerings. Thou art therefore worthy of my adoration. Hearken, there is another reason for it. O worshipful one, in olden times, the mountains, gifted with wings, began to range

all quarters with velocity like unto Garuda. They moving thus, the celestials, the asceties, and all creatures became almost faint with fear of their falling down. Highly enraged therefore, the thousand-eyed Deity, the performer of hundred sacrifices, sundered with his thunderbolt, the wings of hundreds and thousands of them. When with his thunderbolt, the Lord of celestials, wroth, approached me, I was all on a sudden thrown down by the high-souled Wind. O best of monkeys I was thus cast down in this salt ocean and preserved unhurt by thy ancestors having my wings hid. I shall therefore adore thee and thou art object of my worship O Maruta! And this my relation with thee, O foremost of monkeys, is pregnant with many virtues. The time for returning benefits having arrived. O high-souled one, it behoveth thee to afford me and the ocean, satisfaction with a blessed heart. O best of monkeys, relieve thyself of the fatigue and accept my affectionate offerings, who am worthy of thy respect.220Happy am I to see thee." Being thus accosted by Mainaka, the best of mountains, Hanuman, the foremost of monkeys said, saying:-"Pleased am I and thou hast shown me enough of hospitality. Do thou give up thy wrath. Business wants me to go soon and the time is well-nigh spent. Besides I have promised that I shall not halt at any intermediate place." Thereupon touching the hill with his hand that highly energetic monkey wended, smiling, his aerial way. Thereat the ocean and the mountain respectfully looked towards him and adored and welcomed him with blessings worthy of the occasion. Leaving the mountain and the ocean and rising high up, he proceeded in the clear welkin traversing the aerial way. Rising high up and casting his look down on the hill, that foremost of monkeys proceeded by the unsupported aerial track. Beholding this singularly arduous work of Hanuman, the celestials, the Siddhas and the ascetics all praised him. All the celestials and others living on its summit, were highly pleased with the mountain arrayed in gold and having beautiful sides. And the thousand-eved Vasava was also pleased. And greatly pleased that highly intelligent Sachi's lord, himself, addressed that best of mountains having picturesque sides, saying:-'Greatly delighted am I, O lord of mountains, O thou having golden peaks. 'No fear' I do declare unto thee. Proceedest thou therefore, at thy ease, O gentle one! Greatly hast thou helped Hanuman, crossing fearlessly and unceasingly, over hundred yojanasto that he might not fall in danger. This monkey, is going in the interests of Rama, Dacaratha's sonand thou hast welcomed bin to the best of thy might. Therefore I am greatly pleased with thee." Beholding that lord of celestials the performer or an hundred sacrifices, highly gratified, that best of mountains attained to an excess of joy. And having received boons (from Indra) the Mountain occupied again its pristine place. And Hanuman in a short time crossed over the main. Thereupon the celestials along with Gandharvas, Siddhas and the ascetics, spake unto Surasa the mother of serpents, resembling the Sun, saying:-"The highly effulgent son of Wind named Hanuman is crossing over the main. Thou art required to throw obstacles in his way for a while. Assuming therefore the semblance of a terrible, grimvisaged Rakshasa, resembling a huge mountain and having terrible teeth and a face with coppery eyes, do thou touch the welkin. We are anxious to learn if he defeateth thee by some means or cometh by grief." Thus addressed the Worshipful Surasa, having been honoured by the celestials, deformed and horrible and capable of exciting the fear of all beings, and obstructing Hanuman as he was coursing on, said,foremost of monkeys, thou hast been ordained as my fare by the gods themselves. I will eat thee up,-do thou enter my mouth. Even this is the boon that was conferred on me by the Deity." Having delivered herself thus speedily, the opening her mouth wide, stood before the son of the wind-god." Thus accosted by Surasa, (Hanuman) with a glad countenance, -"Rama, son unto Dacaratha, had entered the Dandaka forest in company with his brother, Lakshmana, and his wife, Vaidehi. He having created hostility with the Rakshasas, his illustrious wife, Sita, while he was engrossed in some work, was carried away by Ravana. At Rama's command, I go to her as his envoy. It behoveth thee, living in (Rama's) dominions, to lend him thy help. Or having seen Mithila's daughter, as well as Rama of untiring deeds, I will enter thy mouth. This I promise thee truly." Thus addressed by Hanuman, Surasa, capable of wearing forms at will, said,—"None shall pass me without being devoured by me,—even this is the boon that I have received." Then seeing him go away, the mother of the Nagas, Surasa, derious of essaying the strength of Hanuman, spoke. "O best of monkeys, thou shalt have to go, to-day, after entering my mouth. Even this is the boon that was conferred on me by the Deity." Having said this swiftly, she extending her capacious mouth wide, stood in front of the wind-god's son. Thus addressed by Surasa, that foremost of monkeys, waxing wroth, said,—"Extend thy mouth so, that thou mayst contain me." Having said this unto Surasa, having her mouth measuring ten yojanas, Hanuman enlarged himself as many yojanas. Thereat Surasa enlarged her month twenty yojanas. And beholding her extended mouth with a long tongue, wondrous dreadful, like unto hill itself, and resembling clouds, measuring twenty yojanas, the intelligent

son of the wind-god, Hanuman, enlarged, made himself measure thirty vojanas. Threat, Surasa, extended her mouth forty vojanas, and thereupon the heroic Hanuman attained the altitude of fifty yojanas. And Surasa enlarged her mouth sixty yojanas; and the heroic Hanuman anon heightened himself seventy yojanas. And Surasa widened her mouth eighty yojanas; and Hanuman like unto Fire raised himself ninety yojanas. And Surasa enlarged her mouth an hundred voianas. Thereat diminishing his person like unto a cloud, the wind-god's son at that moment measured one thumb only. Then entering her month and coming out of it, that exceedingly powerful and graceful one, stationing himself in the sky spoke thus. "O descendant of Daksha, I have entered into thy mouth. I bow down unto thee. I will repair to where Vaidehi is. Thy boon hath proved true. Seeing him out of her mouth like the Moon out of the mouth of Rahu, the venerable Surasa spoke unto the monkey in her native form, saying,-"For compassing thy end, go, O foremost of monkeys, O mild one, at thine ease. And bringing unto Vaidehi tidings touching the high-souled Raghava do thou meet her. Witnessing that third act of Hanuman's hard to perform, all beings extolled the monkey exclaming, "Excellent! Excellent!" Then he, resembling the wind in rush, arrived at the irrepressible ocean-abode of Varuna-went on, enveloping the welkin, on the aerial way, visited by showers, ranged by fowls and Gandharbas, graced by the iris; embellished by shining vehicles rolling on, drawn by lions, or elephants, or tigers, or bird-serpents; presided over by eminently pious and righteous persons who have won the regions of heaven; and therefore appearing as if adorned by the (five) Fires; of the touch of Acani or Vayra; (ever) served by Fire bearing sacrificial oblations; garnished by planets and stars and astral luminaries, and the Sun and the Moon; thronged with Maharshis, and Gandharbas and Nagas, and Yakhas; and pure, and speckless;—the support of the universe—inhabited by Vicwavasu; lorded over by the elephants of the king of the celestials; the orbit of the Sun and Moon, endowed with auspiciousness constituting the canopy of this live world; blameless; and made by Brahma; crowded with countless heroes, and Vidyadharas. And the wind-god's son Hanuman, scattering clouds like the very Wind himself, coursed on in the aerial way like Garuda. And mighty clouds, hued like Kalaguru red [A kind of agallochum, meaning agarwood, aloeswood, eaglewood or gharuwood is a fragrant dark resinous wood used in incense, perfume, and small carvings.], and yellow and sable, on being dispersed by the monkey, burst into brilliance. And again and again entering into the clouds and emerging out of them, he resembled the Moon during the rains now entering (into clouds) and now issuing out of them. And everywhere Hanuman, son unto the wind-god coursing through the unsupported sky, looked like the monarch of mountains furnished with wings. And it came to pass that beholding him in the act of bounding, a Rakshasi named Sinhika, of great age, and capable of wearing forms at will, thought within herself,—"Today after a long lapse of time I shall have my fare. This mighty creature hath after a long time come within my power." Having thought thus in her mind, she seized (Hanuman's) shadow. On his shadow being secured, the monkey reflected, - "As a mighty bark is retarded in its course in the sea by adverse wind, have I, my prowess paralysed, been suddenly obstructed in my career." Then looking above and below and sideways, the monkey saw a mighty creature arisen from the salt waters. And seeing that one of a distorted countenace, the wind-god's son thought,-"This one is, without doubt, the creature of wonderful form, possessed of exceeding prowess,—given to securing its prey by means of its shadow,—which had been described by the monkey-king. And concluding her to be Sinhika, from her act, the intelligent monkey attaining a gigantic body, increased himself, like a mass of clouds during the rains. And seeing the enlarged body of the mighty monkey, she extended her mouth measuring the sky and the nether regions. And roaring like unto a mass of clouds, she rushed against the monkey. Thereat, that intelligent and mighty monkey marked her deformed and huge mouth, her body and its asticulated members. And the redoubtable monkey hard as the thunderbolt, contracting himself in a moment, threw himself into her mouth. And the Siddhas and Charanas saw him sink in her mouth, as the full Moon is taken by Rahu during a Parva. — Then tearing her limits by means of his sharp claws, the monkey, endowed with the celerity of thought, vehemently sprang forward. Then slaving her by his acuteness of sight, endurance and skill, that heroic, self-controlled monkey again began to swell himself amain. Her heart having been crushed out by Hanuman, she, rendered lifeless, fell into the water. The self-create had created him for compassing her destruction. And seeing Sinhika speedily slain by the monkey, and fallen, creatures ranging the sky addressed that foremost of monkeys, "Terrible is the deed that thou hast performed to saying,—"Terrible is the deed that thou hast performed to day. Mighty was the creature that hath been slaughtered by thee. Compass thou thine wished-for end without let, O foremost of monkeys. He, O chief of monkeys, that, like thee, is endowed with endurance, sharp sightedness, sense, and ability, doth not feel depressed in action." Honoured by these

and wished well as to his purpose, that monkey, worthy of being honoured, set out, enveloping the sky, like him that subsisteth on serpents. And it came to pass that as he had almost arrived at the other shore (of the ocean), he looking about on all sides at the end of an hundred yojanas saw a range of woods. And as he went on. that best of monkeys saw an island decked with diverse trees, and groves pertaining Malaya. And he surveyed the sea, and lands bordering thereon, and trees growing on the sea shore, and the countenances of the spouses of the Sea, And surveying his own person resembling a mighty mass of clouds, and as if closing up the sky, that self-possessed one ascertained his course of action. 'Soon as the Rakshasas shall behold my enlarged body and the vehemence of my motion, they shall be seized with curiosity concerning me." Thus thought that magnanimous one. Thereat diminishing that person of his resembling a mountain, that self-possessed one, purged of ignorance, resumed his natural shape. And diminishing that form into the smallest compass, Hanuman remained in his native form, like that depriver of Vali's prowess, Hari, after he had placed his three steps. And thus wearing various graceful forms, that one, acting after reflection, having come to the other shore of the ocean incapable of being reached by others, - on looking over his (immensely magnified person), reduced his body (to its former size). And that high-souled one resembling a cloudy pavilion, alighted on the (foremost) summit of the splendid mountain, Samva; crested with picturesque peaks; and abounding in ketakas, uddalakas and cocoanuts. And reaching the shore of the sea, and beholding Lanka on the top of that foremost of mountains, the monkey, renouncing his native form, fell on that mountain, agitating birds and beasts. And having by main force bounded over the ocean heaving with surges, and rife with Danavas and Panagas, he alighting on the shore of the mighty main, beheld Lanka like unto Amaravati.

SECTION 2

Having crossed over the ocean incapable ot being repressed, that one endowed with great strength, staying at the plateau of Chitrakuta, and having refreshed himself, cast his eyes on Lanka. And covered with showers of blossoms poured down by the trees, that monkey possessed of prowess then appeared there like Pushpamaya [A monkey so named.]. And having cleared an hundred yojanas, that monkey gifted with first-rate prowess, did not heave sighs or feel any fatigue. "I am competent to bound over many hundreds of yojanas. What then is this end of the ocean measuring an hundred voianasonly?" And that foremost of those endowed with energy and the prime of monkeys,—gifted with speed, went to Lanka, having crossed over the mighty main. And seeing blue lawns, and perfumed woods, replete with honey and filled with mountains, he held his way by the central thoroughfare, And that foremost of monkeys, the energetic Hanuman, went by hills filled with trees, and ranges of blossoming woods. And stationing himself in that mountain, the offspring of the Wind-god beheld woods and groves and Lanka established at the brow of the mountain. And that elephant of a monkey surveyed Saralas, and Karnikaras, and dates in full flower, Piyalas, Muchulindas, Kutajas and Ketakas, Piyanguswarm with aroma, and Nipas, and Saptachchhadas; Asanas, Kovidaras, and flowering Karaviras, and trees bearing blossoms, filled with swans and Karandayas. and covered with lotuses and lilies; and charming sporting hills and various watery expanses; and extensive tracts covered with diverse trees bearing flowers and fruits at all seasons, and gardens exceedingly beautiful to behold. And drawing near unto Lanka embellished with lilies and environed by a moat tilled with lotuses, that one graced with auspiciousness, that graceful monkey. Hanuman, beheld Lanka vigilantly guarded by Ravana, in consequence of Sita having been carried away,-with Rakshasas bearing fierce bows ranging all around,-that mighty and captivating capital surrounded by a golden wall, filled with edifices resembling cliffs and looking like autumnal clouds, and elevated vellowish highways; abounding in hundreds of banners mounted on the walls, and beautified with pennons and streamers with noble golden gateways painted with plants; and resembling the metropolis of the very sovereign of the celestials. And that graceful monkey saw Lanka situated on the top of the mountain, filled with splendid yellow-white palaces, like unto a city stationed in the sky: ruled by the lord of Rakshasas and reared by Vicwakarma himself. And the monkey, Hanuman, beheld Lanka, as if moving in the sky: with her walls furnished with daises for her hips, the immense waters and woods for her cloth, Sataghnis and darts for her hair-ends: and pennons on her walls for ear-rings,-built as if by the agency of the Mind; and constructed by Vicwakarma himself. And arriving at the Northern gate resembling the mansion of Kailaca, and cleaving, as it were, the welkin, and as if holding the firmament with lofty and glorious edifices, and observing the sea; his dreadful enemy, Ravana; the city teeming with poisonous snakes,-as well as the method of defence (displayed in it)—the monkey reflected,—"Even if the monkeys came here, they should fail to achieve success; for

Lanka is incapable of being taken in battle by the celestials themselves. Even if the mighty-armed Raghava should reach this terrible-looking and impregnable Lanka reared by Ravana, what could he do? Opportunity find I none either for conciliation with the Rakshasas, or for (winning them over) by gifts, or for sowing dissensions among them, or for conquering them in fight. Of all the monkeys, four only endowed with (exceptional) celerity,-viz., Vali's son, Nila, the intelligent king, and myself, have the power to come over here. When I have ascertained whether Vaidehi is alive or not, I shall, after interviewing Janaka's daughter, think about this." Then that elephantine monkey, stationed on the summit of that mountain, for a while bethought himself as to the success of Rama. "I cannot in this form succeed in entering the city of the Rakshasas, guarded by wily and powerful Rakshasas. I should, while engaged in searching for Janaki, deceive all the strong and highly energetic Rakshasas gifted with prowess. For attaining this mighty object, it behoveth me to enter Lanka, at night in a shape invisible yet well suited to the end in view." And beholding the city in that state, difficult of being subdued by the celestials and Asuras (combined), Hanuman, sighing momentarily, thought within himself,-"How can I, without being discovered by the impious lord of Rakshasas, Ravana, succeed in seeing Janaka's daughter, Maithili? How can the work of Rama cognisant of self (be so managed that it) may not be brought to naught? How can I see Janaka's daughter singly in secret? Actions on the very eve of success, on being obstructed by adverse season and place, and through the agency of unreflecting envoys, come to nought, even as darkness is dispelled on sunrise. And in respect of what should be undertaken and what not, even the certain decision (of a master assisted by his counsellors), because of a heedless messenger, doth not appear in all its beauty: messengers (foolish) yet proud of their knowledge, bring every business to nought. How can I so manage that my business may not suffer? How can I avoid recklessness? How can my bounding over the deep bear fruit? On my being seen by the Rakshasas, the work of Rama cognisant of self, desirous of the destruction of Ravana, shall be marred. Even if I wear a Rakshasa form, I cannot anywhere remain undiscovered by the Rakshasas. What shall I say of any other form? Even the wind, I conceive, doth not stray here, unperceived. Nothing whatever is here that is unknown to the Rakshasas of redoubtable deeds. Should I stay here embodied in my native form, I shall come by destruction; and the interest also of my master shall suffer. Therefore, diminishing myself, I shall at night, for compassing the welfare of Raghava, enter Lanka in my own form. Entering at night Rayana's capital difficult of access, I shall, obtaining entry into every dwelling seek Janaka's daughter." Having made up his mind thus, the heroic Hanuman, extremely eager to see Vaidehi, wished for the setting of the sun. On the sun having set, at night the Wind-god's son, contracting his person, reducing himself to the dimensions of a cat, became wonderful to behold. And at dusk, the powerful Hanuman, springing up, entered the charming city of Lanka with its well divided highways; furnished with rows of edifices having golden pillars, and net-works,-resembling the metropolis of the Gandharbas. And he saw that splendid city containing sevenstoried and eight*storied edifices, studded with crystal and adorned with gold. And the dwellings of the Rakshasas were embellished with these (ornaments). And graceful golden gateways belonging to the Rakshasas everywhere lent splendour unto Lanka adorned all over. Beholding Lanka, wonderful and of inconceivable loveliness, the mighty monkey, desirous of beholding Vaidehi, became depressed and delighted at the same time. And he (entered Lanka) engarlanded with yellow edifices joined together, with the ornamented arches of her gateways furnished with nets of precious gold; famed (all over the world); ruled by the arm of Ravana, and vigilantly guarded by night-rangers of dreadful strength. And as if ministering unto Hanuman, the Moon furnished with many thousands of rays arose with the stars in the midst of the sky, spreading lunar light over all creatures. And that heroic monkey beheld the Moon possessing the sheen of a conch, and hued like milk or the lotus-stalk, arisen and afloat (in the welkin), like a swan swimming in a tank.

SECTION 3.

Assuming the quality of goodness and energy on mount Lamva furnished with elevated summits, and resembling long masses of clouds, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god capable of concluding in harmony with season, possessed of exceeding strength—an elephant among monkeys—entered Lanka by night, affluent with charming woods and waters—the city governed by Ravana; beautified with edifices resembling autumnal clouds; sounding like unto Vitapavati [Alaka, the mythical city of Kuvera, King of Yakshas.] herself—with infuriated elephants (stationed) at her graceful gateways; containing white gates with ornamented arches; resembling the handsome Bhogavati inhabited and protected by serpents. And suddenly coming to that (city) resembling Amaravati, scattered with clouds charged with lightning, having hosts of luminaries, and tumultuous with the roars of blustering

blasts,-girt round by a mighty golden wall,-ringing with the tinklings of tiny bells; and embellished with pennons.—he growing exceedingly exhilarated, made towards the wall. And beholding the city all round, furnished with golden doors; having quadrangular courts composed of lapises; ornamented with plastered jeweled pavements studded with all gems, crystals, and pearls; with mad elephants of burnished gold and speckless white silver; with stairs of lapises,—(doors) devoid of dust with their centres composed of crystal and with stately halls; elegant, - and adjoining mansions seeming as if reaching up to the heavens; resounding with Kraunchas and peacocks; frequented by swans; and everywhere resonant with the sounds of trumpets and ornaments. And then beholding the city Lanka, resembling Vaswokasara [Alaka.], and appearing to mount to the welkin, the monkey Hanuman was filled with rapture. And seeing the delightful, divine and prosperous city of Lanka belonging to the lord of Rakshasas, that one endowed with prowess thought within himself,-"This city protected by the forces of Ravana with their hands holding upraised arms, is incapable of being forcibly subdued by any other. This place can be easily entered by Kumuda, and Angada, as well as by that mighty monkey, Sushena; and also by Mainda and Dwivida. And there is way also for the offspring of the Sun, and that monkey, Kucaparva, as well as of that foremost of monkeys, Rikshya, and myself." And having witnessed the prowess of Raghava, as well as the vigor of Lakshmana, the monkey was filled with joy. And that redoubtable monkey beheld the metropolis of the monarch of the Rakshasas; having for her cloth the sea; for her pendants, cow-stalls and stables; for her breasts, turrets mounted on the walls for discharging missils,—decked out like a damsel; with her darkness dispelled by bright lights and the mighty planets. And as he was entering, that tiger-like mighty monkey son unto the Wind-god was met by the city in her native shape. And seeing that best of monkeys, Lanka, ruled by Ravana. arising of herself with her countenance rendered deformed stood before the heroic son of the Wind; and, emitting a tremendous roar, addressed the offspring of the Wind god, saying,-"O thou that hast the woods for thy home, who art thou? And on what errand hast thou come hither? Tell me while yet thou hast thy vital powers left in thee. O monkey, for certain thou art unable to obtain entry into this Lanka. protected by the forces of Ravana, and carefully guarded on all sides." Thereat, the heroic Hanuman spoke unto her staying in front of him, -"I shall tell thee all about that anent which thou questionest me. Who art thou that having deformed eyes stayest at the gate of this city? And what for, O frightful one, dost thou rail at me in wrath?" Hearing Hanuman's speech, Lanka, capable of wearing forms at will, waxing wroth addressed the Wind-god's offspring, saying,— "I, who am incapable of being repressed, abiding by the mandate of the high-souled sovereign of the Rakshasas, protect this city. Thou art unable to enter this city, passing me by. Thou shalt to-day, losing thy life and slain by me, sleep (the sleep of death). O monkey, I am the City of Lanka myself. I every way guard (all that is here.") Hearing Lanka's words, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god,—foremost of monkeysexerting himself (to secure victory), stood like another hill. And seeing her appear in the form of a deformed female, that foremost and best of monkeys endeued with intelligence, possessed of prowess, said,—"I will behold the city of Lanka. crowned with turrets, walls and ornamented arches, it is for this that I have come here. Great is my curiosity. I come forsooth to see the woods and groves and gardens of Lanka here, —as well as her principal edifices." Hearing these words of his, Lanka capable of wearing forms at will, again addressed him in a speech fraught with disonant letters: "O thou of perverse understanding, O worst of monkeys, without (in the first instance) vanquishing me, thou canst not to-day behold this city ruled by the monarch of the Rakshasas. Thereat that tiger of a monkey said unto that female ranger of the night,-"After seeing this city, O gentle one, I shall go away even as I have come." Thereupon, setting up a mighty and terrible roar, Lanka filled with vehemence, struck at Hanuman with her palm. And that tiger-like monkey, the energetic offspring of the wind-god, on being lustily struck by Lanka, emitted a tremendous roar. And (Hanuman) fastened the fingers of his left hand into a box, and transported with rage, dealt it unto her. And considering that she was a female, he did not give way to excessive wrath. And struck at (by Hanuman), that ranger of the night, of a deformed face, her body overcome, suddenly dropped to the earth. And the energetic and heroic Hanuman, seeing her measure her length,-in consideration of her being a female, was filled with compassion. Thereat, exceedingly agitated, Lanka addressed the monkey, Hanuman, in humble words, with their letters faltering,-"O mighty-armed one, be propitious unto me! Do thou save me, O best of monkeys, O placid one. Those that are gifted with strength and are endeued with exceeding vigor, ever bear regard unto the dignity of the scriptures. By thy prowess, O monkey, hast thou, O hero, O thou gifted with wondrous strength, vanquished me myself, who am the City of Lanka. Listen to this narration, which I, O foremost of monkeys, deliver unto thee; as to bow the self-create Himself

conferred a boon on me.' When a certain monkey shall by his prowess, bring thee under his sway, then shalt thou understand that a fear is come unto the Rakshahas'. And that time, O placid one, hath come unto me, in consequence of my meeting with thee. The truth ordained by the self-create knoweth no turning. The destruction of the unrighteous king Ravana together with all the Rakshasas, hath come about in consequence of Sita (having been carried away). Therefore, O best of monkeys, do thou enter the city ruled by Ravana; and accomplish such tasks as thou wishest to. Entering this splendid city lying under an imprecation, governed by the chief of the Rakshasas, do thou at thy will happily repairing everywhere, search for the chaste daughter of Janaka."

SECTION 4.

Having by his vigor vanquished the excellent City of Lanka capable of wearing forms at will, that exceedingly energetic foremost of monkeys, Hanuman, eudeued with prodigious prowess, leaped sheer over a wall, where doorway there was none; and that elephantine monkey gifted with great strength entered Lanka by night. And entering the city of Lanka, that one (ever) compassing the welfare of the monkey-king, set his left foot on the heads of his foes. And entering in by night, the offspring of the Wind-god furnished with strength, proceeded along the high-way strewn with blossoms. And the monkey held his sway in the charming city of Lanka, resounding with grateful sounds mixed with laughter, and ringing with trumpet blasts. And with multitudes of mansions marked with the thunderbolt and the hook, and adorned with diamond windows, the charming metropolis looked splendid, like the welkin with clouds. And then Lanka, with handsome and variegated mansions of Rakshasas, resembling white clouds and arranged like lotus-leaves; and adorned on all sides with structures superscribed 'Vardhamana,' shone forth in all its glory. And that graceful one serving in the interests of the king of monkeys, ranging for Rama's behoof, beheld (Lanka) adorned with variegated wreaths; and was highly delighted. And moving from house to house, that foremost of monkeys observed on all sides various dwellings of diverse forms and colour, and heard charming songs chanted in the three octaves by damsels maddened with amour, resembling celestial Apsaras. And he also heard the jinglings of zones and the clash of bangles; and sounds of footsteps on stairs of edifices belonging to high-souled ones; and sounds proceeding from clapping hands; and the roaring of lions here and there. And (Hanuman) heard there in the mansions of the Rakshas, Mantras recited by persons engaged therein, and those occupied in Vaidika studies. And (Hanuman) saw goblins and Rakshasas storming and eulogizing Rayana; and mighty swarms of Rakshas stationed, covering the highway. And in the central courtyard, he found innumerable spies of the Rakshasa (Ravana), some initiated, some bearing matted locks, some with their heads shaven, and some clad in cowskins, some in cloths and some going stark naked; and (he found there persons) carrying handfuls of darbha for their weapons, and (having) the sacrificial fire-place for their arms; and those bearing in their hands clubs and concealed weapons, or holding rods as their aims, or having a single eye or a single complexion, or having a single breast dangling down; and those looking dreadful with uneven attire; and dwarfs frightful to behold; and bowmen; and swordsmen; and (warriors) carrying sataghnis and clubs for their arms; those bearing excellent parighas in their hands, or blazing in curious mail; persons not exceedingly fat, or exceedingly lean; not unduly tall, or unduly short; not extremely fair, or extremely dark; not unduly crooked, or unduly dwarfish; and those deformed, or many-formed, or endowed with beauty, or possessing splendour; standard bearers; and flag bearers. And (Hanuman) saw also various weapons; and those having for their arms darts and vrikshas, or bearing patticas and asanis, or having Kshepanis [A short arrow or dart thrown from the hand, or shot through a blowgun.] and nooses in their hands, saw that mighty monkey, or wearing wreaths, or having their persons daubed with pastes, or adorned with noble ornaments. or clad in various kinds of raiment; and many a one ranging wherever he listed; and those holding sharpened javelins; and mighty ones bearing Vajras; and hundreds and thousands of warriors garrisoned in the central courtyard and engaged in vigilantly guarding the interior,-having been directed by the lord of the Rakshas,-saw the monkey. And having seen that edifice situated in front of the inner appartment, that mighty monkey saw the famous mansion of the Rakshasa chief. pinnacled on the mountain-top, with huge golden arches over the gateway; surrounded by a moat enriched with pale lotuses; and completely guarded by a wall; resembling heaven itself; magnificent; resonant with grateful sounds; resounding with the neighing of horses and wondrous steeds; and adorned with cars and vehicles, chariots and dainty horse: elephants; and four-tusked elephants resembling masses of white clouds;and possessing graceful gateways. And the monkey entered the palace protected by the Rakshasa chief,-guarded by maddened beasts and birds, and thousands of goblins endowed with exceeding great prowess. And he (Hanuman) entered Ravana's inner apartment girt round with a wall

consisting of blazing gold and Jamvunada [Jamvunada is a kind of gold having sixteen diverse colours; perhaps different alloys such as electrum.]; having its top decorated with costly gems and pearls; and worshipped with excellent black Aguruand sandal.

SECTION 5.

And as if ministering unto him (Hanuman), arose the many thousand-rayed Moon in the midst of the stars, enfolding all creatures with his luminous canopy. And that highly heroic monkey beheld the Moon hued like the sheen of conch, or milk, or lotus-stalk, arisen and afloat (in the heavens), - like a swan swimming in a pool. And that intelligent one from the earth beheld the Moon arrive at the mid-heavens; momentarily beaming out in lunar light; appearing (splendid) as if in conjunction with the Sun himself,—and like a bull loitering in his stall. And he saw the mild-rayed (Moon), chasing away the remorse of all; swelling the sea; and displaying all creatures,-attain the middle of the sky. And that Lakshmi who on earth remains on Mandara, at eve in the sea, and on the lotus on water, looked exceedingly lovely, stationed beside the charming Moon. Like a swan in a silver cage, like a lion in a cave in Mandara, like a hero on a haughty elephant, appeared the Moon in the middle of the sky. And with (the mark of) the horn the Moon resembled a sharphorned bull, or a mighty white hued hill with towering summits, or an elephant with his horns plated with gold. And, with his dirt composed of particles of cool water removed; and the darkness dispelled in consequence of the vicinity of the mighty planet [The sun. It is a planet in Hindu cosmogony; but not in Hindu astronomy.]; and with his spots appearing clear because of his shining appearance, appeared the haremarked worshipful Moon in full splendour. And like a lion on coming out of his cavern, or a lordly elephant on entering into the thick of a mighty encounter, or a monarch on obtaining a kingdom,—appeared the Moon in full splendour. And now appeared the revered Mid-night, chasing away darkness with the Moon displayed,-when flesh-eating (Rakshasas) lend full liberty to their vicious appetite for flesh; and when disputes between lovers cease, -and which bringeth down heaven itself. The sounds of strings sweet unto the ear spread around: females sleep beside their husbands; and nightrangers, given to astounding and terrible acts, are, in the same way, out, indulging in their sports. And the intelligent monkey saw mansions crowded with (Rakshasas), some inebriate with wine and others with wealth; and abounding in cars and horses and golden seats; and fraught with the grace got of heroism. And (Rakshasas) were parleying,-moving about their plump arms,—railing at each other; and throwing intemperate speeches at each other. And (Hanuman saw) Rakshasas striking at their chests (by way of challenge), sinking on the persons of their beloved, wearing diverse habiliments, or stretching their tough bows. And (he) saw debonair damsels daubing their frames with pastes; and others, again, sleeping,-and fair-faced wenches smiling,-and others sighing hard under the influence of anger. And with gigantic elephants roaring, (the place), honoured by pious with its heroes heaving sighs—looked exceedingly beautiful like a lake in which serpents are sighing forth. And in that apartment (Hanuman) saw persons of commanding understandings, endowed with a soft tongue,-instinct with the spirit of reverence—the foremost men of all this world. and bearing euphonious appelations, and clad in diverse attires. And beholding those well-formed people, whose conduct was of apiece with their many virtues, (Hanuman) rejoiced exceedingly. And he saw some having beautiful forms; and others deformed.—and both possessed of splendour. And (Hanuman) saw there their wives worthy of noble ornaments and endowed with eminent beauty; of spotless character; possessing great potency; like unto stars in point of excellency of conduct,-displaying side-glances and other tokens of dalliance, -engaged in dear drinking. And at dead of night Hanuman saw some females blazing in beauty, affected simultaneously with bashfulness and bliss, on being embraced by their paramours, like birds embracing their mates. And the sensible Hanuman saw there other females seated in stately halls,- lying in happiness on the laps of their lovers,beloved of their lords-intent on virtue,-married -under the influence of Madana. And Hanuman saw some without sheets, like unto golden streaks,-paragons among women- of the hue of molten gold,-and some of a moon-like complexion, endeued with loveliness.-bereft of their beloved. And that exceedingly heroic monkey saw females in their homes experiencing the height of joy in the company of their beloved dear unto their souls; charming with blossoms; filled with gladness; and enchaining the hearts of their lords with their loveliness. And Hanuman saw crowds of faces like unto the Moon displayed,-with elegant eyes furnished with lovely lashes, and side-long looks; and multitudes of ornaments resembling beautiful lines of lightning. But Hanuman saw not Sita, of the highest lineage,-ever abiding by the way of righteousness; born in a royal line,-like unto a delightful and well-begot plant,- of a slender frame,—sprung from the mind (of Brahma himself);

established on the eternal road (of chastity); having her gaze fixed on Rama; always engrossed in the contemplation of Rama,—the mind itself of her lord,—who had entered through and through into the heart of her graceful lord,—ever superior to all other women; oppressed with the grief of separation; and having her throat afflicted with the vapour of grief; who formerly had her throat graced with that best of ornaments—the nishka; of excellent eyelashes; having a mellifluous voice; like unto a peahen ranging in the woods; (now) like unto an indistinct lunar lining, or a streak of gold covered with dust, or the colour of a sore-scar, or a gold-leaf broken off by the wind. And not finding, (after so long a search) the Sita of the lord of men,— the spouse of Rama; best of those skilled in speech the monkey, deeming himself as having suddenly lost his skill in search, was overwhelmed with sadness

SECTION 6

Wending about at will on the roofs of seven-storied edifices, that monkey capable of assuming any form that he chose, began to range Lanka with speed. And (at length) that auspicious one arrived at the mansion of the Rakshasa chief. surrounded by a shining wall hued like the Sun; protected by terrible Rakshasas, like a mighty forest by lions. And as that foremost of monkeys saw the mansion, with fretted arches plated with silver and embellished with gold,- beautifully abounding in splendid courts and gateways; containing elephant-drivers, and heroes knowing no fatigue; ever coursed by irrisistible steeds drawing cars, and curious vehicles, Covered over with skins of lions and tigers, resounding with bells hung thereon, and embosoming effigies of ivory, gold and silver,-the locality of mighty cars, and the home of mighty car-warriors; filled all around with many thousands of divers beauteous and dainty birds and beasts; well protected by meek Raksha warders at the outskirts: thronged about with magnificent dames of the first order; containing gems of joyous damsels-the abode of the foremost Rakshasassounding like the sea with the sounds of superb ornaments; affluent with regal insignia and excellent sandals; crowded with mighty ones, like a vast forest with lions; reasonant with trumpets and drums; and ringing with the blares of conchs; where the ever adored offspring of the Parvas was always worshipped by the Rakshasas; solemn like the sea; and resounding like the ocean itself,—the mighty mansion of the high-souled(Ravana); clad in costly jewels; scattered with precious gems-as that mighty monkey beheld (Ravana's residence), he set about searching for Sita. And that mighty monkey concluded. "This is the ornament of Lanka bodied forth beautifully to the view, covered with elephants, steeds and chariots." And there in the vicinity of Ravana's mansion, Hanuman began to range the dwellings of the Rakshasas from one to another, as well as all the gardens (located there). And without experiencing any agitation, he observing (everything), ranged the palaces. Then that one endowed with wondrous motion, with a bound entered Prahasta's palace; and then with another, that (monkey) possessed of energy entered the abode of Mahaparcwa. Then that mighty monkey entered into the abode of Kumbhakarna, resembling a mass of clouds; and thereafter that of Vibhishana; and then that of Mahodara, and then that of Virupaksha; and then the abode of Vidvujiibha, and then that of Vidvunmala:-and then that mighty monkey with a bound entered into the abode of Vahudanshtra. And then that leader of monkey-bands gifted with great speed leapt into the abode of Suka, and next into that of the intelligent Sarana, and next into that of Indrajit. And that foremost of monkeys went to the mansion of Jambumala, and of Sumala, and (then) to the abode of Rashmiketu, and Survyasachu. And (next) that powerful monkey leapt into the mansion of Vajrakaya; and (next) the Wind-god's offspring entered the house of Dhumraksha, and (next) that of Sampati, and the grim Vidyudrupa, and Phana, and Vighana, and Sukanabha, and Chakra, and Satha, and Kapatha, and Hraswakarna, and Danshtra, and the Rakshasa Lomasa, and Yudhyonmatta, and Matta, and the horseman. Dhwajagriva, and of Vidyujjibha and Vijibha, and of Hastimukha, and of Karala, and Vicala, and of Sonitaksha. The illustrious offspring of the Wind, Hanuman, one after another, leapt into all these noble edifices. And that redoubtable monkey observed the affluence of all these (Rakshasas) possessed of prosperity. And having bounded over the mansions of all situated around, that one blessed with auspiciousness, at length came to the very mansion of the monarch of the Rakshasas. And that tiger-like monkey-the best of his species-ranging around, saw Rakshasis of frightful eyes, alternately mounting sentry over the couch of Ravana— bearing darts and maces in their hands, and equipped with javelins and clubs. And (there) in the residence of that lord of the Rakshasas, he beheld various bands of Rakshasis, as well as Rakshasas of gigantic frames, upraising various kinds of weapons; and steeds of exceeding fleetness, red, and white, and black; and first-rate elephants, possessed of eminent grace, capable of crushing hostile elephants, and well trained in arts relative to their species-like Airavata himself in conflict. And there in that mansion he saw (all these

elephants), destroyers of hostile hosts—like unto pouring clouds, or hills, sending up fountains, rumbling like unto clouds, and invincible in battle by foes. And that monkey, son unto the Wind-god, saw in the mansion of the lord of Rakshasas, Ravana, hosts by thousands; and cars of various forms of glittering gold, furnished all over with golden networks, resembling the risen sun; and graceful grots; and picture galleries; and sporting saloons, mountains composed of wood, captivating structures dedicated to dalliance, and dwellings for day-dalliance,-saw he in the mansion of the Rakshasa monarch. And he beheld that charming mansion resembling Mandara, filled with places for peacocks; thronged with pennons and flagstaffs,-a very mine of countless gems,—a field of treasures spread around,—where persons of intrepid calmness were engaged in acts tending to the safety of the treasures,—resembling the mansion herself of Kuvera. And on account of the lustre shed by the gems, as well as the energy of Ravana himself, that mansion appeared splendid like the ray-furnished Sun in all his glory. And the chief of monkey-bands saw bed-steads and seats of gold and white vessels. And Hanuman entered the mighty mansion. containing clay formed by Madha [A kind of brandy distilled from the blossoms of the Bassia latifolia or from grapes.] and Asava [Alcoholic spirit distilled from sugar or molasses.]; filled with gemmed cans; charming; free from impediments; resembling the mansion herself of Kama,-like the abode of Kuvera,—resonant with the sounds of bangles and the tinklings of zones, as well as with the beat of mridanga-hides and other eloquent musical instruments; with palaces close on each other; thronged with hundreds of females (like unto) jewels; and containing capacious enclosures.

SECTION 7.

And that one endowed with strength saw that row of structures fitted up with golden windows, studded with lapis lazulis, and containing birds; like unto a mass of clouds in a season of great rains, crowned with lightning, and fraught with fowls. And he saw various structures close to one another, to which excellent conchs, arms and bows lent lustre; as well as huge and splendid towers belonging to edifices resembling mountains. And the monkey beheld mansions, treasuring various kinds of wealth, which were held in regard by both gods and Asuras,-devoid of every defect; and which had been won (by Ravana) through his own might. And (Hanuman) saw the mansions of the lord of Lanka, located in strict conformity with aesthetic laws,—appearing as if they had been constructed by Maya himself,—which had on the earth beneath every excellence. And then he saw the mansion of the lord of Rakshas himself, surpassing the best structures: like unto a mass of towering clouds; captivating; boasting of a beauteous golden appearance; worthy of his own power,and of incomparable loveliness; appearing as if the celestial regions had dropped down on the earth; blazing in beauty; teeming with countless gems; like unto the brow of a mountain strewn with the blossoms and the dust thereof of various trees; and illumined by the foremost females,appearing like a mass of clouds containing lightning, or the witching welkin furnished with grace, afloat with excellent swans. And (Hanuman) saw the car variegated with countless gems; like unto the top of a mountain variegated with innumerable metals; or like the firmament garnished with the moon and the planets,-or like clouds of diverse hues fused into a homogeneous whole. The place in the car designed as the seat of the many, was filled with rows of hills; its hills were filled with trees; its trees were filled with flowers; and (finally) its flowers were filled with leaves and filaments. And (in it), where white mansions were reared, there were tanks filled with fair flowers: and lotuses furnished with filaments: and picturesque woods; and liquid lapses. And the mighty monkey beheld there the great chariot going after the name of Pushpa, appearing beautiful, wheeling round in the splendour of the gems-which had surpassed even the cars pertaining to the abodes of the celestials. And (in that car) were birds made of lapis iazulis; and (other) birds composed of silver and coral; and variegated serpents made of various precious metals; and fair-bodied steeds resembling those of superior breeds; and there were constructed birds having graceful mouths; and fair, tapering, playful and contracted plumage, bearing blossoms made of coral and gold,-like unto the very plumage of Kama himself. And there were elephants possessed of graceful trunks, bearing fillaments; and with their trunks bearing lotus leaves,-engaged (in showering water on Lakshmi); as well as the goddess, made with fair arms, seated on a pool with a lotus in her hand. Thus entering that graceful mansion, like unto a mountain containing charming caverns, (Hanuman) was seized with wonderment. And once again (entering that charming mansion), like unto a taking and fragrant tree during spring furnished with holes, Hanuman was seized with wonderment. Then ranging by bounds that honoured city ruled by the arms of the Ten-faced one, he, not finding the highly regarded and extremely distressed daughter of Janaka, who had won over her grief by contemplating the virtues of her lord,—(was affected with sorrow). And, not seeing Janaka's daughter, then the heart of that high-souled

one, honoured for his character by the world, of schooled self, ever ranging by the way chiming in with morality, and having the scriptures for his eye-sight—as he ranged about,—was oppressed with grief.

SECTION 8

Staying in that mansion, that intelligent monkey, the offspring of the Wind-god, beheld that splendid aerial car, beauteous with excellent iewels, and furnished with windows of burnished gold. And the car, embellished with beautiful figures,-belauded transcendentally Vicwakarma himself constituting the acme (of his art), which, mounting the welkin, looked like a mark of the Sun's orbit,-appeared . resplendent. And there was nothing in that car which was not made skilfully:—nothing that did not look like a precious jewel (sprung spontaneously on its person), -and the style displayed in its various parts surpassed anything that could be found in the cars of the celestials themselves,-and everything in that car was executed in the highest style of excellence—(that car) obtained (by Ravana) in virtue of prowess sprung from asceticism and contemplation (of the Deity); capable of repairing wherever (the owner) wished to wend; displaying various kinds of constructive skill; composed of materials procured from diverse sources,-such as were worthy of a celestial car; fleet-coursing in consonance with the wish of its master; incapable of being approached; equal to the wind in celerity; the source of happiness unto ious, high-souled, and pious ones—possessors of (word missing) fineless' and high rapture; coursing through the firmament in a variety of ways,-the congeries of all wonderful things,-adorned with ranges of chambers; captivating to the mind; stainless as the autumnal Moon; furnished with splendid summits, like the crest of a mountain; which was borne by rangers of the night, given to mighty meals, ranging the sky, with faces graced with ear-rings; and by thousands of ghosts possessed of terrible speed, having expansive, winkless and rolling eyes. That heroic first of monkeys saw that excellent car, beauteous with vernal blossoms,-fairer than the month of spring and furnished with flowers.

SECTION 9

And located within that excellent mansion, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god, saw a superior and grand structure, stainless and spacious; half a yojana in width and one in length,-belonging to the lord of the Rakshasas, and abounding with many a palace. And searching for Videha's daughter the large eved Sita that slaver of enemies Hanuman, ranged all through (this edifice). And Hanuman beheld the goodly edifice where the Rakshasas used to dwell in common. And (at length) that one came upon the mansion itself of the lord of Rakshasas, having three-tusked and fourtusked elephants, and protected by persons with upraised arms, and covering a capacious area. And (Hanuman beheld) the residence of Rayana, thronged with his Rakshasi wives, as well as with princesses forcibly brought thither (by him), like unto the sea teeming with alligators and makaras, abounding in timingilas and fishes and snakes, and agitated by the force of the wind. The same enchanting splendour that is in Vaicravana or the ray-riding Moon, remained ever constant and abiding in Ravana's abode. And the prosperity of king Kuvera, or Yama, or Varuna, was here present in the house of the Raksha,—or even surpassed by the prosperity (of Ravana). In the midst of that mansion the Wind-god's offspring found another, excellently constructed, having innumerable mad elephants;—that noble car embellished with all gems, entitled Pushpaka, which had been constructed in heaven by Vicwakarma for Brahma himself,- which Kuvera obtained from the Great-father through high austerities,—and which, vanquishing Kuvera by his prowess, the Rakshasa chief got possession of. And the mighty monkey ascended the splendid car Pushpaka, containing figures of wolves,-made of Karttaswara and Hiranya; graced with ranges of goodly pillars; as if blazing in splendour; throughout garnished with narrow secret rooms and saloons, piercing the heavens, and resembling Meru or Mandara, and like unto the flaming Sun; skilfully reared by Vicwakarma; with golden staircases and graceful and grand raised seats, rows of golden and crystal windows, and daises composed of sapphires, emeralds and other superb gems; embellished with noble vidrumas, costly stones, and round pearls, as also with plastered terraces; pasted with red sandal, like unto gold, and furnished with a sacred aroma; and resembling the sun new risen. And stationed thereon [i. e. on a Pushpaka, a Vimana, a flying vehicle.], Hanuman smelt the rich odour of viands and drinks that was spreading on all sides;— and like one dear friend smelling another, he also smelt the mighty Air, impregnated with aroma, which seemed like embodied Odour. And (the Air) said unto Hanuman —"Come here, where that Ravana is." Then (descending from Pushpaka and repairing to that sleeping apartment of Ravana), Hanuman saw the same, grand and graceful; belonging to Ravana; of transcendent beauty; comely like unto a lovely lady; diversified with jewelled staircases; illumined with heaps of

gems; with its terraces constructed of crystal; having statues of ivory, pearls, diamonds, coral, silver and gold; adorned with jewelled pillars; and embellished all round with pillasters; and upheld on all sides by straight, elevated and gorgeously ornamented pillars of equal dimensions, resembling prodigious wings,—(the mansion) appearing to tower to the sky; containing spacious and parti-coloured woolen cloths bearing the marks of the Earth* [i. e. four-cornered, The Earth, in Hindu cosmogony, is a flat surface having four corners.]; extensive as the Earth is, with kingdoms and dwellings; resounding with the roars of infuriated elephants; redolent of divine fragrance; furnished with gay canopies; inhabited by the sovereign of the Rakshas; cloudy with aguru and dhupa; spotless; of a swan-like whiteness; engarlanded with flowers and leaves like unto the dappled and brilliant cow (of Vasishtha); bringing delight unto the heart; and enhancing the grace (of all creatures); removing sorrow; noble; and the generatrix of Grace herself.

[* This cosmogony serves as simplified model to explain the basic structure of either the cosmos or the universe; in terms of cosmology (Greek: "study of the world"), a branch of astronomy, the Indian scholars were very well aware that the Earth is round and the universe endless in time. There is some confusion if, in the belief of ancient Indians, the Earth is flat or round. The confusion mostly arises because of the mention of Earth as flat in the relatively young Puranas (250-1000 AD), for example in the Bhagavata Purana (800-1000 AD). Ancient Indian sages have known that the earth is round as far back as 900 BC. If we look at those texts then there is no confusion, Indian astronomers have known the earth to be spherical for a very long time. The Aitereya Brahamana has two statements, which make it clear that ancient Indian sages knew earth is round. The Aitareya Brahmana (2.7), composed by Mahidas Aitareva between the 7th and 5th centuries BC, states: "The [sun] never really sets or rises. In that they think of him 'He is setting,' having reached the end of the day, he inverts himself; thus he makes evening below, day above. Again in that they think of him 'He is rising in the morning,' having reached the end of the night he inverts himself; thus he makes day below, night above. He never sets; indeed he never sets." In section 3.44, among other things, the Aitareya Brahmana states: "The sun does never rise or set. When people think the sun is setting (it is not so). For after having arrived at the end of the day it makes itself produce two opposite effects, making night to what is below and day to what is on the other side. When they believe it rises in the morning (this supposed rising is thus to be explained for). Having reached the end of the night, it makes itself produce two opposite effects, making night to what is below and day to what is on the other side. In fact, the sun never sets. Nor does it set for him who has such a knowledge. Such a one becomes united with the sun, assumes its form, and enters its place." (Footnote: This passage is of considerable interest, containing the denial of the existence of sunrise and sunset. -- This denial makes only sense when one imagines himself being in space: There, the Sun indeed never just rises or sets but rotates in the centre of the Solar System with all the planets orbiting around it.)--(Translation by Martin Haug. The Aitareya Brahmanam of the Rigveda, 1863; pp. 163-164.) Not only are these texts saying that the earth is spherical, depending on how you interpret these texts, Shatpath Brahman seems to be proposing a heliocentric model of the Solar System while from Aiteriya Brahman it is clear that the author knows that earth rotates on its axis to result in the creation of day and night. The knowledge could have been there long before these texts were written down in the 4th or 3rd centuries BC. It seems that Indians knew the earth was spherical at the time the Rigveda was orally composed (perhaps between the 9th and 7th centuries BC), long before Pythagoras.]

And as soon as Hanuman entered the mansion protected by Ravana, it like a mother regaled his senses with their proper objects. "This must be swarga, or the region of the immortals, or the city of Amaravati, or the supreme Siddhi [Svarga is the region where persons reap the fruit of Jyotishtoma, etc. Siddhi is Illusion spread by Gandharbas.]-"thought the Wind-god's offspring. And he saw the golden lamps (shorn of their brightness), like unto gamblers worsted at dice by others exceedingly skilful, and, in consequence, plunged in thought. And (Hanuman) conceived that (Ravana's sleeping apartment) was in a conflagration, on account of the display of the lamps, Ravana's energy, and the splendour of the ornaments. And when the night had been half spent, (Hanuman) saw thousands of superb dames, adorned in various attires, and bearing apparels of diverse hues, and wreaths,-who having given up sport, and come under the influence of wine and sleep,— were fast asleep on woolen sheets. And in consequence of the silence that reigned (in that apartment) embellished with (ornaments), it resembled a large lotusgrove, where the swans and the black bees are silent. And the Wind-god's offspring beheld the countenances of those beauteous women, with closed eyes, -having their lashes shut through languor; and odorous with lotus-perfume. And their faces appeared like lotuses blowing on the expiry of night and closing their petals by night. "These lotus-faces like unto very lotuses themselves, ever the six-footed ones seek once and again." Thus thought with discrimination the graceful. mighty monkey; and on account of their perfections, he confessed those countenances to be equal to water-sprung (lotuses). And that apartment, in consequence of being graced by those women, appeared splendid, like the autumnal, complacent sky decorated with the stars. And surrounded by them, the Rakshasa chief resembled the fair Moon encircled by the stars. "Those stars that drop from the firmament on their virtue deteriorating, have assembled here in a body," thus thought the monkey at that time. And the shine, form, and splendour of those females resembled, forsooth those of magnificently displayed, noble and lustrous stars. And on account of their having been bereft of consciousness through sleep, induced by fatigue brought on by drink (and dance), their hair was dishevelled, and their full wreaths and goodly ornaments lay scattered about. And some of those paragons had got their beauty-spots, smudged; and some, their bangles loosening off; some, their chains running to one side. And others had their pearl necklaces burst,-- and their cloths getting away (from their persons), and the chains of their zones straying irregularly;-resembling way-worn mares. And others again were without their ear-rings, and had their garlands torn and crushed; and resembled blossoming creepers, trodden down in a vast forest by mighty elephants. And the pearl chains of some sinning females resembling moon beams, having got topsy-turvy, was lying like sleeping swans between the breasts of the damsels. And the lapis chains of some resembled water-crows; and the fine golden chains turned upside down of others appeared like ruddy geese. And those ladies resembled rivers having hips for banks; containing swans and Karandavas, and beautified with ruddy geese. And those sleeping females appeared like streams; having Kinkinis for their ripples; and large gold lotuses; marks of amorous encounter on their persons for ferocious aquatic animals; and perfections, for their banks. And on the tender frames, as well as on the tops of the breasts, of some graceful scratches consequent on pressure, appeared like ornaments. And the scarf-ends of some stirred by the air that was blowing about their faces, flapped on them again and again. And at the nether part of the faces of Ravana's wives. they (the scarf-ends)appeared beauteous like uplifted streamers of exceeding elegance, composed of many-hued golden yarn. And the ear-rings of some dames possessed of a pleasant sheen, stirred by the air that was breathing about their faces, were undulating gently. And the sweet breath of their faces, naturally fragrant, and redolent of sugar and dsava, was then regaling Ravana. And out of fear sprung from sleep and intoxication, some of Ravana's wives were again and again smelling the faces of those, co-wives with them, taking the faces to belong to Ravana. And from their hearts being firmly fixed on Ravana, those excellent women, having their sense af separateness removed, (albeit thus dealt with), did what was dear unto them. And other females, making their gay scarf-ends (for their sheets), and making their arms, their pillows, were lying down there. And some were lying on others' bosoms and others again, on the arms of the latter. And some lay on the laps of others; and others, again, on the breasts of the latter. And they reposed on each other's thighs, flanks, waists, and backs; and coming under the influence of wine and amour, they lay on each other's persons. And those females having elegant waists, receiving pleasure from the contact with others' persons, were sleeping there, with their hands fastened by each other. And that garland of females strung by the threads of their hands, appeared beauteous, like a real wreath strung on a thread, with maddened black bees (seated thereon). And that multitude of females in a medley appeared like an assemblage of blooming plants in the month of Chaitra [March-April.], with its wreaths formed in consequence of their coming in contact with one another, and of its clusters touching each other, on account of the breeze blowing;-with the plants encircling the graceful (necks of the trees),-and rife with Bhramaras chasing each other. And although the ornaments of those women wearing ornaments, attires and wreaths, were put on proper places; yet (on account of the profusion of the ornaments themselves, as well as because of the circumstance of the dames' sleeping), it was difficult to ascertain which ornament belonged to one damsel and which to another. And it seemed as if, Ravana having attained rest (through sleep), the flaming golden lamps furnished with various rays, were gazing at the girls with winkless eyes. Daughters of Rajarshis, of Vipras, of Daityas, of Gandharbas. and of Rakshasas, having come under the influence of desire, had become his wives. And all those women had been procured by Ravana because he sought fight (with their relations) and some haughty dames, rapt with desire, had of themselves come to this place. And there was no woman there, who had been won by force by (Ravana). possessed as he was of prowess; but they had all been subdued by his qualities. And save the surpassingly worthy daughter of Janaka, no female (had been brought), who had set her heart on another, or who had known any other before. And there was none who, being his wife, was not of high extraction;

merit; none who was not decked out in ornaments and attire; and none who was infirm; and none who was not an object of desire of her lover. And the lord of monkeys endowed with uprightness of sense, thought,—"If the righteously wedded wife of Raghava were as one of the wives of the king of the Rakshasas, it would well for him." Again reflected he,— "Sita is crowned with chastity and other virtues; and the powerful lord of Lanka, assuming an illusory form, hath with much ado perpetrated this ignominious act.

SECTION 10.

And there Hanuman employed in looking around, saw a grand dais made of crystal; and embellished with jewels; comparable to one belonging to the celestial regions; furnished with superb and costly sofas, having their parts painted and composed of ivory, gold, and lapis lazulis; with highly precious canopies. At one place thereof he saw a white umbrella, adorned with beautiful wreaths, resembling the lord of the stars himself. And Hanuman saw a splendid sofa garnished with gold, bearing garlands of acokablossoms, flaming like fire; around which persons kept waving with their hands chowris furnished with hair; rife with perfumes of various kinds; odorous with rich dhupa, spread with excellent sheets; covered with the skins of rams; and decked on all sides with chaplets of gorgeous flowers. And that excellent and mighty monkey beheld therein the heroic sovereign of the Rakshasas, Ravana, resembling a mass of clouds; with flaming and brilliant ear-rings; having reddened eyes; of gigantic arms; wearing a cloth composed of golden threads; his person daubed with fragrant red sandal; looking like a crimson cloud at eve fraught with lightning; covered with noble ornaments; endowed with eminent grace; capable of wearing forms at will; resembling Mandara affluent with trees and woods and shrubs;-sleeping, having given up sport at night; adorned with elegant ornaments; dear unto the daughters of the Rakshasas,—the source of happiness unto Rakshasas;—who had ceased from drinking,-asleep on a shining bedstead,and respiring like a (kissing) serpent. And reaching there, Hanuman, waxing wondrous agitated, shrank back, as if in fear. And then arriving at the staircase, the mighty monkey, stationing himself on a dais in the middle of the stairs, gazed at the inebriate. Rakshasa, resembling a tiger. And as the sovereign of the Rakshasas was sleeping, his graceful bed resembled a grand cascade, beside which stands an elephant breathing odour. And Hanuman saw the arms of the hugebodied lord of Rakshasas, fastened with bracelets,-stretched (there),- like unto the banners of Indra; which had been wounded by the tusk-ends of Airavata, whose plump parts bad been riven by vaira; and which had been torn by the discus of Vishnu; well developed; having equal and elegant parts; with hard joints; fraught with strength; with thumbs having nails bearing auspicious marks; having rings (on the fingers); covered; formed like bludgeons; round; resembling the trunks of elephants; cast on the white bed like unto fivehooded serpents; smeared and adorned with cool, fragrant, and excellent sandal resembling the blood of hares; pressed by paragons; odorous with incense; resisting (in battle) Yakshas, and Pannagas, Gandharbas, gods and Danavas; and the monkey saw his arms resting on the bed, like unto two beautiful and mighty serpents sleeping in the entrails of Mandara. And with both those well developed arms of his, the lord of Rakshasas resembling a hill, looked handsome like Mandara with its summits. And breath bearing the aroma of the mangoe, and the Pannaga, the sweet scent of the Vakula, the savour of viands fraught with the six kinds of tastes, and the perfume of wines, came out of the mighty mouth of the sovereign of the Rakshasas, filling, as it were, that entire chamber. And (Hanuman) beheld (Ravana), with his countenance, aglow with ear-rings and decked with a golden diadem embellished with pearls and jewels; daubed with red sandal; and adorned with; an elegant chain; having a large, broad, and full-developed breast; with a white silken cloth on, falling off his person; furnished with blood-red eyes; covered with costly yellow sheets; appearing like a mass of unrighteousness; breathing like a serpent, or an elephant asleep in the mighty Ganga during the rains:—four lamps set on the golden pilars illumining four sides; even as lightnings display the entire surface of a mass of clouds. (And Hanuman) also saw in the mansion of the Raksha chief, the wives of that huge-bodied one dear unto his wives,-lying at his feet. And that protector of monkey-bands saw them, having countances resembling the Moon displayed; decked out with elegant earrings; bearing unfading garlands [i. e. celestial females, kind of angels.] by way of ornamentation; lying on the arms and lap of the lord of the Rakshas. And the monkey saw women bearing noble ornaments,-lying down. And he saw golden bracelets and ear-rings at the nether ends of the women's ears,-set with diamonds and lapises. And with their fair countenances resembling the Moon, graced with comely earrings, that terrace looked beautiful, like the welkin embellished with stars. The slender-waisted wives of the sovereign of the Rakshasas, overcome with languor consequent on drink and amorous encounter, were fast asleep at the very places where they were seated. And another

transcendentally beautiful damsel possessed of lovely limbs, skilled in dance, was fast asleep, betraying comely movements (during sleep). And another was seen asleep, embracing a like a lotus with spreading petals, resting by the side of a raft. And another dark-eyed wench was asleep with her mudduka [A kind of musical instrument.] on her lap, like a loving mother having a boy. Another damsel possessed of graceful limbs and a shapely bust, was lying down, hugging her kettle-drum,-like a woman embracing her lover, obtained after a long time. And one lotus-eyed female was asleep, embracing her vina; like an amorous damsel hugging her fair paramour. And another girl of restrained self, given to dancing, had come under the sway of sleep, embracing her vipanchi [A kind of musical instrument.] like a female sleeping with her lover. And another having inebriate eyes, was fast asleep, embracing her mridanga with her charming, plump, and tender limbs, resembling gold. Another female of faultless features, endeued with a slender frame, having been overcome by lassitude consequent on drink, was asleep.with her panava on the ends of her lower garment, held fast with her hands. Another woman was sleeping soundly, embracing her dindima [A kind of musical instrument.] with another bound at her back; like a female taking both her lover and her child. Another damsel having eyes resembling lotus-petals, having come under the influence of liquor, was asleep, firmly holding her aramvara [A kind of musical instrument.] with her hands. Another woman, intoxicated by wine, was discovered asleep. with her water-vessel upset; and, in consequence, appearing like a well-washed variegated wreath in spring. Another, coming under the masterdom of slumber, was sleeping, holding with her hands her twin breasts resembling golden jars. And another lotus-eyed and moon-faced fair one, coming under the governance of slumber, (was asleep), embracing another furnished with shapely hips. And eminently beautiful dames were asleep, embracing musical instruments; like wenches pressing lustful (lovers), with their breasts. And that monkey saw that lady, endeued with beauty, lying down apart in an excellent bed; adorned with ornaments containing pearls and jewels; and as if decorating that charming mansion with her grace. And the monkey saw there the yellow-hued Mandodari, having the splendour of gold; the object of (Ravana's) desire; beautiful exceedingly,—the mistress of the inner apartment,—lying down. And seeing (Mandodari) adorned with ornaments, the offspring of the Wind-god guessed,-"This one endowed with the wealth of youth and beauty might be Sita." And demonstrating great joy, that leader of monkey-bands rejoiced exceedingly. And thereat, (Hanuman) struck at his arms with his hands, kissed his tail, exhibited signs of glee, frolicked, sang, darted towards the pillars, shot up to the top thereof, and jumped down to the —manifesting his monkey-nature.

SECTION 11

Then resigning that line of thought, that mighty monkey, regaining his equanimity, set out in another direction of thought touching Sita. "Separated from Rama, that lady is incapable of of sleeping, or eating, or decorating (her person), or drinking. And she is incapable of associating with any other person, although he were the sovereign of the celestials himself. And even in all heaven there is none who is equal to Rama. She is some other." Assuring himself of this, that foremost of monkeys, eager to behold Sita, again began to range in that place set apart for drinking. Some were tired out with sporting; some with singing; some with dancing; and some were fast asleep through intoxication. And some supported themselves on murajas, mridangas, or chelikas; and some women were sleeping on excellent sheets. And that leader of monkey-bands saw (that place of drinking) filled with thousands of women, adorned with ornaments engaged (in their sleep) in depicting each other's loveliness; and explaining the sense of songs; conversant with season and place; understanding the meanings of words chiming in with season and place; and skilful at play. And at other places also he saw thousands of superb and youthful dames fast asleep, employed in talking of each others beauty. And that leader of monkey bands saw (women) versed in season and place, and understanding the meanings of words consonant with season and place. And in the midst of them all, the lord of the Rakshasas looked splendid like an ox in a spacious stall in the midst of stately kine. And surrounded by them, the Rakshasa chief appeared beautiful like a gigantic elephant in a forest, surrounded by female elephants. And in the abode of the huge-bodied Rakshasa chief, this tiger-like monkey saw that place of drinking, furnished with every object of desire. And in that place set apart for drinking, he saw heaps of the flesh of buffaloes, deer, and boars, arranged separately. And that tiger-like monkey saw in capacious golden vessels flesh of fowls and peacocks, which remained (after the repast). And Hanuman saw the flesh of boars, and Vadhrinasas [A species of birds.] Sulyas, deer, and peacocks, seasoned with curds and Sauvarchala [A kind of salt.]; and Krikalas [Partridges are medium-sized non-migratory fowls pheasants, quail, junglefowl, etc.], and goats of various kinds.-flesh of hare half-fed,-Ekacalyas [A kind of fish.], and buffaloes,-all

chopped and dressed; and lickable and drinkable viands sharp and mild; and edibles sharp and mild; and Ragakhandavas [A preparation of the juice of grapes and pomegranates, mixed with sugar, etc.] containing sugar and acid, capable of improving a vicious palate. And with large and costly stray bangles and bracelets; and scattered cans, - and diverse kinds of fruit; and wreaths of flowers, the pavement attained exceeding beauty. And with elegantly jointed bedsteads, arranged (around), the scene of wassail appeared aflame without fire. And with meat consisting of many ingredients, fraught with diverse tastes, seasoned with many substances, and dressed by skilful cooks,-arranged separately in the scene of revel; and with noble and pleasant wines, natural and artificial,-asavas from sugar; and Madhvika [From honey. According to some, from grapes, and asavas from flowers and fruits; and impregnated separately with different kinds of fragrant dust,-the pavement, furnished with inuumerable garlands, surrounded with golden water-vessels and crystal bowls, and golden water-pots, looked exceedingly beautiful. And the monkey saw that foremost of all places set apart for drinking, containing silvern and golden jars. And that mighty monkey saw golden wine-vessels studded with gems, all filled with wine; and some with half full of liquor, some with their wine entirely exhausted, and some full of liquor. And (at some spots) he saw various kinds of viands, and at others wines ranged in rows, and at others the wine-vessels remaining half full. And there were many bedsteads belonging to fair ones, remaining vacant; and at some places excellent women were sleeping touching each other. And at one place, a female, borne down by the force of sleep, forcibly possessing herself of another's cloth, and wrapping herself therewith,went to the bed of that one, and was indulging in sleep. And with their breath, their variegated wreaths and the cloth on their persons were stirring gently, as if with a mildblowing breeze. And laden with the odours of cool sandal and of sweet-tasting Sidhu [Spirit, alcoholic drink, distilled from mollasses.]; and of diverse wreaths and flowers, and with perfumes of various kinds,—and entranced with (the aroma of sandalssuitable for use after ablution, and of dhupas, the air, impregnated with excellent scent, was there breathing around the car Pushpaka. And in the residence of the Raksha. there were some wenches sable, vet exceedingly witching; and some were dark-hued; and the frames of some were of a golden brilliance. And their beauty, in consequence of their coming under the governance of sleep, and their being bereft of their senses by Madana, resembled that of lotuses in a sleep. Thus that highly energetic monkey saw everything thoroughly in the inner apartment of Rayana.—but he saw not Janaka's daughter. And seeing those females, that mighty monkey, apprehending loss of righteousness, was seized with an exceeding great fear. "Beholding a female, who is the religiously wedded wife of another, while she is asleep, verily causeth loss of righteousness. My sight surely never seeketh others' wives: but I have beheld this one that hath ravished another's spouse." And that intelligent one, intent on attaining a knowledge of things capable of being arrived at on grounds of judgment, again reflected effectively as to his course of action: "All these unsuspecting wives of Ravana have been beheld by me; yet there are no signs that my mind hath undergone any alteration. In respect of the enlistment of the senses on behalf of any course of action good or evil, it is verily mind which is the cause: and herein my mind is righteously disposed. And I could not search for Vaidehi elsewhere; for in the matter of search, people always search for women even among women. And people search for creatures among the species to which they happen to belong: none searcheth for a lost lady among female deer. Therefore have I with a pure heart explored the entire inner apartment of Ravana; but Janaka's daughter I see not." And Hanuman endowed with prowess saw the daughters of gods, and Gandharbas, and Nagas; hut he saw not Janaki. And not seeing her, that hero, having beheld other magnificent dames, coming out of that place, set about searching for Sita (afresh). And leaving the place of wassail, the graceful offspring of the Wind-god, taking extreme care, again began to search for Sita all about (another quarter).

SECTION 12

And remaining in that mansion, (Hanuman) desirous of getting a sight of Sita graced with a fair presence, went into bowers, and picture galleries, and night-houses [A kind of hostel or hotel.]; but her he did not find. And not finding the beloved (spouse) of Raghu's son, that mighty monkey reflected,—"Surely Sita is not alive,—for although I have searched (through and through), yet Mithila's daughter I have failed to find. And that girl solicitous for the preservation of her chastity, and staying in the prime path of virtuous woman,—that chaste one—hath, for certain, been slain by this chief of the Rakshasas, (ever) finding delight in iniquity. And seeing the wives of the Rakshasa monarch,—of frightful forms,— monstrous; of lurid hue; having huge faces; with large horrid eyes,—the daughter of Janaka hath given up the ghost from fright. Failing to see Sita, and (thereby) annuling my prowess, and having long spent the appointed space in

company with the monkeys, way have I none to present myself before Sugriva, that monkey being puissant and given to meting out sharp chastisement. Having searched the inner apartment through, and seen the wives of the Rakshasa, I do not see the chaste Sita. Therefore vain is the trouble that I take. What, alas! shall the monkeys assembled tell me when I shall go (to them)? 'O hero, tell us what thou hast done, repairing there.' And not having seen Janaka's daughter, what shall I answer? The term fixed (by Sugriva) having been past, certainly meet it is that I should fast to death. And what shall the aged Jambhavan, and what shall Angada, say? And what, again, shall the assembled monkeys say to me when I shall have crossed over the main? But perseverence is the source of good fortune; and perseverence bringeth about supreme happiness. Search again I will, where I have not yet searched. Perseverence, for certain, ever bringeth people to all profitable objects. Whatever one doeth with vigor, beareth fruit. Therefore will I put forth fresh dear efforts vigorously. I will search such places held by Ravana as I have not yet seen. I have again searched the picture-galleries and the sportingstructures, and edifices, and roads passing through gardens, as well as the cars." Having thought thus, Hanuman again set about searching the subterranean abodes, religious buildings, and many-storied mansions. And flying up, and coming down, and staying, and going at places, and opening doors, and shutting others, and entering and issuing out, and falling down as if darting up, that mighty monkey began to range on all sides. There was not even space measuring four fingers in that inner apartment of Rayana, to which the monkey did not repair. And he saw the abodes of the nobility, the daises, the trees by the crossings the holes, and the tanks. And Hanuman saw there Rakshasas of various forms, frightful and deformed; but he saw not Janaka's daughter. And Hanuman saw there the wives of Vidyadharas; but he saw not Raghava's beloved. And Hanuman saw there transcendentally beautiful womendaughters of Nagas-having countenances resembling the moon; but he saw not Janaka's daughter. And Hanuman saw there daughters of Nagas forcibly brought by the lord of the Rakshasas; but he saw not Janaka's daughter. Having seen other beauteous females, and not seeing her, the mightyarmed son of the Wind-god was oppressed with sadness. Seeing that the endeavours of the monarch of monkeys, as well as the bounding over the main, had come to nought, the offspring of the Wind-god was plunged in thought. Descending from the aerial car, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god, his senses deprived by sorrow, was again wrought up with anxiety.

SECTION 13.

Allighting from the car, Hanuman possessed of vigorous activity,-leader of monkey-bands-nearing the wall, looked like lightning within a mass of clouds. And having gone round the mansions of Ravana, and not seeing Janaki, the monkey Hanuman said, - "Striving after Rama's welfare, I have again searched through Lanka; but I do not see Videha's daughter, Janaki, having all her limbs endeued with loveliness. And I have explored pools, and watery expanses, and tanks, and rivers, and streams, and marshes, and woods, and citadels, and mountains, yea, -all this earth; but Janaki I do not find. The vulture-king Sampati had told that Sita was in the mansion of Ravana. But why do I not see her (here)? Or doth Maithili Sita, daughter unto Janaka [Knowing Brahma, remarks Ramanuja.], sprung in the Videha line, forcibly carried off (by Ravana) and completely in his power, abide by the mandate (of that monarch)? I conceive that while taking Sita, the Raksha darted upward, he being influenced by fear of Rama's shafts; (and accordingly losing control over his movements), she fell off by the way. Or I fancy that while that noble lady was being carried away along the way ranged by Siddhas, she lost her life on beholding the ocean. Or I think that on account of the vehement speed assumed by Ravana, and also oppressed with his arms, that large-eyed noble lady hath been bereft of her life. For certain, while (Ravana) was soaring higher and higher, Janaka's daughter, rolling (on the car), dropped down into the sea. Alas! trying to preserve her chastity. the forlorn Sita, practising self-mortification, hath been devoured by this abject-minded Ravana. Or that darkeyed innocent one, hath been eaten up by the wives of the Rakshasa chief, actuated by wicked motives. contemplating Rama's countenance, resembling the full Moon, with eyes like lotus-leaves, she, exercised with sorrow, hath breathed her last. Bewailing much with exclamations of 'Oh Rama and Lakshmana!' 'Ah Ayodhya!' that lady Vaidehi hath renounced her body. Or secretly kept in Ravana's mansion, that girl, like a female parrot in a cage, is weeping bitterly. How can the slender-waisted wife of Rama, born in the race of Janaka, furnished with eyes resembling lotus petals, come under the sway of Rayana? I shall not be able to say of Rama's beloved wife that she hath been sullied or that I have seen her or yet that she is dead. To say this is censurable; not to say it is also such. What is my course? I find myself in a false position. Things having drifted to this pass, what should I say, now that the time hath come?' Thus thinking, Hanuman again reflected,—"If without seeing Sita, I repair to the abode of

the lord of monkeys, what then shall I gain as the object of my exertions? This my bounding over the main comes to nought; as also my entry into Lanka and the sight of the Rakshasas. And what shall Sugriva say? Or the assembled monkeys; or those twin sons of Dacaratha; to me when I shall have come to Kishkindha? And if going there, I should say a harsh speech unto Kakutstha-'I have not seen Sita'-he shall renounce his life. Hearing harsh, terrible, unsufferable, fierce and foul words concerning Sita, calculated to set the senses on fire, he shall not exist. And seeing him come under misery, with his mind expiring, the intelligent Lakshmana, firmly attached (unto Rama), shall also cease to exist. And hearing that his two brothers are dead, Bharata also shall give up existence. And seeing Bharata dead, Satrughna shall also renounce his life. And beholding their sons dead, their mothers, Kaucalya, Sumitra and Kaikayi, shall, certainly, resign their lives. And seeing Rama in that plight, the lord of the monkeys, Sugriva, grateful and having his heart fast fixed in truth, shall give up his life. And Uma, aggrieved, heart-wrung, distressed and bereft of happiness, and assuming the garb of a female ascetic, because of grief for her husband, shall resign her existence And oppressed with grief arising from Vali, and weighed down by sorrow, the queen Tara, also, resolving on death shall cease to exist. And in consequence of the death of his father and mother and the calamity befalling Sugriva, the prince Angada also shall next forego his existence. And the dwellers of the woods overwhelmed with grief got of (the decease of) their master, shall strike at their heads with their clenched fists and hands. And the monkeys affectionately cherished by the famous lord of the monkeys with soothing words gifts and regard, shall resign there lives. And no more in woods, and rocks, or secret spots, shall the foremost monkeys, assembled together, indulge in sports. And they along with their sons and wives, and counsellors, distressed on account the disaster that hath overtaken their master.-shall fall from the tops of mountains down to places even or uneven And the monkeys shall take poison, or hang themselves, or enter into flaming fire, or fast, or fall on their own weapons. I fancy that a loud wailing shall arise on my return (to that place); and the race of Ikshwaku as well as the rangers of the woods shall meet with destruction. Therefore I will not repair hence to the city of Kishkindha; nor can I see Sugriva without Mithila's daughter. On my not going there and staying here, those righteous-souled Maharathas as well as the fast-fleeting monkeys, shall preserve their lives through hope (of hearing tidings concerning Sita.) And not having seen Janaka's daughter, I will lead the Vanaprastha mode of life, partaking (of fruits) falling into my hands or mouth, restraining my senses, and staying at the foot of trees. Preparing a funereal pile on a tract bordering on the sea, abounding in fruits, and flowers, and water, I will enter into flaming fire. And as I sit to fast, and for effecting the separation of self from my body and centering my identity in the spirit crows and beasts of prey shall feed on my body. And I think the sages have enjoyed another way of exit. I shall, failing to see Janaki, enter into water. My illustrious and exalted garland of fame, begot of excellent acts, hath perished for good in consequence of my not seeing Sita. Or restraining myself, I shall become an ascetic living underneath trees; but return I will not, without obtaining a sight of that dark-eyed damsel. If I return without seeing Sita, all the monkeys with Angada shall cease to exist. Incalculable are the ills of my putting a period to my existence; (on the other hand) if I live, I may come by good. Therefore my life I will maintain. If I live, it may conduce to happiness.' Having thus indulged in a variety of harassing thoughts in his mind, that foremost of monkeys could not cross over to the other shore (of the sea of distress). Then summoning energy, that elephantine monkey endeued with fortitude reflected,-"Or I shall slay the Ten-necked Ravana possessed of great strength. Sita hath been carried off; but by this I shall avenge myself. Or throwing him repeatedly into the sea, I (shall take him) and present him to Rama, even as one presents a beast unto Pacupat [Siva; lit. lord of beasts.]." Reflecting thus, the monkey, not finding Sita, -agitated with sorrow and anxiety, thought,—"So long as I do not find the illustrious spouse of Rama, Sita, I will explore the city of Lanka again and again. If in consonance with Simpat's speech, I bring Rama hither, Raghava, not seeing his wife, shall burn all the monkeys. (Therefore) even here I shall stay, restraining my fare and mortifying my senses. All those principal monkeys ought not to lose their lives because of any act to which I may commit myself. This is the asoka wood, extensive and containing mighty trees. This I shall explore, as it hath not yet been searched by me. And saluting the Vasus, the Rudras, the Adityas, the twin Acwins, (and Rama and Lakshmana), I enhancing the sorrow of the Rakhas, shall go into it. Having vanquished the Rakshas, I will bestow on Rama the lady of the Ikshwaku race like the fruit of asceticism conferred on an ascetic." Having thus reflected for a space, the mighty-armed offspring of the Wind-god, his senses agitated with anxiety, arose. "I bow unto Rama with Lakshmana, and unto the revered daughter of Janaka, I bow unto Rudra, and Indra, and Yama, and Wind-god, and I bow unto the Moon, unto Fire and unto the Maruts." Having bowed unto them all, as

also unto Sugriva, the offspring of the Wind-god, surveying all the cardinal points, mentally entered the Asoka wood. Having mentally entered the Asoka wood, that monkey, son unto the Wind-god, reflected as to what he should do next. The sacred Asoka wood, sanctified with every purifying rite and abounding in woods, needs must be full of Rakshas. And warders, directed there to, forsooth, protect the trees; and that worshipful Soul of the universe does not breathe here vigorously. I contract my person in the interests of Rama, and in order that Ravana may not see me. May all the deities along with the saints confer success on me. And may the revered selfcreate Brahma, and the deities, and the ascetics, and Fire, and wind, and the much invoked bearer of the Vajra [Indra.], and the noose-handed Varuna, and the Moon and the Sun, the high-souled Acwinis, and all the Maruts—(confer) success (on me)! And all beings, and the lord of them all, and others that, albeit not specified in the scriptures, are yet visible in the -will confer success on me. When shall I behold the blameless face of that noble lady,-with its protruding nose; having luminous smiles, having eyes resembling lotus-petals; and bright as the complacent lord of stars? Ah! to-day how shall feeble forlorn one that hath been borne down by the force of the mean, abject and grim-visaged (Ravana) fierce yet wearing (at the time of the rape), a dress tending to inspire confidence, - come in my sight?

SECTION 14.

Having reflected for a while, and mentally met with her, that highly energetic one leapt from the wall of Rayana's mansion on to that (of the Asoka wood). And all his frame filled with delight, that mighty monkey, stationed on the wall, saw various trees having their tops furnished with flowers through spring and the other seasons,-salasand asokas, bhavyas, champakas, udalakas, and nagas, and those bearing fruits resembling the mouths of monkeys; and those relative to mango woods.—with hundreds of plants. And (Hanuman) leapt into the garden like an arrow let go from the bow string. Entering into the grove, variegated all over; resonant with the notes of birds; filled on all sides with golden and silvern trees; many-hued with birds and beasts; containing dainty tracts of trees like unto the risen Sun,—the powerful Hanuman saw the place surrounded with various kinds of trees, having fruits and flowers; frequented by maddened coels and bhramaras, with creatures expressing happiness by their movements, birds and beasts overflowing with spirits; echoing with the cries of peacocks; furnished with various species of fowls. And as he was searching for that surpassingly beautiful and blameless daughter of the king, that monkey awakened the monkeys that were sleeping sweetly. And blown against by the wind caused by the wings of the birds as they flew upwards, various and variegated trees showered down blossoms. And in the midst of the Asoka wood, Hanumln, son unto the Windgod, covered over with flowers, looked lovely like a hill strewn with blossoms. And all creatures, beholding that monkey embosomed among trees and darting on all sides, took him for spring. And strewn with several masses of blossoms loosened from the trees, the Earth appeared beauteous like a damsel dight with ornaments. And shaken in diverse ways by the motion of the light fleeting monkey, the trees showered many-hued flowers. And with their leaves and tops torn, and their flowers and fruits shrivelled up, the trees looked like worsted gamblers bereft of their clothes. And shaken by Hanuman vehemently moving about, those excellent trees crowned with fruits, speedily cast off fruits, flowers and foliage. And moved by the Wind god's offspring, the trees with their trunks left, and forsaken by the fowls were incapable of harbouring any creatures. And like youthful fair ones with hair dishevelled, their paste worn off, their upper lips with fair teeth sucked of their moisture; and having their persons torn with nails and teeth; appeared the Asoka wood with its trees shattered; and itself ground with the tail, hands and legs (of Hanuman). And that monkey with his vehemence scattered the clusters of shrubs, like the wind violently scattering clouds in the rainy season. And ranging there, the monkey saw beautiful pavements, jewelled, silvern aud golden. And he saw there various pools filled with excellent water and having steps crusted with jewels. Their sandy soil was filled with pearls and corals, and the ground inside was made of crystal. And their banks were decked with diverse golden trees. They were beautified with full blown lotuses, water-lilies, Chakravakas and Natyuhas [Moorhens and marsh hens.] and filled with the notes of swans and Sarasas. They were encircled on all sides with big tanks having trees on their banks and water, clear and sweet like unto nectar. They were entwined with hundreds of creepers, covered with Santana [One of the trees of heaven.] flowers and filled with diverse groves and Karaviras serving the purpose of windows [Lit. "making a gap in that forest thickly filled with trees."]. And thereupon that foremost of monkeys beheld there a mountain—the most picturesque in the world, resembling clouds, having high summits, covered on all sides with peaks and filled with hilly abodes and various trees. And that monkey beheld there a river falling down from the mountain like unto a damsel falling down from the lap of her beloved. And the branches of

the trees touching the water (of the stream) resembled a fair damsel prevented by her dear companions from forsaking the company of her beloved). And that great monkey beheld further down the stream turning back like unto the damsel, pleased, going back to her dear one. And that foremost of monkeys, Hanuman, the son of Maruti, beheld, at some distance, ponds filled with lotuses and various birds. And he saw a big artificial pond full of cool water having stairs crusted with excellent iewels and its sandy banks filled with pearls. It was embellished (on all sides) with various animals, diverse trees and big mansions made by Viswakarma [The son of Brahma and artist of gods.] himself. It was adorned all around with artificial fqrests and all the trees there bore flowers and fruits, spreading their branches like unto umbrellas and having golden and silvern pavements under them. And that great monkey beheld there one golden Singsapa [A tree (Dalbergia Sisu).] tree surrounded on all sides with golden pavements. And he saw the glebe, the hill streams and many a golden tree resembling fire. By the lustre of all those trees that heroic monkey appeared as if made of gold like unto the Sun by the touch of the mount Sumeru. And having seen those beautiful golden trees, shaken by the wind and making a sound like that of a Kinkini [A kind of tinkling ornament.]; having flowery tops and new leaves he was greatly amazed. And climbing that Singsapatree enveloped with leaves that monkey, gifted with velocity, reflected—"Perchance I may see Vaidehi, exercised with grief, anxious to behold Rama and wandering hither and thither at her pleasure. Certainly this is the picturesque Asoka forest of that vicious-souled one, embellished with sandal, Champakas and Vakulas. Here is a beautiful pond abounding in lotuses, thronged with birds and forsooth shall that royal spouse Janaki repair hither. She is the beloved queen of Raghava and expert in walking in the garden. And separated from Rama, certainly shall Janaki repair hither. Or she having the eyes of a young antelope and adept in roaming in the forest, exercised with thought touching Rama, shall come here. Or she having beautiful eyes and fond of ranging in the forest, racked with sorrow in consequence of Rama's separation, doth always frequent this forest. Ere this, the chaste and worshipful spouse of Rama-Janaka's daughter, used to love always the birds and animals of the forest. (The morning hath set in) and surely the beautiful and graceful daughter of Janaka fond of performing morning ablutions, shall come to this river of pure water to perform them. Truly is this beautiful forest of Asoka the worthy abode of the beloved and chaste spouse of Rama, the lord of men. If that one of moon-like countenance breathes for sooth shall she come to this river of cool water Having arrived there and anxiously expecting the appearance of the spouse of that lord of men, the high-souled Hanuman hiding himself (on the Singsapa tree) enveloped with flowers and leaves, beheld all.

SECTION 15

Having stationed himself on the tree, casting his looks all around in quest of Sita and looking down on the earth he surveyed the entire forest of (Asoka). It was beautified with Santanaka creepers and various trees, fragrant with celestial odours and was embellished on all sides. It resembled Nandana or the celestial garden, and was filled with various animals and birds, palaces and mansions; resounded with the notes of Kokilas; adorned with the ponds abounding in silvern water-lillies and lotuses; filled with many seats and coverlets and various houses having spacious courtyards; adorned with beautiful flowers of all seasons and trees bearing fruits. And the beauty of the blossoming Asokas resembled the effulgence of the Sun. And stationed there Maruti beheld trees as if devoid of leaves on account of the hundreds of birds, adorned with various flowers, resorting there. And he saw there the earth touched by Asoka trees, the removers of grief, having flowers growing from the roots and lowered down with their weight. And the entire quarter was as if ablaze with the beauty of the flowery Karnikaras and Kingsukas. And there appeared in beauty many flowery Punnagas, Saptaparnas, Champakas, and Udalakas having deeply expanded roots. And there was a thousand of Asoka trees, some of whom were like gold, some were like the flame of fire and some were like dark-blue collyrium. It was like the garden of Nandana or like that of Kuvera or perhaps it surpassed the both in excellence. And enveloped in charming, celestial grace beyond conception and having flowers for stars that forest appeared like a second sky. Aud covered with hundreds of pearl-like flowers the forest looked like the fifth ocean. And that garden was embellished with flowers of all seasons and honey-smelling trees, and filled with diverse notes and various animals and birds. And that fragrant garden was rendered more charming with various other fragrances. And that foremost of monkeys beheld in that garden of Asoka, a round palace, situated at a distance, fragrant as the Gandhamadanamountain and high as the lord of mountains. (The palace) was white as the Kailaca hill and built on a thousand pillars. All its stairs were made of coral and its pavements made of burning gold. Its beauty was as if burning all along and stealing the vision of the lookers-on. It was

spotless and on account of its height touched the welkin. And thereupon he beheld there (Sita) wearing a soiled cloth, poorly, greatly reduced by fast, sighing again and again and encircled by a band of Rakshasees. She was (however) spotless like unto the rays of the moon on the first lunar day. And her graceful beauty could with great difficulty be perceived like unto the flame of fire enveloped with smoke. And wearing a shattered and soiled vellow cloth and divested of all ornaments she appeared like a lotus stalk without lotuses. Oppressed, racked with grief, weakened and chaste as she was, she appeared like Rohini possessed by Ketu. She was greatly reduced by fast, stricken with grief and anxious thoughts, disturbed with sorrow and was poorly and her eyes were always full of tears. Separated from her kith and kin and not beholding Rama and Lakshmana but the Rakshasees, she appeared like a hind surrounded by dogs. Her braid of long hair resembling a black serpent falling on her back it appeared as if the Earth was filled with dark-blue forests on the disappearance of the rains. Sita was worthy of happiness only and never knew of misery and therefore she was (now) greatly oppressed with sorrow. And beholding that one of expansive eyes rendered pale and feeble, Hanuman, by various conclusive arguments reflected within himself "She must be Sita, for this damsel looks just like her, whom I saw, when she was ravished by Ravana, assuming shapes at will. Having the countenance of the full-moon, beautiful eye brows, round breast, she is as if dispelling the darkness from all quarters by virtue of her grace. Her throat was yellow, and her lips were like Bimbas [A plant with red fruits.]. She was of middle stature and her limbs were all well built. She had eyes resembling lotus petals and was like the beloved wife of Manmatha-Rati and was adorable unto the whole creation like the rays of the full-moon. That one having a graceful person was seated on the earth like a female ascetic having her senses restrained. And she was sighing again and again like the timid daughter-in-law of the lord of serpents*. [The epithet has a special significance because through her the destruction of the race of Rakshasas was brought about.] Entangled by a mighty web of grief her grace was greatly lessened and she appeared like the flame of fire enveloped in smoke. She was like unto Smritiof doubtful meanings, fallen wealth, lost respect, hope without any desire for gain, Sidhi [Yoga or asceticism by virtue of which final "emancipation" (salvation) from existence is effected.] of many troubles, sullied understanding and fame soiled with false rumours. That innocent one was greatly distressed for not being able to attend upon Rama, and she having the eyes of a young hind, being oppressed by the Rakshasees was casting her looks hither and thither. And with a displeased countenance, having dark-blue and curling eye lashes, and eyes full of tears, she was sighing again and again. Worthy of wearing ornaments but now without any, poorly, crusted with execrations, she appeared like the rays of the stars enveloped by dark-blue clouds. And beholding Sita in that pitiable plight like unto learning for want of practice, (Hanuman) was puzzled with doubts. And seeing her without ornaments he could with great difficulty make her out like unto words having different meanings without the knowledge of grammar. And beholding that blameless daughter of the king, having expansive eyes, Hanuman, by various reasonings, reflected—"Forsooth she must be Sita. I see at her person all these ornaments, of which Rama mentioned unto me at the time of my departure. I behold on her ears excellent ear-rings and nicely placed Svadangstras [A kind of ornament worn on the ears.] and on her arms jewelled ornaments rendered dark-blue by dirt for constant use. Verily these are the ornaments Rama mentioned unto me. I do not perceive them which had been cast off by her. But these are the rest there is not the least doubt about it. The monkeys had seen, her excellent vellow cloth made of golden fibres, on the hill. They had seen also her excellent ornaments, which cast off by her, fell on the earth with a sound. Her cloth hath been shattered by constant use but her grace hath not been rendered worse than its colour. This one having a golden countenance must be the beloved queen of Rama, who, albeit separated from him, hath not disappeared from his mind. This is that damsel on whose account Rama being simultaneously burnt by affection, pity, grief and amour,-affection in consequence of his beloved spouse being ravished, pity for his inability to protect one dependent on him, grief for the loss of his beloved wife and amour for his dear one. Verily it appeareth from the grace of her person, from her well developed limbs and from Rama's beauty that this worshipful damsel having dark-blue eyes must be his spouse. She has her mind fixed in him, and he in her and it is for this that she and the virtuous-souled (Rama) have been still maintaining their being. Indeed my master Rama hath performed a mighty task for breathes he still in her separation, without consuming himself in grief." And having beheld Sita in this plight, that son of the Wind-god approached Rama in mind and showered praises on his master.

SECTION 16.

And having eulogized Sita, worthy of being praised and Rama, endeared by accomplishments that foremost of monkeys again engaged in meditation. And having reflected for some time, the powerful Hanuman, having his eyes full of tears bewailed on Sita's account (in the following strain) No one can withstand the course of destiny since Sita, being the spouse of the worshipful brother of Lakshmana, ever obedient unto his elders, hath been overwhelmed with grief. The worshipful damsel is cognisant of the prowess of Rama and the intelligent Lakshmana and for this she is not entirely depressed like unto the river Ganges at the approach of the rainy season. As regards their character, age, conduct, family and other auspicious marks they are equal and hence Raghava deserveth Vaidehi and this one of dark-blue eyes is his." And having seen her, gold-hued and conducing to the happiness of the people like unto the Goddess of wealth, Hanuman approached Rama in his mind and said:—"For this (damsel) was killed the mighty Vali and Kavanda—Ravana's equal in prowess. (For her too) was destroyed in battle, the terribly powerful Rakshasa-Viradha, by Rama putting forth his energy, like unto Shambara killed by Mahendra. (It was for her) that fourteen thousand Rakshasas of terrible deeds were destroyed at Janasthana with arrows resembling the flame of fire. And Khara was killed in battle, and Trishara was discomfitted and the mighty Dushana by Rama, knowing his ownself. And it was on her account that Sugriva, known all over the world, came by the wealth of the monkeys hard to acquire and amassed by Vali. And it is for this (damsel) of expansive eyes that I have crossed the effulgent lord of rivers and have seen this city. And methinks it would have been all proper had Rama turned on her account the whole earth bounded by oceans. If the kingdom over the three worlds and the daughter of Janaka be compared together, the former is not equal to one hundredth part of Sita. This Sita, the daughter of the high-souled Janaka, the pious King of Mithila, firmly attached unto her husband, rose, covered with dust, out of the earth, in a field delved by a furrow. She is the wellknown eldest daughter-in-law of the king Dacaratha, of an adorable character and unchecked prowess. And She is the beloved spouse of the pious and grateful Rama, knowing his ownself, and has been brought under the control of the Rakshasees. Renouncing all luxuries, and considering not the least about miseries, she actuated by her husband's love entered the solitary forest. And satisfied with fruits and roots and ever engaged in her husband's service, she lived in the forest as much delighted as she was in her house. And that one of a golden hue, never used to afflictions and who was wont to converse always with a delighted countenance, hath now been suffering incomparable miseries. Like unto a thirsty wight longing for an abode where he might get a drink, Raghava panteth after seeing her, gifted with an exalted character and oppressed by Ravana. As a monarch who had lost his kingdom, is greatly delighted when he regaineth it, forsooth shall Raghava, in like manner, be pleased when he shall come by her. She too hath been maintaining her being in the hope of seeing Rama again, separated as she is from her friends and deprived of all comforts and luxuries. These Rakshasees, and these trees enveloped with fruits and flowers—forsooth she doth not behold, but is engaged with all her heart in medidations only touching Rama. Husband enhanceth the beauty of a female more than the dress (and therefore Sita) beautiful as she is, doth not appear graceful, in her husband's absence. Forsooth my master Rama hath performed a difficult act for he hath been still keeping up his life in her separation without consuming himself in grief. My heart is greatly pained knowing that she, having dark-blue eyes, resembling lotus petals, worthy of happiness, hath been possessed by grief. She, patient as the Earth, having eyes resembling lotuses, who was ere this protected by Raghava and Lakshmana, is now being guarded by Rakshasees having terrible eyes, under the trees. Being harassed with continued miseries, the daughter of Janaka hath lost all her beauty like unto a water-lily crushed with frost, and hath come by a miserable plight like unto a doe seperated from her mate. The branches of the Asoka trees, lowered down with flowers are as if enhancing her grief as also the Moon of many thousand rays, at the expiry of the winter." Having reflected thus and arrived at the conclusion that she was Sita, that powerful leader of monkeys gifted with velocity stationed himself on that tree.

SECTION 17.

Thereupon the Moon, white as water-lily and of clear appearance proceeded far down the welkin like unto a goose traversing the blue waters. With a view to befriend him, the Moon of clear rays, sprinkled the Wind-God's son, with cool beams. And thereupon he beheld Sita, having a moon-like countenance, plunged in grief like unto a laden boat sunk in water. While beholding Vaidehi, Hanuman, the son of Maruta, observed at some distance, a number of grim-visaged Rakshasees. Some had one ear, some one eye, some had big ears some were without ears; some had formidable ears and some had a nose projecting upwards. And some had the upper part of their bodies unusually long and bulky, some had long and slender neck, some had dishevelled hair, and some one's person was so thickly covered with hairs, that she appeared to have been cloaked in a blanket. Some had long

ears some had a long forehead, some had a long belly, some had long breasts; some had long lips; some had their lips and chins stuck together, some had a long countenance and some had long knees. Some one was of short stature, some were tall, some crooked, some grim-visaged, some dwarfish, some one was of terribly dark colour; some had a disfigured countenance; some had coppery eyes and a fearful face. Some were terrible-looking, some copper-coloured, some black, some angry and some fond of quarrelling with each other; and some had iron darts, hammers and mallets in their hands. Some had a face like that of a boar, some had a face like that of a deer, some like that of a tiger, some like that of a buffallo, some like that of a goat, and some like that of a jackal; some had legs like those of a camel, some had those of an elephant, some those of a horse and some had their heads placed on their breasts. Some one had only one hand some had only one leg. Some had ears like those of a horse, some like those of a cow, some like those of an ass, some like those of an elephant and others had ears like those of a lion. Some had very big noses, some had crooked and others were without any; some had noses like those of an elephant and others had their noses on their foreheads. Some had their legs like those of elephants some had very huge legs; some had like those of a cow, some had on their legs locks of hair like unto pillars, some had a terribly huge head, some had big breasts and others had spacious bellies, Some had faces and eyes beyond ordinary proportions. Some had a long face and tongue. And some had the face of a goat, some that of an elephant some that of a cow, some that of a boar some that of a horse and some that of an ass. Some of the Rakshasees were grim-visaged and some hotnatured, quarrelsome and had darts and maces in their hands. And some terrible Rakshasees of disfigured countenances, had smoky-coloured hairs. And they were all continually drinking wine-always fond of liquor and meat, and all their bodies were sprinkled with blood for their living on gore and flesh. And that foremost of monkeys found all these grim-visaged Rakshasees seated around that mighty tree enveloped with branches. And the graceful Hanuman observed at the foot of that tree that worshipful and blameless daughter of the king Janaka. She was bereft of all effulgence, racked with grief and all her hairs were soiled with dirt. She appeared like a star fallen down on the earth on the wane of virtue. And famed though she was all over the world for her chastity, it was difficult for her now to see her husband. She had no excellent ornaments-her attachment unto her husband was the only ornament. She was imprisoned by the lord of Rakshasas and separated from all her friends, she appeared like a sheelephant separated from her hand and bound and attacked by a lion, and like the rays of the Moon enveloped with clouds at the expiry of the rainy season. Her beauty was greatly faded (in consequence of her husband's separation) like unto a stringed instrument for want of a player. And ever engaged in her husband's welfare she was thoroughly unworthy of being brought under the control of the Rakshasas. Being sunk in the abyss of grief and encircled by those Rakshasees she appeared in the forest of Asoka like unto Rohini possessed by Rahu. And Hanuman beheld her there like a creeper divested of flowers. And having her person soiled with dirt and shorn of all ornaments she appeared in her hidden grace like unto a lotus covered with clay. And the monkey Hanuman, beheld that damsel, having the eyes of a young antelope, clothed with a soiled and shattered cloth. And though the countenance of that worshfpful one was shorn of all grace, her heart did not loose its loftiness in consequence of her husband's prowess. And Sita, of dark-blue eyes, was protected by virtue of her own character. And beholding Sita, having the eyes of a young antelope, and terrified and casting her looks hither and thither like a hind and burning down the trees enveloped with leaves by her breath; like unto a mass of grief and an upheaval of sorrow; having well-proportioned limbs, and appearing graceful without ornaments, Maruti attained to an excess of delight. And beholding her having inebriete eyes, Hanuman shed tears of delight and bowed unto Raghava. And having offered his obeisance unto Rama and Lakshmana the powerful Hanuman, greatly delighted in seeing Sita; remained there hidden

SECTION 18.

And beholding the forest filled with flowery trees and desiring to have a full view of her, he, well-nigh, spent the night. And at that late hour of the night, he heard the chantings of the Vedas by the Rakshasas, conversant with the six supplementary parts of the Vedas [The Sanskrit word "veda" means "knowledge," just like the related Dutch word "weten." This includes Grammar, Prosody, astronomy, pronounciation, the meaning of the unusual terms and the ritual of the Hindu faith.], engaged in the performance of sacrificial rites and knowing Brahma. And thereupon the nighty Ten-headed Rakshasa, having huge arms, awoke with the sounds of those auspicious instruments pleasant unto ears. And awaking, that great and powerful lord of Rakshasas, having his cloth and garlands loosened, began to think of Vaidehi. And that Rakshasa, puffed up with pride, was passionately attached unto her and so he could not restrain his

amour in him. And so adorned with all ornaments, he, casting his looks on the roads containing jewelled and golden gates and appearing in grace, entered the forest of Asoka, filled with various trees containing fruits and flowers of all seasons and with ponds; beautified with various flowers; variegated with inebriete and wondrous birds; filled with various beautiful wolves; thronged with various deer and covered with fruits fallen on the earth. And one hundred damsels followed in the train of the son of Pulastya [Refers to Ravana, Pulastya being his father.] like unto the damsels of the celestials and Gandharvas following Mahendra. And among those fair ones, some carried chowries and some fans. And some carrying water in golden jars headed the train while others carrying the golden throne covered with a coverlet followed it. And a favourite damsel carried in her right hand a jewelled drinking bowl filled with wine. And another carrying the white umbrella having golden ribs resembling the full moon and goose, followed in the train. And in this wise the excellent wives, of Ravana, having their eyes rendered sleepy with sleep and wine, followed their heroic husband like unto lightnings following the cloud. Their necklaces and keyuras were displaced, paste faded, hair dishevelled and they had drops of sweat on their faces. With sleep and intoxication, were reeling those fair ones of beautiful countenances, having their hairs with garlands disbanded and their persons wet with perspiration. And in this way those beloved wives, (of Ravana) having inebriete eyes, followed, out of amour and reverence, their husband. And their mighty husband, brought under the control of amour and having his mind firmly attached unto Sita, proceeded slowly. And that monkey, son of Maruta, heard the sound of kanchees and nupuras of those excellent damsels. And the monkey Hanuman also beheld Ravana, of extraordinary deeds and of inconceivable prowess and strength, at the gate. His whole body was seen on all sides by the light of the lamps lighted with perfumed oil and carried by the Rakshasees before. He was inflamed with amour, pride and haughtiness and his expansive eyes were coppery and idle. And he appeared like Cupid himself just appearing in view, leaving behind his bow and arrows. And holding his excellent robe, covered with flowers, washed, set with jewels and white as the foam of the churned nectar, he placed it in its proper place. And Hanuman, hiding himself on the tree, in the midst of many leaves and flowers, tried to recognise him as he approached. And beholding him, that foremost of monkeys saw that highly famous king Ravana, surrounded by his excellently beautiful and youthful wives, enter that forest of enjoyment filled with birds and animals. There was a warder by name Sankukarna in that forest—highly powerful, wearing various ornaments and addicted to drinking. And by him was seen that lord of Rakshasas—the son of Visravasa. And that highly energetic monkey beheld that effulgent (Ravana) surrounded by excellent damsels like unto moon encircled by stars. And beholding him the monkey reflected-"This must be Ravana—for he is the person whom I saw sleeping in an excellent apartment in that city." Thinking this, that highly effulgent son of Maruta—Hanuman leaped (high upon another branch). And effulgent as he was, that highly intelligent monkey hid himself on a branch covered with leaves, being unable to stand before the effulgence of that Rakshasa. And Ravana proceeded in that way, being anxious to behold the blue-eyed Sita, having spacious breast, excellent hips and a lock of black hair.

SECTION 19.

And thereupon beholding Ravana-the lord of Rakshasas, gifted with youth and beauty and adorned with an excellent dress, that excellent and blameless daughter of a king. Vaidehi trembled like unto a plantain tree shaken by the wind. And having covered her belly with her legs and her breast with her hands, that one, having charming colour and expansive eyes. cried aloud. And arriving there the Ten-necked one beheld Vaidehi, guarded by the Rakshasees, poorly, racked with grief like unto a boat sunk in an ocean. Subject to hard penances, she, seated on the bare earth, appeared like a branch of a tree fallen on the ground. Her limbs, where she used to wear ornaments, were covered with dirt and albeit worthy of ornaments, appeared without any like unto a lotus covered with clay and therefore shining very indistinctly. And she was proceeding as it were unto that lion of a king-Rama, knowing his own-self, in her mind's charriot drawn by the horses of resolution. And not beholding the end of her grief, that damsel, attached unto Rama, was keeping alone and reduced to a skeleton and overwhelmned with anxious thoughts and grief. And she was troubled like unto the daughter-in-law of the lord of serpents, of impeded course by means of incantations, and stricken with grief like unto Rohini, possessed by Ketu. And although born in a pious family, well behaved and good-natured and married according to their rites, she appeared to have been sprung from a low race and wedded according to their base ceremonials. She seemed like mighty fame disappearing, like respect disregarded, like intellect waning and hope disappointed; like a sacred altar trampled, like royal mandate disobeyed, like the quarters burnt by a fire-brand; like

offerings unto God soiled; like the disc of the full-moon stricken with darkness, a lotus distressed, an army without a leader; like the ravs of the moon enveloped with gloom, like a river of shallow water, like a sacrificial altar possessed by an outcast, like the flame of fire extinguished; like water fowls terrified and lotuses disturbed and petals crushed by the trunks of elephants. And her grace greatly famished by the absence of her husband she appeared like a river whose liquid contents were dried up. And not cleaning her limbs she appeared like a dark night. And that one of graceful limbs, tender and worthy of living in a jewelled abode, being stricken with grief, seemod like a dried lotus-stalk just extracted from its bed. And she like the daughter-in-law of the lord of elephants, caught, separated from her band and tied to a pillar, was overwhelmed with grief and was sighing again and again. A long lock of dark-blue hair, taken not the least care of, was on her back; and with this she appeared like unto the earth covered with dark-blue forests at the expiration of the rainy season. With fasts and grief, anxiety and fear, she was greatly weakened and reduced and gave up eating and took recourse to asceticism only. Stricken with grief, she seemed to have been offering prayers unto that foremost of Raghus for the destruction of the Ten-necked one, like those unto the deities with folded hands. And beholding blameless Maithilee, having expansive eyes with beautiful eye lashes, greatly attached unto Rama, and weeping, Ravana tempted her for his own destruction.

SECTION 20.

Whereupon Ravana, with sweet words amd gestures, expressed his own desire unto Sita, poorly, deprived of joy, encircled by Rakshasees and leading the life of an ascetic. "O thou having thighs like the trunks of elephants, while thou hast, beholding me, hidden thy breast and belly, perhaps thou art afraid of exposing thy person unto me. I do long for thee, O thou having expansive eyes; do thou esteem me, O my dear one, O thou gifted with all accomplishments and pleasant unto all persons. O Sita, here is no human being or any Rakshasa assuming shapes at will, do thou therefore renounce all fear from me. O timid damsel, for certain it is the virtue of the Rakshasas that they always visit others' wives or come by them by force. In spite of this, O Maithilee, I do not touch thee for thou art not under the influence of amour-but for me, I am completely under its sway. Do not fear me, O worshipful damsel, confide in me, O my beloved one, and become attached unto me. Do not give way to grief. A single lock of hair, to lie down on earth and useless fast-these do not become thee. Attaining me, O Maithilee, do thou enjoy excellent garlands, sandal, ornaments, costly wines, beds, seats, songs, dancing and music. Thou art a jewel of a female; do thou not therefore remain in this guise. Put on thy ornaments therefore. How shalt thou remain unadorned obtaining me, O thou of a beautiful figure? This thy beautiful youth is passing away, which like the current of a river when once gone, doth not turn back. O thou of a fair look, having created thee, the artist of Gods, the maker of celestial beauties, hath ceased from his work, for a match of thy beauty I find in none. Who is there, O Vaidehi, who can withstand the influence of amour, getting thee, gifted with beauty and youth? (What of others) even Brahma, the grand-father of the celestials, is moved. O thou having a moon-like countenance, and well-developed lips, whatever limbs of thine, I behold, I find my gaze fixed therein. O Maithilee, do thou become my spouse, and renounce this delusion. Do thou become the foremost queen of all my excellent wives. O timid one, all the jewels that I have collected from the three worlds, and all my kingdom I shall confer on thee. O sportive damsel, for thy satisfaction, I shall conquer the whole earth, engarlanded by many cities and bestow it upon Janaka. Find I none on this earth who can withstand my prowess. Do thou behold my matchless prowess in battle. The celestials, and Asuras are incapable of withstanding me, defeated as they were by me in battle and their pennons struck down. Do thou therefore desire me to-day, dress thyself in excellent robes and adorn thyself in beautifully brilliant ornaments. I shall behold thy dazzling beauty when adorned with ornaments. For pity unto me, do thou embellish thyself with ornaments, O thou of a graceful countenance. O timid damsel, do thou, at thy pleasure, enjoy all sorts of comforts and luxuries, and do thou, as thou desirest, confer wealth and land on others. Do thou confiding in me, ask for thy wished-for objects and do thou command me like unto an unmannerly damsel. Thou shalt, by asking favours from me, satisfy the desires of thy friends. O gentle lady, O thou of great renown, do thou observe my prosperity. What shalt thou do with Rama, wearing bark, (O thou of pleasant presence. Rama hath ceased from his endeavours for gaining victory. He hath lost all his beauty, lives in the forest, is engaged in observances and always lies down on earth. I fear whether he is living still. O Vaidehi. Rama shall not be able to see thee like unto the rays of the moon covered with blue clouds preceded by Valakas [A kind of bird, a crane.]. Raghava shall never get thee back from my hands, like unto Hiranyakasipuunable to regain his wife Keerti from Indra. O thou of beautiful teeth, O thou having

beautiful eyes, O sportive damsel, O timid one, thou dost steal my mind like unto Garuda catching serpents. Beholding thee, wearing a shattered silken cloth, slender and without any ornaments, I do not find any attachment in my own wives. O daughter of Janaka, do thou exercise, thy supremacy, over all my wives, living in my seraglio and gifted with all accomplishments. O thou having black hair, all my wives are foremost in beauty over the three worlds. And they shall all attend thee like unto Apsaras waiting upon the Goddess of wealth. O thou having beautiful eye brows and well-developed hips, do thou, along with me, enjoy at thy pleasure all the wealth and riches of Kuvera [The God of wealth or Pluto in Greek myths.]. O worshipful damsel, in asceticism, strength or prowess, wealth or fame, Rama is not my equal. Do thou therefore at thy pleasure drink, enjoy and eat, I shall confer on thee wealth and the whole earth. Do thou satisfy all thy desires in me, O fair damsel, and let thy friends be satisfied in thee. And adorned with a beautiful golden necklace, O timid lady, do thou at thy pleasure, range with me, in the forests, situated on the bank of the ocean, and filled with flowery trees and black bees

SECTION 21.

Hearing those words of that terrible Rakshasa, Sita, stricken with grief and of feeble voice, slowly replied-Racked with grief, engaged in asceticism and weeping, Sita began to tremble. And that excellent damsel, devoted unto her husband, began to think of him. Placing a twig before, that one, of beautiful smile, said—"Do thou take back thy mind from me and place it in thy own wives. Like unto a sinner unworthy of praying for final emancipation, it doth not behove thee to expect to come by me. Devoted unto one husband I shall never perpetrate such an iniquitious act. I am born in a high and have been married in a pious family." Having accosted Ravana thus, the well-known Vaidehi, turning her back, again spake unto him, sayingnot live with thee since I am another's wife and chaste. Have thy eyes always on religion and do thou follow in the track of piety. Like unto thine own wives, others' are worthy of being protected by thee, O ranger of the night. Making an example of thee, do thou enjoy with thy own wives. Forsooth those vicious-minded, those of agitated senses, who are not satisfied with their own wives, are brought to misery by others' wives. (Methinks) there are no pious men here and even if there be any thou dost not follow him since thou hast such an adverse understanding, against human practice and usage. Or the considerate people have spoken the truth, but thou, for the destruction of the race of the Rakshasas, considering that false. hast not followed it. Wealth, kingdom and cities-all are brought to naught when they are placed at the hands of a vicious and illiterate king. Obtaining thee, (therefore) as her king and for thy folly only, this city of Lanka, abounding in jewels, shall soon be ruined. O Ravana, every one delighteth in the destruction of that inconsiderate being, who bringeth about his own destruction and is engaged in the perpetration of evil deeds. And in this way, thyself, the perpetrator of vicious acts, meeting with thy end, those persons who had been tyranized by thee, shall, delightedly, say-"Oh! blessed are we since this terrible (Rakshasa) hath met with his end. With wealth or riches thou shalt not be able to tempt me. As the rays of the sun belong to him, so I am Raghava's only. Having laid my head on the beautiful arms of that lord of men. how shall I place it again on another's? Like unto the knowledge of one God monopolized by the Brahmanas only, I am the spouse of that lord of earth only, cognisant of higher truths and marrying me according to the pious ceremonials. May good betide thee, O Rayana, Do thou take me unto Rama, stricken with grief as I am, like unto a she-elephant anxiously waiting in the forest brought to the lord of elephants. It behoveth thee to make friends with Rama, that best of men, if dost thou desire to maintain thy empire and dost not wish to bring about thy own destruction. It is known to the world, that Rama knoweth well the sanctions of religion and is kind unto them who seek his shelter. Do thou seek his friendship, if dost thou wish to maintain thy life. Do thou propitiate him therefore who is kind to his dependents and it becometh thee to take me respectfully unto him. Thou shalt meet with thy well-being if dost thou in this wise confer me on that best of Raghus. And mighty is the disaster that shall befall thee, if dost thou follow any other procedure. Thunderbolt, even, when hurled, may leave thee, Death himself may overlook thee—but there is no safety for thee, if Raghava. the lord of men is enraged. Thou shalt hear the terrible sound of the twang of Rama's bow, like unto the sound of the thunderbolt hurled by Indra. Soon shall arrows, bearing the names of Rama and Lakshmana and having fiery heads like those of snakes, alight here. And covered with kanka leaves they shall undoubtedly cover the whole city and devastate it by destroying all the Rakshasas. Like unto Garuda pulling up the snakes, the Garuda-like Rama shall pull up thy snake-like Rakshasas. And like unto Vishnu recovering the effulgent Sree (the Goddess of wealth) from the Asuras, by crossing over the three worlds with three footsteps, my husband, the conqueror of foes, shall recover me

from thee. Janasthana hath been devastated, the host of Rakshasas hath been killed, and thou hast been disabled. Truly thou hast perpetrated an impious deed. O Rakshasa, those two lions among men going out to enquire about the illusive deer, I was ravished by thee, entering the empty hermitage, O vile wight. And like unto a dog incapable of standing before a tiger, it would have been impossible for thee, to wait there in the presence of Rama and Lakshmana. If dost thou engage in conflict with them, thy wealth and friends shall be of no avail unto thee (and thou shalt be dis-comfitted) like unto one-handed Asura Vitra by the two handed Indra [The allusion is-the mighty Asura Vitra fought with Indra for a long time even after he had his one hand chopped off.]. Soon shall my husband, with the assistance of Lakshmana draw out thy life with arrows, like unto the sun drying up, by his rays, shallow water. Whether dost thou repair to the abode of Kuvera, or whether dost thou, terrified, take refuge unto the assembly of Varuna, thou shalt, for certain, be destroyed by the son of Dacaratha, like unto a mighty tree broken down by thunderbolt.

SECTION 22.

Hearing those harsh accents, that lord of Rakshasas, replied unto Sita, of comely presence, with the following unpleasant words-"It is generally found on earth that the more a woman is courted by a man, the more she is brought under his influence. (But for thee) the more kindly I have been behaving towards thee, the more roughly I have been treated. Truly doth my love for thee keep in control the wrath like unto a good charioteer restraining the swerving stead. O mighty is amour unto men, for on whom this amour falleth, albeit she is an object of wrath, becomes an object of kindness and affection. O thou of fair countenance, it is for this reason, that I do not destroy thee, although thou, who art engaged in false asceticism, art worthy of being killed and dishonoured. O Maithilee, for each and every one of all those harsh words which thou hast used by me, dost thou deserve death." Having spoken thus unto Vaidehi, Ravana, the lord of Rakhasas, having his wrath subdued, again bespake Sita: "I shall wait for those two months, of which I have made a contract, after which thou shalt have to share my bed, O thou of a comely presence. And even then if thou dost refuse to regard me as thy husband, my cooks shall mince thy limbs with steel and serve thee for my morning meal." Beholding the lord of Rakshasas remonstrate with the daughter of Janaka in this wise, the daughters of the celestials and Gandharbas became exceedingly sorry. Some with lips, some with eyes, and some with gestures of their faces, they all consoled Sita, thus distressed by that Rakshasa. And thus consoled by them, and being proud of her good conduct and her husband's heroism, Sita thus addressed Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, "Forsooth there is no person in this city who desireth thy welfare and therefore preventeth thee from such an impious deed. Who is there in the three worlds, who even desireth me in mind, who am the spouse of the virtuous-souled (Rama) like unto Indra's Sachee. O thou the vilest of the Rakshasas, for using those vicious words towards the spouse of Rama, of immeasured prowess, repairing whither shalt thou escape vengeance? Like unto an infuriated elephant encountering a hare in the forest, thou shalt O Vile! a hare as thou art, meet with that elephantlike Rama. Thou art not ashamed of railing that lord of Ikshwakus, so long as dost thou not come within his ken. O base! why do not thy grim, terrible, coppery eyes, looking so viciously at me, fall down on earth. O vicious wretch, I am the spouse of that virtuous souled (Rama) and daughter-in-law of Dacaratha—using these vile words towards me, why dost not thy tongue fall off? O Ten-necked one, I can instantly reduce thee to ashes but for Rama's mandate and my ascetic observances. Thou couldst not have ravished me in the presence of the highly intelligent Rama. And undoubtedly for thy destruction this hath been brought about by God. Thou art heroic and Kuvera's brother and great in prowess, why didst thou then take me by stealth after despatching Rama away from the hermitage?" Hearing those words of Sita, Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, whirling his grim eyes, looked towards the daughter of Janaka. He was like unto a mass of blue clouds and his arms and necks were long and spacious. He was gifted with elephantine gaits and his tongues and eyes were sharp and flaming. The top of his crown was shaking and he had charming garlands around his neck and his person sprinkled with paste. He had crimson-coloured garlands and clothes on and his charming arms were adorned with ornaments. Encircled with a sword-belt around his waist he appeared like unto Mandara, entwined by a snake at the time of the churning of the ocean. With his two plump arms, that lord of Rakshasas appeared like unto the hill Mandara with its two huge summits. And adorned with a pair of Kundalas [A kind of ornament worn on ears.] resembling the newly risen Sun he looked like a hill covered with two Asoka trees enveloped with crimson flowers and leaves. He was like unto Kalpa [A fabulous tree granting everything desired.] tree and spring incarnate. And albeit adorned, he looked terrible like unto a Caitya [A monument or sculpture raised in honour of a deceased person on the site of a funeral pyre.] on the

cremation-ground. And having his eyes red hot with ire, sighing again and again like unto a snake and casting his looks upon Sita, Ravana addressed her again, saying,thou following asceticism, this thy vow is without any meaning and beyond the pale of morality. Even shall I destroy thee to-day like unto the Sun dispelling darkness with his rays." Having thus addressed Maithilee, the inimical king Ravana cast his looks towards the grim-visaged Rakshasees And among those Rakshasees, some had huge ears, some had ears like those of kine, some had ears as long as arms, some had long ears and others were without any. And some had legs like those of an elephant; some had like those of a cow and some had legs covered with hairs. And some had one eye, some had one leg, some had capacious legs and some were without any. And some had huge heads and necks and some had breast and belly beyond proportions and some had faces and eyes above human size. Some had huge tongues and nails. And some were without noses. And some had leonine faces, some had faces like those of kine and some had those of boars. And casting his look towards such Rakshasees, he said-"Ye Rakshasees, do ye all endeavour to bring Sita, the daughter of Janaka, under my control. By good or bad conduct, by conciliation or gift, by threat or blandishment, do ye so endeavour as Vaidehi's soul might be bent unto me." And having ordered thus again and again, that lord of Rakshasas, stricken with amour and ire, addressed Sita, roaring fiercely. And thereupon approaching speedily and embracing the Tennecked one, one Rakshasee named Dhanyamalini bespake him:-"Do thou sport with me, O great king. What shalt thou do with her?—O lord of Rakshasas—a human being, poorly and of a pale countenance. O great king, forsooth, the celestials have not destined for her enjoyment all those objects which thou hast procured by thy prowess. And again he who desireth for an unwilling dame burneth his own person—and he who desireth for a willing damsel, attaineth excess of delight." Having said this, the Rakshasee took away Ravana by force. And that Rakshasa too, resembling a mass of clouds, laughing, turned back. And that Ten-necked one, strode away as if shaking the whole earth and passed within (his queen's) abode resembling the effulgent Sun. And encircling Ravana those daughters of celestials Gandharbas and Nagas, entered into an excellent abode. And having remonstrated with and left behind, the firm and pious Sita with a trembling person, Ravana, possessed by amour entered into his own palace.

SECTION 23.

Having spoken thus unto Maithilee and commanded the host of the Rakshasees, Rayana, a terror unto his enemies, went away. And after that lord of Rakshasas had gone away and entered his inner apartment, the hideous Rakshasees drew near Sita. And approaching Sita that terrible host, almost faint with ire, addressed Vaidehi with the following harsh words—"Thou dost not regard it highly, Sita, that thou shalt become the chosen wife of that high-souled, and great Rayana, the Ten-necked son of Pulastya." Thereupon another Rakshasee name4 Ekjata, with eyes rendered coppery with ire, addressing Sita, having a small navel, said,-"Pulastya is the fourth of the six Prajapatis [Prajapitis are the lords of the created beings first created by Brahma.], a mind-born son of Brahma and celebrated in the world. And the glorious ascetic, by name Bishrava. was the mind-born son unto Pulastva. effulgent like unto Prajapatis. O large-eyed damsel! Of Visrava came Ravana terrible unto his enemies. And it behoveth thee to become the consort of that lord of Rakshasas. Scorn not the words I say unto thee, O thou of comely presence " Thereupon another Rakshasee named Harijata having the eyes of a cat, and whirling them with ire, said-"It becometh thee to be the wife of that lord of Rakshasas who smote the thirty three celestials and their lord in battle. Dost thou not desire to be his wife, who is heroic, of indomitable prowess and who doth not turn back in battle? And turning away in scorn from his beloved wife, highly esteemed, the mighty king Ravana, desireth for thee. And leaving his inner apartment enriched with thousand of females and adorned with various jewels, Ravana shall adore thee." And then followed another Rakshasee by name Bikata—"The king, who by his terrible prowess subdued the Gandharbas [Heavenly singers and musicians who belong to the heaven of Indra.] and Nagas [Serpent-gods who dwell in the regions under the earth.] in battle, hath stood by thee. O foolish damsel, why dost thou not wish to be the consort of that highsouled lord of Rakshasas-Ravana, gifted with wealth and And then followed another Rakshasee named riches." Durmukhee. "Why dost thou not approach him, O thou having expansive eyes, by whose fear, the sun doth not shine, and the wind doth not blow. O dame, why dost thou not wish to be the consort of Rayana, the lord of Rakshasas, at whose command the trees shower blossoms and the hills and clouds pour down water. Why dost thou not make up thy mind to be the wife of Ravana? O damsel, O worshipful dame, we have spoken thus for thy welfare. Do thou comply with our request or thou shalt surely die,"

SECTION 24

Thereupon all those Rakshasees, having terrible faces again and again pursued Sita with reproaches rough and rude. "Why dost thou not desire, O Sita, to live in his inner apartment, liked by all and abounding in costly bedsteads. O woman, thou regardest highly to be the wife of a man. Do thou turn back from Rama—thy desire shall never be satisfied. Do thou spend happily thy days with our lord—Ravana, the Rakshasa chief, who makes his own the treasures of the three worlds. Thou art a woman, O thou of comely presence, and therefore doth thy fancy cling to Rama, O thou of a blameless countenance, who is a man, deprived of his kingdom, overwhelmed with disasters and hath his desires frustrated. Hearing the words of those Rakshasees, the lotus-eyed Sita, with her eyes full of tears said.—"What ye have all said and which is against human usage and vicious, doth not find place in my mind. A woman cannot be the wife of a Rakshasa. Eat me up if you will, I will never follow your words. Poor or deprived of kingdom, he who is my hunband, is my preceptor. I am ever devoted unto him, like Subarchala [The wife of the Sun.] unto the Sun. Like unto the great Sachi standing by Sakra, Arundhuti by Vashishta, Rohini by the Moon, Lopamudra by Agastya, Sukanya by Chyabana, Sabitree by Satyabana, Sreematee by Kapila, Madayantee by Sandasa, Keshinee by Sagara and Damayanti the daughter of the king Veema by her husband Nala, I shall ever remain devoted to my husband Rama, the foremost of the descendants of Ikshawku. Hearing the words of Sita, all those Rakshasees despatched by Rayana, almost beside themselves with ire, again covered her with reproaches rough and rude. And Hanuman remained all along speechless and hidden on the Shingshapa tree. And that monkey heard all those demons remonstrate with Sita in this way. And those, influenced with ire, approached the trembling Sita and encircling her, licked again and again their long and burning lips. And taking up instantly spears, they exceedingly wroth, menaced her, saying—"She is not worthy of having Ravana, the lord of the Rakshasas, as her Being thus remonstrated with by those terrible Rakshasees, that excellent damsel, shedding tears, neared the Singshapa tree. And the large-eyed Sita, encircled by the Rakshasees, remained there sunk in grief. And all those hideous demons, showered reproaches, from all sides, on her, greatly reduced, of a poorly countenance, and wearing a soiled cloth. Thereupon a grim-visaged demon, angry, having hideous teeth and a huge belly extending downwards, by name Vinata, spake, saying:-"O Sita, thou hast shown enough of attachment towards thy husband. But, O gentle dame, excess of any thing tends to evil. We are satisfied. And may good betide thee! Thou hast acted worthily like a woman. Do thou hear, O Maithilee, what I say for thy welfare. Do thou accept, Ravana, the lord of the Rakshasa host, as thy husband. He withstands powerfully his enemies like unto Vasava, the lord of the celestials, charitable, kind unto all, and sweet-speeched. And forsaking Rama, a poor wight, do thou take Ravana (as thy husband). Having thy person sprinkled with celestial paste and adorned with excellent ornaments, do thou from to-day O Vaidchi, O thou of comely presence, become the queen of all the worlds, like unto Sachee of the lord of the celestials and svaha* of the fire. [* An exclamation used in making an oblation to the Gods. A personification of the preceding as the wife of fire and Goddess presiding over burnt offerings. --It is important to see the fact that in Indian cultures, almost everything and everybody is personified. In Antiquity, it was a clever way to steer the people's beliefs away from nature religions toward the tidier doctrines of Hinduism. Instead of opposing the gods of nature, they have become part of the Hindu narrative, avoiding unnecessary strains and the bloodshed that we could witness in all Abrahamic religions with their rigid, arrogant and dogmatic approach.] What shalt thou do with Rama, O Vaidehi, poor and of limited life? This is what I say and if dost thou not follow it we shall all instantly banquet on thee." And thereupon another Rakshasee named Vikata, having her breast hanging long, exercised with ire, and clinching her fist, addressed, roaring, Sita-"O foolish daughter of the king of Mithila, we have put up with all thy foolish words only out of compassion, and because thou art a feeble being. It will not lead to thy well-being if thou dost not hear our words. Thou hast been brought here, the other side of the ocean, difficult of being approached by others. Thou hast come within the terrible abode of Ravana O Maithilee, and hast been shut up in his room guarded by us all. And even, Purandara's [Another name of Indra—the lord of the celestials.] self cannot save you. Do thou therefore hear, O Maithilee, my well-meaning words. Why dost thou shed tears? Renounce thy useless grief. Do thou become happy and delighted, renouncing thy continued melancholy. Do thou sport, O Sita, at thy pleasure, with the lord of the Rakshasas. We know, for certain, O timid damsel, that the youth of the females, is very transient. And so long as thy youth doth not fade, do thou pass thy days happily, O thou having inebrite eyes, with the lord of Rakshasas, in picturesque gardens, and mountain forests. Do thou take, O fair damsel, Ravana, the lord of the Rakshasas, for thy husband, and thousands of females shall be placed at thy service. If dost thou not follow,

what I say, O Maithilee, I shall taking out thy heart, banquet on it." Thereupon another grim-visaged Rakshasee, named, Chandodora, shaking her terrible spear, said—"Beholding this Sita having the eyes of a young antelope and her breast trembling with fear, my earnest desire, as I am enciente, hath been to banquet on her large eyes, lever, spleen, her plump hands, heart, other limbs and head." Thereupon another Rakshasee named Praghasa said—"I shall grind the throat of this cruel woman. What are you doing, sitting there? Ye shall then relate unto the king that the woman is dead. And undoubtedly he shall say 'Do ye eat her up.'" And thereupon another Rakshasee named Ajamukhee said "I do not like quarrels. Let us all divide her into equal portions. Bring soon our favourite drink and various garlands." Then followed another Rakshasee by name Surpanakha,—"I do fully concur with what Ajamukhee hath said. Bring soon wine, the remover of all griefs. Banquetting on human flesh I shall dance before the queen Nikumbhila." Being thus threatened by those grim-visaged Rakshasees Sita, resembling the daughter of a celestial, renouncing patience, began to weep.

SECTION 25

And those hideous Rakshasees thus threatning her with reproaches rude and rough, the daughter of the king Janaka began to weep. And being thus addressed by those Rakshasees, Vaidehi, of subdued soul, being greatly terrified, said, having her voice choked with vapour,—"A woman can never be the her voice choked with vapour,wife of a Rakshasa. Eat me up if you will, I shall never follow your words." And being surrounded by the Rakshasees and threatened by Ravana, Sita, resembling the daughter of a celestial, stricken with grief, could not console herself. And trembling, she shrank from their presence like unto a strayed fawn surrounded by wolves. And resorting to a flowery branch of an Asoka tree, she sunk in grief, thought upon her lord. With tears she bathed her beautiful breast and oppressed with woe, she could not reach the other bank of the ocean of grief. Like a plantain tree shaken by the breeze, she shook and fell down trembling (on the earth). And being afraid of the Rakshasees, her cheeks forsook their native hue. And herself trembling, her pretty long lock of hair also shook and appeared like a serpent moving this way and that. Overwhelmed with grief and beside herself with ire, the daughter of the king of Mithila, wept and exclaimed sorrowfully,-"O mother Kausalya! O queen Sumitra! true is the saying of the wise that death doth never approach untimely the male or the female. Or else I would not have lived for a moment, separated from Rama and oppressed by the Rakshasees as I am. Limited is my virtue, and therefore I am to die the death of a poor deserted thing like unto a bark driven by the blast in the midst of the ocean. Debarred from my husband's sight and tortured by the hideous demons, I shall sink, oppressed with woes, like unto the banks of a river, washed by the water. Oh blest are they who have been resting their eyes upon my grateful and sweet-speeched lord of leonine gaits, having eyes resembling lotus petals! And separated frpm Rama of subdued soul, it is as difficult for me to breathe as for him who hath drank up virulent poison. What mighty iniquity had I perpetrated in my previous existence that I have met with this terrible disaster! I wish to renounce my life under this load of grief-but alas! I am surrounded by the Rakshasees and cannot meet Rama. Oh! cursed is this subject human life, that they cannot renounce it even at their

SECTION 26

Saying this, the daughter of the king Janaka, bathed her countenance with tears and hanging down her head began to lament. And she began to roll on the earth like unto a colt as if she was mad, possessed by a devil and had lost her sense. "I. the spouse of Rama, who was drawn away at a distance by the Rakshasa (Maricha) assuming shapes at will, was seized and borne away by Ravana. A captive of the Rakshasas, subject to their terrible threats and taunts, sunk in grief and anxiety,-I desire not to keep my life. Of what avail are wealth, ornament and life unto me, who am living in the midst of the Rakshasas and separated from Rama, of the mighty car? Forsooth my life is made of stone, imperishable and immortal since it is not riven asunder even by this mighty grief. Woe to me! who am unchaste and vile and my life is vicious, since breathe I still in the absence of my lord. What of fixing my fancy on that nightranger, my meaner foot even shall not touch him? That (demon) who is courting me in this terrible way, doth not know himself, his own race and that I loathe him so much. What more shall I speak unto you, I shall never consent to Ravana's prayer, I might be rent from limb to limb or burnt in fire. Raghava is grateful, true, wise and kind. I fear it is through my ill-luck that he doth not feel pity for me. Will he not take me back who alone slew the thousands of the Rashasas in Janasthana? I have been captured by Rayana, a Rakshasa of feeble prowess. Forsooth my lord is capable of slaying this Ravana in conflict. Will not that Rama regain me, by whom was killed in the forest of Dandaka, Viradha, the foremost of the Rakshasa crew? Although situated in the midst of the ocean, Lanka is unapproachable by others, but

Raghava's arrows shall also reach here. (I am at a loss to ascertain) why Rama of firm prowess, doth not regain me, his beloved spouse who have been borne away by the Rakshasa. Methinks Rama doth not know that I am here, or else, powerful as he is, he would not have put up with this insult. That lord of vultures, who could have informed Raghava, of my being borne away by the Rakshasa, was killed by Rayana in the battle. O great was the work done by him, who, old as he was, for my sake, addressed himself to bring about Ravana's destruction. If Raghava could know that I was here, he, exceedingly wroth, would have cleared the earth with his arrows, of the Rakshasas. He would have then burnt down the city of Lanka, dried up the deep and blotted out the name and fame of Rayana. And from each ruined home would have risen the Rakshasa widows' groans and cries like unto those of mine And instituting enquiries, along with Lakshmana, he shall soon reduce Lanka to this plight. And observed by them the enemy shall not live for a moment. And in no time, shall Lanka, assume the appearance of a cremation ground, having all her high ways enveloped with smoke issuing out of the funeral pyres, and filled with vultures. And soon shall this desire of mine be fulfilled. All these words of mine do sound improbable now but they all indicate your misfortune. Besides from these bad omens, that are to be seen here, it appeareth, that Lanka shall soon be shorn of her grace. The lord of the Rakshasas, the vicious Ravana being killed, forsooth shall Lanka, divested of wealth, appear like a widow. This Lanka, which is now full of pious ceremonies, shall, on the death of the Rakshasas and their master, appear like a husbandless woman. For certain, shall I soon hear the cries and groans in every house, of the daughters of the Rakshasas worn with grief. If that heroic Rama, having dark-blue eyes, comes to know that I am in the abode of the Rakshasas, the city of Lanka shall be burnt down with his arrows and shall be stricken with darkness and shorn of grace and all the foremost of the Rakshasas shall be destroyed. The time which was appointed by the vile and cruel Ravana, hath arrived. And that vicious wretch hath resolved to destroy me now. There is no crime which cannot be perpetrated by those vicious demons. Mighty is the disaster that shall arise on account of this crime-the Rakshasas who live on flesh do not know what virtue is. Forsooth shall the Rakshasa serve me for his morning meal. What shall I do without my lord of comely presence? Debarred from my husband's presence, stricken with grief and not beholding Rama, having dark-blue eyes, I shall soon meet with death. Rama, the elder brother of Bharata, doth not know that I am still alive or else he and Lakshmana would have ransacked the whole world for me. Or renouncing his body on this earth for my grief, the heroic elder brother of Lakshmana, hath repaired to the celestial region. Blessed are the celestials, Gandharbas, Siddhas and mighty ascetics who are beholding my heroic lotus-eyed Rama. Or that highly intelligent royal ascetic deairous of securing piety and freed from the troubles of life, hath no need of a wife like me. Or people have fancy for what they see and which disappeateth as soon as the object is out of sight. The ungrateful are capable of renouncing their love, but not Rama. Or there might be some folly in me. Or on the wane of my good luck have been separated irom the excellent Rama. Death is more preferable unto me than life since I have been separated trom the highsouled heroic Rama, of unblemished character and the slaver of foes. Or those two brothers, the foremost of men, laying aside their weapons, and living on fruits and roots, have been wandering in the forest. Or those two heroic brothers Rama and Lakshmana, have been, by treachery, put to death, by the vicious-souled Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas. At this time of distress, I do with all my heart long lor death,—(but alas!) even death is not approaching me in this my misery. Oh blessed are those high-souled, great ascetics abiding by truth and having their senses in control, who have no objects of love or displeasure. They are not distressed with misery for their objects of love or grief for them whom they do not love. They are freed from them and I do bow unto those high-souled ones. Being forsaken by the beloved Rama, knowing his ownself, and brought under the control of Ravana, I shall renounce my

SECTION 27

Being thus addressed angrily by Sita, some of those Rakshasees, beside themselves with ire, proceeded to relate this unto the vicious-souled Ravana. And approaching Sita those grim-visaged demons again addressed her with words rude and rough. "O vile Sita, O thou bent on committing sin, we Rakshasees shall to-day devour thy flesh to the best of our satisfaction." Beholding those vile demons threaten Sita, a Rakshasa matron, wise and old, named, Trijata cried-"O vile demons, do ye eat your own persons but do not devour Sita, the daughter of Janaka and the esteemed daughter-inlaw of the king Dacaratha. I dreamt a terrible dream last night which made my down stand on their end. And in that dream I foresaw the overthrow of the Rakshasa race and the conquest of her husband." And being thus addressed by Trijata, those demons, exercised with wrath and terrified, accosted her with the following words,-"Do thou relate

(unto us) what sort of dream didst thou dream last night." And hearing those words proceeding from the mouths of the Rakshasees, Trijata began to describe the dream she had at the latter end of the night,-"I saw Rama, wearing garlands and clothed in white, ride in a celestial charriot, along with Lakshmana, made of ivory, traversing the etherial regions and drawn by a hundred steeds. I saw in my dream to-night, that Sita, clad in the purest white, appearing on a snow-white hill beaten by the waves of the ocean, had at last met Rama, like unto light joined to the Sun. And I again saw Rama and Lakshmana appear in effulgence, seated on a huge elephant, having four tusks and resembling a bull. Thereupon those two (brothers), resplendant like unto the Sun by their own effulgence, and wearing white garlands and clothes, appeared near Janaka's daughter. And the lotus eved Janaki, on the top of the hill situate on the welkin, first fell on the lap of her husband and then stationed herself on the neck of the elephant guided by her husband. Then I saw Sita rubbing the Sun and the Moon with her two hands. And then that best of the elephants, with those two princes and the large eyed Sita on him, stood high above Lanka. I again saw Rama, clad in white, and adorned with garlands, ride along with Lakshmana in a charriot drawn by eight white bullocks. I again saw that highly energetic, best of men-Rama, having truth for his prowess, along with his brother Lakshmana and Sita flee to Northern realms, ascending a celestial flowery charriot resembling (in brightness) the Sun. And I saw Ravana too, shaved and shorn, besmeared with oil, wearing a crimson cloth, drinking honey, wearing a garland of Karayira flowers, fall down on earth from the flowery charriot. And dragged by a woman, shaved, wearing a red cloth and garlands and sprinkled with crimson paste, Ravana was again seen by me riding in a charriot drawn by asses. And quaffing oil, laughing and dancing, that one of agitated senses, forgetting himself sped on the charriot to the South*. [In the south is the region of Yama. Yama or Yamaraja or Jivayam is a Hindu and Buddhist deity of death, dharma, the south direction, and the underworld.] And I again saw Ravana, the lord of the Rakshasas, stricken with fear, fall, headless, down on the earth. And then rising all on a sudden, and uttering obscene and inconsistent words like unto a maniac. Rayana overwhelmed with fear, and amazement, and intoxicated, fell into a mass of dirt, stinking and resembling the very hell. And again proceeding to the South he entered into a lake devoid of mud and water. And a dark woman, clad in a crimson cloth, and bedaubed with mud, dragged the Ten-necked demon, entwining herself round his neck. Then followed the mighty Kumvakarna [Rayana's brother.] and all the sons of Rayana. shaved and shorn and besmeared with oil. And they all proceeded southward—the Ten-necked demon on on a boar, Indrajit* on a porpoise, and Kumvakarna on a camel. [* Ravana's son—the name signifies the conqueror of the lord of the celestials.] I saw only Biveesana, with a white umbrella and accompanied by four courtiers, range in the welkin. And there was audible in the large assembly sound of music and stringed instruments. And all the Rakshasas wearing crimson clothes and garlands, were quaffing oil. I saw the royal and picturesque city Lanka with her steeds, cars and elephants, drowned in the ocean, having her gateways and ornamented arches broken. And in Lanka, covered with dust, Rakshasa women, laughing; and making terrible sound, were engaged in quaffing oil. I saw all the leading Rakshasas— Kumvakarna and others, dark-hued and wearing crimson clothes, emerged in an abyss of cow dung. Do ye therefore fly at some distance, and will find that Raghava shall regain Sita. And exercised with ire he shall destroy you all along with the Rakshasas. Raghava shall never brook, his esteemed and beloved spouse, living in the forest, being taunted and threatened by you. No more with rough words therefore: do you console the lady and humbly pray her to forgive you. This I think proper. Surely shall she, divested of misfortune, be reconciled to her beloved and excellent husband, regarding whom, in her misery, I have dreamt such a dream. Ye Rakshasees! You have threatened her, do ye implore her forgiveness-no more with harsh words. Forsooth, from Raghava shall proceed the mighty disaster of the Rakshasas. If Maithilee, the daughter of the king Janaka, be pleased with you (for your imploring her forgiveness) you might be saved from the mighty disaster. I do not perceive any inauspicious mark on the person of this large-eyed dame. It appears from the paleness of her countenance that she hath been overcome by misfortune. And I saw (in my dreamt this worshipful damsel, unworthy of any misfortune, stationed in the welkin. Verily I do perceive, before me, the satisfaction of Vaidehi's end, the destruction of the lord of the Rakshasas and the conquest of Raghava. Behold I there, her left eye, spacious, as a lotus-petal, is dancing to hear this pleasant dream announcing the satisfaction of her own end. And her left arm is also dancing with joy, all on a sudden. And her excellent beautiful left thigh, resembling the trunk of an elephant, is also dancing as if indicating, that she shall at no distant date, be reconciled to Raghava. And the birds, again and again, entering their nests, and highly delighted are pouring forth their notes announcing the advent of a happy occasion.

Thereupon that modest dame, greatly delighted in the prospective conquest of her husband, said—"If this be true I shall save you all."

SECTION 28.

[The sections 28 and 29 are not found in all Ramayana texts. They are found in the Bengal edition. Gorressio translates it and remarks—"I think the chapter 28—The auspicious signs—is an addition, a later interpolation by the Rhapsodists (Professional performers of epic poetry in Greece and India.). It has no bond of connexion either with what precedes or follows it and may be struck out without injury." We have however thought it proper to give a full version.]

Hearing those unpleasant words of Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas. Sita, racked with sorrow on account of her husband, became terrified, like unto a she-elephant, worsted by a lion on the skirt of a forest. Threatened by Ravana and encircled by the Rakshasees, that timid damsel bewailed like a girl cast off in a lonely forest. "Truly the sages say that death in this world doth not come untimely. Or else would I have, vicious as I am, lived for a moment, being thus sorely threatened. Forsooth, my mind, divested of happiness and full of misery, is firm or else why is it not broken in sunder like unto the summit of a hill clapped by a thunderbolt. Nor am I to blame for this-I am worthy of being killed by this demon of uncomely presence. As a Brahmana cannot impart instructions in Vedas unto the people of other castes so I shall not confer my mind on Rayana. If that lord of the people doth not come within the appointed time, forsooth shall that vile lord, of the Rakshasas, mince my limbs with his arrows like unto a surgeon cutting off the limbs of an embryo. [This passage clearly indicates that there were proficient and skilled surgeons at the time when Ramayana was written.] Two months shall pass away in no time and I shall have to suffer the pain of death, overwhelmed with sorrow as I am, like unto a thief, confined in stocks, at the command of the sovereign to receive death the next morning. Rama! Lakshmana! O Sumitra! O Rama's mother! O my mothers! I am worsted in this ocean of grief, like unto a bark, driven hither and thither by the blast, in the midst of an ocean. Verily for me, those two powerful, lion-like sons of the king, have been killed by (this demon) effulgent like the lightning and assuming the semblance of a deer. Unfortunate as I am, forsooth I was tempted then by death wearing the shape of a deer and thus foolishly lost Rama and Lakshmana, the sons of the worshipful sire. O Rama, O thou of truthful vows, O thou of long arms, O thou having the countenance of a full moon! O my life! engaged as thou art in the welfare of the people. dost thou not perceive that I am about to be killed by the Rakshasas. Alas! this my devotedness unto my husband, my forgiveness, my lying down on the bare earth, my observance of religious vows, my wife-like virtues, are lost like unto service done for an ungrateful wight. In vain are my pious rites, and in vain is my devotedness unto my husband—since I do not behold thee, am pale and feeble in thy absence and have given up all hopes of seeing thee. And duly satisfying thy sire's command, and returning successfully from the forest, thou shalt fearlessly sport with many a damsel having large eyes. (But for me) O Rama, I was for my own destruction, devoted, soul and heart, unto thee. Oh! fruitless is my asceticism and wifely virtue! Oh fie on me! I shall renounce this my unfortunate life. I desire to do away speedily with my being by means of poison or a sharp weapon. But there is no one in this city of the Rakshasas, who bringeth me this poison or weapon." Bewailing thus in various accents, and remembering Rama with all her heart, Sita, having her countenance dried up, and trembling, got at the biggest tree enveloped with flowers. And thinking thus, Sita, stricken with grief, took up in her hand, her braid of hair and thought—"I shall soon hang myself with this braid and reach the abode of Death. And that one of tender person reached the tree, and holding a branch, began to think of Rama, Lakshmana, and the glory of her race. And on her person were perceived many auspicious marks, well-known in the world, removing grief, fostering patience, and announcing the advent of future welfare.

SECTION 29

Like unto servants waiting upon a wealthy person various auspicious omens waited upon Sita of a blameless and comely person, racked with grief and divested of joy. And the large left eye of that dame having graceful hairs, having dark pupils, white ends and thick eye-lashes, began to dance like a lotus shaken by a fish. And her beautiful, round, plump left hand, which, ere this, sprinkled with costly aguruand sandal, used to serve for a pillow unto Rama, began to dance now again and again after a long time. And her well built plump left thigh, resembling the trunk of an elephant, dancing, announced that she would soon behold Rama. And the goldhued cloth, now covered with dust, of that damsel of a comely person, having teeth like pomegranate seeds, slipped a little off its place. And being enlivened by those and various other auspicious omens, she attained joy like unto a seed, spoiled by the wind and the sun, growing afresh in the rainy season. And her countenance, having lips red as Bimba fruits, beautiful

eyes, eye-brows extending to ears, curling eye-lashes and white teeth, again appeared graceful like unto the Moon released from the full grasp of Rahu. [Like the Moon when full eclipse is just over—In mythology Rahu is the son of Sinika, a daitya, with the tail of a dragon whose head was severed from his body by Vishnu, but being immortal this head and tail retained their separate existence and being transferred to the stellar sphere, became the authors of eclipses.] Her grief and exhaustion were removed—sorrow was pacified and her heart was filled with joy. And she with her countenance appeared beautiful like a lunar night beautified by the rays of the Moon.

SECTION 30

And the powerful Hanuman, heard from the beginning to the end (the bewailings) of Sita, the story of Trijata's dream and the threats of the Rakshasees. And beholding the worshipful damsel, living in the forest of Asoka, like unto a celestial damsel in the garden of Nandana, the monkey entered in a maze of anxious thoughts. "At length my watchful eyes have seen her, whom have been seeking in vain, the thousands and millions of the monkeys in all directions and quarters. Truly have I seen her to-day, engaged as I have been as a spy to estimate the strength of the ememy and am ranging secretly everywhere. I have seen minutely the city of the Rakshasas, and the strength of Ravana, the lord of Rakshasasas. It now remains to console the spouse of Rama of incomparable power, and kind unto all, who panteth for her lord. I shall console this damsel, having the countenance of the full moon, who had never seen grief before, and who shall not soon reach its end. And if I go away without soothing this chaste lady, who is almost senseless with grief, I shall be blamed of neglect of duty. And if I go away, the royal daughter, the famed Janaki, finding no means of safety, shall, for certain, renounce her life. She is worthy of being consoled like unto the great armed (Rama) having the countenance of the full-moon and anxious to behold Sita. It is not proper to speak before the Rakshasas— What shall I do then? I am in very great difficulty. If I do not console her at this latter end of the night, surely shall she renounce her life. How shall I answer Rama, without consoling Sita of comely stature, when he will ask me "What message from my Sita?" And if I speedily repair hence without any information regarding Sita, surely shall Kakuthstha scorch me lifeless with the fire of his angry eyes. And if I urge my lord the king (Biveeshana) to bring his hosts here for Rama, in vain shall be his toil. And seizing the occasion when she shall be free from her demonaic guards, I shall console her in her dire distress. And a puny monkey as I am. I shall speak in Sanskrit* which men delight to use. [* The language refined by the strict rules of grammar. Sanskrit was an Indo-European language like German, English, Latin, or Russian. In order to understand and correctly use a highly flective language such as Sanskrit, grammar was very important.] And if I speak Sanskrit like a Brahmana, Sita shall be terrified considering me Ravana. Must I therefore use the language of a common man* or else I shall not be able to console the dame of a blameless person. [* This passage clearly indicates that Sanskrit was spoken by men and women of the upper classes already at the time of the Ramayana stories. The lower classes spoke Prakrit, the vernacular of Sanskrit. Like all other holy books in India, the Ramayana was written down not before the 4th or 3rd centuries BC. Everything was memorised by monks in "memorisation factories," better known as monasteries. Their disciples then memorised designated passages that were constantly chanted by the monks. Writing appeared first in India with the arrival of Aramaic speaking Jews who were in service of the Persian Aechaemenid Empire during the 6th and 5th centuries BC. At the same time arrived also the Greeks. The first truly Indian script, Brahmi, was developed out of Aramaic, probably in the beginning or the middle of the 3rd century BC, in the Mauryan Empire (322-184 BC) under Chandragupta (322-298 BC), Bindusara (298–272 BC), or Ashoka (268–232 BC). Responsible for the introduction of Brahmi might have been the philosopher Chanakya (counsellor to Chandragupta and Bindusara) who had experienced the humiliating conquest of Alexander the Great but had also recognised the superiority of the Greeks due to their extensive literacy.] And beholding my monkey shape and hearing my human language she might be afraid again, terrified as she had been before by the band of the Rakshasas. And considering me Ravana wearing shapes at will, that large-eyed and high-minded dame, shall cry piteously for help. And Sita, making a sudden noise, those terrible Rakshasees resembling Death himself and armed with various weapons, shall at once arrive there. And thereupon casting their looks all around and finding me out, those highly powerful and grim-visaged demons shall try to kill or catch me. And beholding me leap from branch to branch and trunk to trunk of big trees they shall be greatly alarmed. And espying my appearance while ranging in the forest, those Rakshasees greatly terrified, shall fill the wood with their wild shouts. And then they shall call (to their assistance) all those Rakshasees engaged in guarding the abode of the lord of the Rakshasas. And they, greatly agitated, shall with

vehemence arrive here, armed with darts, arrows, scimitars and various other weapons. And being surrounded by them on all sides, if I do kill that host of demons, tired, I shall not be able to bound over the main. And if that host of skilled demons, succeed in making me a captive, I too shall be in their hands and Sita shall remain ignorant of my object. Or the Rakshasas, pernicious as they are, shall kill the daughter of Janaka, and there shall the great work of Rama and Sugriva, be spoiled. And Janaki liveth in this secret place, girt by the ocean, guarded on all sides by the Rakshasas, difficult of being got at and having all avenues to it shut up. If I am killed or captured by Rakshasas in battle, I do not find any who can help Rama in his enterprise. Myself killed, I do not find any monkey who can leap a hundred leagues across the sea. I am capable of destroying thousands of Rakshasas, but I shall not then be able to get at the other shore of the great ocean. Victory or defeat is uncertain in a battle—I do not (therefore) like to engage in such an uncertain (act). What wise man merges certainty in uncertainty? It is a great sin in me (I own) to talk with Sita—But she will die if I do not talk with her. Works, almost accomplished, when entrusted to an inconsiderate emissary, are generally spoiled, out of season and out of place, like unto darkness driven by the appearance of the sun. All those works, which are generally taken in hand after duly deliberating over their propriety and impropriety, are generally spoiled by those emissaries who are proud of their learning. What shall I do, by which my work is not injured. I am not blamed of foolishness and my crossing over the main doth not become fruitless? What shall I do so that Sita might listen to me without being terrified?" over this, the intelligent Hanuman arrived at a conclusion. "I shall not disturb her, speaking (all on a sudden) about Rama of unwearied actions, dear unto her and to whom, she is firmly attached. Uttering the name of Rama, the foremost of the Ikshawkus, and of subdued soul and lauding his piety and fame in sweet accents, I shall so manage that Sita might hear and believe them." Beholding the spouse of that high-souled lord of the earth and engaging in this train of thoughts, Hanuman, stationed on a branch of the tree, spoke the following sweet words.

SECTION 31.

Meditating thus the highly intelligent monkey spoke in accents, sweet and in such a tone as they might be, heard by Vaidehi. "There reigned a noble and pious king named Dacaratha, highly glorious amongst the İkshawkus, the lord of the warrior-cars, steeds and elephants. Devoid of envy, high-minded, kind, having truth for Us prowess, the foremost of the Ikshawku race, wealthy and the enhancer of wealth: gifted with royal marks; highly beautiful; the foremost of the kings; famous all over the world of many oceans; the conferrer of happiness and himself happy. His eldest and most beloved son was the Moon-bright Rama, wise and the foremost of those who know the science of the bended bow. He was the protector of his own character, of his own kinsmen, of the whole world of creation and of virtue and subduer of foes. And banished by his old and truthful sire's commands, that hero, along with his wife and brother (Lakshmana) repaired to the forest. And while roaming a-hunting in the forest he slew many a heroic Rakshasa wearing shapes at will. And having heard of the destruction of the Rakshasas of Janasthana and of Khara and Dushana, the illusive Ravana, assuming shapes at will, beguiling Rama, in the forest, stole away his consort-the Janaka's daughter. And roaming the country around in quest of the blameless and worshipful Sita, Rama found a firm friend in Sugriva. And bringing about the destruction of Vali, Rama, the conqueror of others' cities, conferred the monkey-kingdom upon the high-souled Sugriva. And by Sugriva's decree, thousands of monkeys, wearing shapes at will, have been searching that worshipful dame in various directions. And by Sampati's counsel and for that large eyed dame, I have leapt a hundred leagues across the deep. I have at last got her. And such were the form, grace and the marks that Raghava mentioned unto me." Having said this, the foremost of the monkeys ceased. And greatly wondered was Sita hearing those words. Thereupon that timid dame, having good curling hair, raising up her face covered with hairs, looked up to the Singshapa tree. And hearing the words of the monkey and casting her eyes to all directions and quarters, Sita attained an excess of delight, being engaged in thoughts concerning Rama. And looking around her and upwards, she beheld, like unto the rising sun, the Wind-god's son, gifted with inconceivable intellect,—the minister of the king of monkeys.

SECTION 32.

And beholding that tawny-coloured monkey like unto a mass of lightnings and wearing a white cloth, hidden on the tree, Sita's mind was greatly agitated. And she saw there the humble, sweet-speeched monkey, appearing graceful like unto a collection of full-blown Asoka flowers and having eyes resembling burning gold. And observing that foremost of the monkeys, sitting humbly, that daughter of the king of Mithila, again greatly amazed, thought.—"This monkey is the most

terrible of his race and therefore hard to be got at and looked at." Thinking this she again sank in fear. And stricken with grief she again bewailed in piteous accents exclaiming,-Rama! O Lakshmana!" And she wept silently and lowly. And then beholding that best of monkeys approach her humbly, the fair daughter of the Mithili's king, thought,-"Is this a dream mine eyes have seen?" And she again looked towards that Wind-god's son, the foremost of the monkeys, the best of those gifted with intelligence, having a huge disfigured countenance, highly accomplished and wearing a dress mentioned before. And beholding him Sita was almost out of breath with fear. And regaining soon her sense the large-eyed damsel again thought, -"I have seen a very inauspicious dream to-day—to see a monkey in a dream is reckoned inauspicious by the sages. May good betide Rama, Lakshmana and my Sire the king of Janaka. It is no dream, I have not slept, worn with grief and trouble as I am. Apart from my lord having the countenance of the full-moon, I have no happiness. Thinking of Rama always and uttering his name, each sight I see and each sound I hear brings him to my eye or ear. And therefore his form appearing in my mind is distressing me to-day, who am entirely sunk in his thoughts. And thinking of him always I see him before me and hear his words. Methinks this is but a phantom of the mind. And thinking this I still behold the same. But an imaginary object can never have a form. And I still find a distinct form addressing me. Be glory to Vachaspati, Indra, the self existent Brahma, the lord of fire and may they so grant that the creature who hath spoken before me, be real and not

Thereupon coming down from the tree, Hanuman, the highly effulgent son of Wind, having a coral-red countenance and attired in a humble guise, approached Sita and joining reverentially his palms, addressed her with the following sweet words,-"Who art thou, O thou having eyes like lotus petals and wearing a soiled silken cloth, who art waiting there holding a branch of the tree? Why are the tears of sorrow flowing from thy eyes like unto drops of water falling from lotus petals? Who art thou, O most fair of face, amongst the celestials, Asuras, Nagas, Gandharbas, Rakshasas, and Yakshas and Kinnaras? Do the Rudra's [The Rudras are manifestations of Siva.] claim thy birth O thou fair damsel? Or the swift gods* who ride the storm? Or the Vasus? [* A kind of demi-gods of whom six are enumerated viz., Dhava, Druva, Soma or the Moon, Vishnu, Anila or wind, Anala or fire, Prabhusa and Prabhava.] Thou appearest to me as of a celestial race. Art thou Rohini, the best and most accomplished of the stars, who, reft from the Moon, hath fallen down from the abode of the celestials? Who art thou O blessed dame, O thou having blameless eyes? Art thou, O lotus-eyed damsel, the blessed Arundhuti, who hath fled in wrath or jealous pride from the side of her lord (Vashishtha)? Or O lovely damsel, who is the son, father, brother or husband gone from this world for whom thou art weeping? Yet by thy tears and sighs, by the earth thou art treading and by calling on a monarch's name it appears that thou art not a celestial. But from the marks on thy person it appeareth that thou art either the consort or the daughter of a king. Art thou that Sita, I do ask thee, who had been stolen and borne away by Ravana from Janasthana? May good betide thee! From thy wretched plight, thy unrivalled beauty and thy ascetic garb, thou art, I ween, for certain, the queen of Hearing those words of Hanuman and greatly delighted at Rama's name, Vaidehi spoke unto himthe daughter-in-law of Dacaratha, knowing his own self, the foremost of the kings of the world and the slayer of the enemy's host, and the daughter of Janaka the high-souled king of Videha. My name is Sita and I am the consort of the highly intelligent Rama. I lived twelve years in Raghava's abode, enjoying every earthly comfort and satisfying every desire. And at the beginning of the thirteenth year the king, advised by his priest, arranged for the installation of the descendant of Ikswakus (Rama) on the throne. And while the articles for the installation were being collected, the queen Kaikeyi addressed her lord saying-'I shall not drink or eat for days and this shall be the end of my existence if Rama be installed. If thou dost not wish to falsify the vow thou made unto me, O best of kings, let Rama then repair to the forest." The monarch was truthful and remembering his vow and hearing the unpleasant and vile words of Kaikevi lost himself (in grief). And thereupon the old king abiding by truth, weeping, begged of his elslest son, the kingdom. The graceful Rama liked his sire's command more than the installation, and resolving within him, promised to obey his words. Rama, having truth for his prowess, never, for his life, takes back what he gives, never speaks an untruth and always speaks truth And leaving aside his costly affire the highly glorious (Rama) renounced with all his heart the kingdom and gave me over to his mother. But myself wearing the garb of an ascetic, repaired speedily before him. Separated from him, I do not like to live even in the celestial region. And the great son of Sumitra, the enhancer of friends' joys, to follow his elder

brother, dressed himself in bark and kusa. And thus abiding by our sire's behest, and taking firm vows we entered a dreary forest never seen before. While that one, of unmitigated effulgence was thus living in the forest of Dandaka, I, his consort, was stolen by the vicious-souled Rakshasa-Ravana. He hath kindly allowed me two months' respite after which I shall be slain

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HEARING those words of Sita stricken with grief, Hanuman, the foremost of the monkeys, replied in soothing words, "O worshipful lady, by Rama's decree I come as a messenger unto thee. He is safe and sound, O Vaidehi, and has asked of thy welfare. O worshipful dame, Rama, the son of Dacaratha, the master of the Vedas, and the foremost of those conversant with Vedas hath enquired of thy welfare. And the highly effulgent Lakshmana, the beloved follower of thy husband, worn with grief, bows his reverential head unto thee." Hearing of the welfare of those two lions among men, the worshipful dame, with all her frame worked up with rapture, again spake unto Hanuman, saving—"Verily the wise saw of the people appears to me to be true that once in a hundred years true joy appears to a living man". Sita, at that time, attained such a wonderful joy, as would have been acquired by her in the company (of Rama and Lakshmana). And they confidingly conversed with each other. Hearing those words of Sita, racked with sorrow, Hanuman, the son of the Wind-god drew a little nearer to her. The more Hanuman approached her the more Sita suspected him as Rayana, "Alas! Alas! why have I spoken to him? It is the Ravana, who hath appeared again in a new disguise." And leaving off the Asoka branch, that one having a blameless person, overwhelmed with grief, sat down on the earth. In the meantime the mighty-armed monkey bowed unto Janaka's daughter, but she, worked up with fear, did not cast again her looks towards him. And beholding him bow unto her, Sita, having a moonlike countenance, sighing, spake unto that monkey in sweet accents—"If thou art that Ravana's self, who, changing thy shape by magic art, want to distress me again-this thy vile deed doth not behove thee. Thou art surely that Ravana, whom I saw at Janasthana, in a mendicant's guise, renouncing his own shape. O night-ranger, O thou wearing shapes at will it doth not behove thee to distress me who am poorly and famished with fasts. But no, thou canst not be (the fiend) whom I suspect, since I have such joy from seeing thee. And may good betide thee if thou art Rama's messenger. I do ask thee, O foremost of monkeys, something about Rama that is pleasant unto me. O monkey, do thou relate the glories of my dear Rama. Thou art (thus) shaking my mind O gentle one. like unto water breaking down the banks of a river. Alas! this dream has afforded me immense pleasure since, I, who have been separated from my lord for so long a time, have beheld this monkey sent by Raghava. I do not sink even if I can behold in dream the heroic Raghava along with Lakshmana—but dream even is jealous of my well-being. Nor do I regard this as dream. To behold a monkey in a dream doth not lead to prosperity-whereas I have attained it. Or is it mental derangement? Or have I been possessed by a devil? Or have I run mad? Or is it the sultry vapour floating over sands and appearing at a distance like water? No, it is not madness-for derangement of mind is the sign of madness-I have not lost sense and I do distinctly perceive me and the monkey." Thinking thus in many a way and ascertaining the strength (of the monkey and the Rakshasa) Sita took him for the lord of the Rakshasas, wearing shapes at will. And having arrived at this decision, Janaka's daughter-Sita, ceased from talking with that monkey. And apprised of Sita's thought, Hanuman, the Wind god's son, (replied) in words sweet unto her and enhancing her delight—"Bright as the sun that lights the sky and dear as the moon to every eye, he pleases all his subjects with bounties like unto those of Vaisrabana [Another name of Kuvera, the god of gold.]. He is gifted with prowess like unto the greatly famed Vishnu, truthful and sweetspeeched like unto Vachaspati [The god of speech.]. Graceful, grateful to the eye and beautiful like unto Kandarva's [Cupid, the god of desire, erotic love, attraction and affection, in Hindu mythology described as the most beautiful of the celestials.] self, he displays his wrath in a proper quarter—the foremost of men and of a mighty car. The whole world of creation (liveth safe) in the shadow of the arms of that highsouled one. Thou shalt soon see the consequences he shall reap by whom, assuming the shape of a dear. Raghava was taken away from the hermitage and thou wert stolen away from that lonely place. And soon shall that powerful (hero) destroy Ravana in the battle, with fiery arrows, discharged angrily. I have been sent by him as a messenger to thee. Worn with grief in thy separation he hath enquired of thy welfare, as well the highly effulgent Lakshmana, the enhancer of Sumitra's joy, bowing reverentially unto thee. The king of monkey hosts, by name Sugriva-Rama's friend, hath also enquired of thy welfare, worshipful dame. Rama, Sugriva and Lakshmana, have thee always in their minds. Blessed are we, O Vaidehi, that thou dost still live, subject as thou art to the Rakshasees.

car, and Sugriva of unmitigated prowess in the midst of the million of monkey hosts. I am Sugriva's minister, by name Hanuman. I have entered this city of Lanka after crossing over the great main. And by means of my prowess and placing my feet on the head of the vicious-souled Ravana, I have come here to see thee. I am not he (Ravana) for whom thou art taking me, O worshipful dame. Do thou renounce thy suspicion and rely on my words."

Hearing the tale of Rama from that best of monkeys, Vaidehi, spoke in sweet accents, soft and low,-"Where didst thou meet Rama, how didst thou come to know Lakshmana? How did the monkeys and men meet on terms of brotherhood? Do thou again relate unto me. O monkey, the regal signs that deck the persons of Rama and Lakshmana- and I shall then relinquish all grief. Do thou relate unto me the form and grace of Rama, his thighs and arms and as well as those of Lakshmana." Being thus addressed by Vaidehi, Hanuman, the Wind-god's son, began to give an exact description of Rama. "If dost thou, by my good luck, O Vaidehi, O thou having eyes like lotus-petals, knowing me (as his messenger) ask me to describe thy lord's person as well as that of Lakshmana, I shall relate them unto thee. Do thou hear, O large-eyed dame, what regal signs I have marked on the persons of Rama and Lakshmana. O daughter of Janaka, Rama has eyes like lotuspetals and a countenance resembling the full-moon and is gifted with great beauty and goodness. In effulgence he is like the Sun, in patience like the earth, in intellect like Vrihaspati [The god of wisdom.] and in fame like Vasava [The lord of celestials.]. He is the protector of the world of creation and his own kinsmen. He follows right in all his ways and never swerves from his royal duties and is the slayer of foes. O dame, he upholds the dignity of the people of four-castes- he confers honours on the people and preserves them. He is worshipped by all like the Sun, observes ascetic vows, knoweth well the time when the saints should be honoured and is conversant with the nature and procedure of actions. He is well acquainted with royal duties and abideth by the commandments of the Brahmanas-is wise, gifted with a good character, humble and the slaver of foes. He is the master of Yavur Vedas and is adored by those who are wellversed in Vedas-is proficient in the science of bended bow, Vedas and Vedangas [A sacred science considered as subordinate to and in some sense a part of the Vedas-six sciences come under this denomination—Siksha (pronounciation); Kalpa (religious rite) Vyakarana (grammar) Chandas (prosody) Jyotish (astronomy) and Nirukti or explanation of difficult words.]. He is broadshouldered, large-armed, has a conch-like neck and a beautiful countenance. His throat is plump and his eyes are red-and he is famed all over the world under the name of Rama. He has the voice of a bugle, is of a cool hue and highly powerful, has equally proportioned limbs and a green colour. His three limbs (thigh, fist and wrist) are hard and three others (brow arms and scrotum) are long; and three (tops of the hairs, scrotums and knee-joints) equal and three (navel, abdomen and breast) high. And three (the angles of the eyes, nails and palms) are copper-coloured— three are cool and three (voice, navel and gait) are grave. His belly and throat have three folds of skin. The sole of the foot, the lines thereon and the nipples are equally bended. His neck, eves and back are short. He has three locks of hair on his head. He has four lines on his thumb indicating his proficiency in the four Vedas. His body is four hands tall; arms, thighs and cheeks are plump; eye-brows, the hollows of the nose, eyes, ears, lips, nipples; wrists, knee-joints, scrotums, hips, hands, feet are all equally proportioned. Four teeth by the side of each row, are gifted with auspicious marks of the Sastras. His gaits are like those of a lion, tiger, elephant or a bull. His lips and jaws are fleshy and elevated. His nose is long; words, countenance, nails, down and skin are all cool; his two arms, two little fingers, two thighs and two legs are long; his face, eyes, mouth tongue, lips; palate, nipples, nails and feet are like lotuses, his breast, forehead, neck, arms, navel feet, back and ears are spacious. He is gifted with grace, fame and effulgence. His paternal and maternal race are pure. His armpit, belly, breast, nose, shoulders and forehead are high; his fingers, hairs, down, nails, skin, beard, eye-sight and intellect are thin and sharp. Raghava, with a due division of his time is engaged in acquiring piety, wealth emancipation and desires. He is truthful and graceful, amasses wealth and thereby protects his subjects. He is cognisant of the divisions of time and country and dear unto all. His stepbrother Saumitri is gifted with incomparable prowess and is his equal in attachment, beauty and accomplishments. The person of that graceful one is goldhued whereas that of the highly famous Rama is green. And those two lions among men had no other delight but seeing thee. And they ransacking the whole world in quest of thee met us in the forest. And ranging the earth for thee they beheld Sugriva, of comely presence, the lord of monkeys, at the foot of the mount Rishvamuka covered with trees, banished by his elder brother and resorting there in his fear. And we were serving that truthful Sugriva, the lord of

monkeys, driven from the kingdom by his elder brother. And beholding those two best of men, wearing bark and with bows in their hands, that best of monkeys, stricken with fear, leaped above and stationed himself on the crest of the hill. He then sent me to them. And thereupon by Sugriva's decree I, approached with joined palms, those two foremost of men gifted with beauty and royal marks. And they were pleased by me, being informed of the real facts. And then placing those two best of men on my back I arrived at the top of the hill and communicated the truth unto the high-souled Sugriva. And conversing with each other those two lords of men and monkeys attained great delight. And they consoled each other narrating their respective misfortunes. And Rama then consoled Sugriva, driven away by his greatly powerful elder brother Vali on his wife's account. Thereupon Lakshmana related unto Sugriva, the lord of monkeys, the grief, of Rama of unwearied actions, in consequence of thy being borne away (by Ravana). And hearing Lakshmana's words, the lord of monkeys became pale, like unto the radiant Sun possessed by Rahu. And collecting all those ornaments which were thrown off by thee on the earth, when thou wert borne away, the leaders of the monkey hosts, delighted brought them before Rama. But they could not make out thy whereabouts. And all those ornaments, which were handed over to Rama, were collected by me when they fell tinkling on the ground, Rama being beside himself with grief. And placing them on his lap, the god-like Rama bewailed in various accents. And they inflamed the more Dacarathee's [Son of Dacaratha—Rama.] grief. And being overwhelmed with grief that high-souled one laid himself low on the ground. And consoling him in various words, I raised him up again. And looking again and again with Saumitri, at those costly ornaments, Raghava handed them over to Sugriva. Raghava burns in grief, O worshipful dame, in thy absence, like unto a volcanic mountain burning with a perpetual fire. For thee, sleeplessness, grief and anxiety are distressing Raghava like unto three fires* burning down the fire temple. [* The aggregate of the three fires maintained by the Brahman householder.] Raghava is moved by thy separation like unto a huge mountain shaken by a terrible earth-quake. O daughter of a king, he is ranging at large in many a beautiful forest, river and fountain-but he finds delight nowhere. O daughter of the king Janaka, bringing about the destruction of Ravana, with all his kith and kin, Raghava, the foremost of men, shall soon regain thee. And thus Rama and Sugriva entered into a friendly covenant, to encompass Vali's destruction and to institute enquiries about thee. And thereupon returning to Kishkindha with those two heroic princes the lord of monkeys killed Vali in battle. And destroying Vali by his prowess in battle. Rama made Sugriva king over all monkeys and bears. And in this way, O dame, the alliance between Rama and Sugriva was made. And know me as Hanuman, their messenger who hath come to thee. Regaining his own kingdom, Sugriva summoned all the mighty monkeys and despatched them in various quarters in quest of thee. And the highly powerful monkeys, resembling mountains, commanded by that lord of monkeys, proceeded to all the regions of the earth. And terrified by Sugriva's decrees, those monkeys, since then, have been ransacking the whole earth for thee. And I am one of them. And the beautiful and mighty son of Vali, by name Angada, hath proceeded with three armies under him. And many were the days and nights that we spent, overwhelmed with grief and having lost our way on that best of mountains Vindhya. We gave up all our hopes for the accomplishment of our end and our appointed time was well-nigh spent. And in fear of that lord of monkeys we addressed ourselves to put an end to our lives. Ranging the mountain strongholds, rivers and fountains and not finding thy reverence, we were ready to do away with our existence. And on the crest of that hill we took to fasting. And beholding those foremost of monkeys engaged in fasting Angada, sunk in grief, bewailed, O Vaidehi, mentioning thy rape, the destruction of Vali in that way, our fastings and Yatayu's death. While we were thus waiting, ready for death and giving up all hopes for the fulfillment of our master's behest, there appeared, as if the cause of our success, the mighty and powerful vulture, the brother of Yatavu, by name Sampati. And hearing of the destruction of his brother, he in wrath, said-By whom and where hath my younger brother been killed? I wish to hear this from you, the foremost of monkeys.' And Angada related unto him verily Yatayu'sdestruction at Janasthana, for thee, by that grimvisaged Rakshasa. And hearing of Yatavu's death, Aruna's son became afflicted with sorrow and informed us, O thou exquisitely fine damsel, of thy stay in the abode of Ravana. And hearing those words of Sampati, enhancing our delight, we all, headed by Angada, left that place. And leaping from the crest of Vindhya mountain we reached the excellent brink of the Ocean. Being greatly anxious to behold thee and delighted, those plump monkeys headed by Angada, arrived at the banks of the main. And worked up with a strong desire to see thee, they again engaged in anxious thought. And beholding the ocean, the monkey hosts lost their heart. And removing their fear, I leaped a hundred leagues across the deep and entered Lanka, at night, infested with demons. I

have seen Ravana, and thee stricken with grief. O thou of a blameless person. I have related all unto thee in regular order. Do thou speak to me, O worshipful dame, I am Dacarathee's messenger. Do thou know me as the Wind-god's son, the counsellor of Sugriva, who am engaged in Rama's service and have come here for thee. It is all well with thy Kakuthstha, the foremost of those using weapons, as well as with Lakshmana, O worshipful dame, gifted with auspicious marks, engaged in the worship of his superiors and in the well being of thy lord. By Sugriva's decree, I alone have reached here. And I, ranging alone and wearing shapes at will, have come to this southern quarter, to find out thy whereabouts. By my good luck I shall be able, with thy news, to remove the grief of those monkey hosts who are lamenting for thee. By my good fortune, my crossing over the main, hath not become fruitless. I shall be praised there, O worshiful dame, for I have been able to see thee. And the highly powerful Raghava shall soon regain thee, destroying, with all his sons and friends, Ravana the king of Rakshasas. There is a hill, O Vaidehi, named Malyabana, the foremost of all the mountains. There lives my father, the great monkey Kesari. Being commanded by the celestial ascetics, he once repaired thence to the mount Gokarna and at the holy watering place of the lord of the rivers he brought about the destruction of (the Asura) Samvasadana. O Vaidehi, I was born, on the field, of that monkey. And I am known all over the world as Hanuman by my own actions. To create thy confidence, O Vaidehi, I have related thy lord's accomplishments. And forsooth, thou shall soon be taken, O worshipful dame, by Raghava." Having her confidence formed by these reasonings and various marks, Sita, worn with grief, took him for Rama's messenger. And Janaki attained an excess of delight and shed tears of joy from her eyes having curling eye-lashes. And the beautiful countenance of that large-eyed dame, having spacious eyes, appeared like the Moon released from the hold of Rahu. She then took him for a real monkey and none else. Thereupon Hanuman again spoke unto her, having a comely presence,-"I have related unto thee all this. Do thou be consoled, O Maithilee! Tell me now, what am I to do and what dost thou like. I shall soon repair hence. When the Asura Samvasadana was destroyed in conflict by that best of monkeys at the desire of the celestial ascetics, I was born of the Wind, O Maithilee, I look like a monkey but am his equal in prowess.'

The highly effulgent son of the Wind-god, Hanuman, to create Sita's confidence, again addressed her with the following words:-"O great dame, I am a monkey, the messenger of the highly intelligent Rama. Behold this precious ring with Rama's name engraven on it, given by thy high-souled lord and brought as a token to create thy confidence. Do thou take heart and may good betide thee, there will be an end of thy grief soon." And taking the ring that used to deck her lord's finger and looking at it, Janaki seemed to have actually got her lord. And her graceful countenance, having large eyes, looked, with delight, like unto the Moon released from the possession of Rahu. And greatly delighted at her husband's news that modest damsel, affectionately welcoming Hanuman, applauded that great monkey-"O foremost of monkeys, thou art brave, powerful and wise, since thou hast alone smitten this abode of the Rakshasas. Thou hast, with thy laudable prowess, leaped, a hundred leagues, across the ocean, the abode of marine monsters, taking it for Goshpada [A measure as much as a cow's foot-step will hold.]. O foremost of monkeys, I do not consider thee as an ordinary monkey, since thou dost not care or fear Ravana. O best of monkeys, thou art worthy of my welcome, since thou hast been despatched by Rama, knowing self. Rama, hard of being got at, hath not sent thee, specially to me, without a trial of thy prowess. By my good luck, is it all well with the virtuous-souled and truthful Rama and the highly powerful Lakshmana the enhancer of Sumitra's joy? And if Kakuthstha lives untouched by ill, then why does he not burn the earth, encircled by the ocean, with his ire like unto the fire of dissolution? Or they are capable of His comfitting the celestials in a battle but me-thinks by my illluck, the end of my miseries hath not arrived as yet. Is Rama greatly pained? Does he grieve? Is that foremost of men making preparations for my rescue? Has he forgotten his work being overwhelmed with fear and poorliness of heart? Is that son of the king performing still his manly duties? Is that slayer of foes, desirous of acquiring victory, pleasing his friends still with forgiveness and gifts and dealing his enemies with punishment, sowing dissensions amongst them, and with other expedients? Is he still gaining friends and are friends gathering around him? Is he welcoming his friends and are they honouring him the more? Is that son of the king invoking the blessings of the celestials? Hath he attained manliness and assistance from the celestials? Hath Raghava lost all his affection for me for my living at a distance from him? Will he save me from this disaster? Hath not Rama, ever used to happiness and unused to misery, been enfeebled by this disaster? Is he informed always of the welfare of Kauslaya, Sumitra and Bharata? Is not Raghava, worthy of honours,

beside himself with grief in my absence? Will not Rama rescue met Will not Bharata, ever devoted to his brother, send out one Aksauhini of terrible soldiers under the command of his ministers for my rescue? Will not the graceful Sugriva, the lord of the monkeys come to help me with hosts of monkeys having huge teeth and nails? Will not the heroic Lakshmana, the enhancer of Sumitra's joy, conversant with the use of weapons, burn down the Rakshasas with his shafts? Shall I not behold soon that Rayana with his kinsmen hath been destroyed in battle by Rama with terrible weapons? Is not the gold-hued and lotus-smelling countenance (of Rama) dried up in my absence like unto lotus dried up by the rays of the sun in shallow water? Does he still hold patience in his heart, who renouncing his kingdom for virtue and repairing, on foot with me even to the forest, was not stricken with fear and grief? His love for his mother, father or any other person is not greater than or equal to his love for me. O messenger, I shall keep my life so long I do not hear anything about my dear one." Having addressed that lord of monkeys with these highly sound and sweet accents, that graceful and worshipful dame ceased, with a view to hear again from him pleasant tales regarding Rama. And hearing the words of Sita the terribly powerful Maruti, placing his joined palms on his head The lotus-eyed Rama doth not know that thou art here, and hence he hath not been able to rescue thee like unto Purandara regaining Sachee. And hearing about thee from me soon shall Raghava come assisted by a large army of monkeys and bears. And impeding the course of the unagitated deep and building, by means of his terrible shafts, a bridge across it, Kakuthstha, shall divest the city Lanka of all the Rakshasas. And forsooth shall Rama destroy them, even if the celestials, or Death himself stand in his way. O worshipful dame, stricken with grief in thy absence, Rama is restless like unto an elephant smitten by a lion. I can swear, O worshipful dame, by the mounts Mandara, Malaya, Vindya, Sumeru, Dardura and all the fruits and roots, that thou shalt behold like unto the rising of the full moon, the countenance of Rama having beautiful eyes, graceful, Bimba-like lips and beautified with beautiful kundalas. Thou shalt soon behold, O Vaidehi, Rama, on the mount Prasravana, like unto the performer of hundred sacrifices seated on the back of the elephant (Airavata). Raghava doth not take meat nor drink honey—he takes every day in the evening boiled rice and such wild fruits as are sanctioned by the Sastras. His heart is so much attached unto thee, that he does not drive away even flies, insects and snakes from his body. Rama is always engaged in meditations, overwhelmed with grief, and he has no other thought but seeing thee Rama hath no sleep and even when asleep that best of men awakes exclaiming in sweet accents, 'O Sita!'. He always welcomes thee sighing and saying "O my dear love!" whenever he beholds any fruit, flower or any object liked by the ladies. O worshipful dame, he is always lamenting, exclaiming 'O Sita!' and that high-souled son of the king, to regain thee, hath resorted to ascetic observances." On hearing about Rlma, Sita was greatly delighted and she was equally grieved on hearing of his sorrow. And it appeared like the rising of the moon and the appearance of the clouds at the same time in an autumnal night.

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Hearing those words, Sita having a moon-like countenance, again spoke unto Hanuman, words, sound and pious: monkey, what thou hast said that Rama is not attached unto any other thing and is worn with grief, is like nectar mixed with poison. Whether in the enjoyment of vast riches, or emerged in the abyss of miseries, Death is pulling a man, binding him roughly with a chord. O best of monkeys, people cannot thwart the course of destiny. Behold me, Rama and Saumitri, therefore sunk in miseries. I do not know when shall Raghava get at the other end of the ocean of grief, by displaying his prowess, like unto one, swimming across the ocean when the boat is sunk. I do not know when shall my lord see me, destroying the Rakshasas, killing Ravana and devastating the city of Lanka. Do thou tell him to come before this year expires for till then I shall live. This is the tenth month and two months still remain. O monkey and that is the time appointed by the cruel Ravana. He was entreated very much by his brother Bivishana to restore me but he paid no need to his requests. Ravana doth not desire to restore me (unto Rama) for he has been brought under the influence of Death who is seeking him in battle. Bivishana's eldest daughter, monkey, by name Kala, hath related this unto me, being appointed by her mother. There is a leading, steady, old, intelligent and educated Rakshasa, gifted with a good character, named Abindhya and highly respected of Ravana who told him that the destruction of the Rakshasa race would proceed from Rama, but the vicious-souled one paid no attention to his well-meaning words. I hope, O foremost of monkeys, that my husband shall soon regain me for pure is my soul and he is gifted with many accomplishments. Raghava hath in him, O monkey, energy, manliness, strength, kindness, gratitude and prowess. He brought about without his brother's aid, the destruction of the fourteen thousand Rakshasas at Janasthana. What enemy is not troubled at this?

The disaster-creating Rakshasas can never be compared with that best of men. I am cognisant of his prowess as Sachee is of Indra's. O monkey, Rama the Sun, with his arrow-like rays, shall dry up the water-the inimical Rakshasas." Saying this she was overwhelmed with grief on Rama's account, and Hanuman again spoke unto her having her countenance bathed in tears,-"No sooner shall Raghava hear from me than he shall speedily repair hither followed by a huge army of monkeys and bears. Or I shall release thee even to-day from the grasp of that Rakshasa and these miseries. Do thou place thyself on my back, O thou of a blameless person. And having thee on my back I shall leap over the main. I am capable of carrying the city of Lanka even with Ravana. I shall restore thee to-day, O Maithili, unto Raghava on the mount Prasravana, like unto fire carrying unto Indra, the sacrificial offerings. Thou shalt behold to-day, O Vaidehi, Rama along with Lakshmana, making preparations (for the destruction of his enemy) like unto Vishnu, engaged in the destruction of demons. (And thou shalt observe) that highly powerful one, anxious to behold thee and seated like unto Purandara on the summit of that foremost of mountains. Do thou place thyself on my back, O worshipful dame, do thou not neglect it, O beautiful lady, and be thus reconciled unto Rama like unto Rohini restored to the Moon. By the time, that we will take in talking thus, thou shalt reach Rama like Rohini restored to the Moon. Do thou therefore place thyself on my back and I shall cross the ocean sailing by the aetherial way. O fair one carrying thee from this place, none amongst the inhabitants of Lanka shall be able to follow me. In the same way I have come here I shall return by the welkin, O Vaidehi placing thee on my back." Hearing those surprising words from that best of monkeys, Maithilee, having her entire frame worked up with joy, again bespake Hanumin-"Hanuman, how darest thou take me to such a long distance? O lord of monkey hosts, this attests to thy monkey hood. O foremost of monkeys, littlebodied as thou art, how dost thou desire, to take me hence to my husband the lord of men?" Hearing the words of Sita, the graceful son of the Wind-god Hanuman reflected aside-This is my first insult. The lotus-eyed dame is not cognisant of my prowess or strength. Vaidehi should therefore learn that I can assume shapes at will." Thinking thus, Hanuman, the foremost of the monkeys and the slayer of foes, showed himself unto Sita, in his true shape. And leaping down from the tree, that best of monkeys began to increase himself to create Sita's confidence. His person appeared like the hill Mandara and the flaming fire. And that best of monkeys having a copper-coloured countenance, thunder-like nails and teeth and mountain-like huge body, appeared before Sita and said—"I am capable of carrying this Lanka with her lord, the mountains, forests gardens, buildings, walls and gate-ways. Do thou therefore confide in me, O worshipful dame, and be not suspicious. And O Vaidehi, do thou remove Rama's grief as well as Lakshmana's." Beholding the Wind-god's own begotten son, Hanuman, resembling a huge mountain, Sita, the daughter of Janaka, having eyes resembling lotus-petals, "O great monkey, I know thy strength and bravery. thy air-like motion and thy wonderful fire-like energy. What ordinary man can come here crossing the incomparable ocean. O lord of monkey hosts, I understand that thou art capable of returning and thou shalt be able to carry me. But I should consider now how the work might be accomplished. O foremost of monkeys, I should not go with thee. Perhaps I might lose my sense with thy air-like velocity. When moving terribly thou shalt proceed high up in the welkin, perhaps I shall then fall down. No sooner I shall fall down into the ocean infested with fish and other animals than I shall be an excellent food unto them. O slaver of foes. I shall not be able to accompany thee. For seeing thee carry a woman; they shall surely suspect thee. And finding me stolen, those terribly powerful Rakshasas commanded by the vicious-souled Ravana, shall follow thee. O hero, carrying me and encircled by those heroic Rakshasas with maces and darts in their hands, thou shalt be beset with dangers. And on the sky the Rakshasas shall be armed with weapons and thou shalt be without any. How shalt thou be able to fight and protect me at the same time. And when thou shalt be engaged in conflict with those Rakshasas of terrible deeds, I, O foremost of monkeys, stricken with fear, shall fall down from thy back. O foremost of monkeys those terrible and powerful Rakshasas shall be able to defeat thee a little. And when thou shalt be defeated in battle I shall fall down and those vicious Rakshasas shall carry me away from thy hands or destroy me. Victory or defeat is uncertain in a battle. I shall thus be distressed by those Rakshasas setting up terrible roars and thy endeavours shall be fruitless. O best of monkeys. Thou art capable of destroying the Rakshasas very easily (I admit)-but Rama's fame shall then be soiled if dost thou bring about their destruction. Or the Rakshasas taking me away shall keep me in such a secret place, that neither the monkeys nor Raghava shall be able to ascertain my whereabouts. And all thy preparations for me shall thus be useless. And mighty shall be the result of Rama's coming with thee. O large armed one, the life of Raghava of unmitigated prowess, those of his brothers and of thy royal race are all subject to me. And when they

shall give up their hopes of releasing me, they, worn out with grief and anxiety shall renounce their lives along with the monkeys and bears. O monkey, being guided by my love for my husband, I do not like willingly to touch any body's person but Rama's. When Ravana, by force touched my person, I had no other help, for I was then without my lord and therefore was subject to another person. If Rama can take me away from here, destroying the Ten-necked one with all the Rakshasas—he shall then perform the worthy action. I have heard of and myself seen the prowess of the highly-souled (Rama) unconquerable in a battle. There is none amongst the celestials, Gandharbas, Nagas and the Rakshasas who can match him in a conflict Beholding that highly powerful Raghava, in a conflict, like unto Vasava in prowess, holding a wonderful bow and followed by Lakshmana, who can withstand his prowess resembling the flaming fire? O foremost of monkeys, who can withstand Raghava in a conflict, followed by Lakshmana moving like an infuriated elephant and showering shafts like unto the rays of the sun at the time of Dissolution? O best of monkeys do thou speedily bring here my dear one along with Lakshmana and the lord of monkey hosts. O heroic monkey, do thou soon satisfy me, who am stricken with grief in consequence of my long separation from

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Hearing those words, that foremost of monkeys, skilled in speech, was greatly delighted and again addressed Sita in the following words,—"O worshipful lady, O thou of an auspicious presence, what thou hast said, speaks well for a feminine nature and the modesty of a chaste damsel. And because thou art a female, thou art not capable of crossing on my back, the main extending over a thousand leagues. The second argument-I shall not touch any other person's body than Rama's, which thou hast produced, O Janaki! O thou gifted with modesty! truly becometh thee, who art the spouse of that high-souled one. Who else than thee, O worshipful one, can give expression to such words? Truly shall Kakutstha hear from the beginning to the end, O worshipful dame, of thy actions before me, and all thou hast said. For many reasons, I gave vent to such words. O lady.—I am anxious to compass Rama's end, and my heart is melted with affection. It is very difficult to enter this city of Lanka, it is equally hard to cross over the main -but I am capable of doing all these, and hence I gave utterance to all those words. I wish to take thee even today to the descendant of Raghu. It is for my devotion unto him and regard for thee that I said so and for nothing else. If thou dost not wish to go with me, O thou of a blameless person, do thou give me such a token as might create Raghava's confidence." Being thus accosted by Hanuman, Sita resembling the daughter of a celestial, spoke, gently, words with their letters strung on the vapour of "Do thou mention unto my dear lord (in my words) what had happened unto me while living in the hermitage at the foot of the mount Pratyanga, situate on the north-east of Chitrakuta, abounding in roots, fruits and water. 'At no distance from that place frequented by the ascetics flowed the sacred stream Mandakini. While ranging in that woodland fragrant with the odour of many flowers, thou, having thy person wet in consequence of thy sport in the water, didst sit on my lap. A crow, at that time, longing to feed on my flesh, tore my breast With its beak. And I threatened it with a pebble. But it continued tearing my breast as if it sat there to feed on my flesh and therefore did not fly off. Being enraged with that bird, as I tried to tighten the cloth around my waist, it gave way a little, and thou, rising up from thy seat and looking at me, didst laugh over it. And I was greatly enraged with thy laughter and ashamed, and, being wounded by the crow, I approached thee. Thereupon, tired as I was, I sat on thy lap, and, exercised with ire, I was consoled by thee laughing. Now I, having my countenance bathed in tears, gently rubbed my eyes. And I was seen by thee, O my lord, in that wise, greatly enraged with the crow. O Raghava, I slept for sometime, at thy lap, out of exhaustion, and thyself in turn, slept at mine. O elder brother of Bharata. In the meantime, that crow again suddenly approaching, tore my breast with its beak, as I awoke and was rising up from thy lap, O Raghava. Thereupon Raghava awoke with the shedding of blood. Beholding my breast wounded, that larged-armed hero wroth like a serpent, sighing, said,—O thou having thighs like the trunk of an elephant, by whom hath thy breast been wounded? Who wants to play with an angry five-hooded serpent?—Thereupon, casting his looks around, he espied the crow, sitting in my front with its claws besmeared with blood. That crow, best of birds, was the son of the lord of the celestials in disguise. And gifted with air-like velocity, he speedily entered inside the earth. Thereupon that large-eyed hero, best of the intelligent, with his eyes whirling with ire, resolved to destroy that crow. And taking a blade of Kucaoff his seat, he tied it to a Brahma weapon. And that blade, facing the bird, appeared with its flaming face, like the fire that would destroy the world. And he hurled that burning blade at the crow. And it pursued the crow high up in the welkin. Being thus pursued, that crow, in order to save

himself, traversed various regions. And being then renounced by his father (Indra) and the great ascetics, he, ranging the three worlds, at last resorted to his (Rama's) shelter. And, placing himself on the earth, he sought his shelter, and Kakutstha, out of mercy, saved him, albeit worthy of being killed. And he spoke unto him, greatly famished, of a pale countenance and lying on the earth,—It is impossible to render this Brahma weapon fruitless. Therefore, do thou speak (as to what is to be done.)—He then destroyed the right eye of the crow. Having given up his eye, he saved himself. Then bowing unto Rama as well as king Dacaratha, the crow, liberated by that hero, went to his own abode. 'Thou hadst on my behalf discharged the Brahma weapon even at a crow. Why then, O lord of earth, dost thou forbear him who had carried me off from thee? O foremost of men, do thou dispense unto me thy kindness capable of inspiring hope. O lord, possessing a lord in thee, I (now) appear as if I had none. That kindness is a prime virtue—I have heard even from thee; and I know that thou art exceedingly energetic and possessed of great strength and high courage,—unfettered by considerations of time and space, incapable of being agitated, thou in gravity resemblest the ocean, and like unto that lord of the earth furnished with seas-Vasava. O Raghava, being thus the foremost of those acquainted with weapons, powerful, and possessed of strength, wherefore dost thou not direct thy weapon against the Rakshasas?' Neither Nagas, nor Gandharbas, nor the gods, nor the Maruts, are competent to resist the onset of Rama in battle. If that puissant one still retains any regard for me, why doth he not by means of sharpened shafts make root and branch work with the Rakshasas? And why, taking the permission of his brother, that repressor of foes, the heroic Lakshmana gifted with great strength, doth not deliver me? If those foremost of men be indeed equal to Indra and the Wind, and incapable of being repressed even by the celestials, wherefore do they disregard me? Surely I must be guilty of some great crime, since although capable, those subduers of enemies do not look at me.' Hearing Vaidehi's piteous words uttered with tearful eyes, that leader of monkey-bands, the exceedingly energetic Hanuman, said,-"O exalted one, I swear by truth, Rama turneth away his countenance (from every work) in consequence of grief for thee. And Rama being seized with sorrow, Lakshmana burns in grief. Now that I have been able to obtain a sight of thee, this is no season for sorrow. O auspicious one, even now thou shalt witness the end of this woe. Filled with hope from my sight of thee, those foremost of persons, those mighty princes, shall reduce the worlds to ashes. And, O thou of expansive eyes, slaying in battle the wicked Rayana with his allies. Raghava shall take thee back to his palace. Now tell me what I shall communicate unto Raghava, and the highly powerful Lakshmana, and the energetic Sugriva, and all the assembled monkeys." Thus addressed, Sita again spoke unto him, saying,-Do thou on my behalf, bowing down the head, enquire after the welfare of that protector of men whom Kaucalya hath brought forth. Do thou on my behalf, and on account of my words, enquire after the welfare of him, who, renouncing wreaths and gems of all kinds, and beloved damsels possessed of transcendent beauty, and wealth such as is difficult to obtain on this spacious earth; and who, honouring and bowing unto his father and mother, followed Rama -in whom Sumitra bath an excellent son of that righteous one, who, espousing the cause of his brother, renouncing choice happiness, followeth his brother to the forest, ministering unto him; who is lion-shouldered, longarmed, intelligent, and of a prepossessing presence; who beareth himself towards Rama as if he were his sire, and towards me, as if I were his mother; of that heroic Lakshmana who did not know when I was ravished away;—the servant of the elders, crowned with auspiciousness,—who is competent and reineth in his tongue; who is the foremost of those dear unto the king's son [Rama.], and worthy of my father-in-law; who is dearer [unto Rama) than even my own self; of Lakshmana, brother into Rama; that energetic one who undertaketh even such tasks as he is not equal to, and seeing whom Raghava hath forgotten his deceased sire, -him for the sake of my words, thou must ask as to his welfare. Lakshmana is always mild and pure, and dear unto Rama. Do thou speak to him so, that, O best of monkeys, he may remove my miseries. O leader of monkey-bands, do thou bring about success on this undertaking. From this preliminary endeavour of thine, Raghava shall take pains on my behalf.—This also shalt thou say again and again unto that hero-my lord.-'O son of Dacaratha, I shall keep on this life for another month; and this I swear unto thee by truth that I will not live beyond this month. O hero, even as Vishnu rescued Kauciki from the nether regions [Lower regions of rivers perhaps.], it behoveth thee to rescue me, who have ignominiously been confined by the impious Ravana."— Thereupon, saying,—"Hand this unto Raghava," Sita gave to Hanuman a noble and excellent jewel for the head, which was tied up in her attire. Then taking that best of gems, the hero tried to fix it on his finger; but it did not enter into it. And taking the gem, and bowing unto Sita and going round her, that foremost of monkeys remained by her side in humble guise. And experiencing

rapture in consequence of his seeing Sita, he mentally presented himself before Rama, and Lakshmana graced with auspicious marks. And taking that costly and superb gem, which by virtue of some power, king Janaka's daughter had managed to hide (from the gaze of the Rashasis), Hanumlan, feeling delighted like one, shaken by the wind blowing on the top of the foremost of mountains, and then getting away from it, prepared to set out.

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Having made over the gem, Sita said onto Hanuman, "This sign is very well known to Rama. Seeing this gem, that hero, Rama, shall recollect three persons,-his mother, myself, and king Dacaratha, Thou, O foremost of monkeys, wilt again be commissioned on this business. Do thou bethink thee as to what thou wilt do afterwards, when thou hast been entrusted with this task. O foremost of monkeys, thou art capable of compassing this work. Therefore, think as to what course of his (Rama's) shall remove (my) misery. O Hanuman, undergoing toils, be thou instrumental in removing my misery." Saying, "So be it," the Wind-god's offspring of terrible prowess, bowing down the head, prepared to depart. Seeing that (Hanuman) was about to set out, that exalted one, Mithila's daughter, addressed that monkey, son unto the Wind-god, in words choked by the vapour of grief,-"O Hanuman, do thou communicate good news to both Rama and Lakshmana, to Sugriva with his counsellors, and to all the aged monkeys. And, O best of monkeys, in consonance with righteousness, communicate good tidings (unto Rama). And it behoveth thee to strive so that the mighty-armed Raghava may rescue me from this sea of sorrow. And, O Hanuman, do thou speak so that the illustrious Rama may deliver me while I am still alive; and thereby do thou reap righteousness. Ever breathing high spirits, Dacarathi [Dacaratha's son.], hearing my words, shall attain an access of manliness for my deliverance. Soon as Raghava shall hear words couching tidings of me, that hero shall duly resolve on displaying his prowess." Hearing this speech of Sita, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god, with his joined hands raised to his head, said,-"Soon shall Kakutstha come surrounded by the foremost monkeys and bears; and vanquishing the foe in fight, shall remove thy grief. Find I none either among men, or Asuras, or celestials, that dares remain before him as he discharges his shafts. For thee, in especial, he can stand in conflict even the Sun, Indra, nay-Yama himself, that offspring of the Sun. For thee, he prepareth himself to conquer the Earth bounded by the main; and victory, thou daughter of Janaka, shall be Rama's. Hearing his words excellently spoken and thoroughly true. Janaki honoured them highly, and spoke (as follows). And gazing at him once and again as he prepared to go away, Sita from affection honoured the speech which had been uttered (by Hanuroan) out of attachment unto his master, - "If thou wish it, O hero, do thou, O subduer of enemies, stay here for one day. Having rested in some hidden nook, thou wilt denart to-morrow. O monkey, (if thou dost remain), thy vicinity shall for a moment remove the huge grief of me of slender luck But even if thou go (passing to-day here), I have, O tiger-like monkey, doubts as to thy return; and, accordingly, doubt, certainly, as to my life. And the grief incident to my not seeing thee shall burn me greatly, even, O monkey, as grief burneth one that is already consumed by sorrow over and over again. And, O hero, O lord of monkeys, this doubt is also before me. How, alas! shall the mighty lord of monkeys, albeit backed by the monkeys and bears, cross over the mighty main hard to cross,-and (how shall) those forces consisting of bears and monkeys or those sons of the best of men (cross over the same)? In all the three worlds, Vinata's offspring, thyself, and the Wind-god, have alone the power of crossing over the deep.—Then, for the accomplishment of this work, difficult to compass, what, O hero, O thou best of those conversant with business, what way dost thou see as to its success? Or thou alone, O destroyer of hostile heroes, art quite enough for the fulfilment of this purpose; and thou shalt reap, in the shape of fame, the fruit of thy achievement. But if (Rama) himself together with all his forces, conquering Rayana and (recovering me) in battle, returned victorious to his own city,—this would be worthy of himself. If blocking up Lanka with his army, that afflictor of hostile hosts, Kakutstha took me (hence), that would be worthy of him. Do thou, therefore, adopt such means that the high-souled heroic warrior may have an opportunity of putting forth prowess. Hearing those words fraught with sense and reason and informed with affection, Hanuman, by way of reply said mildly,revered lady, that foremost of monkeys-the lord of bears and monkeys-Sugriva, possessed of truth, hath made up his mind on thy behalf. That destroyer of Rakshasas, O daughter of Videha, environed by thousands of millions of monkeys. will come hither without delay. And exceedingly powerful and mighty monkeys possessed of prowess, and speeding far with the rapidity of thought, are in his command. Nothing can impede their courses, either upward, or downward, or tending in both directions; and those ones of measureless energy never experience depression in the most arduous

undertakings. Braced by their exalted spirits, these, resorting to the aerial way, have many a time and oft circumambulated the Earth containing mountains and meads. There are (in that army) rangers of woods, some equal and some superior to me. And near Sugriva there are none who are inferior to me. And since even I have reached this place, what shall I say of those ones endowed with immense might? Nor are superior (monkeys) sent on errands; it is only the inferior ones that are sent. Then, O exalted one, thou needst not grieve: let thy sorrow depart. Those leaders of monkey-herds will come to Lanka by one bound; and, like unto the risen Sun and Moon, those leonine men, having large numbers to back them, will come to thy side, riding my back. Those heroes and foremost of men, Rama and Lakshmana both, coming to the city of Lanka. shall destroy her by means of their shafts. And slaying Ravana together with his adherents, Raghu's son, taking thee, O paragon among women, shall return to his own city. Therefore, do thou take heart, good betide thee! Do thou remain, eagerly wishing for the time. It will not be long before thou shalt behold Rama resembling flaming fire. On the lord of Rakshasas being slain along with his counsellors and friends, thou shalt meet with Rama, even as Rohini meeteth with the Moon. O worshipful one, speedily shalt thou behold the other shore of thy misery, O Maithili; and thou shalt see Ravana slain by Rama by might of arm." Having thus solaced Videha's daughter, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god, again spoke unto Vaidehi, saying,-"Soon shalt thou behold that destroyer of foes, Raghava of subdued soul, and the how-hearing Lakshmana also, come to the gate of Lanka. And soon shalt thou behold the assembled heroic monkeys, endowed with the prowess of lions and tigers, and the splendour of the monarch of monkeys, and having nails and teeth for their arms. And thou shalt, O noble one, behold innumerable companies of choice monkeys, resembling hills and clouds,—roaring on the plateaus of Malaya in Lanka.

Like an elephant tormented by a lion, Rama afflicted in the vitals by the dreadful shafts of Manmatha, doth not attain ease. Do not weep, exalted one, in sorrow. Let not fear take possession of thy heart! Even as Sachi meeteth with Sakra, shalt thou, O auspicious one, meet with thy lord. Who is greater than Rama? And who is equal to Sanmitri? [i. e. Sumitra's son, Laksamana.] And these brothers resembling Fire and the Wind, are thy help. O revered one, thou wilt not have to dwell long in this extremely dreadful place inhabited by the Rakshasas. The arrival of thy beloved one is not distant. Just remain expecting (as best thou may), during the time that elapses between this and my meeting with Rama."

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Hearing the speech of the high-souled offspring of the Wind-god, Sita resembling a daughter of the celestials, said in words fraught with her welfare,-"Even as the Earth with corn half-way towards harvest is gladdened on receipt of showers, have I, O monkey, been gladdened on seeing thee that speakest sweetly. Do thou so dispense thy kindness unto me that, with my desire attained, I may touch that tiger-like one with my body reduced by grief. And, O foremost of monkeys, present this sign onto Rama, and tell him also for a sign that he had in ire buried the dart which destroyed a single eye of the crow. And tell him also*,-'On my (first) tilaka having been wiped out, thou didst paint beside my cheek another made of red arsenic -this thou shouldst remember. [Sita wishes Hanuman to use her own language to Rama.] Why, O thou endowed with prowess, resembling Indra the Great or Vanuna, dost thou disregard the ravished Sita, sitting in the midst of Rakshas? This jewel for the head I had preserved with care. In my misfortune, O sinless one, I used to inspire cheerfulness by a sight of this, resembling thyself. This graceful water-sprung (gem) I part from. Hereafter, overwhelmed with grief, I shall not be able to live. For thee only do I bear insufferable miseries, heart-cleaving speech, and companionship with Rakshasas. O destroyer of enemies, for a month longer will I maintain being. Beyond that, O king's son, bereft of thee, I will not live. This Rakshasa king is dreadful. (This being so), if I hear thee tarrying, I would not live for a moment." Hearing Vaidehi's speech pathetic and uttered with tears, the highly energetic Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god, said,—"My revered one, I swear unto thee by truth itself that Rama neglecteth every business because of grief for thee. And Rama being overwhelmed with woe, Lakshmana burneth in grief. Now that I have succeeded in seeing thee after no end of ado, this is no time for lamentation. O fair one, this very moment thou shalt witness the end of thy woe. Those blameless princesforemost of men, gathering courage from my sight of thee, shall reduce Lanka to ashes. And, O thou of expansive eyes, slaying in battle Ravana along with his friends, Raghu's, sons shall take thee back to their own palace. Now, O faultless lady, thou ought to give me such a sign as Rama shall certainly recognise, and as shall more please him by far." "Ah! (answered Sita), "I have already furnished thee with an excellent sign. This ornament, O Hanuman, when carefully examined by Rama, O hero, shall render thy words credible. Thereupon, taking that best of gems, that graceful foremost

of monkeys, bowing down the head unto that exalted one, prepared to depart. Seeing that monkey-leader intent upon leaping up, and surcharged with energy,—with his person enlarged, Janaka's daughter, with a tearful countenance, spake in woe-begone guise, her accents choked with the vapour of grief,—"O Hanuman, communicate tidings of my good health onto those lion-like brothers, Rama and Lakshmana, to Sugriva along with his counsellors, and to all (the monkeys). And it behoveth thee so to compass things that the mighty-armed Raghava may rescue me from this sea of sorrow. Do thou, going to Rama, make known to him the fierce current of my grief, as well as the railing of these Rakshasas. Good fortune be thy portion, thou exceedingly heroic monkey!" Thus furnished with the intentions of the princess, the monkey, having gained his object, and, growing exceedingly exhilarated in his heart, reviewed the small work that yet remained for him, became bent upon proceeding to the north.

SECTION 41

Having been honoured by her (Sita) in excellent words, the monkey proceeding, left that place, thinking,—"A small work it is that remains. Beheld have I this dark-eyed lady. Passing by three means, I see that I shall have to resort to the fourth. No treaty with Rakshas can answer the end. Neither can gifts prevail with the wealthy. Nor is it possible to sow dissensions among persons proud of their strength. Then, display of prowess appeareth to me applicable in this case. Without resorting to prowess, way find I none for ensuring success in this matter. If the Rakshas find their foremost heroes fallen in battle, they may temper their (martial ardour). He that, having compassed his (principal) purpose, accomplishes many more without marring the prime one, is entitled to act He that doeth a small work is certainly not a worker,-he it is that knoweth to bring about success in diverse ways, is alone capable of securing the same. Although my sole commission was to effect this much, yet if I repair to the abode of the lord of monkeys after having ascertained the strength of our ownselves and that of the foe in the field, then I shall have done the mandate of my master. How can my arrival (at this place) be made to bring forth good fruit? How can I forcibly bring on engagement with the Rakshasas? And how can the Ten-necked one in battle be made to form a just estimate of the respective strength of myself and his forces? Coming in contact with the Ten-necked one, with his three orders, forces and charioteers, I shall, reading the intention that is in his heart, as well as his strength, -happily return from hence. This grove of the fell (fiend) resembling Nandana itself, containing various trees and plants, and captivating to eye and heart,-will I destroy; even as fire destroyeth a dry wood. This grove being ravaged, Ravana shall get into a fury. Then the Rakshasa monarch shall summon up an army consisting of horses, elephants, and mighty cars, equipped with tridents, iron axes and other arms,-, and mighty shall be the encounter that shall take place. And I with unimpaired prowess battling with those terrific Rakshas, and annihilating that host despatched by Ravana, shall merrily journey to the abode of the monkey-king." Then furious like the Wind, the offspring of the Wind-god possessed of dreadful prowess set about knocking down the trees with impetuous violence. Then that hero, Hanuman, devastated that garden of the damsels, resounding with the roars of mad elephants, and filled with diverse trees and shrubs. And with its trees crushed and its tanks damaged, with its fair peaks shattered in fragments and its pools eloquent with the notes of birds, riven all over, with coppery and withered sprays cast about (in all directions), and with its trees and plants shorn of their liveliness,-that wood was no longer beautiful,—as if it had been burnt up by a forest-fire; and its plants resembled damsels with their apparel falling off. And that magnificent wood, with its arbours and its picture-gallerys destroyed, and its ferocious animals, beasts and birds crying in distressful accents,-and its rocky structures and other mansions broken down, was bereft of its loveliness. And that grove of the inner apartment belonging to the damsels of the Ten-necked one, with its numbers of acoka trees and plants cast about disorderly, was, in very sooth, through the might of the monkey, rendered a sight composed of plants, etc., tending to awaken the regret of the spectator. Then having done what was wondrous disagreeable unto the mind of the magnanimous lord of the world, that monkey desirous of coping alone with a vast host, stood by the main entrance, flaming in effulgence.

SECTION 42

Then on account of the cries of birds and the sounds of breaking trees, all the denizons of Lanka were seized with trepidation in consequence of fright. And agitated with fear, birds and beasts hurried (on all sides); and omen-boding evil unto the Rakshasas, began to appear (everywhere). And grimvisaged Rakshasis, awaking from their sleep, saw that wood devastated, and that heroic mighty monkey. And observing them, that mighty-armed and powerful monkey endowed with immense strength, magnified his dimensions, capable of striking terror into the Rakshasas. And beholding that

exceedingly strong monkey resembling a mountain, the Rakshasis asked Janaka's daughter, saying,-"Who is this? And whence, and wherefore, hath he come here? And why did he carry on converse with thee? Tell us this, thou of expansive eyes. O lucky one, entertain no fear. And, O thou having eyes with dark outer corners, what is the talk that this one hath held with thee?" Thereat, the chaste Sita, having all her parts perfect, answered,—"What is my power to read Rakshasas capable of wearing forms at will? Ye know who he is and what he doeth. Serpents, without doubt, know the way of serpents. And, furthermore, I am very much frightened,- nor know I who that one is. I take him to be a Rakshasa,come here through his capacity to put on any shape." Hearing Vaidehi's words, the Rakshasis swiftly took to their heels. Some remained,—and some departed to inform Rayana of the matter. And before Ravana, the Raksbasis of deformed visages informed him of the hideous and dreadful monkey. "O king, in the heart of the acokawood there is a monkey of a terrific body, who, possessed of immeasurable might, stayeth, after having carried on a conversation with Janaki. Nor, albeit questioned by us many a time and oft, doth Janaka's daughter. Sita, having the eyes of a deer, intend to tell us who the monkey is. He may be the emissary of Vasava, or of Vaipravana; or he may have been sent by Rama himself from eagerness to get at the whereabouts of Sita. And he it is that, wearing a wonderful form, hath destroyed thy charming arbour of the interior, filled with beasts of various kinds. And quarter there is none which hath not been destroyed by him; and only that place where the exalted Janaki is, remained uninjured by him, whether for preserving Janaki, or from fatigue-it doth not appear. But what is his fatigue? She it is that hath been preserved by him. And that overgrown Sincapa tree, affluent with elegant foliage, under which Sita herself hath (always rested), hath been spared by him. It behoveth thee to order sharp chastisement to be inflicted on that one of a fierce form, who, having carried on converse with Sita, hath laid thy wood waste. Who, O Sovereign of the Rakshasas, that hath not his life severed from him,—converseth with Sita, who hath captivated thy heart?" Hearing the speeches of the Rakshasis, Ravana, lord of Rakshasas, with his eyes rolling in rage, flamed up like the fire of a funeral pyre. And as fall drops of lighted oil from a flaming lamp fell drops of tears from the eyes of the enraged Ravana. And that highly energetic one ordered his heroic servants, resembling himself, to punish Hanuman. And from that mansion speedily issued eighty thousand of those retainers, carrying in their hands maces and mallets [Kuta-hammer, a weapon resembling a hammer.],-having huge bellies, and large teeth, of dreadful forms, and possessed of unwieldy strength,-all eager to engage in the conflict and take Hanuman. And having come near that monkey staying at the main entrance, those swelling spirits rushed on, even as insects rush into a flame. And equipped with variegated maces, and bludgeons, and golden angadas [A bracelet worn on the upper arm.], and arrows resembling the Sun, they approached that foremost of monkeys. And accoutred in maces, axes, and javelins, and bearing bearded darts and lances in their hands, they suddeuly surrounded Hanuman and remained before him. And the graceful and energetic Hanuman also, resembling a hill, flourishing his tail over the ground, sent up tremendous roars. And attaining mighty proportions, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god, brandished his tail, filling Lanka with sounds. And at the sounds of his flourishing, as well as with those resounding ones set up by himself, birds began to drop down from the sky. And he loudly proclaimed,—"Victory to the exceedingly strong Rama and to the mighty Lakshmana! And victory unto king Sugriva, protected of Raghava! I am the servant of the Sovereign of Kerala, Rama of untiring deeds.— (I am) Hanuman, the destroyer of hostile hosts. offspring of the Wind-god. And a thousand Ravanas cannot cope with me in conflict, when I shall hurl crags and trees by thousands. In the very presence of all the Rakshas, shall I, having desolated the city of Lanka and paid my reverence to Maithili, go away, my end being compassed." They were struck with affright at his roars; and they beheld Hanuman elevated as an evening cloud. And now knowing for certain that the monkey had been despatched by his master, the Rakshasas commenced assailing him with various kinds of dire arms. Environed on all sides by those heroes, that exceedingly powerful one, staying by the main entrance, took up a terrific bolt. And taking that bolt, like Vinata's offspring handling a darting serpent, he slew those rangers of the night. And grasping (the bolt), the Wind-god's son began to range the welkin and destroy (the Rakshasas), like the thousand-eyed (deity) slaughtering Daityas with his thunder-bolt. And having slain those Rakshasas, who were the retainers of Ravana, the heroic offspring of the Wind-god-foremost of heroes-desirous of fight, stood at the gate. Then certain Rakshasas, getting off from the field in fear, informed Ravana of the destruction of all his servants. Hearing that a mighty host of the Rakshasas had been slain, the king, with his eyes whirling in ire, ordered Prahasta's son of incomparable prowess, and invincible in battle.

SECTION 43.

Having slaughtered the servants, Hanuman, having reflected awhile, thought,—"I have broken down the wood; but have not destroyed the edifice dedicated to the deities of the Rakshasas. Therefore, this very day will I demolish this structure." Having thought thus in his heart, that foremost of monkeys, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god, displaying his strength, bounded unto the Chaitya building [A building designed for deities; probably a temple.], elevated like a summit of Meru. And having ascended the edifice resembling a mountain, that leader of monkey-bands, possessed of wondrous energy, looked like another Sun risen (in the sky). And having broken down that superb edifice, the irrepressible Hanuman, flaming in auspicionsness, resembled (the mountain) Pariyatra. And magnifying his dimensions through his energy, the offspring of the Wind-god fearlessly fell to striking his arms with his hands, and thus filling Lanka, with the sounds. And at those sounds of striking arms, capable of striking deafness into the hearer, birds began to drop down there, as well as the warders of the religious mansion, with their senses overwhelmed, "Victory unto Rama versed in arms! And unto Lakshmana endowed with immense strength! And victory unto king Sugriva, who is protected by Raghava! Hanuman, son onto the Wind-god, destroyer of hostile hosts, is the slave of Rama of untiring deeds. And not a thousand Ravanas can cope with me in conflict as I hurl stones and trees by thousands. Having destroyed the city of Lanka and paid my respects to Mithila's daughter, I, my object gained, shall depart in the presence of all the Rakshasas. Having spoken thus, that one of a prodigious person, seated on the Chaitya, emitted tremendous roars, striking terror into the Rakshas. In consequence of that mighty cry, an hundred guards attached to the Chaitya sallied out, taking various weapons-bearded darts, scimitars and axes; and they surrounded the Wind-god's offspring, as he went on increasing his body. And they encountered that foremost of monkeys with various maces, and axes, and golden Angadas, and arrows resembling the Sun. And those numbers of Rakshas, encountering that best of monkeys, resembled an extensive and mighty whirlpool in the Ganga. Thereat, the Wind-god's son, the mighty Hanuman, waxing enraged, violently uprooting a huge piller of the edifice, plated with gold, and having an hundred borders, began to whirl it (in the air). And the fire generated there thus, burnt down the entire edifice. Seeing that edifice in flames, the graceful monkey-leader, having slain the hundred Rakshasas, like Indra slaying Asuras with his thunderbolt,—remaining in the sky said --"Thousands of strong, high-souled and foremost monkeys like myself, having been created, and remaining under the command of Sugriva, -including ourselves as well as other monkeys-are ranging all over the world. Some are endowed with the strength of ten elephants, some with the strength of an hundred, some have the prowess of a thousand elephants, and some the strength of elephants numbered by herds. Some are equal in strength to the Wind, - and there are there some monkey-leaders who have no limit to their strength. Surrounded with monkeys of this sort, having nails and teeth for their arms,-in hundreds and thousands and kotis and ayutas, cometh our Sugriva,-the slayer of all (foes). Neither this city of Lanka, nor you, nor yet Ravana, shall exist,-having created hostility with that high-souled hero of the Ikshwaku race.

SECTION 44

Commanded by the lord of Rakshasas, Prahasta's son, the powerful Jamvumali, having large teeth, went out bow in hand. And he wore a red wreath and attire, with a garland hung round his neck, and elegant ear-rings; and he was huge, and terrible, with his eyes whirling,—invincible in encounter. And he impetuously stretched a graceful bow, resembling the bow of Sakra, and roaring like vajra and the thunderbolt. And the entire welkin, and all sides and quarters, were suddenly filled with the mighty sounds of that bow as it was being stretched. And seeing him approaching in a car yoked with asses, Hanuman endowed with vigour both rejoiced and shouted. Thereat, the highly energetic Jamyumali pierced with whetted shafts that mighty monkey, Hanuman, who was seated on an awry plank at the gate serving as a perch for pigeons. He pierced that lord of monkey's face with half-moon (shaped) arrows, his head with one having its head made like a hook and his arms with ten narachas [Iron arrows.]. And pierced by the arrows, his coppery face looked beautiful like a blown autumnal red lotus shot at by the solar rays.—And his naturally red countenance being painted with blood, looked lovely like a majestic red lotus in the sky, washed with the honey of the red acoka.-Wounded by the shafts, the redoubted monkey grew enraged. And he espied a huge and gigantic crag beside him. Thereat, at once uprooting it, that one endowed with celerity and strength hurled it (at his foe). And the enraged Rakshasa opposed it by ten shafts. Witnessing his action rendered fruitless, the energetic Hanuman of terrific prowess, uprooting a large sala, began to whirl it (in the air). Seeing the exceedingly strong monkey whirling the sala tree, the highly powerful Jamvumali

dischanged a many shafts. And he severed the sala by means of four shafts, and wounded the monkey in the arm with five, in the chest, with one, and with ten, between the teats. With his body covered all over with shafts, (Hanuman) getting into a furious passion, taking up the same bolt, again began to swing it with rapidity. And that terrific one gifted with exceeding impetuosity, having whirled the bolt with wondrous rapidity, let it light upon Jamvumali's spacious breast. And (anon) there was neither seen there his head, nor bis arms, nor his thighs, nor his bow, nor his car, nor his steeds, nor his arrows at that place. And that mighty carwarrior, Jamvumali, speedily slain, fell down to the earth, like a tree whose trunk hath been crushed. Hearing Jamvumali as well as his exceedingly powerful servants slaughtered, Rayana became transported with anger, and his eyes became reddened in wrath. And on the mighty son of Prahasta having been slain, the lord of the night-rangers, with his reddened eyes rolling in rage, speedily commanded the sons of his counsellors, endowed with vast energy and prowess, (to encounter Hanuman in battle.)

SECTION 45

Then ordered by the lord of Rakshasas, the sons of his counsellors, seven (in number), in splendour resembling fire, issued forth from that mansion. And surrounded by a mighty army, furnished with bows, endowed with wondrous strength, and accomplished in arms-the foremost of those acquainted with weapons-each burning for victory, with mighty cars voked with steeds, covered with golden net-works, bearing pennons and standards, and having sounds like those proceeding from clouds,—exultingly stretching with immeasurable prowess bows decked with gold,—resembling clouds surcharged with lightning,-those warriors sallied out. Learning that the servants had been slain, their mothers, along with their friends and kindred, were overpowered with grief. And vieing with each other in eagerness, those (warriors) decked in ornaments of polished gold, confronted Hanuman staying at the gate. And with their cars sending roars, the Rakshasas, pouring showers of shafts, ranged (the field), resembling clouds during the rainy season. And covered with those arrowy showers, Hanuman had his person concealed, like the monarch of mountains hidden by a downpour. And that swift-speeding monkey, coursing the cloudless sky, evaded those shafts of those heroes, as well as the impetuosity of their cars. And that hero, playing pranks with those bowmen, appeared like the masterful Wind playing tricks with the bow-bearing clouds. And sending up a dreadful shout and thereby filling that yast host with fright the energetic Hanuman rushed on that Rakshasa army. And that subduer of enemies slew some with slaps, and some he rived with nails, and some he killed by blows, and others with (the pressure of) his chest. And some dropped down on the ground at the very same spot at the sounds that he emitted. And on their being slain or falling on the earth, that army, afflicted with affright, began to fly in all directions. And the elephants roared in frightful tones, and the steeds fell down oa the earth.—And the Earth was covered with broken boxes, flagstaffs, and umbrellas, (belonging to the cars), as also with the cars themselves.—And rivers running gore were seen on the way, and Lanka uttered various frightful cries. And having slain those overgrown Rakshasas, that exceedingly powerful and heroic monkey of terrific power, desirous of again coping with other Rakshasas, retraced his steps to the self-same entrance.

SECTION 46.

Learning that the sons of the counsellors had been slain by the high-souled monkey, the Ten-necked one suppressing the apprehension that was in his heart, restored the balance of his mind. And he directed five of the foremost leaders of his forces, the heroic Virupaksha, Yupaksha, the Rakshasa Durdharsha, Praghasa, and Masakarna, versed in polity, endowed with the speed of the Wind in conflict and alert on every occasion, to take Hanuman captive."Ye generals, do ye taking a mighty host with steeds, elephants and cars, chastise that monkey. And coming to that dweller of the woods, ve had better act heedfully, and should accomplish this work in consonance with place and season. Having regard to his acts, I do not take him to be a monkey. He is a great being endowed with extraordinary prowess every way. My mind is not satisfied that he is a monkey. He may have been brought into being by Indra, through ascetic might, for injuring us. Backed by you, I have defeated (deities), and Nagas, and Yakshas, and Gandharbas, and Asuras, and Maharshis. And, for certain, they have herein tried to do us some wrong. Therefore there is no doubt about this,-do ye by main force take him. And, ye generals, go ye, taking a mighty force with steeds, elephants and cars. Do ye chastise this monkey. This monkey of deliberate prowess should not be disregarded by you. I have seen381 monkeys of immense prowess,-Vali with Sugriva and the exceedingly powerful Jambavan, and Nila the general, and others with Dwivida at their head. Their speed is not dreadful, nor their energy, nor their prowess, nor their intelligence, nor their strength, nor their courage, nor their

capacity to change shapes. Therefore ye should know him as some great being staying in the form of a monkey. Exerting yourself to the uttermost, do ye chastise him. These three worlds combined, with Indra, celestials and mortals, are incapable of long staying before you in the field of battle. Still a person versed in polity, albeit anxious to secure victory in battle, should carefully preserve self, as success in war is unstable." Thereupon, they, possessed of the energy of fire, accepting the words of their master, rushed forth vehemently, accompanied with cars, mad elephants, fleet steeds, sharp and whetted weapons, - and forces of all kinds. Then those heroes saw that effulgent mighty monkey, shining in his native splendour, like unto the risen sun,- possessed of great strength and immense speed, and magnanimity of mind,seated at the gate. And soon as they saw him, they, frightened at his appearance, assailed him with their respective terrible weapons. And Durdhasa discharged at Hanuman's head five white iron arrows with yellow heads, and possessing the lustre of lotus-leaves. Having been pierced in the head with those shafts, the monkey, roaring, leapt into the sky, making the ten cardinal points resound. Then the exceedingly powerful and heroic Durdhara, mounted on a car, with his bow stringed, came forward, showering innumerable arrows by hundreds. Thereat, even as the wind driveth away rainpouring clouds at the end of the rainy season, the monkey, remaining in the sky, resisted (his antagonist) as he kept on pouring his shafts. And sore beset by Durdhara, the Windgod's son again emitted cries, and that puissant one also increased himself. Then darting far up in the air, the monkey suddenly descended on the car of Durdhara with extreme vehemence, like unto a mass of lightning alighting on a -Thereat his eight steeds getting mangled, and the wheels and pole of his car having been broken, Durdhara leaving the car, fell down to the earth, deprived of life. Seeing him down on the earth, those irrepressible subduers of enemies, Virupaksha and Yupaksha, waxing wroth, sprang up And springing up suddenly, they by means of maces, dealt blows on the chest of the monkey, who was staying in the unclouded sky. Thereat resisting the furious rush of those gifted with ebullient energy, that exceedingly powerful one descended to the earth with the violence of the Fair-feathered (bird) [Suparna—a name of Garuda.]. Then getting at and uprooting a sala tree, that monkey, the Wind-god's offspring, slew both of those heroic Rakshasas. Learning that those three had been slain by the monkey gifted with speed, the mighty and onrushing Praghasa laughing in scorn advanced (in the encounter). And the energetic Bhasakarna also came forward in rage, taking a dart. And (they) meeting together. Praghasa assailed the famous, tiger-like monkey with a sharpedged axe, and Bhasakarna (attacked) the elephantine monkey with a javelin. And with his limbs wounded by them, and his hair wetted with blood, that monkey resembling in splendour the infant sun, grew furiously enraged. And that elephantine monkey, the heroic Hanuman, uprooting a mountain-peak, with beasts, snakes, and trees (in it), slew those Rakshasas; and, crushed by that mountain-summit, they were reduced to powder. On those five generals having fallen, the monkey slew the remaining forces. And as the thousand-eyed Deity destroyed Asuras, the monkey destroyed steeds with steeds, elephants with elephants, warriors with warriors, and cars with cars. And with horses and elephants, swift steeds, with broken wheels and mighty cars, and Rakshasas slain, all the ways were blocked up. And having destroyed in battle the heroic generals with all their forces and vehicles, that hero in the same way rested at the gate like Kala himself engaged in destroying people, when he hath gained respite.

SECTION 47.

Hearing that the five generals had been slain by Hanuman alone with their vehicles and followers, the king, gazing at prince Aksha, who was ready and eager to go to battle, commanded him to take the field. And that puissant one of a bow decked with gold, on being commanded (by Ravana) with a glance, started up, like unto fire on being fed by clarified butter by foremost regenerate persons on the sacrificial ground. And that best of Nairitas [Rakshasas.] possessed of prowess, ascending a car resembling the infant sun in effulgence, and surrounded all round with networks of burnished gold, sallied forth in quest of that mighty monkey. And (that warrior) in prowess resembling an immortal, sallied out ascending that car, obtained with long-contianed asceticism, embellished with a network of glowing gold, furnished with pennons, having a standard studded with gems, nicely yoked with eight excellent steeds having the fleetness of thought, incapable of being overpowered either by celestials or Asuras, competent to course over uneven ground, of the lustre of lightning, sky-ranging, completely garnished, equipped with quivers, with swords fastened to the banners in eight directions, with darts and lances arranged in proper places, splendid with every object in full measure, bearing golden threads, wearing the brilliancy of the sun and moon, and possessing the effulgence of the sun. And filling the firmament and the earth containing mountains with sounds proceeding from steeds, elephants and mighty cars,—he,

accompanied by his forces, presented himself before the capable monkey, who was seated at the gate. And coming before the monkey, Aksha, having the gaze of a lion, with eyes betokening regard, gazed at Hanuman resembling the Fire on the occassion of the universal dissolution at the end of a yuga, intent on destroying creatures, and who was seated and was influenced alike by surprise and regard. And seriously considering the impetuosity of the high-souled monkey as well as his prowess in relation to a foe,—as also his own strength, he increased (in strength) like the Sun on the expiration of a Yuga. And growing enraged, (Aksha), staying calmly in the field, with concentrated soul, challenged Hanuman difficult to resist in conflict and of prowess worthy to witness, with three whetted shafts. And finding the monkey proud and untiring, capable of vanquishing his foe, and possessed of exalted spirits, Aksha took up his bow and held his arrows in his hands. And wearing a golden corslet, angadas, and earings, and possessed of fiery vigor, he closed with the monkey; and their meeting was something unparalleled on this earth, and was calculated to raise the respect even of the celestials and the Asuras. And witnessing the mighty conflict of the prince and the monkey. Earth emitted cries, and the Sun did not burn, and the Wind did not blow, and the mountains shook, and the welkin sounded, and the main was vexed. And that hero, skilled in aiming, fixing and discharging arrows, shot at the monkey's head three fine-headed feathered shafts plated with gold near the feathers, and resembling venomous serpents. And with his rolling eyes washed with blood in consequence of the shafts having alighted at his head, Hanuman, resembling a new-risen Sun having arrows for its rays, looked splendid like the light-engarlanded Sun. And seeing in battle that son of the foremost of monarchs, with his excellent weapons upraised and his beautiful bow, that best of the counsellors of the lord of monkeys, rejoiced, and intent on encounter, increased himself. And with his ire heightened. that one endowed with energy and prowess, like unto the ravdecorated (Sun) on the crest of Mandara [The Sun is on Mandara in mid-day; therefore the meridian Sun is meant here.], began to burn with the fiery rays of his eyes, Aksha, along with his forces and vehicles. And as a mass of clouds showereth rain on a high hill, the arrow-showering Rakshasa resembling clouds, having the bow for his rain-bow, discharged shafts at that foremost of monkeys, representing a mountain. And then the monkey, having sounds like those of clouds, beholding in battle Aksha of terrific prowess in conflict, and strong in energy, strength and shafts, sent up shouts from elation of spirits. And as an elephant approacheth a deep pit covered over with grass, (Aksha) from a spirit of childishness elated in conflict with his prowess, with his ire heightened, and eyes resembling blood, drew near the monkey in the field. And as Aksha went on hastily pouring shafts, that one uttering roars resembling the rumbling of clouds, looking terrible in consequence of his arms and thighs flung about, darted into the sky with exhuberant energy. And as he leapt up, that strong and powerful one—foremost of Rakshasas that car-warrior and the best of choice car-warriors—rushed at (Hanuman), showering arrows on him, like a cloud showering hail-stones on a mountain. And dashing in the midst of the arrows like the wind, and thus baffling them, the heroic monkey of dreadful prowess in conflict, and endowed with the speed of thought, began to range the path of the air. And witnessing Aksha with regardful eyes, as that one intent on contest, taking his bow, was covering the sky with various excellent arrows, the Wind-god's offspring was plunged in thought. Wounded in the arm with shafts by that high-souled, noble prince, that mighty-armed one, capable of adequately appreciating the nature of actions, thought on (Aksha's) prowess in battle. "This exceedingly powerful one, endowed with the splendour of the infant sun, is doing dire deeds incapable of being done by a boy; and I am loth to slay one that hath shown himself equal to every martial feat. This one is high-souled, mighty in energy, of concentrated self, and capable of bearing extreme hardships in war; without doubt, by virtue of his actions, he is worthy of being honoured by Nagas, Yakshas and ascetics. With his mind braced by prowess and hope, that foremost of heroes eyeth me staying in the fore-front. The prowess of this light-handed (one), I ween, maketh even the hearts of the celestials and Asuras tremble. If I disregard him, he shall certainly vanquish me, for his prowess in battle increaseth (fast). Therefore I must even slay him: it is not proper to suffer an increasing fire." Thus reflecting on the strength of his foe and having ascertained his line of action, that puissant one endowed with great strength, summoned energy and set his heart on slaying him (his antagonist). And remaining in the path coursed by the air, that heroic monkey, the offspring of the Wind-god, with his slaps slew his eight powerful and excellent steeds, capable of bearing pressure and trained to diverse circular movements. And successfully assailed by the councilor of that lord of monkeys, the car with its seat smashed, and its pole broken, and deprived of its steeds, fell to the earth from the sky. Thereat, forsaking that car, the mighty car-warrior sprang up into sky with his bow and holding his sabre, -and (resembled) to heaven, renouncing his body. Then the monkey possessed of the energy and vigor of the Wind, approaching him as he was ranging the air coursed by the king of birds, the Wind and the Siddhas, at length fast caught hold of his legs. And as the foremost of birds, Garuda taking a mighty serpent, whirls it, that foremost of monkeys, resembling his sire in prowess, whirling Aksha in the conflict, violently dropped him on the earth. And with his arms, thighs and chest crushed, bleeding, (having his bones and eves smashed, his joints riven, and his tendons snapped, the Rakshasa lay on the earth, slain by the offspring of the Wind-god. And tormenting him (Aksha) on the earth, that mighty monkey caused great fright unto the ruler of the Rakshasas; and he was gazed at by the assembled Maharshis and the orbit-coursing ones and all beings with Yakshas and Pannagas, come to see him. And on the prince being slain, that monkey was gazed at by the celestials with Indra, who had been seized with extreme wonderment. And having slain in battle prince Aksha resembling a son of the celestials and possessed of blood-red eyes, the hero (again) neared the same gate, and waited there like Kalabent upon destroying all creatures.

SECTION 48

On prince Aksha having been slain by Hanuman, the magnanimous monarch of the Rakshasas, wrought up by wrath, repressing his feelings, ordered Indrajit resembling a celestial, (to take the field against the foe.) "Thou art the foremost of those bearing arms; and thou hast afflicted even the gods and Asuras (in battle): thy deeds have been witnessed by the celestials with Indra; and thou hast procured a weapon [viz. the Brahma weapon.] even from the Great-father. And coping (in conflict) with thy might of arms, all the celestials with the Maruts, headed by the lord of celestials himself, could not stay in the field. And there is none in these three worlds (save thyself), who doth not come under the influence of fatigue in battle. And thou art preserved by the prowess of thy arms, and protected also by thy ascetic merit; and being skilled in the knowledge of season and place, thou, methinks, art the foremost of them all in intelligence. And there is no deed which thou canst not perform in the field; and there is nothing in counsel capable of being arrived at by arguing on the lines prescribed by the scriptures, which thou art not equal to; and there is none in all the three worlds who doth not know thy strength and prowess in arms. And thy ascetic energy is like unto mine, as well as thy prowess and might in arms in battle. And having thee in the conflict, my mind assured (of victory), doth not experience sorrow. Slain have been all the servants, as also Jamvumali, and those five generals, the heroic sons of my councilors, and the swelling forces including steeds, elephants and cars. And low lieth Mahodara, and prince Aksha hath also been slain. O destroyer of foes, my mind did not feel the same confidence in them that I do in thee. And seeing this mighty host slain, as well as the prowess and energy of the monkey, and the taking into consideration thine own strength, do thou put forth thy energy according to thy strength, And on nearing the scene (of conflict), do thou, O foremost of those bearing arms, seeing thine own strength and that of the foe, so exert thyself that the latter, (now) resting quietly in consequence of having created a carnage (on the hostile hosts), may wax enfeebled. O hero, army can serve no purpose here; for hosts fly (before) Hanuman or are reduced to nothing. Neither can it avail to use arms of terrific power and resembling the thunderbolt. Nothing can resist the rush of the Wind-god's offspring; and this one like unto fire is incapable of being slain with weapons. Revolving well (in thy mind what I have remarked), do thou in order to the attainment of success, with an intent mind remember the divine virtue of this bow, and repairing (to battle) strive to vanguish the foe, baffling his attacks. O foremost of intelligent ones, (that I send thee to battle) is certainly not proper; yet this course of action is endorsed by Kshatriyas and those following the morality of kings. O subduer of enemies, one should be versed in various branches of learning as well as be masterful in war. He that craves victory in fight, should be acquainted with various branches of knowledge.

Hearing the words of his father, (Indrajit) gifted with celestial prowess, determined to fight, instantly circumambulated him. Excited with a desire for fight and worked up with energy, Indrajit, eulogized by the friendly Rakshasas, set out for battle. And that highly effulgent and graceful son of the lord of the Rakshasas, having expansive eyes resembling lotus-petals,—issued out like unto the rising of the ocean during a parva [A name given to certain days in the lunar month at the full and change of the moon, and the 8th and 14th of each half month.]. Thereupon Indrajit of unbearable prowess, equal to the lord of the celestials, ascended a car drawn by four horses, having sharpened teeth and resembling Garuda in velocity. And that master of a car and foremost of bowmen, conversant with the use of all weapons -the best of those using swords-proceeded soon in his car where Hanuman was. And hearing the sound of his car and the twang of his bow, that heroic monkey attained an excess of delight. And taking up a bow and sharpened darts,

Indrajit, versed in the rules of war, proceeded towards Hanuman. And as he issued out for battle, greatly delighted, with arrows in his hands, all the quarters became dark, and jackals began to set up terrible cries. And there arrived the Nagas, the Yakshas, the Maharshis, the planets, and the Siddhas, and the birds, covering the welkin, and, greatly delighted, began to make a noise. And beholding that car having a flag like that of Indra, approach very quickly, the monkey began to emit terrible roars and increase himself. And Indrajit too, seated on the celestial car and having a painted bow, began to stretch it, emitting a sound resembling that of thunder. Thereupon closed in conflict those two greatly powerful (heroes)-gifted with swift movements and fearless in battle-the monkey, and the son of the lord of Rakshasas, like unto the lords of celestials and Asuras. And baffling the shafts of that hero of a mighty car, an accomplished bowman and a finished warrior, the immeasurably powerful monkey increasing himself began to range in the welkin*. [* From Middle English: welken, welkne, wolkne ("clouds, heavens"), from Old English: wolcnu ("clouds"), plural of wolcen ("cloud"), German: wolken, from Proto-Germanic: wulkana. wulko, ("cloud"); See: volcano.] Thereupon the heroic (Indrajit)—slayer of foes—began to discharge incessantly shafts, large, sharp, well-feathered, painted in gold and swiftcoursing like unto thunder. And hearing again the noise of his car, the sounds of drums, bugles, and war-drums, and the twangs of the bow, he again leaped up (in the sky). And baffling the aim of (Indrajit), who had always an eye on it, that great monkey ranged at a distance from those shafts. And again facing the arrows and stretching his hands, the Windgod's son again leaped up. And those two heroes,gifted with swift movements and versed in the art of war, engaged in a combat, admired of all beings. And Hanuman could not find out the short-comings of the Rakshasa, nor could that highsouled one detect the weak points of the son of the Wind-god. And these two gifted with celestial prowess, engaged in conflict, became unbearable unto each other. And seeing him unhurt though aimed at with infallible arrows, the highsouled (Indrajit), controlling his senses, engaged in deep and devout meditation (to realize the true identity of Hanuman). Thereupon, that son of the lord of Rakshasas pinned his thoughts upon that foremost of monkeys, and, finding him incapable of being slain, he began to devise plans how he could be bound. And that hero, foremost of those versed in the use of weapons, discharged at that best of monkeys the highly powerful weapon conferred on him by Brahma, the Great-father of the celestials. And knowing him incapable of being slain. Indrailt conversant with the use of weapons. bound that large-armed son of the Wind-god with that weapon. And being bound up by that Rakshasa with the weapon, the monkey became motionless and fell down on the earth. And thinking that he was bound up with a Brahma weapon, he did not feel the least pain in consequence of Brahma's blessing. And that heroic monkey began to think of the boons conferred on him by the Great-father of the celestials. And thinking that the weapon was conferred by the Self-create and consecrated by sacred Mantras, Hanuman began to think of boons conferred by the Great-father. "In consequence of the power of the Lord of creation I am incapable of extricating myself from these bonds." (Knowing this by means of devout meditation, he reflected again,)-"This has been ordained by Him, and I must put up with this pain for sometime." Revolving well the power of the weapon, the boon of the Great-father, and his own prowess to extricate himself from the bonds, the monkey followed the Greatfather's behest,-"I do not fear though bound by this weapon, since I am being protected by Brahma, Indra and the Windgod. It will be better if I am carried off by the Rakshasas, for I shall reap very great benefit by my conversation with the lord of Rakshasas. Therefore let the enemies carry me." Having resolved this, the considerate (monkey)-slayer of foesremained motionless. And being ruthlessly bound by the foes and remonstrated with by them, he began to moan piteously. And beholding that slaver of foes motionless, the Rakshasas bound him up with cotton and bark. And he gladly allowed himself to be tied up and rebuked by his enemies, thinking that he might converse with the lord of the Rakshasas, if he, out of curiosity, should like to see him. Being bound with bark, that powerful (monkey) got himself freed from the binding of the weapon, for the binding force of a Brahma weapon becomes null when there is any other binding. And beholding that best of monkeys tied up with bark and liberated from the binding of the weapon, Indrajit reflected that the binding force of the Brahma weapon became powerless when there was any other binding. "Alas, (those Rakshas) have rendered my mighty deed fruitless. They know not the action of Mantras [Prayers.]. And on the Brahma weapon being baffled, any other weapon cannot effect anything; and thus we have all been placed in a critical predicament." On being released from the weapon, Hanuman did not betray any signs of his liberation, albeit he was pulled by the Rakshasas and pained by the bonds they had bound him with. And the monkey, Hanuman, was pulled by those cruel Rakshasas having fatal boxes, in the direction of the lord

of Rakshasas. And seeing (Hanuman) freed from the (Brahma) weapon yet bound by the bark of trees, he (Indraiit) showed the exceedingly powerful and highly heroic monkey unto the king along with his adherents. And the Rakshasas related unto the ruler of Rakshas everything touching that foremost of choice monkeys, resembling a mad elephant who was in bonds. "Who is he? And whose son? And wherefrom? And what's his errand? And by whom is he backed?"—thus did the heroic Rakshasas converse on beholding Hanuman. And others said,—"Kill him," "Burn him"—"Eat him up." The Rakshasas, growing enraged, thus said unto each other. Having passed some way, that magnanimous one saw there old servants sitting at the feet of the lord of Rakshasas, well as a mansion embellished with countless jewels. And the exceedingly energetic Rayana saw that foremost of monkeys dragged hither and thither by Rakshasas of frightful forms. And that best of monkeys too saw that lord of Rakshasas, endowed with strength and energy and resembling the resplendent son. And with his reddened eyes rolling, the tennecked gazing at that monkey, ordered his principal counsellors, boasting of high pedigree and noble character, (to interrogate the incomer). And by turns questioned by them as to his mission and purpose, as well as the fundamental occasion (of his inroad), that foremost of monkeys replied, 'A messenger, I come (from Sugriva.)"

SECTION 49

And struck with Indraiit's deed, that one of dreadful vigor. Hanuman, his eyes reddened in wrath, steadily looked at the lord of Rakshas; flaming in gorgeous and precious gold, with a splendid diadem studded with pearls; (adorned with) excellent ornaments, containing diamonds and costly gems,seeming to have been forged by the mind; appareled in costly linen; smeared with red sandal paste, and beautifully painted with various and variegated devices [e. g. the three horizontal marks painted on the forehead by Saivas and Saktas, l: looking splendid with his sightly yet terrible eyes; having sheeny, sharp and long teeth,—with hanging lips;—and that hero (saw) that one of great energy, radient with ten heads; like unto Mandara with its summits containing serpents; resembling a mass of blue collyrium; with his breast graced by a chain; with his countenance possessed of the lustre of the moon; looking like a cloud beside the new-risen Sun; with his dreadful arms bound with keyuras, and graced with excellent sandal paste, brilliant with angadas, and resembling fiveheaded serpents; seated on a superb seat,-upon a spacious, variegated, and gay sheet embellished with crystals, and studded with gems; ministered on all sides by gorgeously adorned damsels, bearing hair-furnished fans.— the strengthelated one surrounded by four Rakshas-his counsellors versed in the mystery of counsel,-viz., Durdhara, Prahasta, the Raksha Mahaparcwa, and the minister Nikumbha,-like the entire world girt round by the four seas,-and encouraged by other counselors, fair of forms and versed in counsel, even like the sovereign of celestials by the celestials. And Hanuman beheld the immensely energetic lord of Rakshasas surrounded (on all sides by his advisers), like a cloud containing water on a summit of Meru. And undergoing exceeding trouble at the hands of the Rakshas of dreadful prowess, (Hanuman) struck with mighty amaze, gazed at the lord of Rakshas. And seeing the sovereign of Rakshas, appearing splendid, Hanuman, bewildered by his effulgence, mentally reflected: "Ah! the form! Ah! the patience! Ah! the strength! Ah! the splendour! Ah! the entire auspiciousness of the king of Rakshasas! If the lord of Rakshasas were not impious unto the height, this one could well be the protector themselves of the celestial regions with Sakra. But in consequence of the fell and remorseless acts of this one, which are the aversion of every one, all the worlds with gods and demons hold him in fear. This one, being angered, dares to convert this earth into one entire ocean. Beholding the potency of the Rakshasa king of immeasurable prowess, the intelligent monkey thus indulged in a variety of thought.

Seeing the tawney-eyed one staying before hiip, the mightyarmed Ravana, affrighter of (the worlds), was overwhelmed with fierce wrath. And gazing at that foremost of monkeys girt with power, and with his soul exercised with apprehension, he (thought),—"Is this the worshipful Nandi, come hither in person, by whom I, on my jeering at him, had formerly been cursed in Kailaca? Or is this one wearing the shape of a monkey Vali's son, Vana?" And with his eyes coppery with rage, the king asked his foremost counselor, Prahasta, in words fraught with sense and suiting the season,-"Ask this wicked-minded one, whence is he? And what led him to ravage the grove, and what was his object in brow-beating the Rakshasas? And what hath been his purpose in entering my metropolis incapable of being subdued; and what for did he also fight (with my retainers?) Do thou ask the wicked-minded one about this." Hearing Ravana's speech, Prahasta said,-"Take heart! Fair fortune to thee! Thou needst not be alarmed, O monkey. If thou hast been sent to

Ravana's residence by Indra, tell us truly everything. Let no fear. O monkey, be thine. Thou shalt be liberated. If thou belong to Vaicravana, or to Yama, or to Varuna, and hast entered into this city of ours disguising (thy proper shape),or if thou hast been despatched by Vishnu burning for victory, (tell us this truly). Thy prowess is certainly not that of a monkey,-thy form alone is that of a monkey. Unfold this (unto us) faithfully,-O monkey, and thou shalt get (back) thy liberty. But if thou shouldst say aught untruthful, thy life shall pay dear for it. Or tell us wherfore thou hast entered into Ravana's mansion." Thus addressed then, that foremost of monkeys said unto the lord of Rakshasas,—"I am not Sakra's, nor Yama's, nor Varuna's. I have no friendship with Dhanada [Lit.—giver of wealth—a designation of Kuvera.], nor have I been despatched by Vishnu. This is my race: and I have come hither a monkey for obtaining a sight of the Rakshasa chief. And it is to attain a sight of the Rakshasa lord that I have destroyed his peerless grove; and it is for this that, the powerful Rakshasas seeking for fight, I for the preservation of my person have resisted them in conflict. I am incapable of being slain with weapons even by the celestials and the Asuras themselves. This boon I also happen to have received from the Great-father. It is because I was desirous of seeing the king that I have suffered this weapon to restrain me. Although the Rakshasas have brought me (hither thus), yet I am free from any weapon (restraining me). I come near thee on a certain business of Rama. Knowing me for a messenger of Raghava endowed with measureless prowess, do thou, O lord, listen to my words, calculated to work thy profit.'

Seeing the Ten-necked one of mighty energy, that foremost of monkeys, endued with strength, calmly spoke unto him words containing sense,"—I have come unto thee at the command of Sugriva, O lord of Rakshasas. Thy brother, the king of monkeys, enquires after thy welfare. Listen to the desire of thy brother, the high-souled Sugriva, and his words fraught with righteous sense and capable of working one's good here and hereafter. King Dacaratha, master of cars and elephants and steeds, -is the friend of all like unto their father, and is furnished with the splendour of the sovereign of celestials. His eldest son, -mighty-armed, and masterful, the darling (of his sire), hath, in accordance with his father's order, entered the forest of Dandaka with his brother Lakshmana and his wife Sita. His name is Rama, and he is exceedingly energetic, and ever abideth on the path of virtue. His spouse, the celebrated Sita, daughter unto Videha, the high-souled king Janaka, either died or was carried off in Janasthana. Seeking for that exalted lady, the king's son, accompanied by his younger brother, arriving at Rhrishyamuka, met with Sugriva. And Sugriva promised that he would undertake the search for Sita, and Rama (on his part promised) that he would confer on Sugriva the kingdom of the monkeys. And, thereupon, slaying Vali in battle, the king's son established Sugriva as the lord of the monkeys. Thou formerly hast known that foremost of monkeys, Vali. That monkey was slain in battle by him (Rama) with a single shaft. And, thereupon, the lord of monkeys, Sugriva, true to his vow, eager for searching Sita, despatched monkeys in all directions. And thousands and hundreds and niyutas of monkeys are exploring all sides, below and above in the sky. And some are like Vinata's offspring [Garuda.], and some like the Wind; their course is incapable of being resisted; and those heroic monkeys are endued with strength and celerity. I, Hanuman by name, am the son of the Wind-god. For Sita, I, desirous of seeing her, have come hither, bounding over the main measuring a full hundred Yojanas. And as I was roving, I came to see Janaka's daughter in thy house. Thou art cognisant of righteousness and interest, and hast attained prosperity through thy asceticism. Therefore, O eminently wise one, thou ought not to confine another's wife. Actions opposed to righteousness, and bringing on countless evils, and causing extermination,-ill become persons of thy sort. Who is there even among celestials and Asuras that is competent to stay before the shafts shot by Lakshmana and Rama in wrath? There is none, O king, in all the three worlds, that is capable of attaining ease, after inflicting injury on Raghava. Treading the path of virtue and profit, do thou pay heed unto my speech fraught with good for three times [Present, past, and future.]; and do thou return Janaki unto that foremost of men. Seen have I this exalted lady, -which was difficult to compass. As for what remaineth to be done, Rama himself shall bring it about. That Sita I have beheld overwhelmed with grief, whom, albeit resembling a fivehooded serpent in thy mansion, thou knowst not. And even as food thoroughly mixed with poison, being taken, is incapable of being digested, this one is incapable of being subdued even by the celestials and Asuras. It is not proper to destroy religious merit reaped by undergoing extreme mortification, as well as access of life (attained by the same means). Thou deemst thyself by virtue of thy asceticism incapable of being destroyed by the celestials and Asuras; and herein thy great merit (incident to thy austerities) is the cause. - But Sugriva is not a god or a Yaksha or a Rakshasa. Raghava, O king, is a

mortal and Sugriva is the lord of monkeys. How canst thou, O king, save thy life from them? He that, confiding in his strength, committeth himself to foul proceedings, cannot count upon his righteous deeds, but his evil ones follow him. Virtue destroyeth vice, (yet vice like thine destroyeth all virtue). Thou, without doubt, hast obtained the fruit of thy righteousness, and the fruit also of this iniquity thou shalt reap without delay. And taking to heart the carnage in Janasthana and the slaving of Vali as well as the friendship of Rama with Sugriva, do thou understand thine own good. I, alone that I am, can at my will destroy Lanka with her steeds and elephants and cars; but he whose envoy I am hath not yet decided on this point. Rama hath in presence of the tawnyeyed (ones) forsooth promised the annihilation of the foe by whom Sita hath been sore oppressed. On wronging Rama. Purandara himself cannot escape scot-free,—what shall I say of persons like thee? Her whom thou knowest as Sita staying in thine abode-know her for the Fatal Night that shall bring destruction down on all Lanka. Therefore, beware of thyself turning about thy neck the fatal noose in the shape of Sita! Do thou rather study thy welfare. Thou shalt behold this city crowned with edifices and stalls, in flames fed by the wrath of Rama, and consumed by the energy of Sita. Do not bring to destruction thine friends and ministers, and kindred, and brethren and sons, and thine entire welfare,- thine enjoyments and wives and this Lanka. O sovereign of the Rakshasas, do thou faithfully listen to these words of me, a monkey and the servant and envoy of Rama. Abolishing all the worlds with their creatures mobile and immobile objects. the illustrious Rama is capable of creating these anew. Neither among celestials nor Asuras, Yakshas, Rakshas, nor serpents, Vidyadharas, Nagas, Gandharbas nor beasts, Siddhas, the foremost Kinnaras, nor all birds,-nowhere among any class of beings in all time breathes he who can cope with Rama equal to Vishnu's self in prowess. Having done such a wrong unto the foremost of all creatures—even unto that lion of a monarch, Rama, thy life is in high peril. Neither deities nor Daityas, nor the foremost night-rangers, nor Gandharbas and Vidyidharas, nor Nagas, nor Yakshas, can stay in fight against Rama-the leader of these three worlds. And neither Brahma, self-create, having four countenances, nor the threeeved Rudra, destroyer of Tripura, nor the august Indra, the generallissimo of the celestials, can stay in fight before Rama." Hearing the distasteful yet excellent speech of the bold and matchless monkey, the ten-necked one, with his eyes whirling in wrath, ordered the destruction of that mighty

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Hearing the words of the high-souled monkey, Ravana, bereft of his senses by wrath, ordered that he should be put to death. On the death of that one who had proclaimed his own position of being an envoy, having been ordered by the wicked-minded Ravana, Vibhishana did not agree (with the decision). And knowing that the lord of Rakshasas was wroth and that that affair [The destruction of Hanuman.] was at hand, Vibhishana, resolved to act according to justice, began to reflect as to what was to be done. Having arrived at a decision, that one skilled in speech, paying homage unto that conqueror of foes, his elder brother, spoke unto him in words eminently good,-"O lord of Rakshasas, forgive me and renounce thy wrath. Extend thy favour unto me, and hear these words of mine. Lords of the earth, endowed with integrity and knowing high and low, never put messengers to death. The taking the monkey's life, O king, is opposed to morality and repugnant to social usage; and it is also unworthy of thyself. Thou understandst morality, art grateful and versed in the morality of sovereigns, and canst distinguish between high and low among beings, and even thou knowst the prime sense of things. If discerning persons like thee come under the governance of passion, mere toil is the pains that are undergone to master the scriptures. Therefore, O destroyer of enemies, be pacified. O lord of Rakshasas, difficult to approach, consider what is proper or otherwise, and then do thou mete out punishment to the envoy." Hearing Vibhishana's speech, Ravana lord of Rakshasas, overcome with a mighty wrath, answered,—"O slayer of foes, to slay the sinful doth not cause sin. Therefore shall I slay this monkey, worker of iniquity." Hearing these words grounded in unrighteousness, evil every way, and worthy of the base, that foremost of intelligent ones, Vibhishana, spoke words couching supreme import,—"O lord of Lanka, be propitious. O Sovereign of Rakshasas, listen to speech containing the significance of virtue and profit. O king, an envoy is not to be put to death on the occasion of his discharging his proper functions. This righteous people say everywhere unto all. Surely this is an overgrown enemy; and he hath perpetrated immense injury (unto us). But say the good, envoys are not to be slain, albeit many are the punishments that have been assigned for messengers. Disfigurement of the body, stripes, shaving of the head, -one of these or all combined, -these are said to be the punishments that should be inflicted on envoys. But I have not heard of the punishment of death being a penalty of the envoy. Why doth one like thee, having one's

intelligence rendered meek as respects righteousness and profit, and capable of proceeding on certain decisions on the merits or otherwise of things,—come under the sway of passion? Those possessed of power never give way to anger. Neither in religious discussion, nor in social concerns, nor in appropriating the right sense of the scriptures, is there any that can approach thee, O hero. Verily thou art the foremost among celestials and Asuras. Invincible to the gods and Asuras themselves gifted with prowess, high spirits and intelligence, thou hast in battle oftentimes put to the rout the chiefs of celestials and monarchs. Those heroes that have heretofore mentally entertained enmity against such a one as thou, foe of deities and Daityas,-heroic and valient and unconquerable, have not been deprived by thee of their lives. Nor do I see any good that may likely accrue to us from the slaying of this monkey. Let thy vengeance descend on those that have despatched the monkey. Whether honest or otherwise, this one hath been commissioned by others. Advocating interest not his own and identifying himself with another, an envoy doth not merit the being put to death. O king, if this one be slain, no other sky-ranger whatever would show himself unto us. Therefore, O captor of hostile capitals, do not seek to slay this one. Thou shouldst spend thyself on celestials with Indra (at their head). On his being killed, another see I not who, O thou that lovest warfare, can move those haughty sons of a king to take up arms against thee. And, O bringer-in of joy unto the heart, it is not proper for thee, invincible to celestials and Asuras gifted with prowess, high spirits and intelligence, to disappoint the Nairitas (as to their eagerness for encounter). They are devoted to thy good, and are heroic and intent on thy well-being, born in lines having high and fiery virtues, and endowed with intelligence, the flower of those bearing arms-and have been maintained by thee. Therefore let a portion of the forces. having received thy order, march to-day, and bring (hither) those foolish princes. It is meet that thou shouldst display thy prowess before foes." Thereat, the lord of the night-rangers, that potent enemy of the celestials and the foremost of Rakshasa monarchs, lending free play to his intellect, accepted the excellent words of his younger brother.

Hearing those words of his, the high-souled ten-necked one spoke unto his brother a speech consonant to season and place,—"Properly hast thou spoken,—to slay a messenger is improper. But let him be punished with any chastisement save slaying. Certainly the tail is a darling ornament to a monkey. Therefore let his tail be set on fire anon; and this having been consumed, let him go away. Then shall his best friends and kindred and acquaintances see him crest-fallen, with his person deformed." And the lord of Rakshasas ordered,-With his tail in flames, let this one be taken all round Lanka containing terraces." Hearing his words, the Rakshasas, cruel through wrath, cover up his (Hanuman's) tail with worn nieces of cotton cloth. Thereat, even as fire in a forest increaseth on getting dry fuel, the mighty monkey grew in dimensions on his tail being wrapped up. And having soaked (the cloth) in oil, they set fire to it. Thereat with his soul overpowered with rage and hatred, and his countenance like the risen sun, he lashed them with his flaming tail. And those-rangers of the night-those Rakshasas-old and young and females—again bringing that foremost of monkeys, grew exceedingly glad. And that hero (being bound), entertained a purpose in harmony with the season. 'Albeit bound, the Rakshasas cannot forsooth cope with me. Snapping these bonds, I shall, darting up, again slaughter these. Although agreeably to the mandate of their master these wicked-minded ones have bound me, yet have they not been able to clear scores with me. I can slav all these Rakshasas in battle; but I suffer this (maltreatment) for not marring the (pure delight) Rama shall derive from my deed. I shall once more range around Lanka. Let this be so. At night I could not satisfactorily examine the fortifications. For certain, by me is to be beheld Lanka when night hath departed. Let them bind me anew. The Rakshasas pain me by setting fire to my tail; but my mind doth not tire." Then the Rakshasas, rejoicing greatly, went off, taking that mighty monkey endowed with strength, an elephant (in prowess) among monkeys. And blowing conchs and trumpets, and bruiting it abroad by various actions [Making Hanuman's penalty public.], those Rakshasas of cruel deeds took (Hanuman) about the city (of Lanka). And led by those Rakshasas, that subduer of enemies, Hanuman, experienced delight, and going about the mighty metropolis of the Rakshasas, the redoubted monkey surveyed variegated cars, enclosed court-yards, well-ordered terraces, streets thronged with edifices, crossings, by-ways, and the interiors of dwellings. And on terraces and highways the Rakshasas proclaim the monkey, saying,—"This is a spy." On Hanuman's tail being in flames, Rakshasis of frightful eyes related unto that exalted lady [Sita.] tidings of this great mishap. "O Sita, the copper-faced monkey with whom thou hadst held talk, is being led around with his tail flaming. Hearing these cruel words, like unto loss of life, Vaidehi,

burning in grief, approached the Fire. And wishing for the welfare of the mighty monkey, that large-eyed lady with an intent mind began to pray unto that bearer of sacrificial offerings,-"If I have served my lord, if I bear a character, if I have ascetic merit, if I have been the wife of one alone, then prove thou cool unto Hanuman." Thereat, as if communicating the welfare of the monkey unto that one having eyes like those of a young deer, the Fire flamed up, and Hanuman's sire, albeit furnished with fire and a tail, blew ice cold before that worshipful one, breathing health (unto Hanuman). On his tail flaming, the monkey reflected,fire is flaming. Why doth it not then burn me all over? I see it of exceeding brightness, yet it paineth me not. (On the contrary), at the end of my tail it seemeth like a mass of ice. Or this is clearly due to Rama's power, even like the wonder (that I witnessed) while bounding over the main-the mountain under the lord of streams [Mainaka.]. If the Ocean and the intelligent Mainaka could show such regard for Rama, what may not the Fire do (for him?) Fire doth not burn me for Sita's (absolute) goodness, for Raghava's prowess, and for (his) friendship with my sire." Then the elephantine monkey again reflected for a while,—"Why should one like me suffer one's self to be bound by vile Rakshasas? Therefore it is meet that I should, displaying my prowess, avenge (this wrong)." Thereat that vehement and mighty monkey snapped his bonds, and furiously springing into the sky, the terrible monkey uttered a shout. And then the graceful son of the Wind-god arrived at the gate of the city resembling a hill, where Rakshas there were none. And after having attained the magnitude of a mountain, anon that self-controlled one diminished himself and cast off his bonds. And having freed himself, the graceful one again became mountain-like; and eying around, he saw a bolt standing against the gate. And that mighty-armed one, the Wind-god's son, taking up that bolt of burnished iron, again slaughtered the guards. And having slain the warders, that one of terrific prowess crowned with a luminous wreath forged from his flaming tail, and appearing like the sun garlanded with glory, once again cast his eyes over Lanka.

SECTION 54

Casting his eyes on Lanka, the monkey, his wish attained, increasing his person and bursting with spirits, considered as to how to give the coup de grace to his exertions. "What recently is to be done by me here to finish this business, that may afflict them the more? I have ravaged the wood, and slain the choice Rakshasas, and destroyed by main force a portion of the army. Now it remains to demolish the fortifications. On the fortifications being destroyed, my work shall have its toils crowned with joy. By undergoing slight labour in this business, I shall have my pains furnished with fruit. That bearer of sacrificial offerings who flameth on my tail,my duty to propitiate him with these excellent edifices." Thereat that mighty monkey, with his tail aglow, and resembling a cloud (luminous) with lightning, began to range before the dwellings in Lanka. And that monkey with a calm mind, eving (all round), ranged one house from another, and gardens, and stately piles. And that one gifted with exceeding vehemence, and in strength resembling the Wind, bounding up set fire unto the dwelling of Prahasta. Then Hanuman endowed with prowess, leaping up, set unto Mahaparcwa's mansion fire resembling that at the universal dissolution. And (then) the mighty monkey darting up, set fire unto Vajradanshtra's; and (then) that highly energetic one set fire unto Suka's and unto the intelligent Sarana's. And the leader of monkey bands in the same way burnt down Indrajit's mansion; and then he burnt the abodes of Sumali and Jamvumali: and Racmiketu's mansion and Survyacatru's, and Hraswakarna's, and the Rakshasa Romaca's; and the houses of Yuddhonmattn, and Matta, and the Rakshasa Dwajagriva, and the calm Vidyujjibhwa, and Hastimukha; and of Karala, and of Vicala, and of Sonitaksha; and Kumbhakarna's mansion, and Nikumbha's, and the residence of Yajnacatru, and of Brahmacatru. And leaving alone the dwelling of Vibhishana, that exceedingly energetic one-foremost of monkeys-by and by burnt (all the houses there). And in those costly mansions and dwellings, that famous one, that foremost of monkeys, burnt all the wealth of those affluent - Having passed the dwellings of all, that powerful and auspicious one approached the residence of the lord of Rakshasas, Ravana. And in that foremost of mansions, adorned with various gems, resembling Meru or Mandara, graced with diverse auspicious things, he set unto the same, fire flaming at the end of his tail. And the heroic Hauuman roars, resembling a cloud (appearing) at the end of a Yuga. And assisted by the wind, that highly powerful and vehement one (Fire) flaimed up, like fire at the wreck of all, and the fire attained energy. And the wind spreading the flaming fire all round those dwellings, those mansions furnished with golden networks; and containing pearls and gems; enjewelled and magnificent, were shorn of their splendour. And cracked edifices began to topple down to the ground, like the mansions of Siddhas falling from the firmament on the exhaustion of their righteousness. And there arose a mighty uproar of those Rakshasas, as, bereft of their good fortune,

despairing of preserving their abodes, they rushed in all directions,—"Forsooth it is Fire himself that hath come hither in the form of a monkey." And females crying with babes on their breasts, suddenly plunged (into the fire). And some fair ones with hair dishevelled, and surrounded on all sides with fire, as they fell down from dwellings, looked lovely like lightning from the welkin. And he (Hanuman) saw various kinds of metals, mixed with diamonds, and coral, and lapises and pearls and silver, runing down in streams from the mansions. And as Fire is not cloyed with wood and straw, Hanuman never at all felt satiety on slaying those foremost of Rakshasas. And the Earth could not contain the Rakshasas slain by Hanuman. And as Rudra had burnt down Tripura, the vehement and high-souled monkey, Hanuman, burnt down Lanka. And rising to the brow of Lanka's mount [Trikuta on which Lanka rested.], the fire of terrific energy kindled by the impetuous Hanuman, spread wide his tongues. And with the Wind assisting him, the smokless Fire in the dwellings, with his flames feeding on the bodies of the Rakshasas representing sacrificial offerings, spread his magnitude, touching the horizen—resembling the conflagration kindled at the universal dissolution. And possessing the fierce energy of a koti suns, the mighty Fire completely encompassing the entire Lanka, increased (in volume), riving the mundane Egg with various sounds resembling thunder-claps. And the Fire of terrific might, having his flames resembling Kincuka blossoms, rising up to the sky, clouds caused by volumes of smoke arising from extinguished fire, in hue resembling blue lotuses, looked exceedingly beautiful. "Either the thunder-bolt-bearing Indra the Great-chief of celestials, or Yama himself, or Varuna, or the Wind-god, or the Fire generated by Rudra's third eye, or the Sun, or Dhanada, or Soma. This is no monkey,-this is verily Kala [A name of Yama.] himself. Or is this the Rakshasa-annihilating Fire of Brahma himself-the Greatsire of all, the four-faced Disposer of the world's destinies,come hither, wearing the form of a monkey? Or is this Vishnu's Energy, inconceivable, unutterable, infinite and sole, and of surpassing power,-now come hither in its own illusory nature, assuming a monkey-form?" Seeing that city suddenly consumed, with her souls, dwellings, and trees, Rakshasas of note, assembled together, thus talked unto each other. And then Lanka, suddenly consumed with Rakshasas, horses, cars, serpents, crowds of birds, beasts and trees, began to bewail tumultuously and loud in forlorn guise,—"O father! O son! O love! O friend! O lord of my life and frame! all our religious merit is abolished." Indulging in various lamentations, the Rakshas thus created a mighty and frightful uproar. And with the flames encircling her, and her foremost heroes fallen, and her warriors destroyed, Lanka, overcome by the might of Hanuman's wrath, became as if she had been blighted by an imprecation. Then the mighty-minded Hanuman beheld the Rakshasas in terror and trepidation and castdown, and Lanka marked by fire and bright flames, even as the Self-sprung eveth the world destroyed by his rage. And devastating the forest filled with many excellent trees, slaving many a terrible Rakshasa in conflict, and burning down the city of Lanka filled with picturesque houses, the monkey, Hanuman, Wind-god's son, stationed himself there. And destroying many a Rakshasa, felling many trees in the forest and setting fire to the houses of the Rakshasas, the highsouled (monkey) became engaged in thoughts touching Rama. Thereupon all the celestials praised highly the high-souled, excellent and mighty son of the Wind-god, foremost of heroic monkeys, gifted with the velocity of the Wind. And all the celestials, the foremost ascetics, the Gandharbas, the Vidhyadharas, the Pannagas, and all other great heroes, attained excess of delight. And having devastated the forest, slain the Rakshasas in conflict and burnt the grand city of Lanka, the great monkey appeared there. And seated on the variegated top of a splendid and high mansion, the foremost of monkeys, spreading the rays of his burning tail, looked like unto the sun of many rays. And having consumed the city of Lanka, the great monkey quenched the fire of his tail in the ocean. Thereupon beholding Lanka burnt down, the celestials along with Gandharbas, Siddhas, and the great ascetics, were struck with wonder.

SECTION 55.

Beholding Lanka burnt down and devastated and the demons terrified, the monkey Hanuman began to reflect. And worked up with fear and remorse, he reflected,—"What a mighty iniquity have I perpetrated by burning down Lanka of my own accord? Blessed are those high-souled ones who control their wrath by dint of their own good sense, like unto fire quenched by water. What iniquity is there which cannot be perpetrated by the angry? They can even slay the worshipful and vilify the pious with harsh words. The angry cannot decide what should be spoken and what not. There is no vice which cannot be committed by them, and there is nothing which cannot be spoken by them. He is the proper person who can subdue his rising ire by means of forgiveness as a serpent leaves off his worn skin. O fie on me who am vicious-minded, shameless and the perpetrator of a mighty

iniquity. Not thinking of Sita, I have slain my master with fire. Forsooth hath the worshipful Janaki been burnt, since the whole city of Lanka hath been devastated with fire. And she being burnt, foolishly have I spoilt the work of my master. I have defeated the great object for which I have laboured so much. In burning down Lanka, I have not saved Sita. To have burnt down Lanka is assuredly a trifle, but in my ire I have lost my great object. Forsooth hath Janaki been consumed, since I behold no spot in Lanka which is not made desolate with fire— in fact the whole city hath been reduced to ashes. As I have committed such an injury under the influence of my perverse understanding, it behoveth me to relinquish my life here. I shall jump into this flame or into a submarine fire, or I shall resign my mortal frame to the animals that infest the ocean. For, living, I shall not be able to face that lord of monkeys, and how shall I, having spoilt their work utterly, show myself unto those foremost of men? I have through my culpable passion furnished an illustration of the reckless monkey-nature, which is well known over the three worlds. Fie on this activity, born of (the quality of) passion, which is the source of incompetence and rashness; since although capable, I did not protect Sita. On Sita having met with destruction, both of them [Rama and Lakshmana.] shall cease to exist; and on their ceasing to exist, Sugriva shall die along with his friends. And hearing these tidings, how shall the righteous Bharata, attached unto his brother (Rama), along with Satrughna, live? And on the virtuous Ikshwaku race being extinct, without doubt, all the subjects shall be overwhelmed with grief. Therefore, I of curst luck hath had my harvest of virtue and profit taken away; and being under the influence of baleful passion, I am the cause of the destruction of creatures." As he was reflecting thus, he bethought him of auspicious omens which he had witnessed since. "Or it may be that one of charming limbs hath been preserved by her proper energy. The blessed one may not have met with her end, for fire doth burn fire. And Fire should not touch the spouse of that virtuous one of immeasurable energy,-who is protected by by her own character. And that bearer of sacrificial offerings hath not burnt me, is owing to Rama's power and the virtue of Vaidehi. And why should she that is a very goddess unto the three brothers. Bharata and the others, and that hath enchanted the mind of Rama, meet with destruction? And when that everywhere unspent Lord, having burning for his office, hath not consumed my tail, why shoud he burn the exalted lady?" Then Hanuman with wonder again thought of the sight of the golden mountain under the water. "By virtue of her asceticism, veracity, and devotion unto her lord, she it is that can consume Fire, but Fire cannot burn her." And as Hanuman was thinking of the magnitude of that revered lady's religious merit, he heard the converse there of high-souled Charanas. "Ah! hard is the feat that Hanuman hath forsooth achieved. He hath created a terrific and fierce conflagration in the abode of the Raksha. The females of Rakshas accompanied by boys and old folks, are flying amain; and in consequence of the hubbub it seems as if (Lanka) is in lamentation through her mountain-caverns. Burnt is this city of Lanka with her turrets, walls and gateways; and we are astonished that Janaki is not burnt." These words resembling ambrosia Hanuman heard (at that time); and his mind was filled with joy. And what through the auspicious omens that he had witnessed, and what through the speech of the saints, Hanuman was delighted (beyond measure). Then the monkey. with his end attained, knowing that the king's daughter was unhurt, became bent upon returning after seeing her once

SECTION 56.

Then seeing Janaki seated at the foot of the Sinsapa tree, (Hanuman) saluting her said,—"By luck it is that I see thee unhurt." Then eying him again and again as he was on the point of departing, Sita said unto Hanuman in words informed with affection for her husband,—"If, my child, it liketh thee, do thou, O stainless one, stay here today in some retired spot. To-morrow having refreshed thyself, thou shalt set out. Thy vicinity, O monkey, for a while beguiles me of slender luck of my measureless grief. Thou wilt go, O powerful monkey; but ere thou return, it is, O foremost of monkeys, doubtful whether I shall live. And, O hero, the not seeing thee shall try me sorely, who have fallen from one misfortune into a greater one, and who, my mind distracted, have been exercised by sorrow. And, O hero, this mighty doubt is (ever) present before me. How shall that exceedingly powerful one or that host of monkeys or those two sons of that man of men, albeit backed by mighty monkeys, cross over the ocean incapable of being crossed? Three beings have the power to bound over the deep; - Vinata's offspring, thou, and the Wind-god. Then in this business at hand hard to accomplish, what means dost thou, versed in business, see, whereby the end may be attained?— O slaver of hostile heroes. thou alone art quite competent to perform this task; and thou shalt attain fame through thy rising prowess. But if blocking up Lanka with his forces, that afflictor of enemies, Kakutstha, taketh me (from hence,) then that shall be worthy of him. Therefore do thou so order things that that powerful and

high-souled hero in conflict, may act as becomes himself." Hearing her resonable, affectionate and pregnant speech, that hero, Hanumin, answered,—"O noble lady, that lord and foremost of monkeys, Sugriva gifted with strength, is determined on thy behalf. And that master of monkeys, Sugriva, O Vaidehi, surrounded by thousands and Kotis of monkeys, shall speedily come here (for the purpose). And those best of men, those heroes, Rama and Lakshmana, coming together, shall afflict Lanka with their arrows. And slaughtering the Rakshasa with his own adherents, Raghu's son, O exceedingly fair one, shall ere long take thee back to his palace.—O gentle damsel, do thou console thyself. Remain, expecting the hour. Soon shalt thou see Ravana slain in battle by Rama. On the lord of Rakshasas being slain along with his sons, councilors, and friends, thou shalt meet with Rama as Rohini meeteth with the Moon. At once shall Kakutstha come, accompanied by the foremost of monkeys,who, conquering (Ravana) in conflict, shall remove thy grief." Having thus consoled Videha's daughter, Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god, setting his heart upon departure, saluted Vaidehi. And having soothed Vaidehi, and displayed his surpassing strength, having rendered the city disconsolate, and baffled Ravana, exhibited his terrific might, and saluted Vaidehi, Hanuman became bent upon returning, crossing over the mid-sea. Then that repressor of foes, the powerful monkey, anxious to see his master, ascended Aristha, foremost of mountains; (as if covered) with a sheet consisting of blue woods of tall padmakas, and clouds lying in the interspace between peaks.—and displayed from love by the glad light of the Sun; appearing to be beholding with the minerals scattered about serving for its eyes; seeming to be reciting aloud in consequence of the solemn sound of waters, to be carolling clearly through its many fountains, and to stay with uplifted arms by means of devadarus; appearing to be crying distressfully on account of cascades sounding all round; seeming to be trembling in consequence of verdant autumnal woods waving, and to be piping on account of kichakasvocal through the breeze; eloquent; with the foremost poisonous serpents appearing to be sighing forth ire; appearing to be sunk in contemplation on account of caverns covered with snow and looking solemn in consequence; as if moving about by means of hills looking like its cloud-legs; seeming to vawn in the sky with peaks towering heavenwards,-scattered with summits, and graced with innumerable caves; surrounded with salas, palms, tamalas, Karnas, and bamboos; graced with spreading and flowering underwoods; abounding in various beasts, and decked with mineral streams,-containing numerous rills,— thronged with collections of crags; frequented by Maharshis, and Yakshas, and Gandharbas and Kinnaras and serpents; impracticable in consequence of plants and trees; with caverns harbouring lions; filled with tigers and other (ferocious beasts); and furnished with trees having tasteful fruits and roots. And the Wind-god's offspringforemost of monkeys-ascended that mountain. Aud on the lovely level of that mountain, the crags, crushed with sounds under the tread of that one burning to behold Rama and wrought up with excess of joy, were scattered all round. And ascending that lordly hill, the mighty monkey magnified himself, desirous of going from the southern to the northern shore of the salt waters. And getting to the top of the mountain, that hero, son unto the Wind-god, cast his eves upon the dreadful main inhabited by terrible snakes. And that foremost of monkeys, offspring of the Wind-god Maruta, (mentally) went from the south to the north, as if it were the air. And then that best of mountains, sore pressed by the monkey, began to emit cries, and with various creatures (on it), entered underneath the Earth, with its peaks tottering and its trees toppling. And borne down by the violence of his thighs, trees bearing flowers, being shattered, as if destroyed by Sakra's weapon, fell to the ground. And the dreadful yells of mighty lions in pain, inhabiting caves, entered the ear, piercing the heavens. And Vidyadharis with their attires falling off and their ornaments disordered, suddenly rose from the Dharanidharat mountain unto the sky. And exceedingly powerful and mighty snakes of virulent venom,-having flaming tongues, with their hoods and necks tortured, began to roll (on the earth). And Kinnars and serpents, Gandharbas, Yakshas and Vidyadharas, forsaking that foremost of mountains in affliction, took refuge in the sky. And that graceful mountain also, tormented by that powerful one, entered the nether regions with its tall trees and summits. And that mountain, which (heretofore) had measured ten voianas in area and thirty in height, became level with the earth. And desirous of crossing over the salt waters, with their shores menaced by sounding (waves), the monkey rose to the sky.

SECTION 57

And springing up like unto a winged hill, that one endowed with energy, the untiring Hanuman, began to swim on the ocean of the firmament having for its blown lotuses and lilies, snakes, Yakshas and Gandharbas; with the Moon for its comely Kumuda [Lily.], and with the Sun for its Karandavas; charming to behold; having Tishya and Sravana for its swans, clouds for its mosses and grass, Punarvasu for its mighty fish,

the red-bodied one [Bhama.] for its huge aquatic animal, Airayata for its spacious island. Swati for its sportive swan. breezes for its billows, and moonlight for its cool waters. And as if swallowing up the welkin and touching the lord of stars, abolishing the sky decorated with stars and the solar disc, and cleaving the clouds, the unfatigued Hanuman began to cross over that sea. And (on all sides) mighty masses of clouds, sable, crimson, blue, Mangistha-hued, and green-red, looked exceedingly beautiful. And now entering into clouds and now imerging from them, he, again and again becoming visible and lost to sight, looked like the Moon. And that one clad in white raiment, coursing through diverse clouds, the hero's body was (alternately) visible and invisible, like unto the Moon in the sky. And the Wind-god's son went on in the sky, scattering the clouds and descending again and again. And sending up mighty sounds, that exceedingly energetic one gifted with a powerful voice like that of the clouds, having slain the foremost Rakshasas and rendered his name famous, having filled the city with lamentations and afflicted Ravana having distressed the mighty heroes and paid obeisance unto Vaidehi,—again held his course along the mid-ocean. And touching Mainaka—foremost of mountains—that one endowed with prowess proceeded amain like an iron dart let go from a string. And from a distance approaching and beholding that mighty mountain, Mahendra, resembling clouds, that redoubted monkey began to roar. And having a lusty voice resembling that of clouds, that monkey, roaring, filled all quarters with his lofty shouts. And arriving at that place, he, eager to behold his friends, emitted tremendous roars, and began to flourish his tail. And as he went on roaring in the path ranged by Suparna, the firmament with the solar disc seemed to be rent by his shouts. And (it came to pass that) those powerful and heroic (monkeys) that had formerly stationed themselves on the northern shore of the ocean, anxious to see the Wind-god's offspring, heard the sounds proceeding from Hanuman's vehement speed resembling the rumbling of clouds agitated by the winds. And all those rangers of woods, (staying) dispirited, heard the roars of that foremost of monkeys, like unto the roaring of rain-pouring clouds. And hearing those sounds as he kept crying, those monkeys (sitting) around, eager to see their friend, became extremely anxious. And that best of monkeys, Jambavan, with a joyful heart addressing all the monkeys, said,-"Hanuman hath succeeded completely. There is no doubt about this. If he were unsuccessful, he would not utter shouts as these." And hearing the sounds produced by the violent movements of the arms of that high-souled (hero), as well as the shouts of that magnanimous one, the monkeys. filled with delight, leapt up on all sides. And they, eager to have a sight of Hanuman, joyfully went from mountain-top to mountain-top and from peak on to peak. And influenced by joy, the monkeys remained holding a bough at the top of a tree, and waving their clean apparels. And as the wind roareth in a cavern, roared the powerful Hanuman, son unto the Wind-god. And seeing that mighty monkey resembling a mass of clouds, alighting, those monkeys stood joining their hands. And then the vehement monkey resembling a hill, having leapt up from that mountain, alighted on the top of the Mahendra mountain filled with trees. And bursting with delight, (Hanuman) dropped near a fountain, like unto a hill whose wings have been clipped. Then with joyful hearts, all the principal monkeys stood encircling the high-souled Hanuman. And surrounding him, they experienced excess of delight, and drew near the newcomer with joyful faces. And bringing fruits and roots, the monkeys honoured that chief of monkeys, the offspring of the Wind-god. And some, filled with delight, sent shouts, and some raised ululations; and the foremost monkeys fetched branches of trees [To serve for a seat for Hamiman.]. And that mighty monkey, Hanuman, saluted his superiors and the aged, headed by Jambavan; as well as Prince Angada. And honoured by the monkeys, as he very well deserved to be, and gratified by them, (he) briefly said-"Seen have I the exalted lady." And taking Vali's son by the hand, he sat him down in a charming tract of the woodland belonging to the mountain Mahendra.—Then asked (by them), Hanuman addressed those foremost -"I have seen Janaka's daughter in the Acoka monkeys,woods. That blameless one is guarded by dreadful Rakshasis. The girt weareth a single braid of hair, and burneth to attain a sight of Rama. She is faint in consequence of fasting, and dirty, weareth matted locks and is emaciated." Hearing the "I have seen" from the Wind-god's offspring resembling ambrosia, all the monkeys were filled with rejoicing. And thereupon, some of mighty ones roared, and some shouted, aid some blustered, and some raised ululations, and others stormed (in return). And some elephantine monkeys in joy upraised their tails, and some lashed with their long and broad tails. And others, transported with joy, bounding up to the mountain-summit touched that foremost of monkeys, the handsome Hanuman. And when Hanuman had ended, Angada said these excellent words in the midst of the heroic monkeys,-"There is none, O monkey, that is like unto thee in strength and prowess. As having bounded over the spacious main, thou hast come back (here), thou art, O

excellent monkey, the only giver of our lives. By thy grace it is that, our end attained, we shall meet with Raghava. Oh for thy fidelity! Oh for thy prowess! Oh for thy fortitude! By luck hast thou seen that exalted one, the illustrious wife of Rama, by luck it is that Kakutstha shall forego his sorrow in consequence of separation from Sita." Then surrounding Angada, Hanuman, and Jambayan, the monkeys, exceedingly rejoiced, sat down upon a spacious stone. And having sat them down on the spacious rock, the monkeys became eager to hear of the bounding of the main and of (Hanuman's) seeing Lanka, Sita and Ravana. And they stood with joined hands, looking wistfully into Hanuman's face. And the graceful Angada was there, surrounded by many monkeys, and honoured by them, even as the lord of celestials is honoured in heaven by the celestials. When the famous and renowned Hanuman, and Angada with bracelets on his arms, had sat down, the elevated and mighty mountain-summit was illuminated with splendour.

SECTION 58.

Then on the summit of the mountain. Mahendra, those powerful monkeys, headed by Hanuman, rejoiced exceedingly, And when the high-souled delighted monkeys had sat them down, Jambavan, glad at heart, asked that offspring of the Wind, the happy Hanuman, all about his proceeding: "How hast thou seen the worshipful one? How doth she fare there? And how doth the cruel Ten-necked one bear himself towards her? Do thou truthfully relate all this unto us. O mighty monkey. How couldst thou track the exalted lady? And what did she say in reply (to thy querries)? Having learnt the real state of things, we shall decide what is to be done. And do thou also tell us what we, repairing there, shall unfold unto that one of controled self and what we shall keep to ourselves." Thus directed by him, that one (Hanuman) with his down standing on end, bowing down the head unto that revered one, Sita, replied,—"In your sight, I bounded up with a concentrated mind, eager to reach the southern shore of the ocean. As I voyaged on, a great impediment occurred in the way. I saw a goodly and noble golden peak, standing, obstructing my way. I found the mountain as an obstacle to my course. Nearing the grand and splendid golden mount, I thought within myself.—'I will rive this.' And the sun-like summit of that mighty mountain, Prahasta, was cleft in a thousand fragments by my tail. Seeing his own condition, that mighty mountain, gladdening my heart, addressed me with the sweet speech,--'O son, know me for thy uncle. I am a friend unto the Wind,—famed as Mainaka, and living in the great deep. Formerly all the foremost mountains were furnished with wings. And (once on a time) they began to range the earth at will, committing devastations. Hearing of the conduct of the mountains, that possessor of the six kinds of riches, Indra the Great, the swayer of Paka, with his thunderbolt cut off by thousands the pinions of the mountains. At that time, my son, I, having been delivered by thy sire, the high-souled Wind-god, was cast into the abode of Varuna. O repressor of foes, I shall have to assist Raghava. Rama is the foremost of the righteous, and possessed of prowess like that of Mahendra himself.' Having heard this from the magnanimous Mainaka, I apprised the mountain of my mission, and my thoughts held their course. Having given me his permission, the magnanimous Mainaka, the mountain that had put on the form of a man, vanished, and, assuming his mountain-form, went into the vast sea. And I, summoning my best celerity, began to journey the remainder of my way. And having swiftly proceeded long in the path, I saw the exalted lady, Surasa, mother of the serpents. And that worshipful one stationed in the sea, said,—'By the celestials hast thou, O best of monkeys, been assigned as my food. Therefore shall I eat thee up. Thou hast been ordained as mine by the gods.' Thus addressed by Surasa, I, remaining in humble guise with joined hands, and with my countenance turned pale, I uttered these words,-'Rama, the graceful son of Dacaratha, repressor of foes-hath entered the woods of Dandaka, in company with his brother Lakshamana and Sita. His wife Sita hath been carried off by the wicked Ravana. At Rama's mandate I go to her as an envoy. In this business, thou, O chaste one, shouldst help Rama. Or having seen Mithila's daughter, as well as Rama of untiring deeds, I shall come to thy mouth,-this I promise unto thee truly.' Thus accosted by me, Surasa, wearing forms at her will, said,—'None is able to escape me. Even this is the boon that I have received.' Having been thus addressed by Surasa. I attained the magnitude of ten vojanas: and then anon I dilated to another ten. But she opened her mouth wider than my magnitude. Seeing her stretched mouth, I again diminished myself, and on the instant again reduced myself to the measure of a thumb. And speedily entering her mouth, I immediately came out. Then the exalted Surasa again spoke unto me in her native shape.—'Thy end having been attained, go, O mild one, O foremost of monkeys, according to thy pleasure. Bring about the meeting of Vaidehi with the high-souled Raghava. Be thou blessed, O mightyarmed one. I am well pleased with thee, O monkey.' Then I was praised by all beings, with, - 'Excellent!' 'Excellent!' Then like unto Garuda I again sprang up into the air. But now my shadow was overtaken by somebody, though I saw no one. And my velocity being deprived, I looked at the ten cardinal points; but I found there naught which could deprive me of my speed. Then I thought,— 'What is this obstacle that hath suddenly arisen in respect of my course? No form find I here?' And as I stood aggrieved, my glance fell downwards. Then I saw there a dreadful Rakshasi supine on the flood. And laughing (scornfully), that grim one said these inauspicious words unto me, who was inert, although undaunted.-"Whither art thou bound, O thou of a gigantic body? Desired by me, who am hungry, do thou becoming my food, gratify this body deprived of diet for a long time.' Saying, 'Well,' I accepted her speech, increasing my body at will more than the capacity of her mouth; and her huge and dreadful mouth extended wide to eat me up. She did not understand me, nor that I had altered my shape. Then in the twinkling of an eye contracting my vasty shape, I, extracting her heart, darted into the sky. Thereat, throwing about her arms, that terrific one dropped into the salt waters. On that chaste one, resembling a hill, having her heart torn, I heard the meek speech of magnanimous persons, who had come there of themselves.—This dreadful Rakshasi, Sinhika, hath been swiftly slain by Hanuman.' Having slain her, I again, remembering the delay that had occurred touching my work, set out on the great road, and at length saw the southern shore of the sea, covered with mountains; where is situated the city of Lanka. On the sun having set, I entered the city of the Rakshasas—their home—unnoticed by the Rakshasas of terrific vigor. I had entered in when a certain female casting forth violent laughter, and wearing the splendour of clouds at the end of a Kalpa, presented herself before me. And striking with my left clenched fist that exceedingly dreadful (form), having flames for her hair, who had sought to take my life,and vanquishing her (thus), I entered (Lanka) at dusk. Then that one affrighted addressed me, saying,—'I, O hero, am, the city of Lanka. Vanquished have I been by thy prowess. Thou shalt everywhere conquer all the Rakshasas'. There I wandered all the night (seeking for Janaka's daughter) and (at length) entered Ravana's inner apartment; but that one of a Diity waist I found not. And not finding Sita in Ravana's abode, I was cast in a sea of sorrow; nor found I how to cross over it. And as I was sorrowing, I saw a mansion with a charming grove encircled by a wall of excellent gold. And leaping over the wall, I saw a grove rife with trees; and (at last) saw in the midst of an acokawood a great Sincapa. And ascending the tree, I saw a golden tract of plantains; and hard by from the Sincapa tree I espied that transcendentally beautiful one, dark-blue, having eyes resembling lotus-petals, with her face faded in consequence of fasting, clad in the same single piece of cloth, her hair covered with dust,—her limbs emaciated by the heat of sorrow and grief,-Sita, ever engaged in the welfare of her lord; surrounded by cruel and deformed Rakshasis living upon blood and flesh,-like unto deer environed by tigresses. And I managed too swiftly to present myself before that one menaced momentarily in the midst of the Rakshasis, wearing a single braid of hair; woe-begone; ever thinking of her lord; her limbs discoloured by lying down on the ground, like unto a lotus on the approach of winter,-having eyes resembling those of a young deer, who had turned her face away from all the enjoyments offered by Ravana, and who had resolved to put a period to her existence. Seeing that lady the illustrious wife of Rama in that condition. I seeing her remained even on that Sincapatree. Then I heard in Ravana's mansion loud and solemn sounds mixed with the tinklings of zones and bangles. Thereat exceedingly agitated, I changed my proper shape; and remained like a bird in a dark part of the Sincapa tree. Then the wives of Rayana along with Ravana himself of exceeding strength came to that place where Sita was. And seeing the lord of Rakshasas the exceedingly beauteous Sita contracted her thighs and covered her full breasts with her arms. And seeing Sita flurried and extremely excited and casting about her gladness up and down, not finding any relief and trembling forlorn, the Ten-necked one said unto her undergoing extreme anguish,—"Without saying anything, I fall down (here). O fair one, do thou regard me. If. O haughty one, thou do not honour me from pride of heart, I shall, O Sita, two months hence, see thy blood." Hearing these words of the wicked Ravana, Sita, growing exceeding wroth, spoke these excellent words,-"O Rakshasas, having used improper speech towards the wife of Rama of measureless prowess, and the daughter-in-law of Dacaratha, lord of the Ikshwaku line, why hast thou not thy tongue fallen off? Fie upon the prowess of thee that, O wretch, hast carried me off while my husband was away; and not being seen of that high-souled one. Thou art never like Rama, thou art not even fit to be his slave. Raghava is invincible, truthful, heroic and (even) hungering for warfare." Thus addressed in harsh speech by Janaki, the Ten-necked one flamed up in wrath, like Fire in a funeral pyre. And with his wicked eyes whirling in rage, he raised the clenched fist of his right hand to slay Mithila's daughter; but then the females set up a cry of "Oh" and "Alas." And rising up in the midst of the females, the wife of the wicked-minded one, the excellent one, named Mandodari, prevented him. And she spoke soft words

unto him influenced by lust.—"O thou that resemblest Indra the Great in prowess. Do thou to-day sport with me. Janaki is not superior to me. And, O lord, do thou sport with the daughters of celestials and Gandharbas, and with the daughters themselves of Yakshas. What wilt thou do with Sita?" Then that exceedingly powerful ranger of the night was speedily raised up and taken (back) to his residence. On the Ten-necked one having departed, the Rakshasis of fearful faces fell to railing at Sita in cruel and rough words.—But Janaki heeded their speech as a straw; and their fury was lost upon Sita. Desisting from their unavailing railing, the fleshfeasting Rakshasis imparted unto Ravana the mighty intent of Sita. Then, they all failing in their hope and deprived of energy, and tired, came under the sway of sleep. And on their sleeping. Sita intent on the welfare of her lord, lamenting piteously, in forlorn guise, and striken with extreme sorrow, mourned profusely. Then sitting up in their midst, Trijata spoke,-"Do ye without delay fall to your own selves; but never (eat up) the dark-eyed Sita, the chaste daughter unto Janaka and the daughter-in-law of Dacaratha. In truth I have seen a dismal dream capable of making one's hair stand on end; (presaging) destruction unto Rakshasas and victory unto the husband of this one. For protecting us, Rakshasis from Raghava, let us solicit Vaidehi. Even this is relished by me. If we relate such a dream unto the aggrieved one, she, being freed from her diverse woes, shall attain the height of joy. Propitiated by our bowing down, Janaka's daughter, Maithili, shall rescue the Rakshasis from a mighty fear." Thereat, that bashful maiden, rejoiced at the prospect of her husband's victory, said,—'If all this prove true, then for certain, (ye shall) meet with succour at my hands. Witnessing such a hard condition of Sita I began to reflect; nor did my my mind attain ease or freedom from thought. And I cast about for finding means of addressing Janaki. And I began by extolling the Ikshwaku race. Hearing the words that I uttered, embellished with descriptions of the virtues of Rajarshis, that exalted lady replied with her eyes covered with tears. "Who art thou? And how hast thou, O foremost of monkeys, found thy way here? And what is thy delight in Rama? This it behoveth thee to relate unto me." Hearing her speech, I too said,— 'O revered one, thy husband, Rama, hath found a help-mate in a one endowed with terrific strength, named Sugriva -redoubtable, the highly powerful lord of the monkeys. Do thou know me as Hanuman his servant, despatched here by thy spouse-Rama of unwearied actions. O famed damsel, that highly effulgent son of Dacaratha—the foremost of men, hath sent as a token this ring. I desire to know. O worshipful dame, what behest of thine may I obey now. Shall I carry thee to Rama and Lakshmana on the northern shore of the Ocean?" Hearing this and revolving herself Sita, Janaka's daughter, replied-"Discomfitting Ravana, may Raghava himself carry me hence.' And bowing my head unto that worshipful and blameless dame, I wanted of her a token as might conduce to Raghava's pleasure. Whereto replied Sita—'O thou of mighty-arms do thou take this excellent jewel for which thou shalt be highly regarded by Rama'. Having said this that best of fair ones gave me the excellent jewel, and wrought up with anxiety, related unto me the story of crow (for Rama's information). Thereupon bent on returning here, I, with a fixed mind, circumambulated and bowed unto that worshipful dame. And revolving within herself she again replied— 'Hanuman, do thou relate this unto Raghava in such a wise that the heroes Rama and Lakshmana, along with Sugriva might instantly come here. Or else there remain two months more of my life. Raghava shall not see me and I shall quit my life like one having no husband. Hearing those piteous accents I was worked up with ire and at once resolved upon destroying the city of Lanka. Thereupon my body increased like unto a mountain and desirous of entering into conflict I began to lay waste the forest. The whole forest was devastated-the birds and deer strayed away in fear and the Rakshasees, having terrible faces, awaking, beheld all that. And beholding me in the forest, they all, gathering, instantly conveyed the message unto Ravana. O King, O thou of mighty prowess, this thy forest and castle has been broken down by the vicious-souled monkey not knowing thy strength. O King, he has been impelled by his vicious sense, to do thy mischief Do thou order for his head so that he might not return. Hearing this the lord of the Rakshasas despatched a chosen band of demons named Kinkaras [Lit. servants-heroic attendants.]. I despatched with my mace in no time eighty thousand of them no sooner than they entered the forest with darts and maces. And the few, who were saved, proceeded very quickly unto Ravana and related unto him the destruction of the soldiers by me. Thereupon I thought of destroying the Chaitya [A place of sacrifice or religious worship.] palace and destroyed with the pillar all the Rakshasas stationed there. Excited with wrath I destroyed that palace; the best in the whole city of Lanka. Thereupon (Rayana) despatched Jambhumali, the son of Prahasta. With my fierce mace I destroyed that mighty Rakshasa, versed in the art of war, along with his retinue and surrounded by a band of terrible and grim-visaged demons. Hearing this, Ravana, the lord of

Rakshasas sent the highly powerful sons of the ministers followed by a regiment of infantry. But I despatched them to the abode of Death by means of my dart. And hearing of the destruction in battle of the ministers' sons of feeble prowess Ravana sent five heroic commanders. But I slew all of them along with their hosts. Thereupon the Ten necked demon sent his highly powerful son Aksha in the battle followed by a number of Rakshasas. No sooner the princely son of Mandodari, versed in the art of war, rose high up in the welkin than I got hold of his legs and whirling him for hundred times ground him to the dust. And hearing of the discomfiture of Aksha, Ravana, exercised with ire, sent his second son, the highly powerful Indrajit incapable of being repressed in battle. And discomfitting that best of Rakshasas with his host I attained to an excess of delight. That hero of great prowess and mighty-arms with a number of other proud heroes was despatched by Ravana in great confidence. And beholding my unbearable prowess and his own soldiers slain, speedily he went away fettering me with his Brahma weapon. Thereat the other Rakshasas bound me up with a rope and carried me to Ravana. And thereupon I was welcomed by the vicious-souled Rayana and was asked why I did come to Lanka and slay the Rakshasas. Whereto I replied,-"I have done all this for Sita. To behold her I have come here, O hero. I am the monkey Hanuman, the own begotten son of Maruta. Do thou know me as Rama's ambassador and the minister of Sugriva. And on Rama's embassy have I come here before thee. Do thou hear of my mission—I do relate unto thee, O lord of Rakshasas, the message which the monkey chief hath commanded me to communicate unto thee. O great hero, Sugriva hath asked of thy welfare and hath desired me to communicate unto thee these well meaning words, conducing to the acquirement of piety, wealth and desires. While I lived on the mount Rishyamuka covered with huge trees I made friends with Raghava dreadful in conflict. He hath spoken to me. O king, 'My spouse hath been taken away by a Rakshasa. It behoveth thee to promise me thy help in this.' And in the presence of fire, Rama, along with Lakshmana, contracted friendship with me who had been deprived of his kingdom by Vali. And he hath made me lord over all the monkeys after slaying Vali in conflict with a single shaft. It therefore behoveth us to assist him by all means. And by virtue of this contract I have despatched Hanuman unto thee as an envoy. Do thou therefore speedily bring back Sita and return her unto Raghava before the heroic monkeys discomfit thee. Who knoweth not the prowess of the monkeys who in the days of vore used to visit the celestials invited?' With these words the king of the monkeys hath despatched me unto thee. And thereupon he eved me as if burning me with the looks of his angry eyes. And the vicious-souled demon-Ravana, of terrible deeds, ordered for my destruction, not knowing my prowess. Thereupon Bivishana, the high-souled brother of that lord of the Rakshasas interceded on my behalf in the following strain- 'O thou foremost of the Rakshasas, do thou alter thy resolution. The way, thou art following, is beyond the pale of royal policy. The destruction of an envoy is not sanctioned by the royal morality, O Rakshasa. They communicate simply the mandate of their masters. O thou of incomparable prowess, there is no sanction for the destruction of a messenger albeit he perpetrateth a mighty iniquity. Sometimes they have however been disfigured." Being thus accosted by Bivishana. Rayana ordered all the demons, saying 'Burn down this monkey's tail.' Hearing his mandate, the Rakshasas, of well-protected armour and terrible prowess, enveloped my tail with the fibres of cotton, silk and jute. And then striking me with their clenched fists they put fire to my tail. Although bound and fettered with many ropes I did not feel the least anguish for I was very much anxious to behold the city during the day. And thereupon fettering me and putting fire to my tail and announcing me in the public streets those heroic Rakshasas got at the city gate. And thereupon contracting again my huge person and relieving myself of the fetters I stood again in my pristine state. And taking up iron darts I slew all the Rakshasas there. And leaping over with great velocity the city gate, I, with my burning tail, burnt down the whole city from the palace to its outer gate like unto the fire of dissolution devastating the entire creation. And I was not the least flurried at it. 'Forsooth hath Janaki been destroyed-for behold I nothing in Lanka which hath not been burnt down-indeed the whole city hath been reduced to ashes. For certain have I burnt down Sita while burning the city Lanka—and I have thus baffled the great work of Rama.' While I was reflecting thus, being overwhelmed with grief, I heard the auspicious accents of the Charanas, exciting my wonder, 'Janaki hath not been burnt down.' Hearing those wonderful words I regained my sense. I was then convinced by an auspicious sign that Janaki was not burnt down, for I was not reduced to ashes albeit my tail was burning. My heart was excited with joy and the wind spread its delicious fragrance. And by virtue of those manifest omens, by my confidence in the prowess of Rama; and Sita, and the voice of ascetics, I was greately delighted at heart. And beholding Vaidehi again, I left her. And thereupon ascending the mount Aristha I began to leap, desirous of beholding you. And following the track of the Wind, the Sun, the Moon, Gandharbas, and Siddhas I have beheld you all. By virtue of Rama's grace and your prowess I have satisfied the charge of Sugriva. I have thus related unto you, what I had performed in Lanka, and it now remains with you to fulfill the rest."

SECTION 59

Having related all, Hanuman, the Wind-god's son began again, saying—"Fruitful is Raghava's endeavour and Sugriva's energy—for greatly pleased have I been with Sita's conduct. O heroic monkeys, Sita hath been keeping the life of a highly chaste damsel. She can maintain the animated creation by virtue of her asceticism and burn it with her ire. Ravana, the lord of the Rakshasas is also highly advanced in asceticism by virtue whereof he hath not been ruined albeit he hath touched Sita's person. Even the flame of fire cannot do, although touched by the hands, what Janaka's daughter can bring about by her ire. I have related unto you what had happened. It now behoveth us to behold Vaidehi along with those two sons of a king, after commanding all the monkeys headed by Jambayan and others. I am alone capable of destroying the city of Lanka along with the Rakshasas and their lord-Ravana. What more can I achieve if I am accompanied by the heroic monkeys like ye, powerful, having control over their own minds, well-armed, able and desirous of winning victory! I shall slay Ravana in conflict along with his sons, brothers army and retinue. I shall destroy all the Rakshasas and baffle all the weapons of Indrajit conferred on him by Brahma, Rudra, Wind and Varuna albeit they are invisible in battle. Without your permission my prowess hath been brought to a stand still. Hills and mountains, uprooted and discharged by me continually, can destroy even the celestials, what of those night-rangers? Even if the ocean overfloweth its banks, the Mount Mandara moveth off its place, the enemy's host cannot frighten Jambavan in conflict. And specially the heroic monkey. Vali's son, is alone capable of destroying the whole host of the Rakshasas. Even the mount Mandara is weakened by the velocity of the thighs of the high-souled monkey Neela-what of the Rakshasas in conflict? What hero is there amongst the celestials, Asuras, Yakshas, Gandharbas, serpents and birds who can equal Manida or Divida in battle? I do not find any one who can oppose in the battle field the two best monkeys, the sons of Asvi gifted with great velocity. By me alone hath the city Lanka been devastated burnt down and reduced to ashes. And I had announced in the public streets there-"May victory crown the highly powerful Ram and Lakshmana, and may the king Sugriva advance in prosperity being protected by Raghava. I am the servant of the king of Kocala, the own begotten son of the Wind-God and my name is Hanuman. I have announced thus everywhere. (And I beheld there) in the Acoka forest of the vicious-souled Ravana, at the foot of a Sincapa tree, the chaste Sita waiting very poorly. She was encircled by the Rakshasees, worn out with grief and anxiety and was like unto the rays of the Moon shorn of their brilliance being enveloped with clouds. And Vaidehi, having a beautiful waist and devoted unto her husband, did not care for Ravana proud of his prowess and was accordingly confined by him. And that graceful daughter of the king of Videha was by all means devoted unto her lord and had all her thoughts centered in him like unto Poulomi IThe wife of Indra.] devoted unto her lord Purandara. And I saw her in that garden, wearing a single piece of cloth soiled with dirt, surrounded by the Rakshasees and remonstrated with now and then by those ugly demons. Having a single braid of hair, poorly, engaged in thoughts touching her lord, she was lying on the earth shorn of all grace like unto a lotus on the appearance of the winter. She had not the least attachment for Ravana and was resolved upon putting an end to her existence. And somehow creating her confidence I addressed that damsel having the eyes of a fawn and related unto her the whole story. And hearing of the friendship between Rama and Sugriva she attained to an excess of delight. She is well-behaved and devoted unto her lord par excellence and blessed is the highsouled and ten-necked demon that she hath not destroyed him (vet). And Rama shall become an instrument only in bringing about his destruction. She hath really been greatly reduced and worn out by the separation of her lord. Her person hath been shattered like unto learning waning by its prosecution on the first day of a lunar fortnight. Thus liveth there the great Sita worn out with grief. Do ye now perform what you think proper.

SECTION 60.

Hearing his words, Vali's son Angada spoke, saying,—
"These two monkeys, the sons of Asvi, are very powerful and
gifted with great velocity and are specially proud in
consequence of the boon conferred on them by the Great
Grand-father. Formerly to honour Asvi the Grand-father, of
all the worlds, made these two monkeys incapable of being
slain by any. And crushing the mighty host of the celestials,
these two heroes gifted with great prowess, and maddened
with haughtiness in consequence of the boon, drank up nectar.
And these two, if worked up with ire, are capable of

destroying the whole city of Lanka with her horses, chariots and elephants. What of other monkeys, I, myself, am capable of destroying soon the city along with the Rakshasas and the mighty Ravana! And there is not the least wonder about it if I am aided by powerful monkey heroes like you, having control over themselves, well armed, capable and desirous of winning victory. I have heard, that, by Wind-god's son alone Lanka was burnt. Ye are all famed for your manliness, it doth not behove you to speak before Rama. 'We have seen the worshipful dame but have not been able to bring her.' Ye foremost of monkeys, there is none amongst the celestials or Aauras who can equal you either in leaping or in prowess. And therefore winning Lanka, slaying Ravana along with his Rakshasa host in conflict and taking Sita, let us go, delighted and having our ends accomplished. What else is there for us to perform than bringing the daughter of the king Janaka when the Rakshasa crew shall be slain by Hanuman? And we shall place Janaka's daughter between Rama and Lakshmana. What is the use of putting the other residents of Kishkinda into trouble? It therefore behoveth us alone to go to Lanka and after slaying the best of the Rakshasas, to see Sugriva, Rama and Lakshmana." Thereupon Jambayana, the foremost of the monkeys, greatly delighted spoke unto Angada, who was thus resolved, the following pregnant words, -"O great monkey, O thou of best understanding, what thou hast spoken, is, (I think) not proper, for we have been despatched by them to ransack the southern quarter, but we have not been commanded by the king of the monkeys and the highly intelligent Rama to bring her. And it shall not please him even if we rescue her. And mentioning his own lineage, that best of the kings, Raghava, promised before all the leading monkeys, that he would himself rescue Sita. How would he now falsify his own saying? What is the use of undertaking this work for nothing which shall not conduce to his pleasure? And useless shall be the display of your prowess, O ye, foremost of the monkeys. Let us therefore proceed where Rama with Lakshmana, and the highly effulgent Sugriva is, and relate unto them our proposed work. What thou hast judged, O prince, is liked by us. And still you should look to Rama's resolution and bring about his end.

SECTION 61.

All the heroic monkeys, headed by Angada and the great monkey Hanuman, approved highly of the words of Jambavan. And these leading monkeys headed by the Wind-god's son proceeded leaping from the summit of the Mount Mahendra. And these highly powerful ones, having huge persons, resembling the Mount Mandara, covered the welkin as if like so many mad elephants. They carried, as it were with their own looks, the highly powerful Hanuman, gifted with great velocity, having control over his own self, and adored by the Siddhas. They were resolved upon satisfying Rama's end and acquiring glory for themselves. Their desires were satisfied and mind elevated in consequence of their beholding Sita and burning down Lanka. All of them were anxious to communicate this pleasant news, to enter into conflict and were resolved upon bringing about Rama's wellbeing. And leaping and ascending the sky they got at the Madhuvana [An orchard.], preserved by Sugriva, resembling the celestial garden, covered with many trees, picturesque and incapable of being devastated by any. And the monkey-chief Sugriva's maternal uncle, the heroic and high-souled Dadhimukha always guardeth that picturesque and spacious garden of the lord of monkeys. They were greatly worked up with anxiety. And beholding that large orchard, those yellow-colouted monkeys were greatly delighted and begged honey of the prince: And the prince respectfully allowed these elderly monkeys headed by Jambavan to drink honey. And being thus commanded by the intelligent prince-Vali's son, those monkeys ascended the trees infested with bees and feasting on fragrant fruits and roots, were greatly delighted and intoxicated. And thereupon those monkeys, beside themselves with joy for being allowed to drink honey began to dance hither and thither. Some sang, some laughed, some danced, some bowed down, some read, some walked hither and thither. some leaped and some talked at random. Some sprang upon one another, some quarrelled with one another, some leaped from one tree to another, and some jumped down on the earth from the tops of the trees. Some rose up with great velocity from the earth to the tops of the huge trees-some sang, others approached them laughing-some wept and others approached them weeping. Some were stricking with their nails and others struck them in return. And thus the entire monkey host were bewildered with intoxication. There was none amongst them who was not drunk and none who was not excited with pride. Thereupon beholding all the fruits eaten up and the trees divested of leaves and flowers, the monkey Dadhimukha was worked up with ire and attempted to prevent them. And that heroic, elderly monkey, the guard of the garden, was in return remonstrated with by them who were greatly intoxicated. Thereat the highly spirited monkey again made up his mind to protect the garden from their devastations. He used harsh words, undauntedly towards some, struck the weak with his palm, quarrelled with some,

and consoled others with soothing words. They were greatly excited with drink, and being prevented forcibly by Dadhimukha, they giving up all fear, began to pull him. And striking him with their nails, biting him with teeth, crushing him with their palms and feet, they, being drunk, almost reduced him to death and devastated the mangoe forest.

SECTION 62.

Thereupon Hanuman, the foremost of the monkeys, spoke unto them, saying—"O monkeys, do ye undisturbed drink honey. I shall myself thwart them who will obstruct you.' Hearing his words, Angada, the best of the monkeys, delighted, said-'Drink honey, O monkeys, we must follow Hanuman's advice, who hath already been crowned with success. We must follow him even if he leadeth us to an unworthy action, what of this which is most becoming? Hearing these words from Angada, the leading monkeys attained to an excess of delight and eulogized him again and again. And adoring Angada—their prince, those monkeys proceeded by the way leading to the Madhuvana like unto trees carried by a stream. And entering that orchard they forcibly attacked the waiters there. Hanuman saw Maithilee. and others heard of her from him-and those monkeys, renouncing all fear in consequence and obtaining permission, drank honey and feasted on various sweet fruits. And they, given to the drinking of honey, attacking the guards who were approaching by hundreds, gave them a sound beating. Some monkeys, collecting honey with their hands measuring a Drona IIn common use a measure of thirty-two seers or rather more than sixty-four lbs. quadrupeds.], drank it; others collecting themselves delightedly into a band spoiled it; while other yellow-coloured monkeys drank and sprinkled it. And some, being beside themselves with intoxication, struck others with the remaining quantity, while others waited at the foot of the trees, holding their boughs. And some, being exhausted with drinking, spread leaves and laid themselves thereonand some being drunk and delighted struck others down in mad fury. And some lost their steps. Some roared and some delightedly set up the music of the birds. Some of the monkeys, inebriete with honey, slept on the earth; some laughed at others impudently and some cried aloud. Some spoke contrary to what they had done-and others put a different construction thereon. And all the waiters of the garden and the servants of Dadhimukha, were repressed by those terrible monkeys with censure and thrown up in the sky by their kneejoints. And terrified, they fled to different directions. And being worked up with anxiety, they approached Dadhimukha and said—'Commanded by Hanuman the monkeys have forcibly devastated the Madhuvana and we were thrown high up by them in the sky." Hearing of the destruction of the orchard, Dadhimukha, being greatly enraged, consoled all the monkeys. "Proceed ye before, I shall soon follow you and repress by force all those monkeys, greatly excited with pride and the drinking of the excellent honey." Hearing these words from Dadhimukha those leading and heroic monkeys proceeded with him towards Madhuvana. And Dadhimukha proceeded with great velocity in their midst taking up a huge tree in his hand. And all his attendants, taking trees, mountain crags, proceeded, wroth, where those leading monkeys were. And biting their lips in wrath and remonstrating with them again and again, those monkeys began to suppress them by force. And beholding Dadhimukha greatly enraged, all the monkeys, headed by Hanuman, approached him with great vehemence. And as the mighty Dadhimukha of huge arms, was proceeding towards them vehemently with a huge tree, Angada, wroth, caught him by the hand. He was beside himself with intoxication and therefore did not show him the least mercy, albeit he (Dadhimukha) was worshipful unto him. And accordingly with great vehemence he ground him to the dust. His arms and thighs were broken and his countenance was disfigured and that great heroe, the foremost of the monkeys, bathed in a pool of blood, remained senseless for sometime. And thereupon releasing himself from them by some device that leading monkey, proceeded to a nook, and addressed his attendants, saying—"Let us all proceed there where our lord, the spacious-necked Sugriva liveth with Rama. I shall relate unto him all the unfair dealings of Angada and forsooth shall that wrathful king punish all these monkeys. The picturesque Madhuvana is the most favourite orchard of the high-souled Sugriva. It was enjoyed by his forefathers and is not even approached by the celestials. And meting out punishment unto these monkeys, eager to drink honey and almost half dead, Sugriva shall slay them as well as their friends and relatives. Those vicious-souled ones are worthy of being slain since they have transgressed the royal mandate. And then shall my wrath, arising out of impatience, bear fruits." Having thus spoken unto the guards of the forest the highly powerful Dadhimukha leaped high up in the welkin and went away with them. And in no time he reached where the highly intelligent monkey Sugriva, the offspring of the sun, was. And beholding Rama, Lakshmana, and Sugriva and the level ground he descended from the sky. And descending from the

monkeys engaged in protecting the forest, placing his folded palms on his forehead and with a poorly countenance, laid low his crown at Sugriva's feet.

SECTION 63.

And beholding that monkey place his crown at his feet the monkey-chief, with an anxious mind, accosted him, saying-'Rise up, rise up, why hast thou lain thyself at my feet? I declare thou hast no fear, speak out the truth, From whose fear hast thou come here? It behoveth thee to suggest the becoming proceedure. Is it all well with my orchard Madhuvana? I long to know everything, O monkey." Being thus addressed hopefully by the high-souled Sugriva, Dadhimukha, gifted with an intelligence of a very high order, rose up and spoke—"Neither thyself, nor Vali, the lord of the monkeys, O king, allowed that orchard to be freely used by the monkeys-but that hath been now laid waste by them. I prevented them along with these attendants, but disregarding me, they drank and feasted there at their pleasure. They were prevented, O lord, in their act of devastation, by these guards, but those monkeys, without caring for me the least, feasted there. Some of them went beyond the pale of good conduct. others ate at their pleasure, and all frowned (at us). And when these attendents, being insulted by them, were greatly wroth, they were driven out of the garden, by those powerful and enraged monkeys. And they were greatly assailed by those many thousand heroic monkeys, worked up with ire and having reddened eyes. Some had their arms broken, some had their knee-joints crushed and some of them were thrown up in the sky. Thyself their lord living, these heroes are beaten, and the entire Madhuvana is being freely enjoyed by them." The highly intelligent Lakshmana, the slayer of foes, addressed Sugriva, the foremost of the monkeys, while he was thus being informed, saying,-"O king, why hath this monkey, the guard over the forest, come to thee, and what sorrow hath led him to give vent to these expressions?" Being thus addressed by the high-souled Lakshmana, Sugriva, skilled in the art of speech, replied,-"O worshipful Lakshmana, the heroic monkey Dadhimukha speaks that the war-like monkeys headed by Angada have drunk honey. They would not have engaged in such an unfair proceeding had they been unsuccessful in their mission. They have surely achieved success while they have thus been bent upon devastating the orchard. For this the warders were struck on their knee-joints for obstructing their revelry and for this they went so far as to disregard the powerful monkey Dadhimukha. I myself appointed this monkey the lord of my orchard. Forsooth hath Hanuman espied the worshipful Sita and none else. There is none else but Hanuman who is the instrumental of this work. for that best of monkeys hath in him a high intellect, knoweth the art of success, is gifted with courage, strength and prowess and is conversant with Sastras. That work is sure to succeed whose leading spirits are the mighty Jambavana and Angada, and worker is Hanuman. Forsooth that orchard hath been laid waste by these heroes headed by Angada. And ransacking the southern quarter, those leading monkeys have come back and delightedly entered the Madhuvana. And the whole orchard has been explored and enjoyed by those monkeys and the attendants beaten and wounded on their knee-joints. To communicate unto me this intelligence, this monkey of known prowess, and sweet accents, named Dhadimukha, hath come here. O thou of mighty arms. O son of Sumitra, for sooth they have beheld Sita, since the monkeys, just on their return, have engaged in drinking honey. O best of men, they are all wellknown monkeys and without espying Vaidehi they would not have engaged in the destruction of that orchard conferred on us as a gift by the celestials." Hearing these words from Sugriva, pleasant unto ears, the virtuous-souled Lakshmana along with Raghava, was greatly pleased. And hearing this from Dadhimukha, Sugriva, greatly gratified, addressed that lord of the forest, again, saying,-"Greatly pleased I am, since, they, being successful, have explored this forest. And the insulting procedure of the successful is also pardonable. Do thou soon go there and protect that orchard, and send here all those monkeys headed by Hanuman. Along with these two descendants of Raghu, I long to know soon from these monkeys headed by Hanuman, and proud like lions, what they have settled for the regaining of Sita. And beholding these two princes greatly delighted and their eyes expanded with joy, the king of the monkeys, thought that the accomplishment of the great wort was near at hand, and was accordingly greatly delighted.

Being thus addressed by Sugriva, the monkey Dadhimukha, delighted, bowed unto him, Raghava and Lakshmana. And adoring Sugriva and the highly powerful descendants of Raghu, he along with other heroic monkeys, leaped up in the sky. He went away with the same speed with which he came and leaping down on the earth from the sky, entered the orchard. And entering that forest he beheld all the leaders of the monkeys spending the hours delightedly, having passed urine, the outcome of honey. And approaching them, the heroe, with folded hands and delighted, addressed Angada,

with the following words-"O gentle one, do thou not take offence, for these monkeys, protecting the garden enraged, unweetingly prevented thee. O thou of great strength, thou art worn out with thy long journey, do thou drink thy own honey, thou art our prince and the master of this garden. It behoveth thee to forgive us for our wrath arising out of ignorance. Like unto thy sire before, thyself and Sugriva are the lords of these monkey hosts, O thou foremost of them, and none else. O innocent prince, I have related all about this unto thy uncle. When I described unto him, the arrival of all these forest rangers, as well as of thine accompanied by them, and the destruction of this garden by you all, he was not the least offended, rather delighted. And worked up with joy thy uncle Sugriva, the lord of earth and monkeys, said "Send them all here speedily." Hearing those words from Dadhimukha. Angada, the foremost of the monkeys and skilled in speech, addressed them all, saying-"O ye leaders of the monkey hosts, I fear, Rama hath heard all about this. Dadhimukha relates everything joyfully and hence I infer this. And our work finished, O slayer of foes, it doth not behove us to remain here (any longer). You have all drunk honey at your pleasure and there is nothing left and you should now go where the monkey king Sugriva is. O leading monkeys, I shall follow what you will in a band desire me to do. In actions I am surbordinate unto you all. I am not justified to command although I am a prince. You are all of accomplished actions, it is not proper to repress you forcibly. " Hearing those sweet words of the prince Angada, the monkeys delightedly replied. saving—"O king, O foremost of monkeys, who else can speak thus being a master? Any one else, we think, is proud of his wealth. Such like words become thee only and none else. Thy humility speaks of thy future greatness. We are all anxious to go there, where Sugriva, the king of the monkeys, is. Verily we speak unto thee, O foremost of monkeys, that without thy permission, none amongst us, is capable of advancing a single step." They addressing him thus, Angada replied—"All right, let us all go." Saying this he leaped up in the sky and was followed by all those monkeys, clouding the welkin as if with stones thrown up by a tool. And placing before them Angada and Hanuman, the monkeys leaping vehemently up in the sky roared like unto clouds driven by the wind. And Angada nearing. Sugriva, the lord of the monkeys, spoke unto the lotus-eyed Rama, stricken with grief, saying-"May good betide thee. Do thou console thyself. The worshipful dame has been found out; there is not the least doubt about it. Or else they would not have come as the time is already past. I (further more) infer this from Angada's joy, O thou of auspicious presence. Without being successful in his mission, the large-armed prince. Angada, the foremost of the monkeys. would not have come to me. If the monkeys had engaged in such an unfair proceeding without being successful in their mission, Angada would have looked poorly and his mind would have been over-whelmed with grief and forgetfulness. And without beholding the daughter of the king Janaka they would not have dared to destroy Madhuvana obtained and preserved by my forefathers. Do thou console thyself, O Rama. by whom Kaucalya hath become the mother of a good son. O thou, rigidly observing any religious vow or obligation, forsooth hath Hanuman beheld the worshipful dame and none else. No other wight is so qualified an instrument in encompassing this end. O thou of excellent intellect, Hanuman knoweth the art of success, is gifted with intellect, perseverance and courage and is versed in Sastras. That work cannot fail, which is worked out by Jambavan and Angada and presided over by Hanuman. Be not laden with anxiety, O thou of unmitigated prowess. These monkeys have come here excited with pride and drink. They would not have come with such a grandeur had they been but unsuccessful. From their breaking down the orchard and drinking honey I inferred so. Thereupon he heard in the sky the joyous sounds of the monkeys proud on account of Hanuman's work, proceeding towards Kishkindha and as if announcing their success. Thereupon hearing the noise of these monkeys, Sugriva, their chief, being greatly delighted, uplifted his tail. And placing Angada and Hanuman before them those monkeys proceeded to behold Rama. And those heroes headed by Angada, delighted and intoxicated, descended before Raghava and the lord of the monkeys. And the mighty-armed Hanuman, lowering his head, related unto Raghava, Sita's spiritual and physical well-being. And hearing from Hanuman the sweet words that he had beheld Sita, Rama and Lakshmana were greatly delighted. And being confirmed thus by the Windgod's son, Lakshmana, greatly pleased, respectfully looked towards Sugriva. And Raghava too, the slayer of foes, worked up with joy, cast respectful looks towards Hanuman.

SECTION 65.

Thereupon getting at the Mount Prasravana surrounded by a variegated forest, lowering their heads unto the mighty Rama and Lakshmana, placing before them their prince (Angada) and bowing unto Sugriva, the monkeys began to relate the story of Sita. And they described unto Rama, the confinement of Sita in Ravana's seraglio, the remonstrances of the she-demons, her unflinching attachment in her lord and

the time appointed (by the Rakshasa for her destruction). And hearing of Vaidehi's well-being Rama said—"O monkeys where liveth the worshipful Sita? And how is her attachment unto me? Do ye relate everything unto me." Hearing those painful words of Rama, the monkeys desired Hanuman, conversant with the whereabouts of Sita, to describe every thing unto him. Hearing their words, Hanuman, the Windgod's son, versed in the art of speech, lowering his head in Sita's name and towards the southern direction (where she liveth) began to relate how he succeeded in beholding Sita. And conferring on (Rama) the heavenly jewel set on a golden leaf and burning with its own effulgence, Hanuman, with folded hands, began-"Anxious to behold Sita, the daughter of the king Janaka, I, ploughing over the main extending over a hundred yojana, wended my way and by and by reached Lanka, the capital of the vicious-souled Ravana. Lanka is situated on the southern bank of the southern occean. And I saw there Sita, in the inner appartment of Ravana. Centering all her thoughts in thee, breathes that damsel, O Rama. I saw her reviled by the she demons again and again. She is being guarded in that garden by the grim-visaged Rakshasees. And that worshipful dame, O hero, ever used to happiness, is now stricken with grief in thy absence. Confined in Ravana's inner apartment, well protected by those she-demons, wearing a single braid of hair and poorly, she is engaged only thoughts touching thee. She in lying on earth, shorn of all grace like unto a lotus on the appearance of the winter. She hath not the least attachment for Rayana and is resolved upon putting an end to her existence. O Kakutstha, O innocent prince, after enquiring for sometime, I found that worshipful dame devoted unto thee, and narrating the glories of the Ikshwaku race, O foremost of men, I created her confidence by and by, and addressing her I related everything. And hearing of the friendship between thee and Sugriva she was greatly delighted. And she has her respect for thee unshaken and all her actions are for thee. O great man, O thou best of men, I beheld the daughter of Janaka in this plight, engaged in hard austerities and ever devoted unto thee. O thou of great intelligence, O Raghava, offering me (this jewel) as a token, she wanted me to relate unto thee, the occurrence at the mount chitrakuta regarding the crow. And Janaki addressing me said-O Wind-god's son, do thou describe everything of what thou hast seen here, unto Rama. And relating everything before Sugriva, do thou present him with this jewel which has been preserved by me with great care. I have kept with great care this excellent jewel of great effulgence. Do thou remind him of the mark which he made on my forehead with red arsenic. O innocent monkey, greatly delighted am I on beholding the brilliant jewel which he has sent through thee. Breathe shall I only for a month, beyond that I shall never live, subject as I am to the demons.' Thus was I accosted by Sita, reduced to a skeleton, observing pious observances, shut up in Ravana's inner apartment and having eves like those of a hind. I have described unto thee everything. O Raghava, do thou make arrangements for bridging over the ocean." And considering those two princes greatly consoled, the Wind-god's son handed over that token unto Raghava and described everything from the beginning to the end.

SECTION 66

Being thus accosted by Hanuman, Rama, the son of Dacaratha, placing that jewel on his breast, wept with Lakshmana. And beholding that excellent jewel, Raghava, stricken with grief, with eyes full of tears, spake unto Sugriva, -"Forsooth my heart melteth on beholding this jewel as milk trickleth down from the udders of a cow on beholding its calf. This iewel was conferred on Sita, by my father-in-law at the time of our wedding, and to enhance its beauty, she wore it on her head. And this jewel, obtained from the bed of the ocean, was conferred on him (Janaka) by the intelligent Sakra, greatly delighted for being adored in a sacrifice. O gentle one, this bringeth back to my mind, the memory of my father, and father-in-law the king of Videha. This excellent jewel appeared beautiful on the crown of my dear one, and methinks, on beholding it, I have as if got back my beloved spouse. Do thou relate unto me again and again. O gentle one. what Vaidehi hath said, as if sprinkling me with the water of her words like unto one rendered senseless. What greater grief can there be, O Saumitri, that I behold the jewel obtained from the ocean but not Vaidehi? Truly doth Vaidehi live for a long time if she breathes for a month. But O hero, I cannot live for a moment even without that one having dark-blue eyes. Do thou take me there where thou hast beheld my dear spouse. I cannot live for a moment while I have received intelligence about her. How liveth that timid damsel, having a beautiful waist, being terrified, amidst the terrible and grim Rakshasees? Truly her countenance is not appearing beautiful like unto the autumnal moon, enveloped with clouds, although cleared off the darkness. Do thou relate unto me in sooth, O Hanuman, what Sita hath spoken unto thee. I shall live by these words, as the sick are cured by medicine. O Hanuman, what halh my dear wife, sweet-speeched, and highly beautiful, spoken unto thee, being separated from me? How breathes she going through a series of calamities?

SECTION 67.

Being thus addressed by the high-souled Raghava, Hanuman, related unto him all of what Sita had said,—"O foremost of men, the worshipful Janaki, related as a token, all the incidents at the Mount Chitrakuta from the beginning to the end. Sleeping happily with thee, Janaki one day awoke before, and in the meantime, a crow wounded her breast with its beaks. O Rama, thou wert then asleep on Sita's lap and that crow again afflicted the worshipful dame. And it again wounded her. And being bathed in blood and suffering terrible pangs, that worshipful dame aroused thee. O slayer ol foes, O thou of mighty-arms, seeing her breast wounded, thou, wroth like a serpent, didst speak saying- 'O timid damsel, who, with his nails, hath wounded thy breast? Who hath played with an angry serpent having five faces?' And casting thy looks around thou didst behold a crow facing the worshipful dame with sharpened nails besmeared with blood. That crow, the best of the birds, was Sakra's son. And it entered speedily into the earth with the velocity of the wind. Thereupon, thy eyes rolling with ire, thou, O mighty armed hero. O foremost of the intelligent, didst resolve to destroy that crow. And taking a kuca off thy seat thou didst set it on Brahma weapon. And it flamed like unto the fire of dessolution before that crow. And thou didst let off that burning kuca towards that bird. And thereupon that burning kuca followed the crow. And being forsaken even by the celestials, who were terrified, and ransacking the three worlds it did not get a refuge. Thereupon it again came to you, O subduer of foes. And seeking thy shelter it laid itself low on the ground. And O Kakutstha, thou didst save it albeit it was worthy of being slain. And thinking it improper to baffle the aim of the weapon, thou didst, O Raghava, destroy the right eye of the crow. Thereupon bowing unto thee and the king Dacaratha, that crow, bidding adieu, went to its quarter. O Raghava, thou art the foremost of those skilled in the use of weapons, powerful and gifted with an excellent character, why dost thou not discharge weapons towards the Rakshasas? The celestials, the Gandharvas, the Asuras, the Marutasnone of them is qualified, O Rama, to equal thee in conflict. If thou, gifted with great prowess, hast any affection for me, do thou speedily, with well-armed shafts, destroy Rayana in conflict. And obtaining the behests of his brother, why doth not Lakshmana, the subduer of foes and best of men, protect me, O Raghava? Those two best of men, gifted with the effulgence of Wind and Fire, and incapable of being repressed even by the celestials, are disregarding me. Forsooth have I perpetrated a mighty iniquity since those two slayers of foes, being capable, do not protect me.' Hearing those sweet and piteous accents of Vaidehi I again spoke unto that worshipful dame, saying-'Forsooth can I swear by thee, O worshipful dame, that Rama is sorely stricken with grief in thy absence. And Lakshmana too relenteth heavily beholding him laden with sorrow. It doth not behove thee to relent any more as I have succeeded in finding thee out. Thou shalt at this very moment behold the end of thy grief. And those two princes, the foremost of men and slavers of foes, actuated with energy on hearing that I have seen thee, shall reduce Lanka to ashes. And slaying in conflict the terrible Ravana, with his kith and kin, Raghava, in sooth, O excellent damsel, shall take thee back to his own city. O thou of a blameless person, do thou confer on me such a token, as might be recognized by Rama and conduce to his pleasure.' Thereat, casting her looks around, she took out an excellent jewel from her cloth, worthy of being set on her braid and conferred it on me, O thou of great strength. And O thou, the most favourite of the Raghu race, taking for thee that gem with my hands and bowing unto her, I addressed myself speedily for departure. And thereupon beholding me ready to depart and increase in bulk and about to leap up in the welkin, Sita, the daughter of the king Janaka, poorly, bathed in tears, overwhelmed with sorrow and having her voice choked with grief, spake, saying-'Blessed art thou O great monkey, since thou shalt behold the large-armed and the lotus-eyed Rama and the highly famed Lakshmana, my lord's younger brother.' And being thus accosted by Maithili, I said-'Do thou speedily place thyself on my back, O worshipful dame, O thou the daughter of king Janaka, and I shall soon show thee, O great dame, O thou having dark blue eyes, thy lord along with Sugriva and Lakshmana.' Whereto she replied-This is not the pious course, O great monkey, O thou the foremost of thy race, that I shall, of my own accord, place myself on thy back. And although before this I was touched by the demon. O hero. it was because I could not help otherwise subject as I was to circumstances. Do thou thyself repair, O foremost of monkeys, where those two princes are.' Addressing me with these words she again said-'O Hanuman, do thou relate my well-being unto Rama and Lakshmana of leonine prowess, and Sugriva accompanied by his followers. Do thou so describe as the large-armed Raghava may save me from this ocean of grief. Do thou narrate unto Rama this my terrible sorrow and the affliction by the she-demons. May good betide thee, on thy way, O foremost of the monkeys.' Thus the worshipful Sita gave vent to these piteous accents. Hearing these words do thou believe that it is all well with her.

SECTION 68.

Whereupon, O foremost of men, out of thy love and adoring me for thy friendship, that worshipful dame— addressed me again, saying-"Do thou thus speak every thing unto Rama, the son of Dacaratha, so that he might soon take me hence, slaying Ravana in battle. O heroe, O slayer of foes, if it pleaseth thee, thou mayst relieve thyself of the toil by living in a secret nook and then proceed to-morrow. O monkey, in thy company. I do momentarily forget the weight of my grief. unfortunate as I am. O thou gifted with great prowess, thyself departing, I shall wait for thy return, but doubt I very much whether I shall live till then. Burnt I shall be with the fear of not beholding thee again, wretched and striken with grief as I am. And so I shall be, hereafter, overwhelmed with a mightier grief. O hero, besides, I entertain a grave doubt about thy assistants, the monkeys and bears. I do not know how shall the host of monkeys and bears and those two princes cross over the mighty main? O innocent monkey of all the creatures three only are qualified to cross over the ocean, thyself, Garuda and the Wind. O thou foremost of those skilled in speech, what hast thou settled about the accomplishment of this hard work? True it is that thou art alone qualified to accomplish this work, O thou the slayer of inimical heroesbut such manifestation of thy prowess shall increase thy glory only. But if Rama, obtaining victory, can take me hence to his own city, it shall redound to his glory. It doth not behove the heroic Raghava, to take me away by stealth, like unto Ravana capturing me from the forest under a disguise. Truly it shall be his becoming work, if Kakutstha, the repressor of enemy's host, can take me away, enveloping the city Lanka with his army. Do thou therefore initiate that work as becometh that high-souled hero and may display his prowess." Hearing these sound reasonable and affectionate words I gave her the last reply, saying-'O worshipful dame, Sugriva, the foremost of the monkeys, the lord of monkey and bear hosts and gifted with manliness, hath resolved upon rescuing thee. He hath under his command a number of mighty and courageous monkeys gifted with great prowess and quick-coursing like imagination. Their course is never thwarted-whether going upwards or downwards-or moving tortuously. They are never exhausted in their actions—highly courageous and of measureless prowess. And those great and powerful monkeys. coursing in the air, have again and again circumambulated the earth. Sugriva hath many monkeys-my equal-and greater than I, but none of inferior strength. While I have crossed over the main-what of these mighty heroes? The leading heroes are never sent on a mission but only those of inferior merit. No more of bewailing, O worshipful dame. Do thou remove thy grief. And with one leap these leaders of monkey-hosts shall reach Lanka. O great damsel, these two princes, placing themselves on my back shall come to thee like unto the rising Sun and Moon. Thou shalt soon behold before Lanka's gate Raghava the slayer of foes resembling a lion and Lakshmana with a bow in his hand. And thou shalt soon observe in a band the heroic monkeys, gifted with the strength of lions and tigers, and having nails and teeth for their weapons. And thou shalt soon hear the roaring of the leading monkeys on the summit of mount Malaya, resembling the muttering of the clouds. And thou shalt soon behold Raghava, the slayer of foes, installed along with thee on the throne of Ayodhya after returning from the forest." And that daughter of the king of Mithila although heavily laden with sorrow in thy absence was greatly comforted and pleased by my auspicious words boding the fulfilment of her desire.

END OF SUNDARAKANDAM.

RAMAYANA VOLUME THREE YUDDHAKANDAM. SECTION 1

Hearing the words of Hanuman rehearsed properly, Rama, exceedingly delighted, said,—"By Hanuman hath been performed a very great deed, rare on earth, and one incapable of being even conceived by any other in the world. Save Garuda and the Wind-god, and save also Hanuman, him find I not who crosseth the wide ocean. Entering by main force the city of Lanka, incapable of being subjugated by the gods and Danavas and Yakshas, the Gandharbas, serpents or Rakhas, and well protected by Ravana,-who, living, cometh out (of it)? And who that is not the compeer of Hanuman in strength and prowess, even entereth into (Lanka), hard to subdue, and carefully guarded by the Rakshasas? And having so put forth his strength commensurate with his prowess, Hanuman hath also performed a great act befitting a servant on behalf of Sugriva [Having seen Sita—which was all that he had been commissioned to do by Sugriva, Hanuman has destroyed Rakshasas and burnt Lanka; and this he did of himself like a good servant.]. That servant who, being entrusted with a hard task,-after having accomplished it, doeth another work in pursuance of (the prescribed business), is the best of men. That servant is middling, who, deputed to any task, doth not, albeit capable, perform any other work which may be dear to the king. And that servant who, entrusted with any work the king, doth not, although competent, heedfully accomplish the

same, hath been called the worst. Anent the order (which he had received). Hanuman hath done the work (and more). He hath not been humbled, - and, further, hath pleased Sugriva. And by seeing Vaidehi, (Hanuman hath), while reaping righteousness, saved me, the Raghu race, and the highly powerful Lakshmana. And this pained my mind sore, that I cannot do a like benefit, returning this dear office of his. Embrace expresseth the all (of the Deity), and, finding this occasion. I extend my embrace unto the high-souled Hanuman". Having said this, Rama, with his down standing on end in joy, embraced the self-controlled Hanuman, who was present after having finished his speech. Then reflecting for a while, the best of the Raghus again spoke in the presence of Sugriva, lord of monkeys. "Complete success hath been attained anent the search for Sita. But when I think of the ocean, my mind is again sunk in dejection. How can the assembled monkeys go over to the southern shore of the vasty deep, difficult to cross? This tidings thou hast related unto me touching Vadehi, but what are the monkeys to do next about crossing the sea?" Having said this unto Hanuman, that slayer of foes, mighty-armed Rama, agitated by anxiety, was then plunged in thought.

SECTION 2.

Then the graceful Sugriva spake words capable of soothing sorrow, unto Dacaratha's son, Rama, who was wrought up with grief,-"Why, O hero, dost thou grieve, like one that is base? Let not this be so. Chase away thy grief, even as an ingrate resigneth amity. Nor, O Raghava, when the whereabouts of Sita hath been discovered, and when too the abode itself of the foe hath been known, do I perceive the reason of thy sorrow. Thou, O Raghava, art intelligent, conversant with learning, wise, and judicious. Do thou cast away this sorry way of thinking, even as a self-controlled (ascetic) casteth away any course of thought interfering with the attainment of his purpose. Crossing over the ocean swarming with gigantic alligators, we shall enter Lanka and slay thy enemy. Of a person that is dispirited and poor in pluck and that hath his soul overwhelmed with grief, every interest droopeth, and he cometh by misfortunes (one after another). All these heroes, these leaders of monkey-hordes, who are ardent for thy welfare, are competent to enter into fire itself. From their cheerful attitude I know this, and firm is my faith. It behoveth thee so to arrange things that, slaying the foe, Ravana of impious acts, we may bring hither Sita by our own prowess. Do thou, O Raghava, so order matters that a bridge may be constructed (over the main), and that we may behold the palace of the Rakshasa monarch. We having seen the city of Lanka, established on the summit of Trikuta, do thou for certain conclude Ravana as slain in battle immediately after (we see her). Without throwing a bridge over the ocean-the dread abode of Varuna-even the Asuras and celestials with Indra (at their head) are unequal to subduing Lanka. When the bridge over the ocean hath been constructed up to near Lanka, and when my forces have crossed (over the sea), consider victory as secured. As these monkeys are heroic in fight, and able to wear forms at will, O king, do not let thy intellect get stupified and thus mar all interests. In this world, sorrow berefts people of their prowess. Do thou do even what should be done by a man-summon thy manliness; for what an actor doeth promptly, conduceth to his success. At this time, O eminently wise one, do thou realise goodness through thy energy. Of heroic, high-souled, men like thyself, on their sustaining an entire or a partial loss, grief undoeth every interest. Therefore, the foremost of intelligent persons, and conversant with every lore, thou shouldst along with councilors like me, strive to beat thy foe. Find I none in the three worlds, O Raghava, who can stay in fight before thee equipped with thy bow. Thy business entrusted to these monkeys shall not (anyway) suffer. And soon, crossing over the boundless main, thou shalt behold Sita. Therefore, O king, renounce thy sorrow, and call up wrath. Those Kshatriyas that conceive no anger in respect of their enemies, have their activity annulled; and all fear furious persons. Drawing nigh unto us, do thou, gifted with acute intelligence, cast about for crossing over the dreadful deeplord of streams-along with us. On these forces getting beyond the ocean, do thou take it for certain that we have won; and when my whole host hath reached the further shore, do thou indubitably conclude that we have obtained victory. These monkeys, heroic and capable of assuming in fight forms at will. shall slaughter those foes by showering rocks and trees. If I see any means of crossing the ocean, Varuna's abode, I shall, O destroyer of foes, deem him as slain in battle. And what is the use of dilating? Every way thou shalt prove victorious. And I see omens, and my mind is filled with delight".

SECTION 3.

Hearing Sugriva's speech, reasonable and fraught with high sense, Kakutstha accorded his assent to it and spoke unto Hanuman, saying,—"By asceticism, or constructing a bridge, or drying up the ocean,—competent every way am I for crossing over this ocean. Of impracticable places, tell me

how many there are in (Lanka), which are incapable of being come at. O monkey, as thou hast seen personally, I wish to get acquainted with all this. And thou hast at thy leisure duly noticed in Lanka the number of the army, the inaccessibility (or otherwise) of the gates, the defence of Lanka, and the dwellings of the Rakshasas. Do thou faithfully relate this unto me, for thou art observant". Hearing Rama's speech, Hanuman, offspring of the Wind-god, foremost of those conversant with speech, again spake unto Rama, -- "Hearken! I will describe unto thee by what method is the city of Lanka guarded and protected by the Rakshasas, how loyal the Rakshasas are, the surpassing prosperity of Lanka, the dreadfulness of the deep, the divisions of the forces, and the number of the elephants, horses, cars, etc". Having said this, that best of monkeys, knowing the nature of things, went -"Lanka, filled with mad elephants, ever rejoiceth. She is great, thronging with cars and inhabited by Rakshasas. Her doors are firmly established and furnished with massy bolts. And she hath four wide and giant gates. (At those gates) are powerful and large arms, stones, and engines, whereby a hostile host approaching, is opposed. At the entrances are arrayed and set in order by bands of heroic Rakshasas, hundreds of dreadful sharp iron sataghnis [A kind of firearms, or ancient Hindu rocket; or a stone set round with sharp iron spikes.—According to Ramanuya, a sort of mace about two yards in length, with spikes. Such weapons were often described in the Mahabharata.]. She hath a mighty impassable golden wall, having its side emblazoned in the centre with costly stones, coral, lapises and pearls. Round about is a moat, exceedingly dreadful, with cool water, eminently grand, fathomless, containing ferocious aquatic animals, and inhabited by fishes. At the gates are four broad bridges, furnished with machines and many rows of grand structures. On the approach of hostile forces, their attack is repulsed by these machines, and they are thrown into the ditch. One among these bridges is immovable, strong and fast established: adorned with golden pillars and daises. O Rama, albeit Ravana hungereth for fight, yet is he calm; and he is vigilant and ever engaged in superintending his army. And dreadful and resembling a celestial citadel, Lanka cannot be ascended by means of any support. She hath fortresses composed of streams, those of hills, and artificial ones of four kinds. And, O Raghava, she is situated on the other shore of the ocean having its limit far away. And way there is none even for barks,-and all sides are destitute of division. And that citadel is built on the mountain's brow; and, resembling the metropolis of the immortals, the exceedingly invincible Lanka is filled with horses and elephants. And a most and sataghnis and various engines adorn the city of Lanka, belonging to the wicked Ravana. And an ayuta of Rakshasas, dart-handed, hard to subdue,-and all fighting at the front with their swords-protect the Eastern gate. And a niyuta of Rakshasas with a fourfold force, and with the flower of the soldieryprotect the Southern gate. And a prayuta of Rakshasas, bearing swords and shields, and skilled in all arms, protect the Western gate. And an arvuda of Rakhas protect the Northern gate. And car-warriors and horsemen—persons honoured and sprung from noble lines—by hundreds and thousands,and irrepressible goblins and kotis of Rakshasas, protect the garrison. I have broken down the bridges and filled up the entrenchment. I have burnt the city of Lanka and laid the wall low. Let us by any way whatever cross over Varuna's abode. Do thou take it for certain that the city of Lanka is subdued by the monkeys. What is the use of thy reckoning the rest? Angada, Dwivida, Mainda, Jambavan, Panasa, Nala, and the general, Nila, bounding and reaching Ravana's abode, and riving the same consisting of woods and hills, moat and gateway, walls and dwellings, shall, O Raghava, bring (hither) Sita. If this be so. 7 do thou order the entire body of the army to be brought; and do thou set out at the proper hour".

SECTION 4.

Hearing Hanuman's speech duly from the beginning, the exceedingly energetic Rama having truth for his prowess, said,-"What thou sayest-'I shall speedily destroy the city of this dreadful Raksha,'—is true, I tell thee. Therefore, at this very moment arrange for Sugriva's march. The Sun hath attained his meridian at this proper moment, capable of conferring victory. Let Ravana carry away Sita (to his own country),-whither shall Ravana, living, repair? Like a dying person who hath taken a death-dispelling drug and drunk ambrosia, Sita, hearing of my preparations for war, shall inspire hope of life. To-day the Northern Phalguni (is in the ascendant); and to-morrow the moon shall be in conjunction with Hasta. O Sugriva, shall we set out, surrounded by the entire host? The omens I witness, augur, that, having slain Ravana, I shall bring back Janaki. The upper lid of my eye throbbeth; and it betokeneth that my desire hath indeed been had". Then, honoured by the monkey-king as well as Lakshmana, the righteous Rama, understanding the import of things, again said,-"Surrounded by hundreds and thousands of fast-speeding monkeys, let Nila go ahead of this force, for surveying the route. O Nila, do thou, O general, expeditiously take the army by a path furnished with fruits

THE GRAND BIBLE touched by the rod-bearing Dhumketu is in trouble. All this is

for the destruction of the Rakshasas. At the fated time, those

and roots, having cool waters of the woods, and replenished with honey. The wicked Rakshasas vitiate [Poison.] fruits, roots and water along the way. Thou, ever on the alert, shouldst preserve these from the Rakshas. And, bounding down into hollow places, mountain-fastnesses, and woods, let the rangers of the wilds, spy the posted detachments of the enemy. Let those that are incompetent, stay here. This business is dreadful, and we should apply our best strength in conducting the same. Therefore let the foremost monkeys gifted with prodigious prowess lead forth the choice portion of the army, numbering hundreds and thousands. And let Gaja resembling a hill, and the exceedingly powerful Gavaya, and that monkey, Gavaksha, master of the leaping ones [i.e. monkeys.], like a haughty bull among kine, go in the van of the monkey-host. And let that foremost of monkeys, Rishava. go, protecting the right wing (of the army); and let Gandha, irrisistible like an elephant with the fragrant temporal juice trickling down, and the vehement Gandhamadana, go, protecting the left wing (of the monkey-army). And, cheering the army, I myself, mounted on Hanuman, like the Lord (mounted) on Airavata, shall march in the midst of the forces. And like the lord of wealth and master of riches, mounted on Sarvabhauma, let Lakshmana resembling the Destroyer, march forth, mounted on Angada. And let that king of bears, the long-armed Jambavan, Sushena, and the monkey, Vegadarci, protect the rear (of the forces)". Hearing Raghava's words, that foremost of monkeys and lord of the army, the exceedingly energetic Sugriva, issued his orders. And anon those highly powerful monkeys issuing up from caves and mountain-summits, began to bound (on all sides). Thereafter, honoured by the king of monkeys and also Lakshmana, the righteous Rama, accompanied by his forces, set out in a southerly direction. And he marched, surrounded by hundreds and thousands, Kotis and Ayutas of monkeys resembling elephants. And he marching was followed by the mighty host of monkeys; and all those maintained by Sugriva were filled with joy and betrayed demonstrations of delight. And bounding by way of guarding the flanks of the forces, and leaping in front of the army for pioneering, blustering, emitting leonine roars, and uttering cries, the monkeys made towards the south. And some partook of perfumed honey and fruits, and some bore mighty trees, holding the sprouts. And some in pride (of strength) suddenly raised others and threw them down. And some fell and were anon up, and some brought others down. 'We shall slay Ravana, as also all the rangers of the night'; thus did the monkeys roar out in the presence of Raghava. Before (the army), Rhrishabha, the heroic Nila and Kumuda along with many monkeys went on clearing the route. In the middle were king Sugriva, Rama and Lakshamana, environed by innumerable powerful and terrible monkeys. And the heroic monkey, Satavali, surrounded by ten Kotis (of troops), alone on all sides protected that monkey host. And accompanied by an hundred Kotis, Kesari, Panasa, Gaja and Arka, by means of many protected that host on every side. And taking Sugriva before them, Sushena, and Jambavan, surrounded by innumerable bears, protected the rear (of the army.) And that foremost of rangers possessed of excellence, and of restrained senses, the heroic Nila, general (of the army), kept going round the ranks. And Valimukha, and Prajangha, Jambha and the monkey Rabhasa, went everywhere, urging on the monkeys. While thus marching, breathing pride of strength, those tiger-like monkeys saw that foremost of mountains Sahya crowned with hundreds of trees, and watery expanses laughing with flowers, and beautiful tanks. And knowing the order of Rama of dreadful wrath, that terrible and mighty host, exceedingly terrific and resembling the bosom of the deep, cowed down through fear, leaving behind cities and villages and provinces, went like the deep-sounding sea. And at the side of Dacaratha's son those heroic monkeys resembling elephants, proceeded by bounds, like noble horses, spurred on. And those foremost of men, mounted on the monkeys, looked beautiful like the Sun and the Moon half eclipsed by the two mighty planets, viz., Rahu and Ketu. And (thus) did the righteous Rama proceed towards the South, accompanied by his army. Then Lakshmana, furnished with consummate sense and promptitude, who was mounted on Angada, spoke unto Rama, inviting words, fraught with import. "Speedily recovering Vaidehi, who hath been carried away, and slaying Ravana, thou wilt, thy end attained, return to Ayodhya, who shall also have her desire. O Raghava, I see all the great auspicious omens on earth and in the sky. signifying success unto thee. Mildly and grateful doth the blessed breeze blow behind the army, inspiring pleasure. And the birds and beasts are crying in sonorous voices. And all the points (of the compass) appear pleasant; and the lord of day is cloudless. Bhrigu's son, Ucanas, also weareth for thee an auspicious aspect, and Dhruva is without blemish. And all the rishis, pure and furnished with lustre, go round Dhruva. And before us shineth the grandfather of the high-souled Ikshwakus; the spotless Rajarshi Tricanku, with his priest.-And stainless and free from disturbances appeareth Visakha. This is the racial star of us, the high-souled Ikshwakus. And Nairita, the racial star of the Nairitas, is sore afflicted and,

that are in the clutches of Death, have their stars afflicted by the planets. And the water is dear and tastes sweet; and the woods are stocked with fruit. And the odorous gale doth not blow strongly; and the trees are furnished with all blossoms of of the season. And, O lord, this host of monkeys appeareth splendid to the height, as did the celestial host on the occasion of the destruction of Taraka. Seeing all this, thou shouldst, O noble one, feel delighted". Having thus consoled his brother, Sumitra's son, feeling enlivened, said this. The monkey-host went on, covering the earth. And the mighty dust raised by bears, monkeys, and tigers, having for their weapons nails and teeth,-with the foreparts of their feet and hands, enveloped the world, and the splendour of the sun was obscured. And as clouds envelope the sky, the mighty monkey-host went on, covering up the Southern quarter with its mountains, woods, and sky. And as they marched covering many a yojana, the streams seemed as if they flowed in an opposite direction. And they, while proceeding, took rest by pools of clear water, on mountains covered with trees, on plains and in forests teeming with fruits. Some moving straight, some moving askance, and some moving on the earth, that enormous monkey-host went on covering the entire earth. And they were all of delighted countenances and gifted with the velocity of the wind. And these monkeys devoted all their energy to the accomplishment of Raghava's work. And they were displaying unto each other their joy, prowess and energy. And influenced with the vanity of youth they set up diverse cries. Some proceeded with speed. some leaped, some set up cries expressing joy, some were uplifting their tails, and some were striking the ground with their feet. Some, stretching forth their arms, were breaking the hills, and others the trees. And others were ascending the tops of the hills. Some began to make terrible sounds, and others made a tingling noise. And many others blasted the creepers with the velocity of their thighs. And some were engaged in sporting with trees and rocks. And thus was the earth enveloped with millions and kotis of fearful monkeys. And thus the enormous monkey host went on day and night. And all those monkeys, delighted, guided by Sugriva, and taking delight in battle, went on speedily. And they did not take rest even for a moment, desirous of rescuing Sita. Thereupon, getting at the mount Sahya covered with various trees and forests, those monkeys ascended it. And Rama went on beholding the variegated forest, rivers and fountains of the mount Sahya and Malaya. And those monkeys broke down various trees—Champakas, Tilakas, mangos, *Prasekas, Sindubarakas, Tinicas and Karaviras, Asokas, Karanias, Plakshas, Nyagrodhas, Jambukas and Amalakas, And seated on picturesque rocks, various forest trees, shaken by the wind, showered flowers on them. And there blew in those forests filled with the smell of honey, a wind of pleasant touch, cool as the Moon, accompanied by the hummings of the bees. And that mount was richly embellished with diverse metals. And dust issuing from these metals and thickened by the air. enveloped on all sides the huge monkey-host. There blossomed in that picturesque mountain-vale Ketakas, Sindubaras, beautiful Vasantees, Madhabis, Gandhapurnas, Kandas, Chiravilyas, Mahikas, Vanjulas, Vakulas, Ranjakas, Tilakas, Nagas, Chutas, Patalikas, Kobidaras, Muchlindas, Arjunas, Singsapas, Kutajas, Pintalas, Tinicas, Churnkas, Neepakas, Neela-Sokas, Saralas, Ankolas and lotuses, And all these trees were greatly disturbed by those monkeys, delighted with their view. There were in that mountain many a picturesque lake and pond filled with Chakravakas and Karandavas, ducks, Chraunchas and the mount abounded on all sides with boars, deer, and terrible bears, lions and tigers and various other fearful animals, and it was beautified with full blown lotuses. lilies, Utpalas and various other fragrant trees growing in the water. And various birds set up their musical choir on the summit of that mount. And bathing and drinking, these monkeys sported in the water. And ascending the mount these monkeys continually bounded. And excited with drink, they crumbled into pieces the ambrosia-smelling fruits, roots and flowers of the trees. And those monkeys yellow as honey, delighted, feasted on mangoes, long and measuring a drona. Breaking down the trees, blasting the creepers, bounding from one tree to another and making the mount Sahya echo, those leading monkeys went on delighted and excited with drink. Some ascending the trees, and others drinking, the whole earth was enveloped with those monkeys, and seemed as if beautified with ripe paddy crops. And reaching the mount Mahendra, the large-armed Rama, having eyes like lotuses, ascended the summit adorned with diverse trees. And getting at the top, Dacaratha's son espied the vast deep filled with tortoises and fishes. Thereupon, passing by the mounts Sahya and Malaya and arranging their enormous host, the monkey leaders by and by reached the roaring deep. And descending therefrom. Rama, the foremost of those who minister happiness unto all, accompanied by Lakshmana and Sugriva, entered the forest situate on the banks of the ocean. And reaching the expansive banks having rocks thereon and continually washed by the rising billows, Rama spoke saying,-"O Sugriva we have arrived at the abode of Varuna.

Now hath arisen in my mind what I had not thought of before. And this ocean, the lord of the streams, whose other side is not seen, cannot be crossed over without some excellent measure. Let the monkey-host be encamped here therefore, and then concert a plan by means of which they might get at the other side. And reaching the shores of the ocean, the large-armed Rama, stricken with grief for Sita, ordered their encampment, saying,-"O foremost of monkeys, do thou encamp thy host on the brink of the ocean. Now hath arrived the hour for counsel, when we should devise some plan for crossing over the main. I fear the Rakshasas at every step, for they are greatly illusion creating—let the leaders therefore go to their own hosts and let them not proceed anywhere else, renouncing them". Hearing the words of Rama, Sugriva along with Lakshmana, encamped the army on the brink of the ocean covered with trees. And stationed near the main, the monkey-host in consequence of their resemblance in colour with the blue contents of the deep, looked like a second ocean. Thereupon, reaching the shore, those leading monkeys engaged in concerting a plan to cross over the vasty deep. And the tumult, of that monkey-host encamped there, was heard above the roaring of the deep. And that huge army of the monkeys commanded by Sugriva, and set up in three divisions, were deeply concerned with the accomplishment of Rama's work. And reaching the shore of the vasty deep, that monkey host, delighted, beheld the ocean moved by the Wind. And they waited there beholding the deep of unimpeded expanse, having its distant shore inhabited by the demons, and thronged with various aquatic animals. While upheaving its foam on the approach of eve, it appeared laughing and setting up its surges, it appeared to dance. It increased with the rising of the Moon and he reflected himself on its breast. That abode of Varuna was infested with gigantic sharks, whales and Timingalas [A large fabulous fish.], disturbed with the fury of the Wind, filled with serpents having flaming frames, and various aquatic animals and rocks and was fathomless deep. It had picturesque fortresses on its marge and its other shore was hard to get at. And the Makaras [A marine monster confounded usually with the crocodile and shark.] and serpents living therein were moved by the Wind. The waters, as if delighted, were rising and falling. And having serpents of flaming frames underneath, it appeared as if sprinkled with scintillations of fire. And that terrible abode of the demons extended down to the regions inhabited by the Nagas or serpents. The deep resembled the welkin and the welkin the deep, and there appeared no difference between them. The sky crested with stars and the deep filled with gems resembled each other. The sky enveloped with clouds and the ocean overflowing with surges presented no contrast whatsoever. The waves of the mighty deep beating at each other continually, set up a sound resembling that of a trumpet in the sky. It was filled with diverse gems and its water was poisoned by means of the air. It was filled with various aquatic animals, and upheaving its billows, it appeared as if excited with ire. And there beheld those high-souled monkeys the mighty main agitated by the Wind and muttering as if with the upheaval of the waves. Thereupon, overwhelmed with surprise, those monkeys, stationed there, espied the main brimming with rolling waters and moving as if (off its place).

SECTION 5

There on the northern shore of the ocean the army was encamped and arranged in order by Nila. And the two leading monkeys Mainda and Divida patrolled about on all sides to protect the monkey host. And the army being encamped on the shore of the lord of streams and rivers, Rama, beholding Lakshmana by his side, spoke, saying—"I know that grief abates as time passes by, but my sorrow arising from the separation of my spouse, is increasing day by day. I am not sorry that she hath been stealthily taken away by the demon-but my sorrow is that her end is drawing nigh. O Wind, do thou go there where my dear spouse is, and touching her person, do thou touch me, for I shall then be happy stationing my looks in the Moon and being touched by thee. Alas! my dear one cried 'O lord, O lord' when she was taken away. Those words, revolving burn me like poison. I am now being burnt down day and night by the fire of desire, having separation from her for its fuel and her thoughts for its flame. Leaving thee, O Son of Sumitra, I shall jump into the deep and then shall not this fire burn me any more. This is my only consolation, for which I draw my vital breath—that myself and she breathe on the same earth. Like unto a dry land drawing water from a watered ground, I do live, hearing that Janaki still survives. When shall I, discomfitting my enemies, behold Sita, having a beautiful waist and eyes resembling lotus-petals, as a victorious hero beholdeth the royal Grace. Like unto the sick drinking the elixir of life, when shall I, raising a little her lotus-like countenance having graceful teeth and lips imprint kisses thereon? And when shall she laughing, embrace me with her rising breast resembling the palm fruit? Alas that chaste dime having scarlet corners of the eye, being encircled by the demons, is wishing for a protector like unto one having no husband, albeit having a husband in me. How fareth in the midst of the she-demons, that daughter

of the king Janaka, my beloved spouse, and the daughter-inlaw of king Dacaratha? And having those Rakshasas, hard to repress, slain by me, truly shall she appear like unto the rays of the Moon extricated from sable autumnal clouds. Sita is constitutionally slender, and forsooth, she has been greatly reduced by sorrow, fasting and calamities touching time and place. When shall I, piercing with my shafts the breast of the lord of Rakshasas, renounce my mind's grief? And when shall my devoted Sita resembling the daughter of a celestial, fling herself anxiously around my neck and shed tears of joy? And when shall I renounce this my sorrow arising out of Maithili's separation, like unto one casting off his soiled clothes?" The highly intelligent Rama bewailing thus, the day passed away and the Sun, decreasing gradually, disappeared at last. And consoled by Lakshmana. Rama, stricken with thought touching Sita having eyes like lotus-petals, engaged in rites relating to the worship of Eve.

SECTION 6.

Beholding in Lanka that dreadful and awe-inspiring work performed by Hanuman like unto the high-souled Sakra, the lord of Rakshasas, looking down with shame, addressed them all, saying-"That monkey alone hath invaded and entered the city of Lanka hard to reach and hath espied Sita, the daughter of king Janaka. He hath shattered the palace, and the altar of sacrifice, slain the leading Rakshasas, and, in short, agitated the whole city of Lanka. What shall I do now? And what should you all do on this occasion? It behoveth you all to give me such counsel as becometh me and will conduce to my glory". 'Victory is the outcome of consultation'—this do the sages say. Let us, therefore, O mighty ones, engage in counsel, relating to the measures we should adopt towards Rama. There are three orders of men on this earth—the superior the middling and the inferior. This distinction cannot be perceived without a knowledge of the signs, and so I shall relate unto you their merits and demerits. He is said to belong to the superior order, whose counsel contains the three signs (mentioned below), or who engages in works after consulting duly with friends capable or with persons having the same end in view, and some times with others, and who serveth Providence. He belongs to the middle order who consults his own self only, depends on the Providence, and engages alone in works. And he belongs to the inferior order who engageth in works without ascertaining their merits or demerits, disregarding the will of the Providence and saying, 'I will do this', and is inactive (at last). And counsels are also divided into three divisions like unto the three orders of men (mentioned). That counsel belongs to the superior order in which the counsellors with their judgment reinforced by a knowledge of political ethics, are unanimous. That one belongs to the middle order in which the counsellors after varied discussion, arrive at unanimity in the long run. And that one is the worst in which the counsellors differ from each other and agree a little in the long run, with no good result. You are all gifted with good intellects: do you all unanimously settle as to what becometh me and conduceth to my well-being. Environed by a thousand of patient monkeys, Rama, with a view to capture our city, is approaching towards Lanka. Forsooth, shall he cross over the main along with his younger brother and a mighty host. He can by his prowess dry up the ocean and do the other [i.e. bridge over the ocean.]. Rama approaching thus with a hostile intention along with the monkeys, it behoveth you to devise such means as might protect my city and army.

SECTION 7.

Being thus accosted by their lord, the highly powerful Rakshasas, devoid of good sense and ignorant of sound counsel, replied with folded palms, saying,—"Thou hast, O king, enough of soldiers and weapons. Why art thou smitten with sorrow then? Repairing to Bhagavati, thou didst discomfit the serpents in battle. The God of Death, living on mount Kailaca, encircled by Yakshas, was subjugated by thee in a great battle. And that mighty lord of men, proud of his friendship with Siva, was defeated by thee wrathfully in battle Discomfitting and slaying the band of Yakshas, thou didst bring this flowery car from the mount Kailaca. O lord of Rakshasas, desiring thy friendship out of fear, Maya, the king of Danavas, offered thee his daughter* for thy spouse [* This refers to Mandodari, Ravana's favourite queen.]. O thou of mighty arms, thou didst bring under thy subjection the powerful and irrepressible Danava [This refers to Madhu.] for the pleasure of Kumbhinasi [Ravana's sister, who was married to Madhu.]. And entering the region under the earth, thou didst defeat the serpents-and thus bring under thy subjection Vasuki, Takshaka, Sankha, and Jati. Those heroic Danavas, the Kalakeyas, were greatly powerful, irrepressible, and proud of the boons conferred on them. And fighting with them perpetually for a year, thou didst bring them under thy control, O lord, O slayer of foes, and learn from them the science of varied illusions, O king of the Rakshasas. O great hero, by thee were defeated in battle, the heroic and powerful sons of Varuna, followed by a fourfold division of their army. The dominion of Death is like the mighty main, having his

rod for aquatic animals, agonies for the trees that cover its islands, the noose for the billows, his attendants for the serpents and his terrible fever for the dreadful attitude of the deep. And diving into this terrible deep, thou didst, O king, discomfit Death himself and win glorious victory. And every one was pleased there with thy successful fight. The Earth was filled with various heroic Kshetriyas, resembling Sakra in prowess as she is adorned now with various trees. Raghava is not their equal either in strength or prowess. And all those heroes, hard to repress in battle, were slain by thee, O king. Do thou wait here, O great king; thou needst not take any trouble. Indrajit alone shall slay all these monkeys. And this one, O mighty monarch, having celebrated the Mahecwara [Relating to Mahacwara—the great Lord, a designation of Siva. I sacrifice, hath obtained a noble boon, rarely (attained by persons). Having agitated the ocean of celestial hosts, having darts and lances for its fishes, showering arms for its moss, elephants for its tortoises, steeds for its frogs, Rudra and Aditya for its ferocious animals, the Maruts and Vasus for its mighty serpents, cars, horses, and elephants for its volume of waters, and infantry for its spacious shore, this one (Indrajit), taking captive the lord of the celestials himself, had brought him into Lanka. Then, O king, liberated agreeably to the injunction of the Great-father, the slayer of Samvara and Vritra, worshipped of all the celestials, went (back) to heaven. Do thou, O great king, entrust Indrajit with this business, until he bringeth to destruction the monkey-host along with Rama. O king, thou must not think that this calamity, coming from an ignoble person is not insignificant. Thou shalt slay Raghava'

SECTION 8.

Then that heroic general, the Rakshasa named Prahasta, possessing the splendour of sable clouds, submitted with joined hands,-"I am competent to baffle in battle gods and Danavas and Gandharbas, ghosts, birds and serpents,—what then is a couple of human beings? Having been negligent and confident (in our power), we have all been deceived by Hanuman. But, I living, that ranger of woods shall not (again) go hence with his life. All the earth down to the ocean, containing hills, forests and woods, shall be rendered free from monkeys. Do thou command me. And, O ranger of the night, I shall deliver (the Rakshasas) from the monkeys; and thou shalt not have to suffer in the least in consequence of thy transgression". Then the Rakshasa named Durmukha, growing enraged, said,—"This overpowering of all of us must not be forgiven—this flagrant discomfiture of the metropolis of the auspicious lord of the Rakshasas as well as of his inner appartment by the foremost of monkeys. This moment marching alone (from hence) will I exterminate the monkeys, even if they shall have entered the dreadful deep, or the sky, or the subterranean regions". Then the exceedingly powerful Vajradanshtra, weilding up a terrific bludgeon, stained with flesh and gore, wrathfully observed,-"Rama the irrepressible existing, and also Sugriva with Lakshmana, what have we to do with the weak and wretched Hanuman? This very day, slaying single-handed Rama with Sugriva and with Lakshmana, with this bludgeon, shall I return, after having sorely troubled the monkey-host. And, O monarch, if thou art minded, hear this other word of mine! Verily he that is fertile in resources and ever ready, compasseth success. Let thousands of Rakshasas, heroic, terrible, fearful to behold, and wearing forms at will, appointed by the lord of Rakshasas, presenting themselves before Kakutstha in palpably human shapes, calmly say unto that foremost of the Raghus,-'Despatched have we been by thy younger brother.' Hearing this, he (Rama), summoning his forces without delay, shall come hither. Then, equipped with darts, javelins and maces, and bearing bows, arrows and scimitars in our hands, we shall swiftly and summoning speed set out (from hence); and stationing ourselves in the sky in bands, and slaughtering the monkey-army with mighty showers of rocks and weapons, we shall lead it to Death's door. Let us in this wise decoy Rama and Lakshmana; and if they fall into our design, they shall, without doubt, lose their lives". Then that hero, Kumbhakarna's son, named Nikumbha, endowed with exceeding prowess, in high wrath remarked unto Ravana, destroyer of worlds,—"Do ye, all of you, stay here along with the great king. I alone shall slay Raghava together with Lakshmana, and Sugriva with Hanuman, and all the monkeys". Then a Rakshasa, named Vajrahanu, resembling a hill, in wrath lapping the corners of his mouth with his tongue, said,—"Do ye, casting off anxiety, engage yourself as ye list. I alone shall swallow up that entire monkey-host. Do ye, remaining at ease and without anxiety, drink Varuna wine [Or Varuni is prepared from hog-weed, ground with the juice of the date or palm, and then distilled.]. I single-handed shall slay Sugriva with Lakshmana, as well as Hanuman with Angada.—and all the monkeys.

SECTION 9

Then, in fierce wrath seizing bludgeons, and patticas, lances and bearded darts and javelins, and axes, bows and excellent shafts and swords, resembling crystelline water, sprung up the

Rakshasas, Rabhasa, and the mighty Suryyacatru, and Saptaghna, and Yainakopa, and Mahaparcwa and Mahodara. Agniketu the irrepressible, and the Rakshasa Racmiketu, and the lusty Indracatru, son unto Ravana-and Prahasta, Virupaksha, and the exceedingly strong Vajradanshtra, -and Dhumraksha, and Nikumbha, and the Raksha Durmukha. And, flaming in energy, they all addressed Ravana, saying,— To-day shall we slay Rama, and Sugriva along with Lakshmana, and the helpless Hanuman, who hath damaged Lanka. Then, preventing them, who had (thus) equipped themselves with all kinds of weapons, and making them sit down, Vibhishana, with joined hands, again spoke unto them, saying,-"The wise have asserted that an appeal to prowess should be resorted to anent a business then only when the end sought cannot be attained through the three (other) means. Prowess produceth fruit only in respect of well-advised action directed while carefully watching (enemies) that are negligent, or captive, or under Divine affliction. But why do ye intend to discomfit (Rama), who is vigilant, who desireth victory, who is strong in the Divine strength, who hath subdued passion, and who is hard to subdue? Who had in this world ever thought of or reasoned about Hanuman's career over the dreadful deep, the lord of streams and rivers? O rangers of the night, the strength and prowess (of the foe) being immeasurable, ye should by no means recklessly disregard him. And what was the wrong that formerly had been done by Rama unto the king of the Rakshasas, that he hath carried off from Janasthana the spouse of that illustrious one? If Khara, who had trespassed into regions not his own, hath been slain in battle by Rama, surely a creature should to the best of his might preserve his life. It is for this great fear that exerciseth us on the score of Vaidehi owing its existence to this [The feeling of revenge for the slaughter of Khara and the rest.], that she, having been ravished, should (now) be given up. What is the use of acting so that quarrel may be the consequence? And (Rama), possessed of prowess, yet ever abiding by morality, is incapable of initiating hostilities for no purpose. Therefore, do ye give him his Maithili. And before, he by means of his shafts riveth this city together with her elephants and steeds, overflowing with countless gems, do ve give him his Maithili. And before the dreadful, irrepressible and mighty monkey-host blocketh up this Lanka of ours, do ye give (back) Sita. This city of Lanka shall perish as also all the heroic Rakshasas, if thou dost not thyself make over Rama's spouse unto him. I exert myself to pleasure thee, because of the fraternity (that subsisteth between us). Do what I say. I say what is truth and what also is for thy good. Do thou render (back) Rama's Maithili. Ere yet the king's son, for compassing thy destruction, showereth sure shafts resembling the rays of the autumnal Sun, having shining heads and feathered parts, and exceedingly hard, do thou render Maithili unto Dacarathi. Forsake thy wrath at once, which destroyeth happiness and virtue; and follow righteousness, which enhanceth enjoyment and fame. Be thou propitious. so that we may live (at ease) along with our sons and relatives! Render (back) Maithili unto Dacaratha's son". Having heard Vibhishana's speech, Ravana—lord of Rakshasas—I leaving all of them, entered his own chamber.

SECTION 10.

Then early in the morning, like the fiery and refulgent sun entering a mighty mass of clouds, Vibhishana, fast to virtue and interest, heroic and possessed of exceeding splendour, playing a perilous part, entered the apartment of his elder brother, resembling an assemblage of mountain-summits and elevated like the peak of a mountain, orderly, divided into spacious rooms,-the resort of the great-inhabited by august and intelligent persons attached (to Ravana); guarded around by lusty Rakshasas in limited numbers; having the air agitated by the breath of mad elephants; with loud blares of conchs, and resounding with trumpets; embosoming numbers of beautiful damsels, with its high-ways (overflowing with talk); furnished with doors of polished gold; embellished with excellent ornaments; resembling the abode of the Gandharbas, or the mansion of the Maruts; containing heaps of gems; like unto the dwelling of serpents. And that one of exceeding energy heard sacred and holy sounds uttered by Veda-versed Brahmanas celebrating the victory of his brother; and that highly powerful (hero) acquainted with Mantras and the Vedas saw Vipras worshipped with vessels of curds, clarified butter, flowers and fried paddy. And the mighty-armed (Vibhishana) saluted the younger brother of the bestower of riches [Kuvera.—Ravana was Kuvera's younger brother.], seated there. And that one acquainted with manners, after proper courtesy, sat him down on a seat decked in gold, which was pointed out (by a royal glance). And in retirement as also in presence only of his counsellors, Vibhishana spoke unto the high souled Ravana words backed by reason, and greatly fraught with his welfare. And having, with soothing speech, pacified his elder brother and extended towards him the due civilities, that one, who through height of sentiment had noted excellence and the want of it, addressed (Vibhishana) in words befitting the occasion and the place,--"Ever since, O subduer of enemies, Vaidehi hath come hither, are seen

inauspicious omens. Fire, enveloped in smoke at the time of its being ignited, and thereafter throwing out scintillations, with its brightness obscured by vapour, doth not increase adequately even on oblations being poured into it with Mantras. Reptiles are discovered in kitchens, sacrificial firechambers, and the places of Vaidika recitations; and ants (are found) in clarified butter. The milk of the kine hath been dried up; and the nobler elephants are without the temporal juice. And horses, albiet they have feasted on fresh grass, neigh distressfully. And asses, camels and mules, O king, with their hair standing erect, shed tears; and although they are ministered unto medically, they do not return to nature. And crows in numbers emit harsh cries on all sides, and are seen in swarms at the tops of edifices. Vultures sit sadly and distressed upon the roofs of houses. During the two twilights, the jackals, coming in sight, utter ominous howls. And wolves and other (ferocious) animals, as well as deer, approaching the gate of the palace in swarms, are heard to set up loud roars resembling the thunder. Things having come to this pass. even this expiation, I fancy, is capable of removing the evil omens. Do thou render back Vaidehi unto Raghaya. If I have said this through ignorance or covetuousness, thou ought not O mighty monarch, criminate me. All Rakshasas and Rakshasis, as well as those belonging to palace and the inner apartment-shall have to experience the evil consequence (of this act of thine). All the counsellors have retrained from tendering this counsel unto thee; but surely I must tell thee what I have seen or heard; and adopting proper measures, it behoveth thee to act so". (Ravana's) brother, Bibhishana, thus spoke, unto his brother, the chief of Rakshas, in the midst of counsellors, these words fraught with his good. Hearing this beneficial, mild and pregnant speech, fortified by reasons and capable of compassing (his welfare) for the present, past and the future, (Ravana) who had conceived a passion (for Sita), getting into a rage, replied,—"Fear find I none whatever. Raghava never shall have Mithila's daughter. Even if Lakshmana's elder brother should be supported in battle by the celestials with Indra (at their head), how can he stay before me (in the field)?" Having said this, that destroyer of celestial hosts, the Ten-necked one, possessed of mighty strength and of terrific prowess in battle, then dismissed his brother Vibhishana, who had spoken truth.

SECTION 11.

The unrighteous king, overmastered by his passion (for Sita), in consequence of his sinful act as well as the loss of honour he sustained at the hands of his friends, became reduced. And the occasion for war was wanting. Ravana, possessed by lust, and continually thinking of Vaidehi, conceived along with his counsellors that the time for entering into hostilities had arrived. And sallying forth, he ascended a mighty car furnished with golden network, adorned with pearls and coral, and yoked with trained steeds. And having ascended that excellent vehicle, having sounds resembling those of mighty clouds, that foremost of Rakshas, the Ten necked one, drove towards the court. And as he coursed on, Rakshasas, bearing swords and shields, and carrying all kinds of weapons, went before the lord of the Rakshasas. And (some of) these, wearing various frightful suits, and decked with diverse ornaments, went, surrounding his rear and flanks. And atirathas went with cars, and superb mad elephants, and sportive steeds; and bearing in their hands maces and bludgeons; and darts and clubs. And as Ravana marched towards the court, there arose the loud blares of thousand trumpet, and the uproarious sounds of conches. And that redoubtable and mighty car-warrior held his course, suddenly making sides resound, and beautifying the highways. And the spotless white umbrella of the lord of Rakshasas. being raised up, looked beautiful like the Moon at her full. On his right and left graced two crystal white chowris furnished with threads of gold. And all the Rakshasas standing on the ground with joined hands, bow down their heads to the foremost of Rakshasas who was seated on his car. Hymned by the Rakshasas with blessings for victory, that exceedingly energetic chastiser of enemies arrived at the court constructed (by Vicwakarma). And that highly energetic one in person entered that court paved with silver and gold, having its heart decorated with crystal, and gracefully covered with silk, embroidered with gold; excellently constructed by Vicwakarma, and guarded by six hundred ghosts. And Ravana sat down on a superior and august seat consisting of lapises, furnished with a pillow; and covered with a soft dearskin. And lord-like, he commanded the envoys possessed of fleet vigor, saying, "Do ye speedily summon hither the Rakshasas. I fan some mighty effort hath to be put forth against our foes. Hearing his words, the envoys began to range Lanka; and going to every house, they fearlessly collected the Rakshas from places of sport, bed-rooms, and gardens. Then some set out, mounting cars, and some mounting proud coursers, and some on foot. And like the welkin filled with fowls, the city thronged with approaching cars, elephants and steeds. And leaving their various vehicles and cars behind, they entered the court on foot, like lions entering mountain caverns. And taking the feet of the

sovereign, and honoured by him (in turn), they sat them down, some on raised seats, some on cushions of Kuca, and some on the floor. And presenting themselves agreeably to the command of the monarch, they sat them down each according to his position, before the lord of Rakshasas, Ravana. And there came also the learned and competent to arrive at infallible decisions, and they sat them down in order of merit. And there also came courtiers endowed with virtues, versed in every thing, and having intelligence for their eye-sight, -and innumerable heroes by hundreds also (arrived) at that court for ascertaining the course that would prove beneficial. And then mounting a large, noble and splendid car, having its parts decked with gold, and yoked with horses, the magnanimous and renowned Vibhishana went to the court of his elder brother. And that younger brother (of Rayana), announcing his name, bowed down at the feet of his elder brother. And Suka and Prahasta were employed in giving to each a separate seat befitting his rank. And from all sides in the court there began to spread the odour of excellent agura and sandal and wreaths belonging to the Rakshasas, decked in gold and various gems, and clad in costly attires. And no one among these present at court uttered any thing, or spoke any falsehood, or conversed in loud accents. And having completely attained their desire, all of fierce prowess, gazed at the face of their lord. And in the assembly of those intelligent, and exceedingly powerful persons, equipped with arms, the intelligent Ravana appeared splendid like the Vajra-handed Indra among the Vasus.

SECTION 12.

Then surveying that entire assembly, that conqueror in battle delivered himself unto Prahasta, --- general of the forces, saying,-"O general, it behoveth thee so to order disciplined fourfold forces that they may successfully protect the city". Thereat, Prahasta, carefully carrying out the royal behest, stationed all the forces within and without the city. And having posted the army for the defence of the city, Prahasta sitting down before the king, said,-"I have stationed the forces belonging to thee who art possessed of strength, inside as well as outside. (Now), without suffering thy mind to be agitated with anxiety, speedily, do what is in thy heart. Hearing the speech of Prahasta seeking the welfare of the kingdom, Ravana craving for enjoyment spoke in the midst of his aderents,-"When virtue, or happiness, or interest is in straits, it behoveth you to (know your course) in relation to pleasant and unpleasant, happiness and misery, profitable and unprofitable, and good and evil. No business of mine which ye have set about after taking counsel, hath ever miscarried. And like Vasava environed by the moon, stars and planets, and the Maruts, I surrounded by you, have attained to plenitude of prosperity. I am, for certain, going to employ you all. In consequence of sleep, I could not inform him of this matter. After having slept for six months that one of prodigious strength-foremost of those bearing arms-hath just risen. Janaka's daughter and Rama's beloved wife hath been brought hither from the forest of Dandaka, the region ranged by Rakshas. That indolent damsel wisheth not to ascend my bed; nor is there any in the three spheres, that to me is like unto Sita. She is slender waisted, and high-hipped, and her face is as the autumnal Moon resembling a golden image. She is meek and looketh like the hand work of Maya himself gifted with an infinite variety of fascinations. And beholding her dainty and tender feet with roseate soles, and having coppery nails, my mind burneth (with desire). And seeing her resembling the flame of a sacrificial fire and the splendour of the Sun himself; and her fair face furnished with a prominent nose and elegant eyes, I, having lost control over self, have come under the sway of desire. And my passion, uninfluenced by anger and joy. capable of producing pallor, and constantly causing anguish and sorrow, hath rendered me pale. Expecting her lord, Rama, the beautiful one having expansive eyes, hath solicited for a year's space; and I have pledged my fair woods to her of graceful eyes. But tired am I on account of my passion, -like a horse spent on the way. How can the rangers of the woods. or the sons of Dacaratha cross over the sea ungovernable and swarming with countless creatures and fishes? On the other hand, a single month hath troubled us grievously. Hard it is therefore to understand the course of events. Do ye act, each as he thinks proper. And although no fear can come from mortals, yet ye should deliberate (as to what ye should do). Formerly I had gained victory with the help given by you; do ve in the same way stand by me now. The king's son, having learnt that Sita is on the other shore of the ocean, taking before them monkeys headed by Sugriva, reached Varuna's abode. Do ye so counsel that Sita may be with-holden by me and the sons of Dacaratha may be slain; but ye must prefer certain counsel. No other person in this world hath the power to cross the sea along with the monkeys,—victory, therefore, is undubitably mine". Hearing the sorrowful speech of (Ravana) afflicted with lust, Kumbhakarna greatly enraged, and said,-"When just on seeing (Sita) of Rama along with Lakshmana, thou didst by main force carry her away, it plainly appeareth that thy mind, like the Yamuna filling her bed, hath been possessed (by her). O great king, all this (that

thou hast done) is not worthy of thee. If thou hadst at the outset consulted us in this matter, we would have done what was proper. O ten-faced one, the king that arriving at certain conclusions, carrieth on his regal affairs agreeably to justice, hath not to repent afterwards. But those actions that are done without deliberation, like unto clarified butter poured in an impure sacrifice, conduces only to harm. He doth not know what is proper and what not, that performs prior actions afterwards, and posterior actions first. Others spy holes in the actions of the volatile; the latter may be possessed of great power,-like swans passing Krauncha through the hole which has been made by the dart of Kumara. By luck it is that Rama hath not yet slain thee, who hath done this tremendous thing, without reflection, resembling food mixed with poison. But as thou hast entered upon a course of action which is improper even in respect of foes, I will, O sinless one, perform thy work by slaying thy enemies. And, O ranger of the night, I will exterminate thy foe. Even if Sakra and the sun-god, even if fire and the War-god, even if Kuvera and Varuna should range themselves against me, I will fight them. Purandara himself shall be afflicted with fright when I have my body measuring a mountain, and furnished with sharp teeth, shall, setting up roars, fight with my huge bludgeon. Before Rama shooteth a second shaft, to slay me, I shall drink his life-blood. Be thou comforted by slaying Dacaratha's son, I will exert to secure blessed victory for thee. Having killed Rama along with Lakshmana, I shall devour all the principal monkeys. Do thou make merry at thy will, drink the Varuni, and, with thy mind set at rest, conduct affairs fraught with thy welfare. On Rama being despatched to the mansion of Yama, Sita shall come under thy subjection for ever and a day".

SECTION 13

Seeing Ravana wrought up with wrath, the exceedingly strong Mahaparcwa, reflecting for a moment, observed with joined hands,—"The man that, entering the forest, abounding with deer and ferocious animals, doth not drink honey, maketh a fool of himself. O destroyer of foes, who is the lord of thee, that art lord thyself? Enjoy with Vaidehi, taking thy enemy by the hand. And, O thou endowed with prodigious power, do thou exerting thy might lead thy life, after the manner of hens, and invading Sita again and again. do thou enjoy her and derive pleasure (therefrom). And when thou hast attained thy purpose; what fear can succeed? Alike when on thy guard, and off it, thou shalt provide against all exigencies. Kumbhakarna along with us, as well the exceedingly powerful Indrajit, are competent to chastise the thunder-bearing (Deity) equipped with his thunder. Passing by gift, conciliation, and dissension, which have been assigned by the wise as the means of success, I relish the success in business which is attained through chastisement. O highly powerful one, we shall, without doubt, by the prowess of our arms, subdue all these enemies of thine that have come hither" Thus addressed by Mahaparcwa, king Ravana, honouring his speech, said,-"O Mahaparcwa, I will relate unto thee, who hast spoken (thus) a secret matter relating to myself, which befell me to since I saw Panjikasthala, like a flame in the sky, coursing to the Great-father's mansion. Her pace slackened, as soon as she saw me, (turn) I feasted on her and deprived her of her attire. Then she went to the Great-father's place like a crumpled lotus. That high-souled one received information of all that I had done; and thereat, waxed enraged, the Deity spoke unto me,—"If from this day, thou ravish a female by force, thy head certainly shall be riven in an hundred pieces. It is for this, that with my mind afflicted with fear, I do not violently force, Videha's daughter Sita, anent lying with her fair self. My rush is like that of the sea, and my motion that of the wind. Dacaratha's son doth not know this, and therefore doth he approach sea. Who wisheth to address a lion that is lying asleep in a cave resembling Death wrought up by wrath? Rama hath not seen shafts shot by me, resembling twotongued serpents and therefore, it is that he approacheth me. Like a met burning an elephant, I shall, with shafts shot from bows by hundreds, resembling the thunder-bolt, consume Rama. And as at the proper hour the risen Sun defeateth the splendor of the stars, will I, surrounded by a mighty army, overpower his strength. Neither the thousand eyed Vasava, nor Varuna, is capable of fighting me. By the might of this army did I formerly conquer this city, governed by Vaicravana".

SECTION 14.

Hearing the words of the lord of Rakshasas, as well as the thundering of Kumbhakarna, Vibhishana addressed the Rakshasa chief, in a pregnant speech, fraught with his welfare,-"Thou hast been bound about thy neck by the mighty and huge serpent, Sita, having her breast for its body anxiety for its venom, smile for its sharp fangs, and her five fingers for its hood. Therefore before the monkeys, resembling mountain-peaks, having teeth for their arms and nails for their weapons,-subjugate Lanka, do thou render Maithili unto Dacaratha's son. And before the shafts shot by Rama, resembling the thunder-bolt and having impetuosity of the wind, cut off the heads of the foremost of the Rakshasas, do

thou render Mithila's daughter unto the son of Dacaratha. Neither Kumbhakarna nor Indraiit, neither Mahaparcwa nor Mahodara, neither Nikumbha nor Kumbha nor yet Atikaya, O king, can stay in the field against Raghava. Living, thou, whether thou art protected by the Sun or the winds, or throwest thyself into the lap itself of Vasava, or enterest the sky or the nether spheres, shall not escape death". Hearing Vibhishana's words, Prahasta said,—"Fear know we none whatever from the celestials, or Danavas, or Yakshas, or Gandharbas, or huge snakes; fear know we none in battle with birds and serpents. How can fear at all afflict us proceeding from the king's son, Rama? Hearing Prahasta's speech, Vibhishana, seeking the welfare of the king, and having his intellect grounded in virtue, interest and profit, said words enfolding high sense.—"O Prahasta, like a sinful person being unable to ascend heaven, what the king, Mahodara, thou, and Kumbhakarna, are saying with reference to Rama, shall not prove true. As one without a raft cannot cross over the mighty main, how can I, or thou, or all the Rakshas combined, cause death unto Rama, who, O Prahasta, is versed in the sense of things. Even the gods become stolid before the sovereign of the Ikshwaku race. having righteousness for his principle quality, and being a mighty car-warrior and of such a character, and who is competent in action. As yet the Kanka-feathered, terrible and sharp shafts shot by Raghava, have not pierced into thy body; and therefore thou dost speak so. And, O Prahasta, as yet the sharpened shafts, capable of destroying life and having the impetuosity of the thunder-bolt, have not entered into thy body, and therefore thou dost speak thus, neither Ravana, nor the exceedingly powerful Tricirsha. Neither Kumbhakarna's son Nikumbha nor Indrajit, is capable of bearing in battle the son of Dacaratha, resembling Sakra himself. And neither Devantaka [Lit.-destroyer of the Deity.] nor Narantaka [Lit.—destroyer of men.], neither Atikaya [Lit.—hugebodied.l. nor the magnanimous Atiratha, nor the equally strong Akampana, is competent to stay Raghava in fight. And the king, naturally of fierce temper and thoughtless, through the instrumentality of ye who appearing to be his friends are in reality his foes, seeketh to destroy the Rakshasas. Do ye take out and deliver the monarch, who hath through force become subject to a dreadful and mighty, and thousandheaded serpent bursting with immeasurable prowess. As a person possessed by fearfully strong ghosts, is saved by his friends pulling him by his hair, attaining your desire ye should, assembling together, rescue the king. This one is sunk in the Raghava sea having excellent waters. Do ye speedily coming together deliver him. He (the king) hath fallen into the Kakutstha nether regions, I tell thee my full mind,fraught with the welfare of this city together with the Rakshasas, as well of the king with his adherents. Do thou make over Maithili unto the son of the king. He is a true counsellor who adviseth his master, after duly ascertaining the strength, position, increase or destruction of the enemies as well as of their own party.

SECTION 15.

Hearing carefully the words of Bibhisana, gifted with the intelligence of the lord of speech, the high-souled Indrajit, the leader of demons, spake, saying,—"Why art thou, O uncle, speaking these useless words like one terrified? He even, who is not born in this race, cannot speak or act in this wise. Only one man in this family, my uncle Bibhisana, is weak in energy, strength, prowess, patience, heroism and vigor. Why art thou O timid one, afraid of them since any one of these Rakshasas is capable of slaying those two princes, human beings as they are? The master of the three worlds, the lord of the celestials, has been brought down by me as captive on this earth. And all the celestials smitten with fear fled to different quarters. I brought down on earth the loud-roaring celestial elephant Airavata and uprooted by force its tusks. And all the celestials were terrified at this. Am I not, who have shattered the pride of the celestials, afflicted the leading Daityas, and am gifted with excellent prowess, capable of discomfitting these two princess—very ordinary mortals as they are?" Hearing the words of (Indrajit) gifted with high energy, irrepressible and resembling the lord of celestials, Bibhisana, the foremost of those using weapons, addressed him with words, fraught with high import,-"O my son, thou art a mere child and of unripe intellect and hence thou art not capable of ascertaining the propriety and impropriety of counsels. Thou art therefore speaking thus like a maniac for thy own destruction. Thou art known as a son unto Ravana, O Indrajit, but in sooth, thou art his foe in disguise, since knowing of his destruction from Raghava, thou dost not prevent him. Thou art brave, childish and hast been impelled by thy silly understanding. Thou shalt be slain along with him who hath brought thee in this counsel chamber. Thou art, O Indrajit, foolish, imprudent, devoid of humility, of an irritable temper, of feeble sense, viciousminded and of a silly understanding. And thou dost speak so, being impelled by childishness. Who shall withstand in battle, the shafts, shot by Raghava, resembling the rod of Death, the stick of Brahman, flaming like the Fire of Dissolution. Do thou render back Sita, king, unto Rama, with riches, jewels,

excellent ornaments, clothes and jems and we shall then be able to live here void of grief".

SECTION 16.

Bibhishana addressing him with these excellent and auspicious words, fraught with high sense, Ravana, impelled by Death, again spake in harsh accents.—"It is better to live with open enemies or enraged serpents than with those who pass for friends but are in reality foes. I know well the nature of kinsmen, in all the worlds, O Rakhasa, -one takes delight in another's misfortune. The kinsmen, O Rakshasa, generally disregard him who is their king, protecteth the kingdom, educated and pious-and they always try to discomfit him, if he be a hero. These terrible enemies—the kinsmen, hypocrite as they are, always take delight in one another's calamity. Hear, I shall relate what the elephants, in yore, spoke beholding some persons with noose in hand—"We do not fear, fire, weapons, or even the terrible noose-we fear only the dreadful kinsmen, blinded with selfishness. They alone unfold the means of our destruction—there is not the least doubt about it. Fear from kinsmen is therefore known as the worst of all fears. In kine there is milk, in kinsmen, there is fear, in women there is fickleness, and in Brahmanas, there is asceticism. It doth not please thee, I fancy, O gentle one, that I am honoured of the three worlds, the lord of riches, and the subduer of my foes. As the drops of water do not last long on the leaves of lotuses, so is the friendship with unworthy persons. As the autumnal clouds, albeit muttering, do not pour forth water, so is the friendship with unworthy persons. As a bee flies away after sucking up the honey so is the friendship with unworthy persons. As a bee, after feeding upon the Kaca flowers, doth not get honey so is (fruitless) the friendship with unworthy persons. As an elephant, after being bathed, covers its body again with dust, taking it with its trunk, so is the friendship with unworthy persons. Fie thee, O monkey, O thou that bringest disgrace on the family. Had any one else spoken thus he would have ceased to live by this time Being thus accosted harshly, Bibhisana, speaking truth, rose up along with four Rakshasas having maces in their hands. Thereupon, rising up in the welkin, the graceful brother Bibhisana, worked up with ire, addressed the lord of Rakshasas—"Thou art mistaken, O king. Do thou speak what thou wishest-thou art my elder brother, adorable like unto father-thou dost not follow the track of virtue. I cannot tolerate the harsh accents of thine, my elder brother.—For thy welfare I spoke those well-meaning words, O Ten-necked one, but thou didst not pay heed to them being brought under the control of Death. O king, many are the persons who speak sweet words, but rare are they who can speak and hear unpalatable but well-meaning words. How can I disregard thy death like unto a burning house bound as thou art by the noose of Death, the destroyer of all creatures. I do not wish to behold thee slain by the well-sharpened shafts of Rama, feathered in gold and resembling the flaming fire. Even the heroic and powerful persons, well versed in the use of weapons, wear away like sands in battle, being attracted by Death. Thou art worshipful unto me, do thou forgive me for what I have said for thy welfare. Do thou protect thyself and this city, abounding in Rakshasas. May good betide thee! I am going away and do thou be happy without me. What, I spoke unto thee, O ranger of the night, to prevent thee, for thy welfare, did not please thee. Persons, whose lease of life is well-nigh expired, do not pay heed to the well-meaning words of their friends".

SECTION 17

Having addressed Ravana with these harsh words, his younger brother, reached in no time, where Rama along with Lakshmana was. The leading monkeys, stationed on earth, espied him on the welkin, resembling in size the summit of the mount Meru, and burning like lightning in the effulgence of his own person. And his four attendants of terrible prowess were adorned with excellent ornaments and armed with armours and maces. He was like unto a collection of clouds, powerful as the thunder-bolt, holding an excellent mace, heroic and embellished with excellent ornaments. And beholding him along with four counsellors, the highly intelligent Sugriva, the lord of monkeys, engaged in meditation along with them. And meditating for a while, he spoke unto the monkeys headed by Hanuman the following excellent words—"Behold, there comes a Rakshasa, armed with various weapons and followed by four demons to slay us and there is not the least doubt about it". And hearing the words of Sugriva, the excellent monkeys, taking up huge trees and crags, bespoke him.—"Do thou order us, O king, to destroy these vicious-souleri demons. These shall crush them to death, limited as is the tenure of their life". They addressing each other in this wise. Bibhisana descended from the sky on the northern shore. And beholding Sugriya and all others stationed near him, the highly intelligent Bibhisana accosted them, at the highest pitch of his voice, saying,-"Liveth there the Rakshasa, Ravana, the lord of demons, and perpetrator of many iniquitous deeds. I am his younger brother known as Bibhisana. By him, slaying the vulture

Yatayu, was carried away Sita from Janasthana. She is imprisoned, brought under his sway, poorly, and being well guarded by the Rakshasees. With various well meaning words and reasonings I pointed out unto him, the necessity of rendering back Sita unto Rama. And Ravana, possessed by Death, paid no heed to my well-meaning words, like unto one, lying on the brink of death, neglecting the administration of medicine. Being reviled by him and treated harshly like a menial, I have come to seek Raghava's shelter, renouncing my children and wives. Do ye soon mention unto the high-souled Raghava, the refuge of all creatures, that Bibhisana hath arrived". Hearing those words the quick-paced Sugriva, excited with ire, spake unto Rama, before Lakshinana, saying,-"Forsooth hath an enemy entered secretly in our midst and he shall slav us getting an opportunity like unto an owl killing the crows. O slayer of foes, it now behoveth thee to be particularly careful about the counsels, arrangement of soldiers, polity—civil and military and spies of our own party as well as those of the enemies. These Rakshasas are heroic; they assume shapes at will, always lie in ambush and secretly bring about others' ruin—we should not therefore place confidence in them. This must be the emissary of Rayana—the lord of Rakshasas. Entering in our midst, he shall, in sooth, sow dissensions in our camp, or he shall slay us when we are careless, confiding in them. Avoiding the enemies, we should now collect the forest-rangers our friends and servants. O lord, this man is a Rakshasa by birth and the brother of our foe and so is he our enemy, how can we trust him? Ravana's vounger brother, known as Bibhishana, hath come here with four Rakshasas, to seek thy shelter. O thou the foremost of forgiving persons, I consider this Bibhishana, who hath been despatched by Ravana, worthy of being slain. Being impelled by his wicked intention and commissioned by Ravana, this Rakshasa hath come here and secretly by virtue of his illussive powers he shall slay thee, O innocent one, when thou shalt place confidence in him". Having thus accosted Rama, skilled in the art of speech, that lord of the army, Sugriva, well versed in speech, became silent. And hearing the words of Sugriva, the mighty Rama spake unto the monkeys, near him, headed by Hanuman, saying, --- "Ye have all heard, the words well grounded in reason, the lord of monkeys hath said, regarding Rayana's vounger brother. It behoveth him, who desireth for perpetual wealth, and is intelligent and capable of giving sound counsels, to advise his friends in difficult matters". Being thus addressed by Rama (to minister unto him best counsels) all those monkeys, intent upon encompassing his well-being, gave out their respective opinions. "O Raghava, there is nothing beyond thy knowledge in the three worlds. It is only to show thy respect towards us, O Rama, that thou dost accost us in this wise. Thou art of truthful vows, heroic, pious, of firm prowess, discriminating, recollecting and having implicit confidence in thy friends. Let the intelligent and capable counsellors deliver their reasonable opinions unto thee". They speaking thus unto Raghava, the intelligent monkey Angada, spoke as follows for sounding the intention of Bibhishana,—"We should always suspect him since he has come from the side of our enemies, and should not, all on a sudden, place confidence in him. The wicked-minded always move about hiding their real self, and bring about peoples' calamity, taking advantage of their weak points. And great is the disaster thereof. It is always proper to engage in actions, considering what is right and what is wrong. Virtues should always be gathered and vices abandoned. Do thou renounce him unhesitatingly, if dost thou find in him a source of a great calamity and do thou embrace him if dost thou find him crowned with many virtues". Thereupon followed Sarava with words fraught with high import,—"O best of men, do thou speedily despatch emissaries to sound Bibhishana. If dost thou, sounding him well through the instrumentality of sharp spies, find him friendly, do thou win him over to thy side". Thereupon the wise Jambavan, arriving at conclusions by virtue of his knowledge of Sastras, began with words, void of defects, "Surely doth Bibhishana come from the vicious lord of Rakshasas, dead set against us and hath arrived at such a bad place and in such a bad hour. We should always fear him". And thereupon followed Mainda, conversant with what is right and wrong, after due deliberation, with words pregnant with reason,—"He is Ravana's younger brother, by name Bibhishana. Let the lord of men ask him every thing at first in sweet words. Do thou first ascertain, O foremost of men, with what intention he hath come-evil or good-and then settle what course to adopt". Thereupon spake Hanuman, the foremost of the counsellors and well versed in Sastras, in accents sweet, glorious and fraught with a high value,-"Even Vrihaspati, (the lord of speech) cannot excell thee, capable, gifted with the best of intellect and foremost of those skilled in the art of speech, as thou art. And what I know I speak, O king. I do so, in the interest of Rama's work and not impelled by my skill in the art of speech, by the pride of being a counsellor, by the vanity of being gifted with a high intellect or by the desire of speaking for its own sake. What thy counsellors have said for ascertaining the good or evil

intention of Bibhishana appeareth to me as most defective and

productive of no consequence whatever. It is impossible to sound him without any command. And even to command him now for the same appears to me as improper. And as regards the despatch of spies, anent what thou hast been advised by thy ministers, I do not observe any utility. And what little have thought of, I have something to say (regarding Jambavan's proposal) that Bibhishana hath arrived at such a had place and in such an evil hour. He has really come to a very good place and in a very good hour. And truly has he performed a becoming and sensible action by coming here after duly ascertaining that Ravana is a vicious wight and thou art a pious person-he is full of vices-thou art gifted with many virtues—he is tyrranical and thou art powerful. And what they hate said, O king, as regards sounding him through secret spies, appears to me as one requiring great wisdom. An intelligent man, when questioned by any suddenly, suspects many things. And if the new-comer be a friend and has come here for his own happiness, how greatly shall his mind be changed by such a course? Besides by a sudden questioning it is impossible to ascertain the intention of a foreigner. Do thou therefore thyself accost him and determine, by his voice, his secret motive. I did not however mark anything of his wickedness while he spoke; rather I did observe signs of gladness on his countenance. So I do not suspect him. The wily can never come fearless and undisturbed. Nor were his words cunning. So I do not suspect him. It is not very easy to hide one's real nature. It manifests itself by force. So this action of Bibhishana is not out of place or season. When accomplished it shall redound to his own interest. Considering well thy preparations for war and Ravana's vain conduct, hearing of Vali's destruction and Sugriva's installation on the throne, he hath, impelled by his good sense, come here, desirous of gaining the kingdom. Taking these into account, it seems prudent to take him to our side. O thou the foremost of the intelligent, I have spoken thus considering him sincere. It now behoveth thee to perform what thou thinkest proper".

SECTION 18. Hearing those words of the Wind-god's son, the irrepressible Rama, conversant with all the Sastras, replied, with words expressing his own opinion—"I have also thought of some thing regarding Bibhishana. I wish you all, interested in my well-being, to hear that. (Bibhishana) hath come here as a friend so I cannot forsake him by any means. And even if he has come with any evil intent it is not culpable for the pious to afford him shelter". Thereupon hearing his words and considering them well, Sugriva, the lord of the monkeys, replied in more auspicious words,—"Whether this ranger of the night is sincere or wicked, he should never be offered any shelter, since he hath forsaken his brother in the midst of these calamities. What reason is there to believe that he shall not renounce us in our difficulty?" Hearing the words of the lord of monkeys and casting his looks towards them, Kakutstha, having truth for his prowess, smiling a little, spake, unto Lakshmana, crowned with all the marks of piety, saving-"Without being conversant with Sastras, and living in the company of old men, none can speak such words as have been uttered by the king of the monkeys. There appear unto me, however two subtler reasons anent the difference between brothers, amongst the kings-one is evident and another mundane. There are two classes of foes—one consisting of the members of the same line the other of the neighbours. And these generally bring about our misfortune whenever any opportunity presents itself. And it is for this that he hath come here. Those kinsmen, who do not think of one another's mischief, generally long for their respective well-being. But even such well-meaning relatives are feared by the kings. And hear. I shall relate, what the Sastras say regarding the weak points thou hast mentioned as to the advisability of taking the enemies to our side. We are not his kinsmen and this Rakshasa hath come here with a view to gain the kingdom. Even the Rakshasas are wise enough to ascertain the proper coursewe must take Bibhishana. If the brothers are confident and satisfied with each other they generally live together, or else they fear each other and ultimately engage in a tumultuous war. And there hath sprung up some difference with Ravana and therefore Bibhishana hath come here. Nor are, O friend, all brothers like Bharata, all sons like me unto their father, all friends like thee". Being thus addressed by Rama, the highly wise Sugriva, along with Lakshmana, rose up and bending low his head, said—"O thou the best of all forgiving persons, this night-ranger hath been despatched by Ravana. I therefore think it better to kill him. Being impelled by his vicious sense that Rakshasa hath come here to slay us, O innocent one, when myself, thou and Lakshmana shall consider ourselves secure. Therefore the large-armed Bibhisana, the younger brother of the ruthless Rayana, deserves to be slain along with his counsellors". Having thus addressed (Rama) the foremost of Raghu's race, skilled in art of speech, Sugriva, the lord of monkey host, equally versed in the art of speech, became silent And hearing the words of Sugriva, and weighing them, Rama again addressed the foremost of monkeys with more reasonable accents—"Wicked or otherwise, whatever this night-ranger may be, he shall not be able to do me the least mischief. Pisachas, Danavas, Yakshas or all the Rakshasas on earth,—I can slay them all, if I like, with the tips of my fingers, O thou the lord of monkeys. I have heard of a pigeon adoring and entertaining with its own flesh, an enemy who took its shelter. While a pigeon received so friendly its enemy, the slayer of its mate, how can I then act otherwise, O foremost of the monkeys? Do thou hear, I shall relate, a sacred story, narrated by the great ascetic, the truthful Kandu, son of the ascetic Kanya. O slayer of foes, even a wicked-minded enemy, if he, with folded palms and a poor heart, craveth for thy shelter, should not be slain. If an enemy, proud or terrified, seeketh shelter in affright, he should be saved by a great man even at the risk of his own life. One, who from fear, ignorance or wilfully doth not protect him who seeketh his shelter, perpetrateth a mighty iniquity, blamed of all. When a person is slain before him whose shelter he hath taken he taketh away all the virtues of his protector. So great is the sin in not affording shelter unto those who seek for it; it standeth in the way of going to heaven, bringeth in calumny and destroyeth the strength and prowess. I shall therefore follow the excellent words of Kandu—leading to piety, fame and the attainment of the abode of the celestials. I always declare 'no fear' unto all creatures, whenever any, approaching me, says, 'I am thine' and seeketh my shelter. Even this is my pious observance. O Sugriva, O foremost of monkeys, do thou soon bring him here, whether he be Rayana or Bibhishana and I shall declare unto him 'no fear'. Hearing the words of Rama, Sugriva, the lords of those who go bounding, over-flowing with friendliness, bespake Kakutstha.-"What wonder is there that thou wouldst speak these auspicious words, O thou the foremost of kings, conversant with morality, gifted with prowess and ever treading the pious track as thou art. Truly doth my inner self regard Bibhisana as devoid of any wicked intention. He has been well sounded by signs and gestures. And let the greatly wise Bibhisana, Raghava, be placed on an equal footing with us and gain our friendship". Hearing the words of Sugriva, the lord of monkeys, the king of men (Rama) made instantly friends with Bibhisana, like unto the conqueror of enemies' cities making friends with the king of

Raghava thus declaring unto him 'no fear', Ravana's younger brother, the greatly wise Bibhisana, bending low his head, cast his looks on the earth. And descending from the welkin with his devoted attendants the virtuous-souled Bibbisana delighted bowed unto Rama And thereupon touching his feet along with four Rakshasas, Bibhisana addressed Rama,-with words, fraught with piety, befitting the occasion and conducing to pleasure. "I am Ravana's younger brother and have been greatly insulted by him, I have therefore come to seek thy shelter, the refuge of all creatures, abandoning Lanka, and renouncing my friends and riches. My kingdom, life and happiness are all at thy disposal". Hearing his words Rama replied,—comforting him with words and favouring him as if with looks. "Do thou relate unto me truly the strength and weakness of the enemies". Being thus accosted by Rama of unwearied actions, the Raksha, began to describe the strength of Ravana. "O prince, by virtue of the boon acquired from the Self-Create, the Ten-necked one is incapable of being slain by all creatures—Gandharbas, serpents, or birds. My elder brother—the one next to and highly Ravana—is the heroic Kumbharkarna-Sakra's equal in battle. Thou mayst have heard, O Rama, his commander is Prahasta, by whom was defeated Manibhadra on the mount Kailaca. (His son) Indrajit, equipped with invincible armour, bow and fingerprotector made of the skin of iguana, becomes invisible in fight. And, worshipping Fire and becoming invisible, that graceful hero, O Raghava, slayeth the enemies in conflict, having the contending parties vast and well arranged. Mahodara, Mahaparcwa and the Rakshasa, Akampana, are his lieutenants, who equal the Lokapalas [Divinities who protect the regions, or the Sun, Moon, Fire, Wind, Indra, Yama, Varuna and Kuvera, l in battle. His army consists of ten thousand kotis of Rakshasas, wearing shapes at will, inhabiting the city of Lanka, and living on flesh and gore. And with the Lokapalas and the celestials, they were all defeated by the vicious-souled Ravana". Hearing the words of Bibhisana and weighing them in his mind, that foremost of Raghu's race said—"I understand well the strength and prowess of Ravana, which thou hast depicted truly, O Bibhisana. Do thou hear truly that I shall slay the Ten-necked one together with Prahasta and his sons, and I shall make thee king. Whether he entereth the Rasatala [The seven infernal regions under the earth and the residence of the Nagas, Asuras and Daitvas. This is the lowest of the seven divisions of Patala Lor the regions under the earth or seeketh shelter of the Grand-father of the celestials, he shall not be able to save his life from me. I do swear by my three brethern that I shall enter the city of Ayodhya, after slaying in battle Ravana with his sons, kinsmen and friends". Hearing these words of Rama of unwearied action, the virtuous-souled (Bibhisana), bowing

his head unto him, began-"I shall lend thee my might in slaying the Rakshasas and devastating the city of Lanka, and shall be in the midst of Ravana's army". Thereupon, embracing Bibhisana, who spoke thus, Rama, delighted, said unto Lakshmana,-"O my brother, do thou bring water from the ocean. Sprinkling the greatly wise Bibhisana, I shall make him at once the king of the Rakshasas, O conferer of honour; for I am greatly pleased with him". Being thus addressed, Saumitri, at the command of the king, annointed Bibhisana and made him the king of the Rakshasas in the presence of the monkey-host. Beholding Rama's kindness (towards Bibhisana), the monkeys eulogized the high-souled one, exclaiming "Excellent! Excellent!" Thereupon, Hanuman and Sugriva addressed Bibhisana, saying, "Do thou tell us how we shall cross over the main—the abode of Varuna, along with the host of the highly powerful monkeys. Do thou inform us of the means by which we may cross over, along with our army, the lord of rivers and streams-the abode of Being thus addressed, the virtuous-souled Bibhisana replied,-"It behoveth the king, Raghava, to seek refuge from the Ocean. This measureless deep was dug out by (the king) Sagara [Sagara was a sovereign of Avodhya belonging to the same family with Rama.]. And the great Ocean shall surely help Rama belonging to Sagara's race". Being thus accosted by the wise Rakshasa, Bibhishana. Sugriva reached where Rama with Lakshmana was. Thereupon, the broadnecked Sugriva began to explain the well-meaning words of Bibhishana, requesting Rama to seek the shelter of the Ocean. And those words pleased Rama, pious by nature. And the highly eflulgent (hero) requested, smiling, the active Lakshmana and the monkey-chief Sugriva to collect necessaries for his adoration. "O Lakshmana, this counsel of Bibhisana appeareth to me as most sound. Sugriva is always greatly wise, and thou art greatly proficient in counsel. Do ye, holding a conference, intimate to me what you think becoming". Thus addressed, those two heroes—Lakshmana and Sugriva, spoke respectfully the following words fraught with propriety,-"Why shall not the well-meaning words of Bibhisana expressed now, please us, O Raghava, O thou best of men? Without constructing a bridge over the deep, the terrible abode of Varuna, even the celestials and their lord (Indra) cannot get at the city of Lanka. Do thou act on the genuine counsel of the heroic Bibhisana, and without losing time, do thou engage the Ocean for this work, so that we may with our army proceed to the city of Ravana". Being thus addressed Rama reached the shore of the lord of rivers and streams, covered with Kuca, like unto fire getting into the sacrificial dais

Thereupon the greatly powerful Rakshasa, by name Sardula, beheld the army of Sugriva arranged on the shore of the ocean. And, beholding the army all busy, the emissary of the vicioussouled Rakshasa—Rayana, entered the city of Lanka and, approaching his lord, said,—"The army of monkeys and bears hath approached Lanka. It is immeasurably deep as the ocean. And those two sons of the king Dacaratha-the brothers Rama and Lakshmana, gifted with great beauty, coming to rescue Sita, have stationed themselves on the shore of the ocean, O thou of great effulgence. The army of Rama extends over the sky and ten yojanas. I have come, O great king, to acquaint thee with the real truth. And, knowing everything, it behoveth thy emissaries, O king, to settle whether to render back Sita, to adopt measures of conciliation, or to sow dissensions in the enemy's camp". Hearing the words of Sardula, Ravana, the lord of Rakshasas, being anxious to ascertain his duty, addressed a Rakshasa by name Suka, the most sensible of his counsellors, with the following pregnant words,—"Do thou go and communicate unto king Sugriva my behest, in becoming and excellent accents. 'Thou art born of a great family and art the mighty son of the king of bears. I have no dissension with thee. In fact I consider thee as my brother, O king of monkeys. Though I have stolen the spouse of the high-souled prince (Rama), yet what is that to thee, O Sugriva? Do thou return to Kishkindha. The monkeys shall not by any means be able to attack the city of Lanka. Even the celestials and Gandharbas could not-what of these men and monkeys?" And being thus commissioned by the lord of Rakshasas, that nightranger assumed the shape of a bird and, bounding, speedily reached the sky. And, proceeding far over the deep and stationing himself at the welkin, he spoke unto Sugriva all the words with which he was addressed by the vicious-souled Ravana. Hearing him speak thus, the monkeys leaped up quickly and reached there with a view to chop off his wings or to slay him with their clenched fists. On being seized vehemently by all these monkeys, that night-ranger was brought down speedily from the sky to the earth. And being assailed by the monkeys, Suka said,—"O Kakutstha, it doth not behove (people) to slav an emissary. Do thou therefore prevent the monkeys. He who passing by his master's behest, giveth out his own intention, is not faithful; and he therefore deserveth to be slain". Hearing the piteous accents of Suka, Rama spake unto the monkeys, who were about to kill him,

saying, "Do not kill him". And again stationing himself on the welkin, that night-ranger said.—"O Sugriva, O thou gifted with great energy, O thou of great prowess, what shall I speak unto Ravana, dreaded by all people?" Being thus addressed, that mighty king of monkeys, the bull among them, of unwearied energy, spake unto that emissary—the night-ranger, Suka, saying—"O Ravana, thou art not my friend or an object of pity. Thou art not my benefactor, nor art liked by me. Thou art Rama's enemy, and thou dost therefore deserve to be slain by him like Vali along with thy friends and relatives. I shall therefore slay thee, O king of night-rangers, together with thy sons, friends and relatives. And I shall have the whole city of Lanka reduced to ashes by my mighty force. Thou shalt not be able to escape Raghava, O Ravana, O thou who hast lost thy sense, even if thou art protected by the celestials. And thou shalt with thy brother be slain by Rama, even if thou dost fly into the sky, enter into the regions under the earth, or seek shelter of Mahadeva. I do not behold any in these three worlds-Pisacha, Rakshasa, Gandharba, or Asura, who can protect thee. Thou hast slain the monarch of vultures, who had grown decrepit through age. Thou hast carried off the large-eved Sita from the vicinity of Rama and the neighbourhood of Lakshmana; but, having captured her, thou understandest not (thy native strength). Nor dost thou understand that foremost of Raghus, high-souled, possessed of great strength, and incapable of being repressed even by the celestials,—who shall take thy life". Then spake that best of monkeys, Angada, son of Vali,—"O highly wise one, this is no emissary. This one clearly appeareth to me as a spy. He hath come to form an estimate of thy entire army. Take him. Let him not go (back) to Lanka. This is indeed what I would". Thereat, commanded by the king, the monkeys, springing up, seized (Suka) and bound him, as he burst out bewailing like one forlorn. On being sorely handled by the relentless monkeys, Suka cried unto tho high-souled Rama, son of Dacaratha,—"They by main force sever my wings, and they pierce my eyes. If I lose my life, may all the evil deeds that I have committed between the night when I was born and the night when I shall die, be thine!" Hearing this pitiful cry, Rama prevented (the monkeys); and he said unto them,-"Let go this envoy, who hath come here".

Then on the shore of the sea, Raghava, spreading darbha, with his hands joined towards the great deep, laid him down, with his face to the East. And that slayer of foes (lay down), making his pillow his arm resembling the shining form of a serpent; always dight with golden ornaments; full many a time pressed with the palms of beauteous damsels [As Rama was wedded to a single wife, these damsels must mean nurses attending on him.], decked with jewelled golden Keyuras and superb ornaments studded with pearls; smeared from above with sandal and aguru; (his arm) which formerly had been graced in bed with the head of Sita; like unto the body of Takshaka under the waters of the Ganga; resembling a yoke; in battle increasing the sorrow of foes and enhancing for long the delight of friends; -his left arm having its skin destroyed by the strokes of the bow-string; which was the refuge of the entire earth;-his right arm resembling a mighty bludgeon,—the donor of thousands of kine,—making this great arm his pillow (he laid him down). "To-day either I shall die, or shall the Ocean".-Having thus formed his resolution in respect of the great deep, Rama, restraining his speech, with a concentrated mind lay down there agreeably to rule. And as Rama slept on the earth on Kuca spread over, without ever swerving from the rule, three nights passed away And while spending three nights, Rama, learned in polity and attached to virtue, prayed unto that lord of streams-the Ocean. Yet the wicked Ocean, albeit adored according to his deserts by Rama with his mind concentrated, did not show himself. Thereat Rama grew enraged and had the corners of his eyes crimsoned; and he spake unto Lakshmana of auspicious marks, saying,—"Behold the hauteur of the Ocean in not presenting himself before me. Calmness, forbearance, candour, and soft speech—these virtues of the good are by the insolent taken for the effects of incompetency. The person that is self-laudatory, wicked, and badly-bold, publisheth his own praise, and meteth out chastisement every where, is honoured in the world. By moderation one cannot attain celebrity, by moderation one cannot attain fame, --- and, O Lakshmana, in this world by moderation one cannot attain victory on 'the edge of battle. See. O Sumitra's son, the abode of Makaras. with his waters obstructed all around with Makaras destroyed by my shafts. And, O Lakshmana, see the bodies here of serpents, and the huge bodies of mighty fishes, and the trunks of elephants,-torn by my arrows. And to-day in terrible battle will I dry up the Ocean with conchs and oysters, and fishes and Makaras. This abode of Makaras taketh me, who is forbearing, to be incompetent. Fie on forbearance towards such as he! In consequence of my moderation, Ocean showeth not his own form. O Saumitri, bring thou my bow, my arrows resembling venomous snakes. I will dry up the Ocean, and the monkeys shall go over on foot. And, being angered, to-day, albeit incapable of being agitated, will I agitate the deep. And

by means of my shafts will I make Varuna's abode, surging with a thousand billows and having his dignity maintained by his shores,—overleap his continents. And I will agitate the deep harbouring numbers of mighty Danavas". spoken thus, Rama, equipped with his bow, with his eyes dilated in wrath, became exceedingly irrepressible, like unto the flaming fire at the final dissolution. And straining his dreadful bow, making the earth shake, tremulously, he let fly fierce shafts like him of an hundred sacrifices hurling his thunder-bolt. Thereat, flaming up, those vehement choice shafts surcharged with energy, enter into the waters of the sea, with its serpents afflicted with fear. And then great and exceedingly dreadful was the motion of the sea, with fishes and Makaras, and with the roar of the winds (blowing there). And on a sudden the mighty deep was heaving with mighty surges. with conchs scattered about, and a smoke (enveloped) the ocean; and the billows became visible on all sides. And the serpents were distressed, with their faces flaming and their eyes aglow; as well as the Danavas of terrific energy, and the dwellers of the nether spheres. And billows of the sovran Ocean, resembling Vindhya or Mandara, containing crocodiles and Makaras sprang up by thousands. And Varuna's abode had its surges whirling, its serpents and Rakshasas seized with affright, and its ferocious aquatic animals borne all around; and it sent forth sounds. Then Sumitra's son, springing up, said unto Raghava of fiery vehemence, as he sighed and kept stretching his matchless -"This must not be". And he took away his (Rama's) bow. "Without doing this unto the Ocean, thou, supreme of heroes, mayst have thy work accomplished. Personages like thee do not come under the influence of passion. Do thou deliberately look about for some worthy means (for compassing thy end)". Then remaining invisible in the sky, Brahmarshis and Surarshis [Celestial saints.] exclaiming,—"Well-a-day!" and "Don't," in loud accents ejaculated,—(Oh! and alast)

SECTION 22.

Then the foremost of Raghus addressed Ocean in stern words, saying,-"To-day will I dry up the Ocean along with the nether regions. And, O Ocean, thy waters being burnt up by my shafts, and thou being dried up, with thy (aquatic) animals slaughtered, a mighty volume of dust shall arise (from thy bed). And, O Ocean, in consequence of the arrowy shower discharged from my bow, the monkeys shall go over to the further shore on foot. Having attained dimensions in consequence of access of waters, thou knowest not my manliness or my prowess But, O abode of Danavas, grief shalt thou reap at my hands". Then fixing an arrow resembling the rod of Brahma with a Brahma Mantra, on the best of bows, that exceedingly strong one drew it. And as Raghava suddenly stretched his bow, heaven and earth seemed to be riven, and the mountains trembled. And darkness covered the world, and the cardinal points became invisible. And at once the watery expanses and rivers were agitated. And the stars appeared simultaneously with the Sun and Moon. And the sky was illumined with the rays of the Sun, and yet it was overspread with darkness; and it burned with an hundred meteors. And thunder-bolts sending forth sounds surpassing all others, dropped from the firmament. And the winds began to blow violently; breaking down trees and momentarily scattering clouds; damaging mountain-tops and shattering summits. And then the dread and mighty thunders possessing impetuous speed and emitting tremendous roars,-coming together, produced lightning flashes. And those creatures that could be seen, uttered sounds resembling the thunder; and those that were invisible gave forth frightful cries. And overwhelmed with fright, and quaking (for fear), the creatures began to measure their lengths,—and they were sore afflicted, and bereft of motion through terror. And then the mighty deep with its animals, and with its waters and waves, and with its serpents and Rakshasas, was suddenly wrought up with a violent motion. And albeit it was not the occasion of the universal dissolution, the Ocean passed beyond his shores for a full hundred vojanas. And seeing the elated Ocean—lord of streams and rivers—thus overpass his bounds. that destroyer of enemies, Raghu's son, Rama, was not moved. Then from forth the mid-sea arose Ocean himself, even as the maker of day riseth from the mighty ascending-hill, Meru. And accompanied by Pannagas [Semi-divine serpents.] of flaming faces, the Ocean showed himself, appearing like cool lapises, adorned with golden ornaments.—wearing a wreath of gems and a jewelled vesture, with his eyes resembling lotusleaves, bearing on his head a noble garland containing all flowers; decked with ornaments of polished gold; as well with excellent ornaments of gems originating in himself, like the mountain Himavan embellished with metals (sprung in himself).—(the Ocean arose) with wave on wave whirling around, and rife with winds blowing among clouds,surrounded by streams, Ganga, Sindhu (and others). And approaching the arrow-showering Rama, and greeting him fair, Ocean spoke unto him with joined hands,earth, air, sky, water and light,-these, O mild one, retaining their eternal course, maintain their (respective) natures. Mine

also is that nature whereby I am fathomless and incapable of being crossed. The reverse of this is the having a bottom. And for this reason I speak to thee (concerning the means). O king's son, not from desire, or covetuousness, or fear, or anger, can I anywise deprive my waters abounding in alligators of their (perpetual) motion. I will tell thee how thou wilt pass (over me); and I will bear it. And no ferocious aquatic animals shall do wrong so long as thy forces have not crossed. And, O Rama, I will make as it were firm land for the crossing over of the monkeys". Then Rama said,-"O Varuna's abode, listen to me! This arrow (of mine) must accomplish the end (intended). Where shall I let it light?" Hearing Rama's speech, and looking at the mighty arrow, that exceedingly energetic one, the great Deep, addressed Raghava, saying,—"There is a certain spot of mine in the North, which is more sacred (than the rest). It is famed as Drumakulya, even as thou art famed in the world. There are there many robbers of ferocious forms and actions,-wicked wights, headed by cow-herds, -who drink of my water. These persons of unrighteous acts touch me, and I cannot bear this sin. O Rama, do thou at that place render this best of arrows successful". Hearing the words of the high-souled Ocean, (Rama) immediately after,59 let fly that flaming shaft. And the place where the arrow resembling the thunder-bolt and vajra in splendour, alighted, hath been celebrated on earth as Marukantara. And hurt with the dart, the Earth emitted roars; and in consequence of this, water began to gush out at the mouth of the wound from the subterranean regions. And this then became well-known as Vrana; and there are seen the waters of the Ocean spring up. And there arose a terrific report of riving. And owing to this sound, as well as the incident of the arrow, the water that existed in the tanks, was dried up. Having dried up Marukantara famous throughout the three regions, as well as the reservoirs of water, Rama the son of Dacaratha, learned and of god-like prowess, conferred a boon on the desert, saying,—"This place shall be filled with food nourishing beasts; and ailments shall be rare here. And the fruits and roots shall be replete with relish; and it shall abound in oil and overflow with milk; and it shall contain various odorous drugs". Thus did the desert come to possess these attributes: and from Rama's bestowal of a boon, it attained a pleasant aspect. On that place being burnt up, that lord of streams, the Ocean, thus spake unto Raghava, versed in every branch of learning,—"O mild one, this one is named Nala, son unto Vicwakarma. He hath received a boon from his sire. Vicwakarma's son is well pleased with thee. Let this monkey, surcharged with exhuberant spirits, build a bridge over me. I will hold that up. This one is as his sire". Having delivered himself thus. Ocean disappeared. Then that foremost of monkeys, Nala, arising, spoke unto the mighty Rama,-'Resorting to my sire's skill, I will build a bridge over the spacious abode of Makaras. The mighty Ocean hath spoken justly. In respect of the ingrate even chastisement is supreme in this world,—this is my conviction. Down with forbearance, or moderation, or gift! This dreadful Ocean, this mighty deen. expecting to see a bridge (thrown over him), hath granted depth unto Raghava.—(Formerly) is Mandara, Vicwakarma had conferred a boon on my mother: 'O exalted one, thy son shall be like me.' I am a son of his, sprung from his loins, and I am like unto Vicwakarma. Not having been asked by thee, I had not unfolded my qualifications. I also am capable of constructing a bridge over Varuna's abode. Therefore this very day let the foremost monkeys construct the bridge". Then directed by Rama, the principal monkeys with alacrity entered the mighty forest in hundrerds and thousands. And themselves resembling mountains, the foremost of the monkeys began to break down and draw them towards the Ocean. And the monkeys filled the Ocean with salas, and acwakarnas, dhavas, bamboos kutajas, arjunas, palms, tilakas, tinicas, billakas, aparnas, and blossoming karnikaras, mangoes, and a trees. And those monkeys—the foremost of their species-began to gather the trees, some with their roots, some without them, -carrying them like Indra's ensign. And those huge-bodied monkeys possessed of prodigious strength, procured palms and pomegranates, cocoanuts and itakas, Kariras, Vakulas, and Nimbas,—as well as rocks. Measuring elephants' dimensions; and uprooting crags, they tossed them by means of machines. And on rocks being plunged into the waters, the latter, suddenly swelling up, mounted to the welkin, and again subsided.—And (the trees) dropping (into the deep), vexed it all around. And some made lines (for insuring straightness unto the bridge). And in the middle of the lord of rivers and streams, Nala made a grand bridge measuring an hundred yojanas. And then he went about constructing the bridge with the assistance of monkeys of dreadful deeds. And some took the measuring and others bore (timber to the sea). And by help of hundreds of monkeys following Rama's mandate, hued like woods or mountains, (they) constructed a bridge with grass, and wood. And the monkeys made the bridge of trees with blossoming tops. And (monkeys) resembling Danavas were rushing all around with rocks resembling hills, and mountain-summits. And tremendous was the tumult that came of crags thrown and rocks toppled down into the mighty deep. And on the first

day the elephant-like monkeys of spirits and exerting themselves vigorously, finished fifteen yojanas. And the exceedingly strong and huge-bodied monkeys on the second day speedily disposed of twenty yojanas. And on the third day the huge-bodied active monkeys did one and twenty yojanas on the sea. And on the fourth day the exceedingly impetuous monkeys, bestirring themselves vigorously, did two and twenty yojanas. And On the fifth day the fast-speeding monkeys accomplished three and twenty yojanas reaching unto the fair shore. And resembling his sire, that best of monkeys, the lusty and graceful offspring of Vicwakarma, (thus) constructed the bridge over the sea. And that bridge built by force over the abode of makaras, looked graceful and splendid like the Milky way in the firmament. And then the deities and Gandharbas, the Siddhas and the prime saints. appearing in the heavens, stood there, eager to behold this wonder. And the gods and Gandharbas saw that bridge of Nala, difficult of being made, having an area of ten yojanas and measuring an hundred in length. And the monkeys, leaping and bounding and roaring, as well as all creatures, beheld that building of the bridge on the ocean, inconceivable and marvellous, displaying skill past thought and capable of making one's hair stand on end. And those thousands of Kotis of exceeding vigor, having constructed the bridge over the ocean, went over to the other shore of the mighty main. And spacious, skillfully constructed, graceful, well-paved and nicely finished, the great bridge appeared like the line where the hair hath been parted on the Ocean's head. Then on the other shore of the ocean, Bibhishana, with the view of opposing foes (that might advance), stationed himself mace in hand, along with some councilors. Then Sugriva spoke unto Rama, having truth for his prowess,-"Do thou get upon Hanuman, and let Laskhmana get upon Angada. O hero, vast is this Ocean—abode of Makaras. These monkeys, rangers of the sky, shall hold you up both". Thereat the graceful and righteous Rama along with Lakshmana, equipped with his bow, set out in the van of the army in company with Sugriva. And some monkeys proceeded along the middle, and some plunged into the deep, and some went by the road. And some coursed through the air, bounding up bird-like. And that dreadful array of monkeys crossing over, with its mighty uproar drowned the dreadful roar of the deep, which had been arising. On the monkey-host having crossed by the bridge of Nala, the king stationed it on the shore abounding in fruits, roots and water. Beholding that work of Raghava incapable of being performed, the deities together with the Siddhas and Charanas, and the Maharshis, suddenly presenting themselves before Rama, sprinkled him one by one with sacred water, and said,—"Mayst thou be victorious, O human-divine one! Rule thou the Earth eternally!" Thus in various auspicious words, did they pay homage unto that one honoured by the Brahmanas, Rama.

SECTION 23

Having seen omens, that one, Lakshmana's elder brother, conversant with them, embracing the son of Sumitra, said these words,—"O Lakshmana, occupying (this tract) of cool waters and woods affluent with fruits, will we, dividing and arranging our forces, stay here. Mighty is the fear that I see at hand,-boding destruction to people and the slaughter of the foremost heroes of bears, monkeys and Rakshasas. The wind bloweth darkly, and the Earth shaketh. The tops of the mountains tremble, and trees topple down. And the clouds are ashen and roistering, and roar roughly. And lowering, they shower portentous drops of blood. And the twilight is terrible and looketh like the red sandal. And a fiery circle droppeth from the flaming sun. And on all sides birds and beasts, distressed, uttering woe-begone notes, and grim-visaged, set up crying against the sun, arousing great fear. And the Moon, although not appearing in the night, burneth, and with dark and red rays riseth, as if it intended to exterminate people. And the aspect (of the sun) is slight, rough, and not good; and, O Lakshmana, a blue mark is visible on the unclouded Sun. And the stars seem erased by a mighty volume of dust. O Lakshmana, behold this sight disastrous to people like unto the universal dissolution. Crows, and hawks, and the inferior vultures, wheel all round. And jackals are sending inauspicious yells, exciting great fear. The earth shall be covered with darts and javelins, and swords discharged by monkeys and Rakshasas, and then turned into mire with flesh and gore. Surrounded by all these monkeys, will we, using speed, this very day rapidly enter into the city ruled by Ravana, incapable of being subdued. Having said this, that subduer in conflict, that lord, the enchanter of men, Rama, equipped with his bow, proceeds in the direction of Lanka. And all the principal monkeys- Sugriva with Bibhishanawent on, setting up roars, for the destruction of foes, who were determined to battle with them. And consequently Raghu's son was well pleased with the fortitude and exertions of the powerful monkeys, for bringing about what was dear unto Raghava.

SECTION 24.

And with the presence of the king [Rama.] that assembly of heroes looked beautiful, as doth the autumnal night, garnished with beauteous stars, with the Moon. And oppressed with the bursting energy of the host resembling the ocean, the Earth trembled. And then the rangers of the forest heard a hubbub in Lanka, as well as the sounds of trumpets and Mridangas, mighty and capable of making people's down stand on end. And at those sounds, the leaders of monkeybands were delighted beyond measure, and, resenting the same, set up cries louder than those sounds. And the Rakshasas also heard the roars of the monkeys, resembling the rumbling of haughty clouds in the sky. Beholding Lanka with variegated standards, and streamers, Dacaratha's son went [i.e. mentally.] to Sita with an aggrieved heart. "Here that one having eyes resembling those of a young deer, is confined by Ravana, like unto Rohini overpowered by the red-bodied planet" [Angaraka, Mangala, meaning the planet Mars.]. And, sighing hot and long, and looking at Lakshmana, that hero spoke words fraught with his good at that time-"Behold, O Lakshmana, Lanka towering up as if piercing the heavens; and, built by Vicwakarma on the brow of the mountain, she seems to have been made by the Mind. Constructed in time past with edifices thronging her, Lanka looks like the allencasing air, covered with pale clouds. Lanka is embellished with groves resembling Chitraratha, fair, and eloquent with the notes of various birds, and fraught with fruits and flowers. Behold the intoxicated birds, and the black bees blending (with the blossoms). And the blessed breeze swaveth the trees vocal with the coels". Having divided his forces there agreeably to the directions of the scriptures, Dacaratha's son, Rama, thus spoke unto Lakshmana. And he ordered that monkey-army, saying,-"Taking his own forces, let the puissant and invincible Angada along with Nila, station himself in the centre of the forces. And let the monkey, named Rishabha, surrounded by numbers of monkeys, post himself at the right of the monkey-army. And let the active and irrepressible Gandhamadana, resembling an elephant fragrant with the temporal exudation, stay, occupying the left of the forces. I myself along with Lakshmana, shall needfully stay in the fore-front. And the monkeys, Jambavan, Sushena and Vagadarci, the three high-souled, foremost bears,—shall protect the interior (of the forces). And as the Sun, surcharged with energy, protects the hind half of the globe, let the monkey-monarch protect the rear of the monkeyarmy". And that army being skilfully divided into parts and protected by great monkeys, resembled the welkin covered with clouds. Then, taking up mountain-peaks and mighty trees, the monkeys began to proceed towards Lanka burning to crush Lanka in battle. "We shall demolish Lanka by hurling mountain-peaks, or with our clenched fists". Thus did the foremost of monkeys think in their minds. Then the exceedingly energetic Rama addressed Sugriva, saying,-"Our forces have been rightly marshalled,—let go (now) Suka". Hearing Rama's words, the lord of monkeys possessed of great strength, liberated the envoy, Suka, at the command of Rama. Liberated at the word of Rama, Suka, who had been sore tormented by the monkeys, oppressed with exceeding great fear, went to the lord of Rakshasas. Thereat, Ravana, laughing, said unto Suka,—"Are thy wings fettered? And thou seemst as if thy wings had been severed. Why? Didst thou come under the control of the volatile (monkeys)?" Thereat, exercised with fear, Suka, commanded by the monarch, answered the lord of Rakshasas in this excellent speech, saying,-"Repairing to the northern shore of the sea, I, pacifying (the monkeys) with mild speech, communicated thy tidings clearly (unto Sugriva). Thereat, as soon as they saw me, the monkeys flying into a wrath, captured me, and attempted to clip my wings and slay me with their clenched fists. They are insuseptible of being spoken to. No doubt whatever can exist that, O lord of Rakshasas, the monkeys are by nature wrathful and fierce. The same Rama that hath slain Viradha and Kavandha and Khara, hath arrived (here) along with Sugriva, searching for the whereabouts of Sita. Having thrown a bridge across the brine and crossed the salt sea. Raghava, equipped with his bow, stayeth here, setting the Rakshas at naught. And the hosts consisting of thousands of bears and monkeys, resembling hills and clouds, envelope the Earth. And peace there can be none between the forces of the Rakshasas and the hosts of the sovereign of monkeys, like unto the deities and the Danavas. And they advance before the wall. Speedily do one of these things-make over Sita without delay, or give (him) battle". Hearing Suka's speech, Ravana with his eyes reddened in wrath, spoke, as if burning (Suka) with them,-"Even if gods, and Gandharbas, and Danavas should array themselves against me, I will not from fear of all creatures, render (back) Sita. When shall my shafts pursue Raghava, like maddened Bhramaras making towards blossomy trees in spring? When by means of flaming shafts shot from my bow shall I burn (Raghava) with his body bathed in blood, even as a meteor (burneth) an elephant? And when, surrounded by a mighty host, shall I confound his ranks, even as the Sun arising, (vanquisheth) the light of the

like the Wind's, Dacarathi doth not know,—and therefore it is that he desireth to fight with me. Rama hath not seen my shafts resting in the quiver, resembling venomous serpents,—and therefore it is that he seeketh to fight with me. Raghava hath not in conflict formerly known my bow representing my Vina sounded with my shafts; having tremendous sounds proceeding from the strings; dreadful; with the cries of distressed people for its mighty strains of music; and resonant with the reports of Narachas and palms. And, having bathed in the great field of battle representing the river of hostile forces, I will in the encounter strike (this Vina). Neither the thousand-eyed Vasava, nor Varuna himself, can (cope) with me in battle; nor can Yama, or Vaicravana's self vanquish me in mighty conflict with the fire of arrows".

SECTION 25.

On Dacaratha's son, Rama, having crossed the Ocean with his forces, the graceful Ravana addressed his two counsellors, Suka and Sarana, saying,-"The crossing the entire ocean incapable of being crossed, by the monkey-forces, and the building over the sea of the bridge by Rama— all this had never happened before. The construction of a bridge over the ocean cannot at all command credence. But (however it be), I must enumerate the monkey-hosts. Entering the monkeyarmy unobserved, it behoveth you to ascertain the magnitude thereof, its strength, who are the foremost monkeys, who are the councilors assembled there of Rama, and who of Sugriva, who range at the head, who among the monkeys are heroic; how they have constructed the bridge over the water of the ocean; how the high-souled monkeys stay there; Rama's, as well as Lakshmana's purpose, prowess and the arms (they fight with). And who is the commander of those magnanimous monkeys? Having learnt all this truly, ye ought to return speedily". Being thus commissioned, these heroes, the Rakshasas, Suka and Sarana, assuming monkey-shapes, entered into the hosts of monkeys. But Suka and Sarana could not number that army of monkeys, incomprehensible and capable of making people's hair stand on end. The forces were on mountain-tops, by fountains and in caves. And those rangers of the night beheld those forces, some having already crossed, and some crossing, and some intent on doing so; and some having sat down and some sitting—that mighty army sending terrific roars,—that ocean of hosts incapable of being disturbed. As they remained thus disguised, they were discovered by Vibhishana. Thereat, taking them captive, he unfolded (the fact) unto Rama, saying,-"These are the counsellors of the lord of Rakshasas-Suka and Sarana. O captor of hostile capitals, they have come as spies from Lanka". Seeing Rama, they were greatly afflicted, and, despairing of their lives and exercised with fear, with joined hands, said,-"O placid one, commanded by Ravana, we have come here, O son of Raghu, for the purpose of gathering information concerning this army". Hearing their speech, Rama—son unto Dacaratha—ever engaged in the welfare of all beings, laughing, remarked,—"If you have heedfully noted this entire array, or if you have done what ve had been commanded to do, return in peace. If aught remaineth unseen, do ye see it anew. Or Vibhishana will again fully show it unto you. Having been taken, ye need not fear on the score of your lives. Even if envoys happen to be taken who are equipped with weapons, they should not be slain. And albeit these night-rangers have come as spies in disguise, with the view of creating division among their foes, yet, O Vibhishana, let them off. Entering the extensive Lanka, ye should say unto the king-younger brother unto the Dispenser of riches-the words which I utter,-'That force relying on which thou hast carried away my Sita, do thou as thou wishest, along with thy forces and friends, display the same. On the morning of the morrow behold the city of Lanka with her wall and gates, as well as the hosts of Rakshasas, destroyed by me with my shafts. And as Vasava equipped with the thunder-bolt hurleth the same amidst the Danavas, will I, O Ravana, on the morning of the morrow pour down my dreadful ire upon thee along with thy forces.'" Thus directed (by Rama), those Rakshasas, Suka and Sarana, having saluted the righteous Raghava with 'Victory!,' came (back) to Lanka and spoke unto the lord of Rakshasas, saying, -"O lord of Rakshasas, having been taken by Vibhishana for the purpose of being slain, we came to be seen by the righteoua-souled Rama of immeasurable energy, and (finally) were liberated (by him). As these four persons have combined—like unto the Lokapalas, heroic, accomplished in arms, and of steady prowess—viz., Dacaratha's son, Rama, the graceful Lakshmana, Vibhishana, and the highly powerful Sugriva, resembling the great Indra, these are capable of uprooting the city of Lanka-walls and gateways-and replacing her (on her former site),-leave thou the monkeys aside. Such is Rama's figure and arms that he shall alone demolish Lanka.—leave the other three alone. And that host protected by Rama, Lakshmana and Sugriva. shall become exceedingly hard to combat even by the Asuras and gods.—And the army of the high-souled rangers of the woods, eager for encounter, contains warriors bursting with high spirits. No use of dispute. Be thou intent on pacification. Do thou render back Maithili unto Dacaratha's son".

SECTION 26.

Hearing Sarana's words, pregnant and truthful, king Ravana addressed him, saying,—"Even if the Gandharvas and Danavas should attack me, Sita will I not part with from fear of all creatures. O amiable one, thou, having been hard handled by the monkeys and distressed in consequence, deemst it fit that Sita should be rendered back this very day. What foe of mine is there who is competent to conquer me in battle?" Having uttered this rough speech, the graceful Ravana-lord of the Rakshasas-desirous of surveying (the monkey-hosts), ascended an edifice white like snow, and elevated like many palms (placed one upon another). And transported with passion, Ravana in company with those spies, saw the sea, mountains and forests. And they beheld the Earth enveloped with monkeys, and the mighty host of monkeys, boundless and irresistible. And having seen this, king Ravana asked Sarana,-"Who among these monkeys are the foremost, who are the heroes, and who possessed of great strength? Who, bursting with spirits, stay all about the fore? Whom doth Sugriva listen to? And who are the leaders of the monkey-leaders? O Sarana, relate thou all this unto me. And what is the prowess of the monkeys? Thereat, Sarana, knowing the chiefs (of the monkey-army), spoke unto the sovereign of Rakshasas, who had asked (him), as to who were the heads of the rangers of the woods. "This monkey, that, setting up roars, stayeth in front of Lanka, surrounded by hundreds and thousands of monkey-leaders, by whose tremendous shouts Lanka trembleth with her wall. gateways, hills, woods and forests, and who is posted in front of the forces of the high-souled Sugriva-master of all the monkeys-is the heroic leader of monkey-bands named Nila. And that one, possessed of prowess, who, folding up his arms, paceth the gound on foot, who, facing Lanka, from wrath is frequently yawning, who resembles a mountain-peak and is like the filaments of a lotus, who, enraged again and again soundeth his tail, and the ten cardinal points resound with the sounds of whose tail,-is he who hath been sprinkled by Sugriva-king of monkeys-the heir apparent, named Angada. He challengeth thee to the fight. The worthy son of Vali and ever dear unto Sugriva, he putteth forth his prowess, as Varuna doth for Sakra. That that well-wisher of Raghava, the vehement Hanuman, hath seen Janaka's daughter, was owing to the advice of this one. That powerful (hero) is proceeding, taking innumerable bands belonging to the lord of monkeys, for the purpose of beating thee by means of his soldiery. Following Vali's son, and surrounded by a mighty force, stayeth in the field the heroic Nala, the builder of the bridge. Those that with their limbs lying inactive, and setting up roars and ululations, are following this one, are heroes dwelling in Chandana [Sandal wood.]. With his own army alone, the silver-hued Sweta of dreadful prowess hopes to subdue Lanka. Marshalling his monkey-forces and cheering up his soldiers, that intelligent monkey, famed over the three regions, having speedily met with Sugriva, is retracing his steps. From days of yore on the banks of the Gomati there is a mountain, (named) Ramya, (otherwise) called Sanrochana. The mount abounds with various trees. There that leader of bands, named Kumuda, governs his kingdom. And he that cheerfully draweth after his hundreds and thousands of monkeys, and the long grim hairs of whose tail, coppery, yellow, sable and white, are cast about, is the energetic monkey. Chanda, eager for encounter. And he hopes to conquer Lanka by help of his own forces. And this one, resembling a lion, tawny and furnished with a long mane, who, remaining apart, vieweth all Lanka as if consuming her with his eyes, dwelleth for ever and a day in Vindhya, the mountain Krisha, Sahva, and the mount Sudarcana, and, a leader of bands, is named Rambha. Three hundred Kotis of the foremost of monkeys, dreadful and fierce and possessed of terrific prowess, surrounding (him) go in his wake for the purpose of demolishing Lanka by their (native) might. And he that expandeth his ears and yawneth again and again, who defieth the fear of death and doth not move his forces, who trembleth for wrath and eyeth frequently askance,-and behold the lashing of his tail!-and who setteth up leonine shouts, O king, with great energy and with fear cast off,resideth in the romantic mount, Salweya, and, a leader of companies, is named Sarabha. To him, O king, belong forty hundred thousands of powerful leaders. And he that stayeth, like unto a mighty mass of clouds covering up the sky, in the midst of the monkey-heroes, as doth Vasava in the centre of the celestials, whose lofty shout is heard (mingled with) the uproar set up by the foremost monkeys, burning for battle, dwelleth in the excellent hill Parijatra; and, ever irrepressible in fight, is named Panaca, a leader of (monkey)-bands. Fifty lacs of leaders with their forces arranged, environ this commander of monkeys. He that stayeth gracing the dreadful array overflowing with talk, stationed on the shore of the ocean —resembling a second sea and like unto Durdara [The monkey leader.]—is the leader named Vitata. And he rangeth, drinking of (the waters of) the Vena,-best among streamsand his forces are sixty lacs of monkeys. And the monkey, named Krathana, challengeth thee to conflict. He hath (under him) powerful and vigorous generals, and forces well divided.

And the monkey owning that person of the hue of red chalk, and, who, elated with strength, disregardeth all the monkeys,—is named Gavaya, who approacheth thee wrathfully. Several lacs (of troops) girt him round; and by their means he has to bring down Lanka. These are the heroes, incapable of being borne, whose numbers cannot be enumerated. These are the leaders and the heads thereof, as well as the forces set in order of battle".

SECTION 27.

As thou lookest on, I shall describe unto thee the leaders who shall put forth their prowess for Raghava, lay down their lives (in his behalf.) That one of dread deeds the long hairs on whose long tail, coppery, and yellow, and black, and white, thrown up, look like the rays of Sun, and are trailing over the ground, is the monkey, named Hara; whom follow hundreds and thousands (of monkeys) desperately upraising trees, intent upon (scaling) Lanka—leaders of the monkey-king and his servants present (in that conflict.) And these whom thou beholdest present, resembling mighty masses of sable clouds, like unto black collyrium, of genuine prowess, countless and incapable of enumeration dwelling in mountains, provinces, and rivers,—terrible beings—approach thee, O king. In their amidst is their king, gray eyed and of fierce appearance, like unto Parjanya [Indra.] encompassed by clouds,-who dwelleth in that best of mountains, Rikkhavan, drinking of the Narmada.—Behold this one resembling a hill—younger brother of Dhumra, lord of the bears. He is equal to his brother in beauty, and of superior prowess. This leader of redoubtable leaders named Jambavan. He is mild, obedient to his superiors and fierce in fight. The intelligent Jambavan assisted Sakra signally in the war of the gods and Asuras, and he hath won many boons (in consequence). Ascending the tops of mountains, these hurl down gigantic crags huge as colossal clouds, nor doth (the fear of) death (ever) disquiet them. And their bodies covered with hair, they resemble Rakshasas and ghosts (in their conduct). This one of immeasurable energy hath innumerable troops going about, who behold this leader of leaders under unusual excitement leaping and resting (by turns). This lord of monkeys dwelleth near the thousand-eyed Deity; and this leader of bands, gifted with strength, is named Rambha. And he that going, toucheth with his side a mountain situated at the distance of a Yojana, and, rising up, measureth the same length,-and whose beauty is surpassed by none among quadrupeds,-is known under the name of Sannadana, the grand-father of the monkeys;—this intelligent one battled with Sakra,-nor did he meet with discomfiture. This is that general of the forces. And he whose prowess is like that of Sakra, is this one begot by Fire on a Gandharva's daughter, for assisting the celestials on the occasion of the war of the gods and the Asuras. And this graceful and powerful one-best of monkeys-disporteth in that sovereign of mountains inhabited by numbers of Kinnaras, where king Vaicavana eateth rose apples, and which, O lord of Rakshas, ever conduceth to the pleasure of thy brother. And this one who never extolleth himself in battle, is named Krathana—leader of hosts. Surrounded by a thousand Koti (of troops), and stationed in the midst of the monkeys, he hopeth to subjugate Lanka with his own troops alone. And he that roameth about the Ganga, terrifying leaders of elephant-herds, remembering the former hostility of the monkeys and the elephants, is this leader of bands, who, roaring, opposeth wild elephants in mountain-caverns and crusheth trees,-and foremost of monkeys, and chief of the monkey-forces-like Sakra himself in heaven, sporteth, resorting to Uciravija pertaining to Mandara, mountains, on the golden river [the River Ganga / Ganges.]. A thousand lacs of monkeys, elated with vigor and prowess, setting up roars and furnished with (long) arms follow him; and this one is the leader of those high souled monkeys. And, O king, he whom thou seest resembling clouds uplifted by the winds, is a leader named Pramathi. And his fleet-coursing soldiery are fiery, and volumes of red-hued dust are scattered about him profusely on all sides. And these wondrous strong and dreadful Golangulas numbering hundreds and hundred thousands, seeing the building of the bridge, surrounding, O mighty monarch, the leader named Gavaksha—a Golangula-set up shouts, intending to demolish Lanka with their prowess. Where the trees bring forth fruits of every season and the black bees resort,—in the mountain furnished with solar splendour, which the Sun circumambulates, by whose radiance ever beam beasts and birds with a like hue.whose table-lands are never forsaken by magnanimous Maharshis; where the trees yield every object of desire and all are fraught with fruits; in which best of mountains excellent honey is found,—there in the charming Golden hill, O king, sporteth this one-the foremost of the principal monkeys, Kacari by name, a leader of bands. There are sixty thousand charming Golden hills. In their midst is that best of mountains [Savarni Meru.], even as thou, O sinless one, art among the Rakshas. There in the inmost hill dwell (monkeys) tawny-hued; and white,-with coppery faces; yellowish like honey; sharp-toothed; having nails for their weapons; and four teeth like lions; irresistible like tigers all equal to

Vaicwanara, and resembling flaming venomous snakes; furnished with long tails; like unto mad elephants; seeming like gigantic hills; roaring like mighty clouds; with eyes tawny and round; of terrific mein; and emitting sounds, and these are gazing at Lanka, as if devastating her. And this powerful one staying in their midst, is their leader, eager for victory; and the puissant (monkey) always looketh like the Sun himself; and this one, O king, is famed on earth by the name of Satavali. And this heroic one, powerful and mighty. established in his own prowess, hopeth to devastate Lanka with his own forces. And for compassing Rama's desire, the monkey doth not cherish any kindness for his life. Gaya, Gavaksha, Nala, and the monkey Nila-each of these is encompassed by ten kotis of warriors. (Besides these) there are other choice monkeys dwelling in the Vindhya mountain, but I cannot enumerate these (monkeys) possessed of fleet vigor, in consequence of their vast number. All these, O mighty monarch, are of exceeding prowess,-all possess persons resembling mighty mountains; and all are competent in a moment to remove mountains and scatter the Earth with

SECTION 28.

Having heard the words of Sarana, who had described the forces (of the monkeys), Suka, addressed Ravana, lord of Rakshasas, saying,—"Those, O king, whom thou seest stationed, resembling mad elephants, like unto nyagrodhas [Banians.] belonging to the Ganga,—like unto Saias in the Himavan,—are incapable of being borne,—they are possessed of strength, and able to wear forms at will; resembling deities and Danavas, and like the gods in conflict. These, numbering nine, five, and seven thousand kotis and thousand sankusand an hundred vrindas, are the ministers of Sugriva, residing in Kishkindha-monkeys begot by gods and Gandharvas, capable of assuming shapes at will. And those two whom thou beholdest, staying there, of equal proportions and endowed with god-like shapes, are Mainda and Dwivida,—who have no equals in fight. Permitted by Brahma, they had partaken of ambrosia. They hope to humble Lanka by their prowess. And he whom thou seest staying like a mad elephant, the monkey who, being enraged, can by his strength agitate the deep itself, who, searching for Vaidehi, had presented himself before thee, lord,—behold this monkey come again!--whom thou hadst seen before!--is the eldest son of Kacari, known as the offspring of the Wind-godcelebrated as Hanuman, who had bounded over the deep. Capable of wearing forms at pleasure, that first of monkeys is endeued with grace and strength,—and is of irresistible impetuosity even as that lord, the Wind. Seeing the Sun risen, (he) while a boy, resolving in his mind,—'Coursing a way measuring three thousand yojanas, I will bring the Sun,-my hunger is not appeased;' and he sprang up, elated with strength. And, not getting that god, incapable of being subdued by the deities, saints and Rakshasas, he dropped down on the Ascending-hill. And thereat a jaw of that strongjawed one was a little fractured on the rock,—and he is called Hanuman in consequence. I know this monkey and all his previous history. I cannot describe his strength, beauty or prowess. And this one alone hopes to lay Lanka low by his energy. And why dost thou today forget the monkey, who had flung flaming fire into Lanka? And next to him is the hero of dark-blue hue, having eyes like lotuses, the Atiratha among the Ikshwakus-of prowess celebrated in the world-in whom virtue never wavereth and who never swerveth from righteousness; who knoweth the Brahma Mantra and the Vedas,-the best of those versed in them-who pierceth the sky with his shafts and cleaveth the Earth, whose ire is like death, and whose prowess is like that of Sakra.—whose wife. Sita, hath been carried away by thee from Janasthana. And this is Rama, who, O king, advanceth to encounter thee in conflict. And on his right side is one of the splendour of pure gold, broad-breasted, having dark curled hair-this one is named Lakshmana, ever mindful of his brother's welfare. He is versed in polity as well as warfare—the foremost of those learned in all the branches of knowledge; wrathful, invincible, victorious, powerful, conquering and strong,—the right arm of Rama and his own life going about. For Raghava he careth not for his life. He hopeth to exterminate all the Rakshasas in battle. He that stayeth occupying the left side of Rama, and surrounded by Rakshasas, is the king, Bibhishana, sprinkled as the king of Lanka by the auspicious king of kings,-he, filled with wrath, approacheth thee (for battle). And he whom thou seest staying in the middle like a firm-based mountain, the lord of all monkeys, of immeasurable prowess, -and who in energy fame, intelligence, strength, and lineage, is as superior to the monkeys as the mountain Himavan overtoppeth all the mountains, who in company with the principal monkey-leaders dwelleth in inaccessible Kishkindha hard to penetrate and dense with trees and difficult of access and denying approach on account of rocks; and whose golden garland consisting of an hundred lotuses looks exceedingly elegant, which is the desire of men and gods, and where is established Lakshmi-(is Sugriva). And Rama, having slain Vali, hath conferred this garland, Tara, and the eternal

monkey-kingdom on Sugriva. An hundred of an hundred thousand is called a koti by the wise. An hundred of a thousand koti is called a Sanku. An hundred of a thousand Sanku is known as a Mahacanku. An hundred of a thousand Mahacanku is here termed a Vrinda. An hundred of a thousand Vrinda is known as a Mahavrinda. A thousand Mahavrinda is called here a Padma. An hundred of a thousand Padma is known as a Mahapadma. An hundred of a thousand Mahapadma is termed a Kharva. An hundred of a thousand Khara is termed a Samudra. An hundred of a thousand Samudra is known as a Mahaugha. Thus backed by a thousand koti, and a hundred Sanku, and a thousand Mahacanku, and an hundred Vrinda, and a thousand Mahavrinda, and an hundred Padma, and a thousand Mahapadma and an hundred kharva, and an equal Samaudra and an equal Mahaugha,-by kotis of Mahaughasresembling the sea,-and surrounded by the heroic Bibhishana as well as his counsellors,—that Lord of monkeys always engirthed by a mighty force, and possessed of exceeding strength and prowess, will encounter thee in battle. Observing this host, that hath presented itself, resembling a flaming planet, do thou. O mighty monarch, prepare thyself to the uttermost, -so that victory may be thine, and that thou mayst not come by discomfiture at the hands of the foe".

SECTION 29.

Seeing the leaders of monkeys as pointed out by Suka,—the exceedingly puissant Lakshmana-Rama's right arm-and Rayana's brother Bibhishana staying near Rama, and Sugriva of dreadful prowess-sovereign of all the monkeys, -and the strong Angada, grandson unto the thunder-handed one [Indra.], and the powerful Hanuman; and the unconquerable Jambavan; and Sushena; and Nila; and Nala-best of monkeys,-and Gaya; and Gavaksha; and Sarabha; and Mainda; and Dwivida,-Ravana, with his heart agitated a little, and his wrath aroused,-when their talk had ended, rebuked those heroes, Suka and Sarana. And he wrathfully spoke unto them, standing in humble guise with their heads hung down, harsh words faltering with passion,-"That counsellors subsisting (on the wealth of their master and sovereign), should say aught disagreeable to him, whether they meet with his favour or disfavour—is not meet. Without being questioned, it is (proper) for you both to hymn the praises of a foe that is opposed and that hath advanced for encounter! Ye have in vain worshipped your preceptors, aged people, and spiritual guides, for ye have failed to appropriate the cream of Political Science, which should be availed of. Or if ye had appropriated the same, you have forgotten it afterwards; and ve bear the burden of ignorance. And it is owing to my good fortune that, having such stupid counsellors, I have as yet held my kingdom. Have ye no fear of death that ye use harsh speech towards me, who am the ruler and whose tongue dispenseth good and evil? Even trees may exist in the forest, coming in contact with burning fire; but transgressors cannot exist, visited with the chastisement of the monarch. I shall slay these wicked wights, who praise the side of the enemy, if my anger be not moderated, remembering their former good offices. Avaunt! Go hence from near me! I do not wish to slay you, remembering your good acts. Slain ye (already) are, who are ingrate and cherish no affection for me". Thus accosted, Suka and Sarana, seeing (how things stood), covered with bashfulness, went out, saluting Rayana by uttering 'Victory!' Then that ranger of night, the Tennecked one, said unto Mahodara, who was present, to summon some spies. Thus accosted, Mahodara speedily ordered some spies (to present themselves). Thereat, the spies, hurriedly arriving there at the mandate of the monarch, and, presenting themselves, stood with joined hands, uttering blessings of victory. Then the lord of Rakshasas, Ravana, addressed the spies, who were heroic, faithful, calm, and courageous,—"Go hence, and acquaint yourselves with the exertions of Rama; as well as with those who, being the custodians of Rama's closest counsels, have gladly joined him (here). How he sleepeth and how he waketh, and what he engageth himself in,-having deftly acquainted yourselves with all this thoroughly, do you come (back here). The wise king that gathers (a knowledge of) his enemy through spies, can, putting forth a modicum of effort in conflict, neutralise (his exertions)". Thereat the spies, saying,—"So it is", taking Sardula to the fore, with delighted hearts went round the sovereign of the Rakshasas. And, having gone round the highsouled Rakshasa-chief, the spies set out for where Rama with Lakshmana was. And repairing secretly to the vicinity of the mountain bordering on the fair shore [Suvelasya Sailasyamay also mean, of the mount Suvela.], they saw Rama and Lakshmana with Sugriva and Bibhishana. And seeing that host, they were overwhelmed with fear. And, while staying there, they, discovered by the righteous lord of Rakshasas, Bibhisana, were sore harassed (by the monkeys). And that wicked Rakshasa, Sardula, alone was taken (before Rama). But Rama liberated him, who was assailed by the monkeys. And Rama also, entertaining no enmity against them, also liberated the others, (who accompanied Sardula). And, on having been put to straits by the powerful monkeys of fleet

vigor, the spies, breathing hard, and with their consciousness lost, again arrived at Lanka. Then those exceedingly strong spies, always ranging outside, presenting themselves before the Ten-necked one, informed him of the forces of Rama, stationed near mount Suvela.

SECTION 30.

Then the spies communicated unto Lanka's lord news concerning Raghava and his host stationed at the mount Suvela. Hearing the words of the spies, that Rama, accompanied by a mighty army, had arrived (there), Ravana was a little agitated and spoke unto Sardula,-"Thy colour hath changed its natural aspect, and, O ranger of the night, thou lookest poorly. Didst not come under the control of the wrathful foes?" Thus ordered by him, then (Sardula), bewildered by fear, addressed that tiger of a Rakshasa, saying,-"Those powerful monkeys, O king, puissant, strong, and protected by Raghava, are incapable of being ranged (by us). And they cannot be conversed with or interrogated. All around, the courses are kept by monkeys resembling hills. As soon as I entered, and was scanning that host, I was discovered. And forcibly taken by the Rakshas, I was pulled by them hither and thither. And furiously assailed by the monkeys with thighs, clenched fists, teeth, and palms, I was dragged in the midst of the army by the enraged monkeys. And, after having been taken all about, I was (at length) taken before Rama, bleeding, with my limbs showing sorry work, and my senses swimming and paralysed. And, having been belaboured by the monkeys, I, on craving his kindness with joined hands, was, at his pleasure, rescued by Raghava, with, "Don't, don't"! Having filled up the deep with rocks and crags, Rama equipped with weapons, stayeth, occupying the gate of Lanka. And, letting me off, that one of suspasstng vigor, surrounded by monkeys, and, arranging his forces in the Garuda fashion, advanceth upon Lanka. And he draweth nigh to the wall. Therefore, do one of these things in preference to the other, -either render back Sita, or give him battle". Hearing this, Ravana, lord of Rakshasas, then reflecting in his mind, spoke unto Sardula these pregnant words,-'Even if the gods, Gandharvas, and Danavas should array themselves against me, Sita I shall not give, from fear of all creatures". Having said this, that exceedingly energetic one again said,—"Thou hast ranged this army. Who here among the monkeys are heroic? And, amiable one, what is their potency? And what are those monkeys that are hard to approach, like? And, O thou of fair vows, whose sons and grandsons are they? Truly relate all this (to me). Having ascertained their strength and weakness, I shall in this matter adopt my course. Those who wish for fight, certainly take account of all this". Thus addressed by Ravana, Sardulabest of spies-thus begin to speak in the presence of Ravana,-"O king, that unconquerable one in fight, Jambavan, is well known as the son Gadgada, king of bears. The other son of Gadgada is the son of Sakra's preceptor. By which son, single-handed, was done immense oppression to the Rakshas. And the righteous and puissant Sushena is the son of Dharma [Righteousness..]. And the mild monkey, Dadhimukha, O king, is the son of Soma [the Moon.]. And Sumukha, Durmukha and the monkey, Vegadarcin (resembling) Death himself, were for certain begot by the Selfcreate in the shape of a monkey. And Nila himself is the son of the bearer of sacrificial oblations [Fire.]; and Hanuman is famed as the son of the Wind-god. And the irrepressible and youthful Angada is the grandson of Sakra. And the lusty Mainda and Dwivida are sprung from Acwi. And five are the sons of Vaivaswata, resembling the Reaper himself-Gaya, Gavaksha, Gavava, Sarabha and Gandhamadana, But I can not enumerate the rest, ten kotis of heroic monkeys-all sons of deities—burning for battle. And this is Dacaratha's son this youth resembling a lion, who slew Dushana and Khara and Triciras. There breathes none on Earth that is like unto Rama in prowess, by whom was slain Viradha and Kavandha, resembling the Destroyer. No person can on earth describe the virtues of Rama; by whom have been slain all those Rakshasas that had gone to Janasthana. And here also is the virtuous Lakshmana, like unto the foremost of elephants, coming in the way of whose shafts, even Vasava doth not live. And here are Sweta and Jyotirmukha, sprung from Vatskara's self; and the monkey Hemakuta is the son of Varuna. And the heroic Nala-best of monkeys, is the son of Vicwakarma. And powerful and impetuous, Durdhara is the son of Vasu. And that foremost of Rakshasas, Bibhishana, thy brother, engaged in the welfare of Raghava, hath laid seige to Lanka. Thus have I described unto thee the entire monkey host stationed in mount Suvela. As for what remaineth to be done, thou art the

SECTION 31.

Then the spies of the king informed him of the forces of Raghava, incapable of being agitated, which had stationed themselves on mount Suvela. Hearing the arrival of Rama's mighty army from the spies, Ravana was a little agitated, and he spoke unto the ministers,—"Let the ministers speedily present themselves, having their wits about them,—the time

for sooth hath come for counsel". Hearing his mandate, those Rakshasas, his counselors, swiftly presented themselves. And then he consulted with his Rakshasa counselors. Having deliberated duly, that resistless one, dismissing his ministers, entered his own abode. Then, taking with him the highly strong Vidyujjibha, huge-bodied and gifted with the powers of illusion, he entered where Mithila's daughter was. And the lord of Rakshasas said unto Vidyujjibha, skilled in illusion,-'Do thou bring Janakas daughter under the sway of illusion. And, O ranger of the night, do thou, taking an illusory head of Raghava, as well as a mighty bow with the shaft (set), present thyself before me". Thus accosted, the night-ranger, Vidyujjibha, saying, "So be it," displayed that desired illusion unto Ravana. Thereat, the king, eager to meet with Sita in the Acoka woods, well-pleased, conferred an excellent ornament on him. Then the exceedingly powerful lord of the Nairitas, the younger brother of the Dispenser of riches, entered (into that place) and saw (there Sita) distressed, albeit unworthy of distress,-with her head hung down, overwhelmed with woe,-sitting on the ground, staying at the acoka woods, engaged in the contemplation of her lord, conciliated by dreadful Rakshasis remaining near. Then, drawing near Sita. Ravana, proclaiming his exultation, said these haughty words unto the daughter of Janaka,-"O gentle one, he depending on whom thou, being soothed by (me), slightest me-that slayer of Khara, thy husband, Raghava, hath fallen in battle. Thy roots have been competely severed, and thy pride hath been destroyed by me. In consequence of this calamity, O Sita. thou shalt become my wife. O foolish (girl), renounce this idea. What wilt thou do with him that is dead? O meek (wench), be thou the mistress of all my wives. O thou of slender religious merit! O thou whose object hath been defeated! O thou that presumest to be wise! Hearken unto the destruction of thy lord, like the dreadful destruction of Vritra! Surrounded by a vast army gathered by the sovereign of the monkeys, Raghava had presented himself on the shore of the sea, for compassing my destruction. And on the sun having set, Rama stationed himself with his mighty army, oppressing the northern shore (of the sea). Then at midnight (my) spies coming to that host, thus stationed, fatigued from travel, and sleeping soundly (in consequence),—first ranged it. Then my mighty forces led by Prahasta slew his host overnight, where was present Rama along with Lakshmana. And repeatedly upraising patticas and bludgeons, swords, rods and other mighty weapons; and (discharging) showers of arrows, and darts, and daggers and maces and sticks and crows and bearded darts and discuses and clubs;-the Rakshasas discharged these among the monkeys. And while Rama was sleeping, the furious Prahasta by means of a mighty falchion, with speed cut off his head clean. Bibhishana, who was flying at his will, was taken captive. And Lakshmana along with the monkey-army hath departed somewhere. And, O Sita, Sugriva—lord of monkeys-hath his neck broken; and, O Sita, with his jaw fractured, Hanuman hath been slaughtered by the Rakshasas.—And Jambavan, endeavouring to spring up with his thighs, was slain in the conflict; being severed by bearded darts, even as a tree cut off. And the stalwart Mainda and Dwivida-those foremost of monkeys-sighing and lamenting, bathed in blood,-destroyers of foes-were cut off with a sword. And Panaca is rolling on the earth like a (veritable) Panaca [A kind of tree.]. And mangled by many iron arrows. Darimukha lieth in a cave. And the exceedingly energetic Kumuda, dumb, is slain by shafts. And torn by innumerable (arrows) discharged on all sides by Rakshasas, Angada, vomitting blood, lieth on the ground. And the monkeys, hard pressed by elephants, and others by networks of cars, lie low in the field, having been agitated like clouds by winds. And others afflicted with affright, flee, attacked (by the enemy) in the rear, and followed by the Rakshasas. like mighty elephants pursued by lions. And some have fallen into the sea, and some have taken refuge in the sky; and the bears have mounted up trees along with the monkeys. And on the shore of the sea, and in mountains and woods many are the tawny-hued monkeys that have been slain by Rakshasas of frightful forms. Thus hath thy lord been slain by my forces, along with his army; and I have his head, washed in blood and besmeared with dust". Thereat, the exceedingly irrepressible lord of Rakshasas, Ravana, spake unto a Rakshasi, in the hearing of Sita,-"Bring (hither) the Rakshasa, Vidyujjibha of cruel deeds, who hath personally brought Raghava's head from the field". Thereat, Vidyujjibha, taking the head along with the bow, bowing down the head (unto Rayana), stood before him. Then spake king; Ravana unto the Rakshasa, Vidyujjibha of the long tongue, who was staying by,-"Do thou at once hold before Sita the head of Dacaratha's son. Let her clearly behold the ultimate sad plight of her lord". Thus addressed, that Raksha, throwing that graceful head before Sita, swiftly vanished. And Rayana cast down the mighty blazing bow, famed through the three worlds, saving.—"This is Rama's. This is the bow of thy Rama with the string fixed. Slaying that man over night, Prahasta brought it hither".

SECTION 32

Seeing that head and that excellent bow, and (remembering) the union of (Rama) and Sugriva related by Hanuman, -and (seeing) those eyes, and the complexion of that face, and that countenance like unto that of her lord,-and that hair and that forehead; and that beautiful jewel forming the crest; and recognizing (Rama) by all these tokens combined,— (Sita), exceedingly aggrieved, rebuked Kaikeyi, lamenting like a female osprey,—"O Kaikeyi, have thy wishes attained. Slain hath been the son of the race; and the entire race is exterminated by thee, partial to dissension. And what evil had been done unto Kaikeyi by the revered Rama, that along with me, he hadst been banished into the woods, with rags given him (for his covering)?" Having said this, Vaidehi, forlorn and trembling (all over), dropped to the earth, like a plantain cut off. Then, recovering after a while, and having regained her consciousness, the large-eyed one, placing the head in her front, gave way to grief. "Ah! I am undone, O mighty-armed one! O thou that didst follow stern vows! From thy (death), I have come by this final plight, having been rendered a widow. The greatest calamity (that can befall a woman), is said to be the death of her husband. And, possessor of an excellent character, thou hast departed before me, who have ever trod the path of the righteous; but who have come by a mighty grief and am plunged in a sea of sorrow. And thou, who was engaged in delivering me, hast thyself fallen! And my motherin-law, Kaucalya, attached (to thee), through the death of thee, her son, at the hands of Rakshasas, hath been reduced to the condition of a cow that hath been deprived of her calf. O Raghava, even the astrologers had predicted long life for thee. But their words are false,-thou, O Raghava, wast shortlived. Or didst thy wisdom, wise and good as thou wert, come to naught? For God, who is the origin of all beings, maketh (every one) reap the fruit of his own acts. And why, versed in polity as thou wast, didst thou come by death, unforeseen? Thou wast acquainted with the means of warding off misfortune, and skilled in doing so. And having been brought hither by me, representing the Fatal Night, fierce and fell,after (being) embraced, and by force,-the lotus-eyed one hath met with his death. Here liest thou, O long-armed one, leaving me lone, - and embracing the Earth like thy beloved fair. Ever carefully worshipped with perfumed wreaths, this bow of thine, O hero, embellished with gold, is dear unto me. O sinless one, thou hast surely gone to heaven, and (art there) in the company of thy sire and my father-in-law, Dacaratha, and all thy ancestors. Thou hast become a star of the firmament as the fruit of thy great act. Thou hast disregarded thy righteous race of Rajarshis. O king, why dost thou not look at me? And why is it that thou dost not answer me, who am a girl, hardly arrived at youth, -and who am thy wife and companion? That thou at the time of thy espousing my hand hadst vowed-I will practise (righteousness) with thee-do thou, O Kakutstha, recollect the same, and take me, who am overwhelmed with distress. Why, O best of goers, hast thou gone from this world to that other, leaving behind me, overwhelmed with distress? That person of thine which, decked out with auspicious things, I used to embrace, beasts of prey will for certain tear the same. Having performed the Agnishtoma and other sacrifices with Dakshinas (dispensed),—why hadst not thou attained purity by means of the sacrificial fire? Kaucalya, overwhelmed with sorrow, shall only behold one of the three that had gone away to distant lands,-come (back)-Lakshmana. And, on being asked by her, he shall relate thine as well as the deaths of thy friend's troops over night at the hands of the Rakshasas. And, O Raghava, hearing thee slain while asleep, and me staying in the abode of the Raksha, she with her heart cleft (in twain), shall cease to exist. And for the sake of me, abject that I am, that sinless son of the king, Rama, possessed of prowess, having crossed the ocean, hath been slain in the footprint of a cow. I, the befouler of my line, who had been wedded by Dacaratha's son through want of discretion, becoming the wife of the revered Rama, was (in reality) his Death. Without doubt, in another birth I had abstained from choice gifts. and therefore it is that I sorrow to-day, albeit being the wife of one that was (ever dear) unto guests. Do thou, O Ravana, speedily slay me upon Rama; and, bringing the wife to the husband, compass my best benefit. Do thou join my head to his and my body to his body. I will, O Ravana, follow the way of my high-souled lord". Thus, burning in grief, did that large-eved one indulge in lamentations; and Janaka's daughter kept fast gazing at the head and bow of her lord. And as the Rakshasa was by while Sita was thus bewailing, there appeared before his lord, with joined hands, the warder, -"May the worshipful one be victorious!" And saluting and propitiating him, (Ravana), he told him that Prahasta, general of the forces, had arrived. "Prahasta hath come to thee, surrounded by all the courtiers, And, O lord, I was despatched by him, desirous of seeing thee. O mighty monarch, surely there is—and thou art forgiving from thy regal sentiment-some work which is momentous; and do thou see them". Hearing these words of the Rakshasa, the Ten-necked one, leaving the acoka wood, went to see the counselors. And, having decided his entire course of action in

consultation with his competent advisers, (Ravana), entering his court,—well knowing Rama's prowess, set about his work. And as soon as Ravana left that place, that head and that bow vanished. And in company with the councilors of dreadful power, (Ravana) decided his course with reference to Rama. And then the lord of Rakshasas, Ravana, resembling the day of doom, addressed his generals,—all well-wishers—staying hard by, saying,—"Do ye speedily summon my forces with the beat of drums—nor do ye give out the reason (of the summons)". Then assenting to his speech with "So be it," the envoys immediately summoned that mighty force; and, when it had arrived, they informed their master, eager for conflict, of its arrival.

SECTION 33.

Seeing Sita overwhelmed with grief, a Rakshasi, named Sarama, who was the beloved companion (of Sita), drew near to her dear (friend), Vaidehi. And the mild-speeched Sarama comforted the exceedingly distressed Sita, who had been bereft of her senses by the lord of Rakshasas. Sita, who was protected there (by Sarama), had been made a friend by her. And, protecting her at the command of Rayana, that kindhearted companion, firm in vows, saw Sita, deprived of her consciousness. And Sarama comforted with a friend's affection that one of fair vows, who was rolling in the dust and rising up from it like a mare. "Having come to the solitary wood for protecting thee, I, renouncing all fear of Ravana, have, remaining hid, heard everything that he addressed unto thee, as well as what thou hadst replied unto him. For thee, O thou of expansive eyes, I have no fear of Ravana. And, O Maithili, I, coming out, have also learnt well as to why the lord of Rakshasas hath gone out hence hurriedly. Rama, acquainted with self, is incapable of being surprised in sleep; nor doth the slaying of that tiger-like one commend itself to me as probable. And the monkeys fighting with trees, well protected by Raghava, like the gods protected by the foremost of the celestials, are incapable of being slain. And, possessed of arms long and rounded; graceful; broad-breasted; powerful; accoutred with the bow; and mailed; righteous; and famous over the earth; endowed with energy; and along with his brother, Lakshmana, ever protecting himself and others; of noble descent; and versed in polity; the destroyer of the hostile ranks; and of inconceivable strength and manhood,-the graceful Raghava, O Sita, slayer of foes, is not slain. This illusion hath been spread around thee by that fierce, illusioncreating one, whose mind ever runs upon improper acts and who opposeth himself to all creatures.—All thy sorrow hath departed, and thy good day hath dawned. Certainly Lakshmi seeketh thee. And, O lady, hearken unto what is dear to thee! Having crossed over the ocean, along with the monkey-host, Rama hath encamped himself on the southern shore of the sea. By me hath been seen the complete Kakutstha along with Lakshmana, accompanied by the forces, stationed on the marge of the main,-protected (by his native might). Those Rakshasas of fleet vigor who had been despatched by this one. have brought the news that Raghava hath crossed.—And, O large-eyed lady, having learnt this news, Ravana-lord of Rakshasas—is consulting with all his counselors". As the Rakshasi, Sarama, was relating this unto Sita, she heard the leonine roars of the army, emitted with the greatest energy. And, hearing the mighty sounds of kettledrums produced by sticks struck (thereon), the honey-tongued Sarama spoke thus unto Sita,-"These dreadful sounds of the kettledrum, O mother, call to arms. And hark to the solemn notes of the kettledrums, resembling the rumbling of clouds! The mad elephants are caparisoned and the car-horses are yoked; and thousands (of warriors) are seen, mounted on steeds, with bearded darts in their hands. And, as waters fill up the ocean, mailed warriors of wonderful forms, vehement and roaring. by thousands rush out on all sides and fill the highways. And mark the splendour spread around by the polished arms and bucklers and mail, - and by the cars, horses and elephants of the followers of the Rakshasa-chief,—consisting of many hues shooting up,-like unto the appearance of a fire in summer, burning a forest,—and also mark the excitement of the highspirited and fast-coursing Rakshas! And hear the sounds of bells and the rattling of the car-wheels! And hear the neighing of the steeds and the reports of the drums And fierce is the excitement of these Rakshasas-followers of the Rakshachief,-with their hands hearing upraised arms,-capable of making people's hair stand on end. The sorrow removing Sree espouseth thee; and the fear of the Rakshas is come. And as Vasava did unto the Daityas, the lotus-eyed Rama, thy lord of controlled anger, and of inconceivable prowess, slaying Ravana in battle and thus delivering thee, shall approach thee. And, as Vasava put forth his prowess among his foes, in company with the foe-destroying Vishnu, thy lord, along with Lakshmana, shall display his prowess among the Rakshas. On the enemy having fallen, I shall behold thee, devoted to thy lord, with thy desire attained, soon lying on the lap of Rama. And, O Janaki, embracing (thy lord), thou shalt shed tears of joy on his mighty breast. And, O Sita, soon shall the highly powerful Rama loosen this braid of thine reaching unto thy hips, which thou hast been wearing for many a month. And, O

exalted one, seeing his face like the full moon risen, thou shalt shed water begot of ruth, even as a she-serpent casts off her slough. And, O Mithila's daughter, speedily slaying Ravana in battle, that one worthy of happiness shall reap felicity in the company of thee, his beloved. And, loved by the high-souled Rama, thou shalt be happy, even as the Earth furnished with crops brought forth by plenteous showers. Do thou, O exalted one, take refuge with him, who, going round the foremost of mountains, speedily assumeth a steed-like circular movement; for even the maker of day is the source of people's joy and grief".

SECTION 34

Burning with grief on account of those words [i.e. the words of Ravana.], Sarama gladdened and cheered her, even as masses of clouds (cheer up) the burning Earth. And then, desirous of doing her good, (Sita's) friend, conversant with season, and ever preluding her speech with a smile, spoke unto her seasonably,-"O thou having dark eyes, I can, secretly going to Rama and communicating to him thy auspicious words, come back clandestinely. Nor, when I course the supportless sky, can even the Wind or Garuda follow me". As she said this, Sita with her grief a little lightened, said unto Sarama in sweet and smooth words,-"Thou art capable of even going to the nethermost regions. But do thou on my behalf that which is fit to be done by thee. If thou intend doing me a good turn, and if thy sense be steady, I would know what Ravana is doing after having left this place. That guileful and wicked-minded one, Ravana, destroyer of enemies, having powers of illusion, overwhelms me even as the Varuni just drunk. Confining me here for ever and a day, (Ravana) sets on dreadful Rakshasas to alike threaten and scold me constantly. And I am agitated and alarmed, and my mind is (always) uneasy. And I, dwelling in the acokawood, is ever agitated. If there is any talk (of delivering me), or keeping me confined,—thou shouldst communicate unto me the decision arrived at. This is the highest favour that I seek (at thy hands)". Thereat, the mild-speeched Sarama, wiping (Sita's) face washed in tears, spake unto her, as she said this,-"If this is thy wish, I will go, O Janaki. O Mithila's daughter, having possessed myself of the intent of the enemy, I shall come back". Having said this, (Sarama), repairing to the Raksha, heard Ravana's converse with his counselors. And having heard of the decision of that wicked-minded one, she, understanding decisions, swiftly retraced her steps to the fair acoka forest. And then, entering there, she saw Janaka's daughter, expecting (her) like a very Sri, bereft of her lotus. And, the fair-spoken Sarama, on getting back (near her), Sita, embracing her affectionately, herself gave her a seat, "Sitting down here at ease, do thou relate to me faithfully all about the determination of the wicked-minded and guileful Ravana" Thus accosted by the trembling Sita, Sarama related everything that had been said by Ravana and his counselors. 'O Vaidehi, the Raksha lord was advised by his mother and the aged counselors in pregnant words informed with affection, having thy deliverance for their object. 'Do thou make over Maithili unto the king of men, paying him homage due. Thou hast, in Janasthana profusely witnessed wonderful instances (of his prowess). The crossing of the ocean, Hanuman's sight (of Sita),—and the slaughter of the Rakshas in fight,—what person is capable of doing all this in battle?" Thus long exhorted by his counselors as well as his mother. Ravana doth not make up his mind to emancipate thee, even as a covetuous person is loath to part with wealth (appropriated). And, O Maithili, without renouncing his life in battle, he doth not intend to liberate thee. Even this is the determination which that cruel one hath arrived at along with his advisers. This intent is in consequence of their coveting surcease. He can not yield thee up from sheer fear; nor is he backward in battle, or shirketh his own destruction or that of all the Rakshasas. O dark-eyed lady, slaying Ravana in battle with sharp shafts, Rama shall take thee back to Ayodhya". In the meanwhile there was heard a mighty uproar occasioned by the whole host, and drums and conchs,-which shook the earth. Hearing that hubbub of the monkey-army, the servants of the Rakshasa monarch, ran who were in Lanka,—growing dispirited and bereft of energy, with weakness overcoming their powers,-did not see any good, in consequence of the fault of the ruler.

SECTION 35.

And that captor of hostile capitals, the mighty-armed Rama, was advancing (upon Lanka) with the sounds of drums mixed with the blares of conchs. Hearing this noise, Ravana—lord of Rakshasas—reflecting for a while, cast his eyes upon his counselors. And addressing there all those counsellors, that afflictor of the world—the crooked and highly powerful lord of the Rakshasas, Ravana, making his court resound,—running down (Rama's) crossing the main, as well as his vigor, strength and manhood,—said to them,—"What ye have said touching Rama's (prowess), hath been heard by me. And I also know ye to be of sterling valor in the field. Yet why, knowing Rama's prowess, do ye silently look at each other?" Then the maternal grand sire (of Ravana), possessed of exceeding

wisdom, named Malyavan, hearing his words, said,-"The king that is accomplished in the various kinds of learning, and that followeth polity, ever commandeth affluence and bringeth his enemies under his subjection. He that seasonably concludes peace and carries on war with his enemies, -and who advances his own party, attaineth great affluence. A king should enter into peace, if he be an equal or inferior of his adversary, and engage in war, if be more powerful,-but an enemy should never be disregarded. Therefore, O Rayana, peace with Rama is what commends itself to me; and do thou render unto him that for which thou hast been invaded (by him), viz., Sita. All the Devarshis and Gandharvas wish for (Rama's) victory. Therefore, do not enter into hostilities with him; but do thou bend thy mind to ther conclusion of peace with him. That possessor of the six attributes, the Greatfather, hath appointed two courses, (respectively) for the Asuras and the celestials, having for their proper objects righteousness and unrighteousness. Righteousness, we hear, is the course of the high-souled celestials, as, O Rakshasa, unrighteousness is that of Rakshas and Asuras. During the Krita Yuga, righteousness swalloweth up sin; and during Tishya [The Kali Yuga.], unrigheousness swalloweth up virtue. Thou, ranging the three worlds, hadst extinguished pregnant piety, and reaped unrighteousness; and it is for this that thy foes have waxed potent. And, having grown through thy neglect, unrighteousness devoureth us, and that protector of the gods, (righteousness), is strengthening the side of the celestials. Thou, addicted to carnal pleasures and acting in defiance of duty, hadst aroused the high wrath of the saints resembling fire. The power of these possessed of souls sanctified through asceticism, and ever engaged in invoking the aid of righteousness, is incapable of being resisted and is like flaming fire. The twice-born ones engage in contemplation with intent minds, and loudly recite the Vedas. They overpower the Rakshas, uttering the Vedas; and thereat they fly in all directions like clouds scattered in summer. And the smoke that ariseth from the Agnihotra sacrifices of saints resembling fire, enveloping the energy of the Rakshasas, spreads over the ten cardinal quarters. And ther fierce austerities of vow-observing saints, performed at particular sacred spots, try the Rakshasas sore. Thou hast obtained a boon, conferring immunity at the hands of deities. Danavas and Yakshas. But men and monkeys, bears and Golangulas, possessed of enormous strength and endowed with vigor, and of indomitable prowess,—coming here, are setting up roars. Witnessing various and many dire portents, I perceive the destruction of all the Rakshasas. Dreadful and terrific clouds, uttering harsh sounds, are showering blood all around Lanka And (live) vehicles are dropping profuse tears. And all sides, covered with dust, do not appear bright as formerly. And beasts of prey, jackals and vultures, are emitting frightful cries, and, entering into the garden of Lanka, form themselves into bands. And in dreams mighty dark-hued women in front of dwellings, seizing at (the furniture) thereof, and speaking inauspiciously, laugh displaying their sable teeth. And in houses dogs are feasting on the articles of worship. And cows bring forth asses, and mongooses, mice. And cats are pairing with leopards, and swine with dogs, and Kinnaras with Rakshasas and human beings. And red-footed white skycoursing pigeons, urged on by Doom, are going about for the destruction of the Rakshasas. And female-parrots in houses. wounded and worsted by other birds delighting in discord, are dropping down, emitting indistinct notes. And all the birds and beasts are crying (distressfully) with their faces turned towards the sun. And at dusk a frightful, withered, tawny-hued male figure, looking like Death himself, with his head shaven, peereth into the houses (of people). These and other evil omens occur. Rama I deem as Vishnu assuming the form of a man. Raghava of steady prowess, for certain, is no human being,—he that hath built a bridge over the deep, must be an exceedingly wonderful person. Therefore, O Ravana, conclude peace with Rama-king of men. Having ascertained fit course, do thou act properly". Having said this unto that vile one, and knowing the intention of the lord of Rakshas, that strong Malyavan, of exceeding prowess, became silent, eving Rayana.

SECTION 36.

The Ten-necked one, come under the control of Time, did not brook the beneficial speech spoken by Malyavan. Contracting his face into a frown, he, coming under the masterdom of passion, with his eyes rolling in wrath, addressed Malyavan, saying,—"The words which, deeming the strength of the enemy as superior, thou hast harshly spoken, considering it as beneficial, had never before entered my ears. A (mere) man, and feeble, and alone, and having monkeys for his support, why dost thou deem Rama, who hath (further) been cast off by his sire, and hath in consequence taken refuge in the woods,—as competent (to cope with me)? And why dost thou consider me, who am the lord of the Rakshas, and feared even by the immortals,—as weak and reft of all power? Thou, I suspect, speakest (thus) roughly either from jealousy of my heroism, or for inciting me. And who that is wise and learned, ever addresseth him

roughly that is at once puissant and of (high) station, if not to spur him on? Why, having brought Sita like a Sri shorn of her lotus, shall I give her up, from fear of Raghava? Behold Raghava, environed by Kotis of monkeys, with Sugriva and Lakshmana, slain one of these days! He before whom even the gods cannot stay in the field,-how can that Ravana ever come by fear? Better that I should be riven in twain,-but bend I never will. This is my native fault; and nature is incapable of being overcome. And if Rama hath at his pleasure constructed a bridge over the ocean, what is the wonder in this that thou hast conceived such a fear? And although Rama hath crossed the ocean along with the monkey-army, yet I swear unto thee truly, living, he shall not back hence". When Ravana, wrought up with passion, had spoken thus, Malvavan, knowing him wroth, did not return a reply. And. duly tendering blessings unto the king, Malyavan, taking his permission, went to his own abode. And the Rakshasa, Ravana, along with his courtiers, having consulted together as to what was fit to be done, set about the defence of Lanka. And he commanded the Rakshasa Prahasta (to guard) the Eastern gate; and the exceedingly powerful Mahaparcwa and Mahodara (to guard) the Southern gate; and he ordered his son Indrajit, possessing mighty powers of illusion, girt by innumerable Rakshasas, to guard the Western gate. And he commanded Suka and Sarana to defend the Northern gate. But he said unto the counsellors,-"I will myself go thither" [i.e. to defend the Northern gate.]. And he posted in the middle in the garrison the Rakshasa, Virupaksha, endowed with exceeding prowess and energy, backed by countless Rakshasas. Having taken these measures in Lanka, the Rakshasa-chief, urged by Fate, deemed himself as having achieved success. Having thus completely provided for the defence of the city, he dismissed the ministers; and, honoured by the counsellors with blessings of victory, (then) entered his magnificent and splendid inner apartment.

SECTION 37

Those kings, man and monkey, that monkey the Wind-god's son, Jambavan—sovereign of bears—the Rakshasa, Bibhishana, the son of Vali, Angada, Sumitra's son, the monkey, Sarabha, Sushena along with his friends, Kumuda, Nala, and Panaca, arriving at the dominions of the enemy, assembled together, began to deliberate. "Yonder is that Lanka ruled by Ravana, invincible even unto the celestials, serpents and Gandharvas. Let us, keeping before us success in the enterprise, consult together for the purpose of arriving at a decision. We are here daily nearing Ravana, lord of Rakshasas". As they were speaking thus, Ravana's younger brother, Bibhishana, said in a pregnant speech free from provincialism,-"Anala, Panaca, Sampati and Pramati-all courtiers of mine-having gone up to Lanka, have come back here. Wearing the forms of birds, they entered into the hostile forces; and, having seen the measures that had been adopted (by them), have come (back). O Rama, hearken to me as I tell thee truly anent the provisions which they have related made by the wicked-minded Ravana. In the Eastern gate stayeth Prahasta along with his forces; in the Southern, the exceedingly powerful Mahaparcwa and Mahodara; and in the Western, Ravana's son, Indrajit, supported by innumerable Rakshasas, equipped with patticas, swords and bows, and bearing darts and maces in their hands.—surrounded by heroes carrying various weapons. And, backed by many thousands of Rakshasas weilding weapons, and accompanied by Rakshasas conversant with counsel, Ravana himself, his heart agitated to the height, guardeth the Northern gate of the city. And Virupaksha with a powerful force accoutred in javelins, clubs and bows, protects the garrison in the centre. Having seen these hosts thus disposed in Lanka, my counsellors have speedily come back here. There are ten thousand elephants, an Ayuta cars, two of horses, and about a koti of Rakshasas, powerful and strong, and equipped with arms in conflict. These night-rangers are ever the favourites of the Rakshasa ruler. And, O king, a koti of forces accompany each of these Rakshasas in battle". Having conveyed this information concerning Lanka, which had been communicated by his counsellors, the mighty-armed Bibhishana showed (unto Rama) those Rakshasas themselves. And in company with his counsellors, Ravana's graceful younger brother, ever striving for the welfare of Rama, by way of answer communicated everything that was going forward in Lanka unto Rama, having eyes resembling lotus--"O Rama, when Ravana battled with Kuvera, sixty lacs of Rakshasas marched forth (to meet him). In prowess, energy, vigor, exceeding fortitude, and hauteur, they resembled the wicked-minded Ravana himself. In this matter, thou ought not to grow wroth,—I only arouse thy wrath, and do not endeavour to frighten thee. Thou canst subdue even the celestials by thy prowess. Therefore thou, environed by a mighty army, having arrayed the monkey-forces in order of battle, shalt thrash Ravana (in battle)". When Ravana's younger brother had spoken thus, Raghava, said these words with reference to his beating the foe,-"Let that foremost of monkeys, Nila, surrounded by an immense number of monkeys, cope with Prahasta at the Eastern gate of Lanka.

And, engirt by a mighty force, let Angada, son of Vali, resist Mahaparcwa and Mahodara at the Southern gate (thereof). And let that son of the Wind-god, Hanuman, backed by innumerable monkeys, (beating the host stationed) at the Western gate, find entrance (into the city). I myself, determined to compass the destruction of the lord of Rakshasas, who, waxing powerful in consequence of the boon he hath received, hath brought about the destruction of highsouled saints resembling gods and Danavas, -and who goeth round all regions, oppressing people,—will, along with Sumitra's son, smiting (the foe), occupy the Northern entrance, where Ravana with his army is stationed. And let the powerful king of monkeys, and the puissant sovereign of bears, and the younger brother of the Rakshasa-chief, manage the soldiery posted in the centre. And in this battle, the monkeys need not assume the forms of human being. And let this serve for a sign that the monkeys, in order to the recognition of our own forces, appear with their proper monkey-marks. We seven only shall battle with the foe in human shapes,—viz., I along with my brother, the exceedingly energetic Lakshmana, and my friend Bibhishana counting for the fifth in company with his own following". Having said this unto Bibhishana, for attaining success in the enterprise, that lord, the intelligent Rama, seeing the sides of Suvela more beautiful (than other places), intended to ascend it. Then, environed by a mighty host, the high-souled and magnanimous Rama, his features mirroring forth high exultation,—overshadowing the entire Earth (with his forces), set out for Lanka, determined upon destroying the

SECTION 38.

Having been bent upon mounting Suvela, Rama, followed by Lakshmana, addressed in sweet and excellent words, Sugriva, and that righteous night-ranger, Bibhishana, versed in counsel and conversant with precepts, who was devoted to him,—saying,—"We shall all ascend this mount Suvela, bedight with metals; and pass this night even here. And (from here) will we view the abode of that Rakshasa who, foul of soul, hath carried off my spouse, to bring destruction down on himself,-who knoweth nor morality nor good conduct nor behaviour (conducive to the dignity of his descent).—and who, in consequence of his base propensity, hath committed himself to so heinous a course of action". Having decided thus, Rama, filled with wrath at Ravana, coming to Suvela, ascended its variegated plateau. And Lakshmana, collected, went in his wake. And, upraising bow and arrow, Sugriva, (ever) engaged in valorous acts, accompanied with Bibhishana as well as his counselors, following him, also ascended (the mountain). And all those rangers of mountains, gifted with the vehemence of the Wind in hundreds ascended mount Suvela, where Raghava was stationed. And ascending the mountain in a short time, they all beheld from its summit the city, appearing to be built on the air. And the monkey-leaders beheld Lanka, exceedingly splendid with noble gateways; gracefully enclosed with a wall; thronging with Rakshasas; and defended by sable Rakshasas. And the foremost of monkeys saw these appearing like another wall (overtopping the one beneath). And on seeing the Rakshasas, the monkeys burning for battle set up various roars in the presence of Rama. Then the Sun, crimsoned with Eve, ascended the Setting-hill and Night came, illumined by the Moon at his full. Then the master of the monkey-army, Rama, saluted and honoured by Bibhishana, accompanied by Lakshmana as well as the leaders of the monkeys, sojourned happily on the breast

SECTION 39.

Having passed the night in Suvela, the heroic monkeyleaders surveyed woods and forests in Lanka. And seeing those extensive (woods and forests), mild, and charming, and beautiful to behold, they were seized with wonderment. Abounding in champakas, acokas, vakulas, calas, and palms; covered with tamalas and panacas,-and environed all around with trees,—and surrounded with Hintalas, Aryunas, blossoming Saptaparnas, Tilakas, Karnikaras, and Patalas,—trees with flowering tops, en tert wined with creepers,-Lanka looked exceedingly lovely, with various sights,-resembling the Amaravati herself of Indra. And trees there, furnished with variegated flowers having tender rosy leaves,-and blue lawns, and rows of woods; and bearing odourous and charming blossoms and fruits,—looked like men adorned with ornaments. And there a delightful and pleasant wood resembling Chaitraratha, and like unto Nandana itself—having all the seasons present,—appeared beauteous to the view, with black bees all around. And it had Datyuhas, and Koyasthivas, and peacocks dancing; and the strains of the coels were heard at the woodland rills. And the heroic and exhilarated monkeys, capable of wearing forms at pleasure, entered those woods and groves frequented by maddened birds and ranged by Bhramaras,—tracts overflowing with the lays of coels, and ringing with the voices of songsters,-resonant with the notes of Bhramarassovereigns of their species-and eloquent with the cries of

ospreys. And as the exceedingly energetic monkeys entered, there blew upon them the breeze—like unto life—redolent of perfume obtained from contact with the blossoms. And others of the leaders among the heroic monkeys, coming out from the bands, ordered by Sugriva, made in the direction of Lanka crowned with ensigns. And, terrifying the fowls and dispiriting beasts and birds and shaking Lanka with their roars, those foremost monkeys set up shouts. And they, endowed with great impetuosity, went on, oppressing the earth with their battle-array; and clouds of dust suddenly arose from the the march of the soldiery. And bears, and lions, and buffaloes, and elephants, and deer, and birds overwhelmed with affright, made for the ten cardinal points. The graceful and lovely summit of Trikuta was entire, elevated, sky-piercing, of golden splendour, measuring an hundred yojanas, clear-shining, level, inaccessible even to fowls, and incapable of being ascended even in thought-not to say of actual ascension by people. Lanka, ruled by Ravana, was situated on Trikuta's top,-ten yojanas in width and twenty in length. And that city was graced with lofty ornamented gateways resembling pale clouds, and golden and silvern walls; and Lanka was adorned with palaces and piles; like the sky graced with clouds on the approach of the rainy season. And that palace, which was adorned with thousands of pillars, and which, as if piercing the heavens, looked like a peak of Kailaca-was the residence of the Sovereign of the Rakshasas—the ornament of the city, (ever guarded by full hundreds of Rakshasas). And Lakshmana's auspicious and puissant elder brother, beholding that flourishing and wealthy city resembling the celestial regions,—charming to the mind, made of gold, graced with mountains, and decked out with mountains containing various metals,-resonant with the notes of various birds; abounding in various beasts,-furnished with various kinds of flowers,-and inhabited by various orders of Rakshasas.-was struck with astonishment. And Rama, surrounded by his mighty forces, saw that palace, filled with diverse kinds of gems, adorned with rows of edifices, and having huge engines and gateways.

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Then Rama, accompanied by the monkey-leaders, along with Sugriva, ascended the top of Suvela, measuring a circumference of two yojanas. And staying there for a while and looking at the ten cardinal points, he saw Lanka finely placed on the charming summit of Trikuta,-graced with elegant groves; and (he also saw) the unconquerable lord of Rakshasas, stationed at the top of the gateway, fanned with white chamaras; graced with the umbrella betokening victory; smeared with red sandal: adorned in red ornaments: resembling masses of sable clouds; and apparelled in golden attire,-his breast bearing scars from the tusk-ends of Airavata; covered with a sheet hued like the blood of hares; and appearing like clouds lighted up by the evening sun. And on seeing the Rakshasa-chief, Sugriva suddenly rose up in the sight of the lords of monkeys as well as Raghaya And influenced by wrath, he, mustering strength and vigor, rising from the brow of the mountain, bounded to the gateway. And pausing for a while and eying the Rakshasa intrepidly, he, slighting the Raksha, addressed him in harsh speech, saying,—"O Rakshasa, I am the friend as well as the slave of Rama—lord of men. Me, backed by the energy of that king of the Earth, shalt thou not escape to-day". Saying this, he, suddenly springing up, descended on him; and snatching away his variegated crown, let it fall on the earth. And seeing him come abruptly, the night-ranger spoke to him thus,that wert Sugriva beyond my ken, shalt be neckless near me". Having said this, he rose up swiftly and dragged Sugriva down to the earth. Thereat springing like pith, the monkey pushed down his antagonist with his arms. And each having his body bathed in sweat and his person covered with blood. each choking and annuling the efforts of the other, -and resembling a Salmalior a Kincuka, and dealing blows and slaps, and hitting with his arms and hands,-those exceedingly strong ones, the lord of the Rakshasas and that of the monkeys, fought wonderfully. And having for a long time encountered each other in combat on the dais belonging to the gate,-they, now lifting up their persons and now lowering them, went down, each felling the other with his legs. And smiting each other, they, their bodies fastened together, went down between the wall and the moat,-and again stood upon the ground. And heaving breath, they, resting for a space, grappled with each other; and they fast bound each other with their arms serving for ropes. And each fired with wrath, and each having both strength and skill, they now bore themselves in the lists like a tiger and a lion, furnished with teeth; or like the young of the foremost elephants engaged in encounter,-and restraining and pushing each other with their arms, they simultaneously both came down to the ground. Then starting again to their feet, they, vituperating each other, ranged the lists, displaying feats expressive of skill and strength. Nor did those heroes speedily come by fatigue. And resembling mighty elephants, they, resisting each other by means of their powerful arms like unto the trunks of elephants, fought for a long while, swiftly

wheeling about the arena. And approaching each other, they strove to slay each other, like unto two cats seated, momentarily encountering each other over some food. And the lord of monkeys and Ravana, accomplished in fight, coursed the arena, displaying wonderful mandalas [A mandala is of four kinds, viz., chari, karana, khanda and mahamandala.], various sthanas [A particular adjustment of the steps successively; awry, etc.—It is of six kinds, viz., Vaishnava, Sampada, Vaicakka, Mandala, Pratyalirha and Analirha.], curious gomatrakas [A kind of motion.], gatapratyagatas, tiraschi-nagatas, vakragatas, parimokshas, varjanas, paridhavanas, abhidravanas [Swiftly fronting the antagonist.], aplavanas [Proceeding 'like a summer's cloud.'], savigrahavasthanas [Standing before the adversary, after making others engage in combat.], paravrittas [Turning away from a foe.], apavrittas [Moving off from the side of the enemy.], apadrutas [Movement with low posture for seizing at the thighs of the adversary.] avaplutas [Going for a kick at the adversary.], apanyastas [Distending the chest, so that the antagonist may not catch the arms.], and upanyastas Stretching forth the arms for seizing those of the enemy. I. In the meanwhile the Raksha attempted to put forth his power of illusion. Knowing this, the king of monkeys shot into the sky. And Ravana, overpowered by fatigue and out of breath, thus baffled by the monkey-king, stood where he was. Thus the master of the foremost monkeys, securing fame in fight, beat the night-ranger, causing him to experience fatigue. And bounding beyond the spacious sky, the offspring of the Sun came to the side of Rama in the midst of the monkey-forces. And having done that deed, the son of the Sun, -lord of monkeys-with his heart surcharged with rejoicing, entered that host having the speed of the wind; enhancing the martial ardour of the son of the foremost of the Raghus, and honoured by the monkeys.

Seeing those ominous signs, Lakshmana's elder brother, Rama, embracing Sugriva, said, -"Without consulting with me, thou hast acted thus rashly. But kings should not act in such a rash way. Placing in suspense, me, this army and Bibhishana, thou, O hero, enamoured of daring deeds, hast put thyself to all this trouble. But, O hero, henceforth, do not act so. O subduer of enemies, if thou come by any mischance, what shall Sita avail me; or Bharata; or my younger brother-Lakshmana; or Satrughna, O slayer of enemies; or, again, my own person? Ere thou hadst come, I had arrived at this determination; albeit, O thou that art equal to the mighty Indra or Varuna, I knew thy prowess full well, Slaving Ravana in battle along with his sons, forces and vehicles, and installing Bibhishana in Lanka, and placing the kingdom in the hands of Bharata, I shall renounce my body, O exceedingly powerful one!" When Rama had said this, Sugriva answered,—"Knowing my own strength, how, O Raghava, viewing Ravana, who had ravished away thy wife, could I forbear, O hero?" As that hero was speaking thus, Raghava addressed Lakshmana having auspiciousness, thus,—"O Lakshmana, occupying some tract furnished with cool water and woods bearing fruits, we shall sojourn, dividing and marshalling our forces. I see a mighty fear present, destructive of people, - and boding destruction unto the foremost heroes among the bears, monkeys and Rakshasas. The winds ruffle; and the earth is tremulous. And the tops of mountains tremble. and the mountains themselves send up loud sounds. And the clouds are goblinish; and fierce; and harsh-sounding. And wearing terrific looks, they fiercely pour down showers mixed with drops of blood. And the Evening resembles the red sandal, and is fearful. And a flaming circle droppeth from the Sun. And exciting great fear, inauspicious birds and beasts, wearing cruel looks, and in distressful guise,-crv in piteous accents, facing the Sun. And at night, the ominous Moon with a black-red brim as at the time of universal wreck, burneth. And, O Lakshmana, there is a crimson, rough, slight, and graceful rim round the Sun; and a blue mark is visible on his disc. And the stars do not course as formerly. Behold, O Lakshmana, all these, prefiguring the Doom. And crows and hawks and vultures drop down. And jackals vell with loud inauspicious notes. The Earth, converted into mud with flesh and gore, shall be covered with darts and javelins and swords, discharged by Rakshasas and monkeys. This very day with all expedition shall we, surrounded on all sides by the monkeys, march towards the city governed by Ravana". Having said this unto Lakshmana. Lakshmana's elder brother possessed of exceeding strength, hastily descended from the top of the mountain. And descending from the mountain, the righteous Raghava surveyed his troops, incapable of being beaten by enemies. And after making the mighty host of the monkeyking equip itself, Raghava versed in season, along with Sugriva, at the proper hour, issued orders for battle. Then in due time that one accourred with his bow surrounded by a mighty army, set out, with the intention of entering the city of Lanka. And those two-Bibhishana and Sugriva-and Hanuman, and Jambavan, and Nala, and the bear-king Nila, and Lakshmana, followed (Rama). Behind them, the mighty array of bears and monkeys followed Raghava, covering a

wide surface of land. The monkeys, resembling elephants, capable of resisting foes, took mountain-peaks and tall trees by hundreds. And in a short time those repressors of foes the brothers Rama and Lakshmana-arrived at the city of Ravana; with pennons streaming over her; charming; garnished with groves and woods; having variegated gateways; inaccessible; and having walls and gates. And urged on by Rama's command, the wood-rangers [Monkeys.], as commanded, blocking up (Lanka) incapable of being subdued even by the gods, stationed themselves. Coming to Lanka ruled by Ravana, that hero, Rama, son unto Dacaratha, along with Lakshmana, remained stationed at the Northern gate, where Ravana used to reside. None save Rama was competent to protect that dreadful gate, where Ravana used to reside. None save Rama was competent to protect that dreadful gate, guarded by Ravana himself, like the Ocean guarded by Varuna,—and protected on all sides by terrible Rakshasas equipped with weapons; capable of striking terror into the weak; like unto the nether regions guarded by Danavas. And (Rama) saw there many and various arms and mail of the warriors, ranged together. And coming to the Eastern gate, that leader of the monkey-army, the powerful Nila, along with Mainda and Dwivida,-took up his post there. And the exceedingly strong Angada, accompanied by Rishava, Gavaksha, Gaya, and Gavaya, occupied the Southern gate. And the mighty monkey Hanuman protected the Western entrance. And Sugriva himself, with Prajangha, Tarasa and other heroes, was quartered near the garrision in the centre. And accompanied by all the foremost monkeys resembling Suparna or the Wind, twenty kotis of renowned monkeyleaders, blocking up all sides, stationed themselves near the monkey, Sugriva. And at Rama's command, Lakshmana along with Bibhishana, went from door to door, issuing instructions to kotis of monkeys. On the west of Rama, Jambavan along with Sushena, followed by innumerable troops, remained hard by at the garrison in the middle. And those tiger-like monkeys, furnished with teeth like unto tigers, weilding trees and mountain-tops, stood ready for fight. And all had their tails curled up, and all were armed with teeth and nails, and all had chequered bodies, and all had frightful faces. And some had the strength of ten elephants; and some had strength ten times as much; and some of the monkey-leaders there had the strength of a thousand elephants,-and some had the strength of numbers (of elephants); and some had strength hundred times as much. And others had immeasurable might. And wonderful and astonishing was their meeting. And the concourse at that place of the monkeyforces was like the concourse of locusts. And the air was filled up, and the earth was covered quite with the monkeys coursing towards Lanka and dropping down into it. And hundreds and thousands making up the army of monkeys, arrived at the gate of Lanka; while others were pouring in from all sides for encounter. And that mount was covered with monkeys. And a thousand ayutas were going round the city. And Lanka, blocked up everywhere with powerful monkeys bearing trees in their hands, was incapable of being entered even by the Wind. And the Rakshasas, sore pressed by thousands of monkeys resembling masses of clouds, and like unto Sakra himself in battle, were seized with amazement. And like unto the roar of water on the ocean being riven, there arose a mighty tumult in consequence of the forces surging hither and thither. And with that sound the entire Lanka, with her wall and gateways, her mountains, woods, and forests, began to shake. And that army, protected by Rama and Lakshmana as well as Sugriva, became all the more invincible even by the Asuras and celestials. And having arranged his forces with the view of destroying the Rakshas. Raghava, versed in the resources of war, taking counsel of the counsellors, and deciding again and again his course of action,-intending to adopt further measures,-resolved to abide by the advice of Bibhishana, remembering the morality regulating monarchs. And then, calling Vali's son, Angada, (Rama) said,-"O mild one, going to the Ten-necked one, tell him in my words,-Bounding over the deep and casting off fear and dejection, I have laid seige to the city of Lanka; and have reft thee of thy prosperity and thy wealth; and rendered thee moribund and senseless. Thou hast, O night-ranger, through delusion and pride injured saints and celestials, and Gandharvas and Apsaras, and Serpents, and Yakshas, and crowned heads. But, O Rakshasa, thy pride begot of the boon received from the Self-create hath gone from thee, whose destroyer [Dandadhara.], I, afflicted in consequence of my wife having been carried off,—weilding the rod, have sat down at the door of Lanka. O Rakshasa, thou shalt, remaining steady in fight, attain the state of celestials and Maharshis and Rajarshis. And, O worst of Rakshasas, do thou display that prowess of thine by which, aided by thy power of illusion, thou hast forcibly carried off Sita, disregarding me. I shall with my sharpened shafts render this world free from Rakshasas, unless rendering back Mithila's daughter, thou throw thyself on my mercy. And, for certain, that foremost of Rakshasas, the righteous and graceful Bibhishana, who hath joined us, shall obtain, without having a thorn in his side, all this wealth of Lanka. For thou, foolish, wicked, ignorant of

self-knowledge, and having dolts for counsellors, art not competent to unrighteously exercise kingship for a moment. Fight thou, O Rakshasa, summoning fortitude and heroism. On being slain with my shafts, thou shalt attain peace. O night-ranger, if thou shouldst range the three worlds in the shape of a bird, thou, coming in my ken, shalt not be able to preserve thy life. It is all this for thy good; do thou perform acts for the good of thy body surviving death; and do thou see Lanka well; for thy life is in my keeping." Thus addressed by Rama of untiring deeds, Tara's son went through the welkin like the embodied bearer of sacrificial offerings. And arriving near that subduer of enemies, Ravana, in a moment, that graceful one saw Ravana, sitting calmly in the midst of his ministers. And dropping down in his vicinity like a flaming fire, that best of monkeys, Angada, resembling a golden bracelet, stood there. And then introducing himself, Angada delivered unto Ravana along with his ministers all that Rama had excellently spoken unto him, neither extenuating nor setting down aught of himself,-"I am the envoy of the king of Kocala-Rama of untiring deeds; and I am the son of Vali.—I do not know whether thou hast heard of me. And Raghu's son, Rama—enhancer of Kaucalya's joy—hath said unto thee,—'Do thou, O fell one, coming out, give me battle and prove thy prowess. Thee shall I slay together with thy ministers, and with thy sons and relations and friends. And thou being slain, the three worlds shall attain peace. And today shall I destroy the enemy of the gods and Danavas, and Yakshas, of the Gandharvas, serpents and Rakshasas, -and the thorn (in the side of) the saints. And on thee being slain. all the wealth shall be Bibhishana's; unless, bowing down (unto me) and paying me homage, thou render back Maithili." When that monkey-chief had spoken thus, the lord of the night-rangers was wrought up with wrath. And coming under the sway of passion, he commanded his counsellors, saying,-"Take this one of perverse understanding, and slay him at once"

Hearing Ravana's speech, four grim-visaged night-rangers seized (Angada) flaming in energy like fire itself. And Tara's son suffered himself to be taken, in order that the hero might then display his prowess before the Yatudhanas [the Rakshasas.]. Then Angada, taking them up, who were pressed against his arms, like insects,-leapt up on a palace resembling a hill. Thereat, in consequence of the impetuosity of his bound, the Rakshasas, slipping off, fell on to the ground in the very sight of the Rakshasa king. Then the powerful son of Vali with his legs attacked the top of that palace, elevated like a hill, of the lord of Rakshasas. And thereat, as formerly the summit of the Himayan had been cleft by the thunderbolt, the palace, thus assailed, was split in the very presence of the Ten-necked one. Having reft the top of the edifice, and proclaimed his name, Angada, setting up a mighty roar, sprang into the sky. And, aggrieving the Rakshasas and rejoicing all the monkeys, he came back to the side of Rama in the midst of the monkeys. Ravana was transported with wrath in consequence of the breaking down of the palace. And, finding his destruction (at hand), he began to heave sighs. And Rama, surrounded by innumerable delighted monkeys setting up shouts, -anxious for slaying his foe, prepared for battle. And at the command of Sugriva, the exceedingly powerful monkey-Sushena-resembling a mountain-summit, surrounded by a large number of monkeys capable of assuming shapes at pleasure, began to range from door to door; like the Moon ranging the stars. Seeing the hundred akshauhinis of the wood-rangers, stationed in Lanka, extending down to the sea, some of the Rakshasas were struck with astonishment, while some came under the influence of fear: and some experienced delight from the (anticipated) delight of battle. And the space between the well and the moat all was flooded with monkeys. And the distressed Rakshasas saw the wall thronging with monkeys; and thereat exclaiming "Alas" "Alas," the Rakshasas were extremely terrified. And on that frightful uproar arising, the warriors of the Rakshasa monarch,—Rakshasas—seizing mighty arms, began to patrol about, like unto winds blowing at the time of the universal dissolution.

SECTION 42.

Then those Rakshasas, going to that subduer of enemies, Ravana, informed him that Rama along with the monkeys had laid seige unto the city. Hearing the city beseiged, the nightranger was enraged. And, hearing that double arrangements had been made (by Rama) in guarding the gateways, (Ravana) ascended the palace. He saw Lanka with her hills, woods, and forests, covered everywhere with innumerable monkeys eager for encounter. And he saw the entire Earth tawneyed with the monkeys; and he reflected within himself how he could destroy these. And reflecting for long, Ravana having expansive eyes, assuming patience, gazed at Raghava and the leader of monkeys. Raghava with his host was fast approaching (the wall); and Ravana saw Lanka defended on all sides by Rakshasas. And Dacaratha's son, seeing Lanka crowned with variegated ensigns and standards, mentally went to Sita, with a sad heart. "For my sake, here that one, Janaka's daughter, having eyes resembling those of a young

deer,—is undergoing affliction; and lieth down on the ground". And aggrieved at the thought of Vaidehi, the righteous Rama speedily commanded the monkeys to compass the destruction of the enemies. As Rama of untiring deeds said this, the monkeys, filling (the air) with leonine roars, began to press forward furiously. "We shall cleave Lanka with mountain-peaks, or with our blows"-thus thought the leaders within themselves. And the monkey-leaders stood, raising up gigantic mountain-peaks and tops of mountains. and rooting up various trees. And for doing what was dear unto Rama, that army, divided into separate parties, in the presence of the Rakshasa-chief commenced scaling Lanka. And those copper-faced ones of golden sheen, who had consecrated their lives to the service of Rama, equipped with trees and rocks, began to throng upon Lanka. And the monkeys with trees and hill-tops and blows crushed countless gates and tops of walls; and they filled the moat containing crystal water with dust, tops of crags, straw, and wood. Then leaders of thousands and kotis and hundreds of kotis began to scale Lanka. And the monkeys crushed golden gateways; and, breaking down gates resembling the tops of the summits of Kailaca, bounded roaring, some towards the wall and some all around. And resembling gigantic elephants, they rushed towards Lanka. "Victory to the mighty Rama, and Victory to the exceedingly powerful Lakshmana, and Victory to king Sugriva, who is protected by Raghava". Thus shouting, those monkeys, wearing forms at will, sending up roars, rushed amain towards the wall of Lanka, And Virayahu, Suyahu, Nala and Panaca—leader of monkeys—breaking (a portion of) the wall, took up their post there. In the meantime, (they) arranged the forces in order of battle. And the strong Kumuda, surrounded by ten kotis of victorious monkeys, stood obstructing the Eastern gate. And for backing him, there remained the monkey, Prasabha, as also the long-armed Panaca, surrounded by monkeys. And obstructing the Southern entrance stood the strong and gallant monkey, Satavali, surrounded by twenty kotis. And the strong sire of Tara, the powerful Sushena, obstructed the Western gate, backed by kotis upon kotis (of monkeys). And obstructing the Northern gate, remained the puissant Rama himself along with Sumitra's son, as well as the king of monkeys-Sugriva. And that huge-bodied and dreadful Golangula—the mighty and powerful Gavaksha-surrounded by a koti, remained by the side of Rama. And that destroyer of foes-the exceedingly mighty Dhumra of the bears of terrific wrath, remained by the side of Rama-where, surrounded by vigilant counsellors, and bearing a mace in his hand, stood the exceedingly strong Bibbishana endowed with wonderful powers in complete panoply. And Gaya, and Gavaksha, and Gavaya, and Sarabha, and Gandhamadana, protected the monkey-army, coursing all around. And then, his soul wrought up with wrath, Ravana-lord of Rakshasas-speedily ordered the whole host to sally out. Hearing those words, which came out from Ravana's mouth, all of a sudden the night-rangers sent up a dreadful vell. Then awoke the kettle-drums, having moon-like pale faces,—sounded by means of golden sticks. And conchs by hundreds and by thousands, capable of producing loud blares, filled with air proceeding from the mouths of dreadful Rakshasas,-were winded. And with conchs placed in their mouths, those night-rangers, having bodies blue like those of Cukas, resembled masses of clouds, with lightning and cranes. And, commanded by Ravana, the troops cheerfully issued forth like the onrushing of the mighty main filling all at the time of the universal dissolution. And then the monkey-army gave a roar, spreading all around; and it seemed as if the sound filled all Malaya with its sides and caves. And sounds of conchs, and drums, as well as the leonine shouts of the impetuous (warriors); made the earth, air, and ocean, resound; and these mixed with the roars of elephants, the neighing of steeds, the rattle of the car-wheels, and the tread of the Rakshasas' feet. And in the meantime there commenced a mighty encounter between the Rakshasas and the monkeys, like that which took place of yore between the gods and the Asuras. And displaying their prowess, the Rakshasas began to slaughter monkeys with maces, and darts, and adzes. And the vehement monkeys (on their side) slaughtered Rakshasas with trees and tops of crags as well as with their nails and teeth. And a mighty sound arose of 'Victory unto king Sugriva!' and 'Victory unto thee, O king,'-each army taking the name of its king. And then other dreadful Rakshasas that were stationed upon the wall, dropping down, pierced the monkeys with darts and bhindipalas. And (thereat) the monkeys, flying into fury, descending to the earth and bounding, brought down the Rakshasas with their arms. And that encounter of the Rakshasas and the monkeys was mighty and wonderful, and the ground became wet with flesh and gore.

SECTION 43.

And as the high-souled monkeys and Rakshasas fought on, their wrath vastly increased at sight of each other's forces. And furnished with steeds in golden trappings; and elephants resembling flames of fire; and cars appearing like (so many) suns; and shining armour,—the valiant Rakshasas issued, making the ten cardinal points resound. The Rakshasas of

terrific exploits were burning for victory on behalf of Ravana.—And the mighty monkey-army also, eager for victory, darted against the host of the Rakshas of dreadful deeds. And in the meanwhile, as either party assailed the other, there took place single combats between the Rakshasas and the monkeys. And as Andhaka had combated with the Threeeyed (Siva) that Rakshasa, the exceedingly energetic Indrajit, fought with Angada, son unto Vali. Sampati, hard to bear, engaged with Praiangha; and the monkey, Hanuman, entered into conflict with Jambumali. And Ravana's younger brother, Bibhishana, fired with wrath, encountered endowed with exceeding impetuosity. And the highly powerful Nila engaged with Nikumbha. And Sugriva-lord of monkeys—undertook Praghasa, and the graceful Lakshmana was engaged with Virupaksha. And the exceedingly irrepressible Agniketu and the Rakshasa-Racmiketu-and Mitraghna and Yajnakopa, were engaged with Rama. And Vajramubhthi encountered Mainda, and Acaniprabha, Dwivida. And those foremost of monkeys fought with those dreadful Rakshasas,-the heroic and terrible Pratapana, incapable of being overcome in battle, was combating with Nala of terrific force; and that lusty son of Righteousness, well-known as Sushena,-a mighty monkey—battled with Vidyunmali. And other fearful monkeys encountered other Rakshasas; and many were the encounters that took place. And great and fierce was the engagement that took place between the heroic Rakshasas and monkeys burning for victory, capable of making people's hair stand on end. And from the persons of the Rakshasas and the monkeys there flowed a river of gore, having hair for grass (growing on its banks), and the bodies of the warriors for pieces of planks floating (adown the current). Indrajit, growing enraged, with his mace dealt a blow at that tearer of hostile ranks, Angada,-like him of an hundred sacrifices striking with his thunderbolt. Thereat, that graceful monkey. Angada, gifted with vehemence, with his mace crushed his car decked in gold, together with the steeds and the charioteer. Sampati was pierced with three arrows by Prajangha; and the former (in his turn) slew Prajangha on the edge of battle with an Acwakarna [A kind of tree.]. And Jambumali, mounted on a car, possessed of prodigious strength, fired with wrath, with all the access of force derived from his car, wounded Hanuman between his paps. Thereat, getting at his car, Hanuman-son unto the Wind-god-with a slap speedily crushed his adversary's vehicle along with the Raksha. Then the terrific Pratapana, roaring, rushed at Nala; and thereat Nala, with his body pierced with sharp shafts by that swift-handed Raksha, plucked out Pratapana's eyes, and cast them to the earth. And that lord of monkeys, Sugriva, with a Saptaparna [A kind of tree.] swiftly slew Praghasa, who appeared to be devouring up the troops. And, tormenting the Rakshasa of dreadful form with a shower of shafts, Lakshmana slew Virupaksha with a single arrow. And the irrepressible Agniketu, the Rakshasa Ragmiketu, Mitraghna and Yainakona with their arrows rendered Rama aflame Thereat Rama, growing wroth, in battle severed the heads of those four by means of four shafts, dreadful, and resembling the tongues of a flame. And Vajramushti was slain in conflict by Mainda with a clenched fist; and down came he to the ground along with his car and horses, like a turret toppling (headlong). And Nikumbha in fight wounded Nila resembling a mass of blue collyrium, with sharpened shafts,—as the Sun pierceth clouds with his rays. Again with an hundred arrows, that light-handed night-ranger pierced Nila in the field; and Nikumbha laughed thereat. At this, even as Vishnu did in battle, Nila with a wheel of Nikumbha's car, cut off in conflict Nikumbha's head together with that of his charioteer. And Dwivida, possessed of the touch of the Vajra and thunder-bolt, in the presence of the entire Rakshasa host hurled a mountainpeak at him that was endowed with the splendour of the thunder-bolt. And Acaniprabha in encounter pierced that foremost of monkeys, Dwivida, with shafts resembling thunder-bolts. Thereat, beside himself with wrath, with his entire body wounded with arrows. Dwivida with a saladestroyed Acaniprabha along with his car and horses. And Vidvunmali, mounted on a car, assailed Sushena with shafts decked with gold, and began to shout momentarily. Seeing him mounted on his car, Sushena-best of monkeys-taking up a huge crag, swiftly brought his car down to the ground. Thereat, endowed with lightness, that night-ranger, Vidyunmali, at once extricating himself from his car, stood on the ground with a mace in his hand. Thereupon, that foremost of monkeys, Sushena, growing furious, taking up a gigantic crag, rushed at the night-ranger. And as he was descending, the night-ranger, Vidyunmali, with his mace swiftly hit at the breast of Sushena-greatest of monkeys. Thereat, without thinking at all of the terrific hit of the mace, that best of monkeys in mighty conflict brought down that upon Vidvunmali's head, And, assailed with the crag, the nightranger, Vidyunmali, having his chest crushed, fell down to the earth, deprived of life. And, like the celestials warring against the Daityas, the heroic monkeys warred on and confounded the valiant rangers of the night. And frightful was the field of

battle, with darts, and other arms; and clubs, and javelins,

and lances, and other weapons; and with broken cars, and war-horses, and mad horses slain, and monkeys and Rakshasas; and wheels and akshas [Axis, axle, hub.], and yokes and standards,—broken and scattered over the ground; and swarms of jackals began to range on all sides of the monkeys and the Rakshasas; and Kavandhas [Spectres having bodies without heads.] began to rise in that terrific encounter, resembling the encounter of the gods and the Asuras. Thus destroyed by the foremost of monkeys, the rangers of night, beyond themselves with the smell of blood,—eagerly wishing for the setting of the Sun, again made active preparations for a renewal of the fight.

SECTION 44

As the monkeys and the Rakshasas thus fought on, the sun set, and the fatal Night came. And then commenced a nightengagement between the dreadful Rakshasas and the monkeys of fixed hostility, each party burning for victory. And in that profound darknesss, the monkeys and the Rakshasas began to slay each other, exclaiming,-'Thou art a Rakshasa,' and 'Thou art a monkey.' And in that army there was heard a mighty uproar of 'slain,' 'rive!' 'come!' 'why fliest?' And, darkhued, the Rakshasas, equipped in golden mail, in that deep darkness appeared like elevated hills clad with woods of flaming medicinal herbs. And in that limitless gloom, the Rakshasas, transported with wrath, advanced with impetuous speed, devouring monkeys. And, fired with terrible wrath, the monkeys, bounding up, with their sharp teeth tore up steeds caparisoned in gold, and standards resembling venomous serpents. And the lusty monkeys in battle agitated the Rakshasa host,-and, waxing furious, with their teeth pulled and bit elephants and the riders thereof, and cars furnished with flags and standards. And Rama and Lakshmana with shafts resembling venomous serpents, slaughtered the foremost among the Rakshasas-both those that were seen and those that were not.—And the dust of the earth arising from warring combatants, and from the hoofs of horses and the wheels of cars, choked up eye and ear. And as the mighty encounter, capable of making people's hair stand on end, went on, there flowed a fearful river of gore. And the sounds of kettle-drums and Mridangas and Panavas, mingled with those of conchs and car-wheels.—were wonderful (to hear). And the sounds of steeds neighing, and Rakshasas (roaring), and monkeys, rejoicing,-were something tremendous. And, with able monkeys slain; and darts and javelins and axes; and slaughtered Rakshasas wearing forms at pleasure, lying mountain-like,—the field of battle, seeming to have offerings of arms representing flowers.—became difficult to recognise. and inaccessible; and the earth was drenched with streams of blood. And that Night, destructive to monkeys and Rakshasas,-was dreadful, and difficult of being out-sped by all,-like unto the Fatal Night of beings. And in that profound darkness, the Rakshasas with great vivacity attacked Rama with a shower of shafts. And the roars of those beings as they advanced, sending up shouts in anger, resembled the dashing of the Ocean at the time of the universal dissolution. And in the twinkling of an eye, Rama by means of six shafts resembling tongues of flames, struck six of the nightrangers; viz., Yajnacatru, irrepressible (in fight),-and Mahaparcwa, and Mahodara, and the huge-bodied Vairadanashtra.—and those two—Suka and Sarana. And. pierced in their vitals with Rama's shafts, they, having only their lives left to them, disappeared from the field. Then in the twinkling of an eye, that Maharatha rendered all sides clear (of all gloom) by means of arrows resembling tongues of fire; and those other heroic Rakshasas that were in front of Rama. were destroyed on approaching the place, like insects approaching a fire. And with shafts plated with gold lying in all directions, the night resembled one in autumn decked with fireflies. And in consequence of the uproar occasioned by the Rakshasas, and the sounds of drums, that night, already dreadful (in itself), became all the more so. And on that sound attaining dimensions on all sides, it seemed as if the mount Trikuta, containing numerous caverns, had been speaking. And huge-bodied Goangulas of equal lustre with darkness itself, binding fast the night-rangers with their arms, began to swallow them up. And Angada was present in the encounter, for slaying foes, And Indrajit, fairing sadly at the hands of Angada, abandoning his vehicle, and having his horses as well as his charioteer slain, vanished then and there. And that feat of Vali's son, worthy of being honoured, all the celestials with the saints and both Rama and Lakshmana lauded to the eight. All beings were acquainted with the might of Indrajit in battle; and, therefore, witnessing his discomfiture, and seeing that high-souled one, they rejoiced exceedingly, and, seeing the enemy vanquished, all the monkeys with Sugriva and Bibhishana, experiencing high delight, exclaimed,— "Excellent!" "Excellent!" And, beaten by Vali's son of dreadful deeds, Indrajit was fired with a mighty wrath. And, being handled hard in battle, and having vanished from the field, the heroic and wicked son of Ravana, who had received a boon from Brahma, transported with passion,-remaining invisible, began to discharge sharpened shafts of the splendour of the thunder-bolt. And worked up into rage, he

in the conflict pierced Raghu's sons, Rama and Lakshmana all over their bodies, with terrific arrows consisting of serpents. And himself engirt with illusion, that night-ranger, given to fighting in crooked ways,—remaining invisible to all creatures,—stupified the descendants of Raghu in battle; and by means of his shafts bound the brothers, Rama and Lakshmana. And then in the sight of the monkeys, those heroes and foremost of men were suddenly overpowered with shafts by the enraged (Indrajit). And when the son of the Rakshasa monarch felt himself incompetent to cope with Rama and Lakshmana openly, then that impious one, resorting to illusion, bound those princes (by that means).

SECTION 45

Then, anxious to ascertain Indraiit's course, the kings son possessed of prowess, and endowed with exceeding strength, Rama, ordered ten of the monkey-leaders. And that repressor of foes ordered Vali's son-Angada, the vigorous Sarabha, Dwivida, Hanuman, the mighty Sanuprastha, Rishabha and Rishabhaskandha. Thereat with alacrity those monkeys, weilding mighty trees, shot up into the sky, and began to scour the ten cardinal points. And Ravana's son, skilled in arms, resisted the impetuous march of those vehement ones by means of a powerful weapon as well as arms more forceful (than the force of their rush). And the exceedingly vehement monkeys, cut and mangled with narachas, saw him in the dark like the sun enveloped in clouds. And that conquerer in battle, Ravana's son, with shafts sorely pierced the persons of Rama and Lakshmana. And both Rama and Lakshmana had their bodies entirely covered by the angry Indrajit with shafts turned into serpents. And from their wounds blood began to gush out in streams; and they looked like flower-crowned Kincukas. Then that one having red corners unto his eyes and resembling a mass of crushed collyrium, Ravana's son, said unto the brothers, as he vanished,—"When I fight remaining invisible, even Sakra—the lord of the celestials—cannot see or approach me, - and who are ye? And I, with my soul surcharged with wrath, shall, assailing them with showers of weapons furnished with Kanka feathers, send Raghu's sons to the abode of Yama". Having spoken thus unto the brothers— Rama and Lakshmana, cognisant of righteousness— (Indrajit)—pierced them with sharpened shafts, and shouted in joy. And stretching his large bow, that one sable like unto a mass of crushed collyrium again discharged terrific shafts in battle. And that one versed in the inner sense of things, with whetted arrows pierced the vitals of Rama and Lakshmana and shouted momentarily. And fast bound by the shackles of shafts on the edge of hattle. Rama and Lakshmana could not attain respite for a moment. Then with their persons pierced with shafts and darts, and resembling the flags of the Great Indra let loose from the cords and trembling (in the air),and with their bodies bristling with arrows,-those heroes and mighty bowmen-lords of the earth-tormented in consequence of their vitals having been pierced, dropped down to the earth. And those heroes, bathed in blood, and their persons covered with arrows,—pained and suffering terribly, lay down as became heroes. And there was not so much room unpierced in their persons as could be measured by a finger; and they were wounded with arrows up to the fore-parts of their hands. And they being wounded by that fell one capable of assuming shapes at will, blood violently gushed out of their bodies like water from a spring. And Rama fell first, pierced in the vitals with the shafts. And the same Indrajit who had formerly wrathfully routed Sakra.(now) pierced (Rama) with narachas knotted with gold, and having polished heads; swift-speeding; and resembling dust carried about by the wind; and half-narachas; and darts resembling anjalis [like joined hands.]; and vatsadantas [Weapons resembling the teeth of a calf.]; and sinhadanshtras [Weapons resembling the lion's teeth.]; and razors; and, resigning his stringless bow decked in gold and curved in three places,with its part for grasping shattered-Rama lay down like a hero. And seeing Rama-foremost of men-down within arrow-range, Lakshmana despaired of his life. And seeing his brother, Rama, having eyes resembling lotus-petals and ever delighting in battle, himself the refuge of others,—lying down in the field; (Lakshmana) began to weep. And the monkeys also, seeing him, were plunged in sorrow; and they, their eyes flooded with tears, began to cry in grief of heart. And when they had been bound and had laid themselves down as become heroes, the monkeys stood around them, -and, conversing with one another, they, headed by the son of the Wind, were seized with extreme sorrow.

SECTION 46.

And the rangers of woods, gazing at the earth and the sky, at length cast their eyes on the brothers—Rama and Lakshmana, covered all over with arrows. And after that Rakshasa had gone away having performed his work, like the God [Indra.] going away, after having showered,—there came to that place Bibhishana with Sugriva. And, mourning Raghu's sons, there also came in all haste Nila and Dwivida and Mainda and Sushena and Kumuda and Angada in company with Hanuman. And moveless; breathing low,—

covered with blood,-pierced all over with net-works of shafts; dumb; they [Rama and his younger brother Lakshmana.] were lying on the field. And they were sighing like serpents; and were inert; and deprived of prowess; and washed in blood; and looking like unto golden standards. And as they lay moveless, as become heroes, the leaders of monkeys environed them with tear-charged eyes. And seeing the sons of Raghu lying, covered with showers of shafts, the monkeys, with Bibhishana, were pained (exceedingly). And the monkeys, surveying the sky as well as all directions, could not see Ravana's son in battle enveloped with illusion. And then Bibhishana by means of illusion saw his brother's son staying before, hidden by illusion. And Bibhishana saw that hero of incomparable deeds, who had no compeer in the field and who had energy, fame and prowess.—as he remained invisible in consequence of the Boon received from Brahma. And Indrajit, seeing his own feat and them lying at length, spake in excess of joy, gladdening all the Rakshasas,brothers-Rama and Lakshmana, possessed of great strength, who had slain Khara and Dushana, are themselves slain with my shafts. And all the celestials and Asuras assembled together with the saints, are incompetent to emancipate these from the fetters of my shafts. He for whom my father was exercised with anxiety and tormented by grief, for whom my sire used to spend nights without pressing his bed,-for whom this entire Lanka had resembled a river turbulent in the rainy reason,—that same evil sticking by the root of all, hath been dispensed his quietus by me. And like clouds of autumn, the prowess of Rama and Lakshmana as well as that of all the rangers of the woods, hath been rendered useless". Saying this in the presence of all the Rakshasas, Ravana's son—destroyer of foes-menacing the monkey-leaders, hit Nila with nine arrows, and hurt Mainda and Dwivida each with three powerful shafts. And piercing Jambavan with an arrow in the chest, that mighty bowman discharged ten at Hanuman. And Rayana's son possessed of exceeding impetuosity, pierced in the conflict with two shafts each Gavaksha and Sarabha of immeasurable vigor. And Ravana's son, summoning celerity, pierced the king of Golangulas and Vali's son, Angada, with innumerable arrows. And the powerful son of Ravana, endowed with might, piercing the foremost monkeys with shafts resembling tongues of flames, set up shouts in the field of battle. And tormenting the monkeys with volleys of shafts and striking terror into them, that mighty-armed one, bursting out into a laugh, said,—"Let the Rakshasas behold these brothers, lying fast bound with dreadful arrows, in front of the forces". Thus addressed, those Rakshasas-wily warriors all—resembling masses of clouds, witnessing that deed (of Indrajit), struck with wonder and rejoicing (greatly), set up tremendous roars. And thinking that Rama was slain, they honoured Ravana's son. And seeing the brothers-Rama and Lakshmana-motionless, and lying inert on the ground,-they took them for slain. And, experiencing excess of joy, Indrajit-conquerer in conflict-entered the city of Lanka, rejoicing all the Nairitas. Seeing the bodies as well as the limbs of Rama and Lakshmana, covered entirely with arrows, fear took possession of Sugriva. Thereat Bibhishana said unto that lord of monkeys, staying in woe begone guise, with a tearful countenance, and his eyes wild with wrath,-"Do not give way to fear, O Sugriva. Restrain thy rising tears! This is the way of warfare: victory is not (always) sure. But, O hero, if Fortune ultimately smile upon us, this stupor shall go off from these high-souled and exceedingly powerful ones. Therefore, O monkey, do thou cheer me, who am forlorn". Saying this, with his hand Bibhishana washed Sugriva's graceful eyes with water. And taking water, the righteous Bibhishana by means of his knowledge, washed Sugriva's eyes therewith. And washing the face of the intelligent monkeymonarch, Bibhishana spoke these words, seasonable and sedate,-"O foremost of monkey-kings, this is no time for being overcome with stupor. At this hour, even immoderate affection may lead to destruction. Therefore, casting off stupor, which tends to mar all work, do thou bethink thee how thou mayst serve this army headed by Rama. Or do thou protect Rama so long as he doth not regain consciousness; and when the Kakutsthas shall have regained consciousness, all our apprehension shall vanish. This is nothing to Rama, and Rama is not dying. And Lakshmi [The goddess of prosperity.], who is incapable of being attained by those that are doomed shall not forsake this one. Therefore do thou comfort thyself, do thou also cheer up thy own forces, --- while I am engaged in composing all the troops. O best of monkeys, these with distended eyes, come under the governance of terror, are, stricken with panic, whispering into each other's ears. But seeing me, let the forces rushing about, cheered up,-as well as the monkeys,—cast off all fear, like a wreath that hath been used before". Thus comforting Sugriva, Bibhishana lord of Rakshasas-again instilled spirits into the flying forces of monkeys. And Indraiit-worker of mighty illusions—accompanied by his troops, entered the city of Lanka and presented himself before his father. And approaching Ravana and saluting him with joined hands, he informed his sire of the welcome tidings that Rama and Lakshmana had been slain. And hearing that his foe had fallen,

Ravana springing up in the midst of the Rakshasas, with great joy embraced his son. And scenting the crown of his head, (Ravana) with a delighted heart, asked (Indrajit as to all that had taken place). And on being asked, he (Indrajit) truly related unto his sire how (Rama and Lakshmana) had been rendered senseless and lack-lustre by being fastened with shafts. Thereat, with rapture surcharging his inmost soul, Ravana, hearing the speech of the mighty car-warrior, banished his fear of Dacaratha's son,—and rising up, honoured his son with glad words.

SECTION 47.

When Ravana's son entered Lanka, after having accomplished his purpose, the foremost monkeys protected Raghaya, surrounding him on all sides. And Hanuman, and Angada, and Nila, and Sushena, and Kumuda, and Nala, and Gaya, and Gavaksha, and Panasa, and Samprastha-a mighty monkey-and Jambavan, and Rishava, and Sunda, and Rambha, and Satavali, and Prithu,-all forming themselves into array, and equipped with trees on all sides, and remaining vigilant.—the monkeys kept gazing at all sides. awry and upwards; and even when a straw stirred, they thought it to be a Rakshasa. And Ravana, on his part, experiencing the height of exaltation, summoned the Rakshasis engaged in guarding Sita.—And thereat the Rakshasis-Trijata and others-presented themselves at his command. And then the lord of Rakshasas, delighted, addressed then the Rakshasis, saying,-"Tell Vaidehi that Rama and Lakshmana have been slain in battle by Indrajit. And taking her on Pushaka, show her (Rama and Lakshmana) lying slain on the field of battle. That one depending on whom she had proudly set her face against me,-that husband of hers, along with his brother, hath been slain in conflict. And then Mithila's daughter, her fear gone off with her anxiety, and herself losing all support,-Sita-daughter unto Mithila-decked out in all ornaments, shall seek me. And today beholding Rama with Lakshmana, come under the sway of Time, she, finding no other way, shall desist from her present course. And seeing no other resourse, that one of expansive eyes shall of herself seek me". Hearing those words of the wicked-minded Ravana, the Rakshasis, saying,-"So —went to where Pushpaka was. Then taking Pushpaka the Rakshasis at Ravana's command went to Maithili staying in the acokawood. Then, taking Sita, who was overcome with grief for her lord, the Rakshasis, placed her on the car, Pushpaka. And placing Sita on Pushpaka along with Trijata, Ravana took her all around (Lanka) crowded with ensigns and standards. And the lord of Rakshasas jubilantly proclaimed in Lanka.—"Raghava as well as Lakshmana have been slain by Indrajit in battle". And going about with Trijata, Sita saw all the monkey-troops slain. And she found the flesh-eaters elated in spirits, and the monkeys afflicted with extreme grief at the side of Rama and Lakshmana. Then Sita beheld both Lakshmana and Rama lying in the field, senseless and bound with arrows. And those heroes were lying on the earth, their mail torn, their bows cast off, their bodies mangled all over and thickly pierced with shafts. And seeing those brothers,-foremost of heroes and best of men-having eyes resembling white lotuses, and themselves like unto Kumaras,—lying in the field,—the fire-sprung one, Sita, striken with grief, began to weep piteously. And that black-eyed one of an excellent person, Janaka's daughter—seeing them roll in the dust, broke out into lamentation. And with her eyes shedding plentiful tears, she seeing those brothers, endowed with god-like prowess, concluded them to be dead \$ and overwhelmed with grief, spoke as follows.

SECTION 48.

And seeing her husband, as well as the exceedingly powerful Lakshmana,—slain, Sita, afflicted with grief, burst into bitter lamentation. "The soothsayers had said that I should have sons, and should never be a widow. But on Rama being slain, it seems now that those ones, possessed of knowledge, had spoken untruthfully. And those also, who having celebrated sacrifices and rites, had said that I should become the queen (of Rama), -on Rama being slain, seems to-day to have spoken a falsehood, although they are possessed of knowledge. And they also asserted that I should be honoured of the wives of heroic kings as well as of my lord,-but on Rama being slain, they seem to have uttered a falsehood, although possessed of knowledge. And those twice-born ones that in my hearing had said auspicious words, on Rama being slain, seem to-day to have spoken a falsehood, although they were possessed of knowledge. These lotus-marks on the feet, betokening unto gentlewomen possessing them, that they are to be installed in the kingdom in company with their husbands-who are kings,-are on me. And those marks find I none on me by which women of rare fortune come by widowhood,-but I find that in me these good tokens are nullified. Those marks that are pronounced infallible by those versed in such knowledge, on Rama being slain, are nullified in me. My hairs are fine, equal, and blue; my eye-brows touch each other; my hips are devoid of down and round; and my teeth are close. My temples, and eyes, hands, feet, ankles, and

thighs are equal. And my fingers are furnished with round nails, and are plump and even in the middle. And my breasts are close and firm and developed, and have their nipples sunk. And my navel is depressed, with high sides. And my chest is swelling. And my complexion is like the hue of gems,-and my down soft. And they said that I was furnished with twelve auspicious signs. And my hands in the middle parts of my fingers contain wheat-marks; and in the spaces between the fingers, have no uneven corners. And my feet also partake of the general complexion. And my laugh is a gentle smile. And those versed in marks of women knew that I was possessed of such marks. And those Brahmanas skilled in telling fortune said that I should be installed in the kingdom along with my husband; but all that hath been falsified. Having purified Janasthana (of Rakshasas), obtained tidings of me, and crossed the Ocean incapable of being Agitated, those brothers have been slain in the footprint of a cow! The descendants of Raghu had obtained Varuua and Agneya and Aindra and Vayava and Brahmaciras weapons. Through illusion have those lords of me, who am forlorn-Rama and Lakshmana, resembling Vasava himself in battle.—been slain. Coming in battle within ken of Raghava, a foe, even if he be endowed with the fleetness of thought,-doth not go back, living. There is nothing which is too hard for Time; and the Destroyer is incapable of being overcome; inasmuch as Rama along with his brother Lakshmana hath fallen in fight. And I do not so much mourn Rama or the mighty car-warrior-Lakshmana-or, for that matter, self, as I do the wretched Mother-in-law of mine. She ever thinketh of the period of the promise. 'When shall I behold Sita and Lakshmana with Raghava?" As she was thus lamenting, the Rakshasi, Trijata, said,-"O exalted lady, do not weep thus. Thy lord liveth. And, O dignified one, I shall unfold unto thee potent and probable reasons why the brothers Rama and Lakshmana live. When their leader falleth, the countenances of the warriors in battle are not overspread with passion, or display cheerfulness and vivacity. And, O Vaidehi, if those had lost their lives, this celestial chariot, named Pushpaka, would not have held thee. An army that hath its heroes and chiefs slain-becoming dispirited and drooping, rangeth the field, like a vessel on water that hath lost its helmsman. But, O lorn one, these troops, betraying neither agitation nor anxiety, are guarding the Kakutsthas. This I tell thee of them out of affection. Do thou, at this conclusion bringing in joy, take comfort; and behold the Kakutsthas unslain. This I tell thee from affection. I never told thee untruths heretofore; nor, O Mithila's daughter, will I tell them unto thee now. Thou by virtue of thy character conducive to delight hast found an access into my heart. These even the celestials and Asuras with Indra (at their head) are incompetent to quell. Seeing such sight, I speak to thee as to their being alive. And behold, O Maithili, this mighty wonder! These are lying insensible with arrows; but of those Grace hath not taken leave. It generally happens that the faces of persons dead and gone, are unsightly to a degree. Therefore, O Janaka's daughter, leave off grief and sorrow and stupor. For the sake of Rama and Lakshmana thou canst not today put a period to thy existence". Hearing her words, Mithila's daughter-Sita-resembling the daughter of a celestial, with hands joined, said,-"May this be so!" Then turning away the car Pushpaka fleet as the mind, the distressed Sita entered Lanka along with Trijata. Then in company with Trijata, alighting from Pushpaka, she along with the Rakshasis entered the acoka wood. And entering that sporting-ground of the Rakshasa lord abounding in woody tracts, Sita, having beheld those princes and reflected on them, became subject to a mighty grief.

SECTION 49.

Bound up terribly with shafts, Dacaratha's sons, lying down bathed in blood, sighed hard like unto serpents. And all those foremost monkeys, along with Sugriva, possessed of exceeding strength,-overwhelmed with sorrow, remained surrounding those high-souled ones. In the meanwhile, the powerful Rama, albeit fast bound by the shafts, awoke by virtue of the exceeding toughness of his person, as well as his might. Then, seeing his brother, having a distressful countenance, covered with blood, feeble, and fast bound by the shafts,-Rama, greatly aggrieved, began to mourn. "Of what use unto me is the recovery of Sita, or life either, when to-day I see my brother vanquished in fight and lying down in the field? Seeking in the world (of men), I may light upon a woman like Sita: but never on a brother, or a helper, or a warrior like unto Lakshmana. If that enhancer of Sumitra's joy have met with his end, my life I must renounce in the sight of the monkeys. What shall I say unto Kaucalya: and what shall I say unto Kaikeyi? And what shall I say unto mother Sumitra, eager for a sight of her son? And if I go (back) without him, how shall I soothe her, like unto a cow reft of her calf; and trembling; and resembling a mourning Kurari? And how shall I say unto Satrughana and the illustrious -'He went with me to the forest; but I come (back) here without him?' I shall not be able to bear the rebuke of mother Sumitra. Therefore even here shall I renounce my person; for certainly I dare not live. Fie on me, who am

wicked and base; for me this Lakshmana, brought down, lieth in the field of battle, like one that is without life. O Lakshmana, thou ever comfortest me when I am dispirited. But to day, having lost thy life, thou canst not speak to me, who am afflicted. Thou, O hero, who hadst in battle slain innumerable Rakshasas lying around, hast (at length) thyself been slain in the field with shafts. And lying down in the battle-field, bleeding, and covered with arrows, thou appearest like the Sun when he hath gone up the Setting-hill. And in consequence of shafts piercing thy vitals, thou canst not speak; but thy visible expression, albeit thou art dumb, betokens pain. O thou endowed with exceeding splendour, even as thou didst follow me into the forest, will I follow thee unto the mansion of Yama. Thou, having dear friends, and ever following me, hast come by this plight in consequence of my reprehensible conduct. I do not remember having heard any harsh speech from the heroic Lakshmana, even when he had happened to be exceedingly wroth. He that could discharge at one shot five hundred shafts,—that Lakshmana is superior to Karttaviryya himself in that weapon—the bow. He that with his arms could resist the arms of Sakra himself.—that one worthy of a costly couch—lieth down on the ground, slain. And that false babble shall now, without doubt, consume me; for by me hath not Bibhishana been made monarch of the Rakshasas. Do thou, O Sugriva, this very moment retrace thy steps. Bereft of thy strength through me, thou wilt be worsted by Ravana. And, O Sugriva, placing Angada to the fore, do thou, taking thy host as well as the equipage, in company with Nila and Nala, cross over the Ocean. By thee hath been achieved a mighty feat incapable of being done by another in battle. And pleased am I with the king of bears, and the lord of Golangulas; and Angada hath quit himself nobly, as also Mainda and Dwivida. And Kecarin and Sampati have both fought terribly. And Gavaya, and Gavaksha, and Sarabha, and Gaja,—and other monkeys have fought as others are incapable of fighting,—determined to lay down their lives (for me). But, O Sugriva, man cannot overrule Destiny. Thou, my friend, fearing righteousness [Meant is actually unrighteousness.], hast done what lay in thy power. And, Ye foremost of monkeys, ye also have acted as becometh friends. Now, with my permission, go ye whithersoever ye are minded". Hearing Rama's lament, the monkeys-those dark-eyed and others-began to shed tears from their eyes. Then Bibhishana, quieting the army, taking a mace in his hand, swiftly went to where Raghava was. And seeing him fast making his way, resembling a mass of dark collyrium, the monkeys taking him to be Ravana's son [Indrajit. Such was the fear he had spread by his redoubtable deeds.], began to run away.

SECTION 50.

Then out spake the highly energetic and exceedingly mighty king of monkeys,-"Why is this host agitated like a bark driven hither and thither by the wind?" Hearing Sugriva's speech. Vali's son said.—"Dost thou not see both those heroes—sons of Dacaratha:—Rama and that mighty carwarrior—Lakshmana—covered with arrows? And (dost thou not see) those high-souled ones lying in the field of battle, covered with blood?" Thereat, the lord of monkeys, Sugriva, spake unto his son [His step-son, for Sugriva had married Angada's father's wife, after Rama had slain Vali in Kishkindha.], Angada—"I do not deem it without cause. This may have come to pass through sheer fear. These monkeys with sad faces, leaving their arms behind them, are flying in all directions, their eyes distended in affright. And they are not ashamed of each other, and they do not cast their looks back. And they hug each other, and go leaping over the fallen". In the meanwhile, that hero, Bibhishana, bearing a mace in his hand, (approaching), greeted Sugriva as well as Raghava with blessings of victory. And Sugriva, seeing Bibhishana, capable of inspiring fear in the monkeys, spoke unto the high-souled sovereign of bears, who stood by, 'This is Bibhishana that hath come hither, seeing whom the foremost among the monkeys, from fear of Ravana's son who, they apprehend, he is,—are fleeing away, seized with a panic. Do thou at once stay these agitated with fear and scampering all around; and proclaim,—'This is Bibhishana, who hath come here.'" Thus directed, Jambavan—king of bears restraining those that were flying, composed the monkeys. Hearing the bear-king's words, and seeing Bibhishana, the monkeys, renouncing fear, desisted (from their flight). Then the righteous Bibhishana, viewing Rama's as well as Lakshmana's body pierced with arrows, was exceedingly aggrieved. And washing their eyes with water, he, with his mind overpowered with grief, began to weep and broke out into lamentation,-"The Rakshasas, fighting in wily ways, have brought to this pass these ones endowed with prowess and possessed of every perfection and gifted with might (of arm). And with his guileful mind, that brother's son of mine, wicked-souled and an evil son (unto me),-hath deceived these ones of straight prowess. Pierced with innumerable shafts, and covered with blood, these are lying on the ground like Salyakas [A tree.]. Those depending on whose prowess, I had sought eminence, those foremost of men, sleep here

soundly for renouncing their bodies. Living, today I am in distress: and my desire of dominion is annihilated: and my foe. Ravana, hath his promise fulfilled and his aim crowned with success". As Bibhishana was thus lamenting, the lord of monkeys-Sugriva-endowed with strength, embracing him, spoke unto him,-"O thou cognisant of righteousness, thou wilt herein Lanka obtain empire: no doubt of this; and Ravana along with his sons will be disappointed in their expectations. Both these—Rama and Lakshmana—are under the aegis of Garuda; and, casting off their stupor: they will in battle slay Ravana along with his adherents". Having thus soothed and comforted the Rakshasa, Sugriva addressed his father-in-law, who was at his side, saying,--"Do thou along with numbers of heroic monkeys, taking those repressors of foes, the brothers—Rama and Lakshmana—when they shall have regained their consciousness, repair to Kishkindha. And I, slaying Ravana along with his sons and friends, shall bring back Mithila's daughter, even as Sakra recovered the lost Sri' Hearing the words of the monkey-king, Sushena said,-"I had witnessed the war of yore between the gods and the Asuras. Then the Danavas, enveloping themselves, momentarily destroyed the deities, albeit versed in arms and accomplished in weapons. And they, their senses lost, and their lives departed, Vrihashpati treated by means of his knowledge of mantras, as well with medicines. Let Sampati, Panaca, and other monkeys speedily hie to the Milky Ocean for the purpose of bringing those medicines. And the monkeys well know that mighty mountainous medicine—divine and capable of reviving the dead,-and made by the deities themselves-vicalya. There are (the mountains) named Chandra and Drona: where the ambrosia was churned, there is that supreme drug. And those mountains have been placed by the deities in the mighty deep. And, O king, let the son of the Wind-god go thither". In the meanwhile, the wind arose, and masses of clouds appeared along with lightning. And the wind blew, agitating the waters of the deep, and shaking the mountains. And mighty trees of the ocean-islands, broken down by the terrible wing-raised wind, began to topple headlong into the salt waters. And the serpents dwelling there were seized with affright; and speedily all the aquatic animals dived deep into the salt sea. And then in a moment the monkeys saw Vinata's son, possessed of terrific strength. like unto a flaming fire. And seeing him come, the serpents began to dart away,-those exceedingly powerful ones that, turning into shafts, had bound those persons [Rama and his younger brother Lakshmana. Interesting here is that they are not only viewed as gods but also as persons.]. Then, touching the Kakutsthas and saluting them, Suparna rubbed with his hands their countenances furnished with the splendour of the Moon. And their wounds, on being touched by Vinata's son, were (immediately) healed; and the bodies of both speedily became cool and shone with an excellent complexion. And they attained immense energy and prowess; and a double share of strength, and of rational and perceptive powers, and of memory. And then raising them up, the exceedingly energetic Garuda, resembling Vasava himself, embraced both joyfully. And then Rama addressed (Garuda), saying,-"By thy grace we have through means survived the mighty calamity that had sprung from Ravana's son; and we have also speedily been rendered strong. And my heart is delighted on having thee, like unto my father, Dacaratha, or my grand sire, Aja. Who art thou, furnished with beauty, and bearing wreaths and unguents (on thy person); clad in stainless attire; and adorned in noble ornaments?" Unto him spake the exceedingly energetic son of Vinata endowed with great strength,-the lord of birds, with a pleased heart, and his eyes wild with glee,-"O Kakutstha, I am thy friend-thy life ranging externally-Garutman. I am come hither for aiding you. Neither the highly powerful Asuras, nor the exceedingly strong monkeys, nor the celestials along with the Gandharbas, having him of an hundred sacrifices at their head are,capable of delivering (any one) from these dreadful arrowy bonds, which had been forged by Indrajit of tortuous deeds by help of illusion. These serpents-offspring of Kadru-are sharp-fanged and venomous; and had bound thee as arrows through the potency of illusion. O Rama having truth for prowess, thou art fortunate,-along with that destroyer of foe in fight, Lakshmana. Hearing this, I, summoning energy, have come hither swiftly. And I, doing by thee as a friend have from affection at once set you free from these dreadful arrowy bonds. But thou shouldst always be on thy guard. By nature the Rakshasas have cunning shifts in fight and thou, who art heroic and of a pure spirit, canst but rely on thy simplicity alone for strength. Therefore thou must not trust the Rakshasas in the field of battle. By this one instance (thou must know; that Rakshasas are ever deceitful in fight". Having said this, the wondrous mighty Suparna, embracing Rama) tenderly (again), said,—"My friend Raghava, O thou who even cherishest affection for thy foes, permit me thou. I shall go at pleasure. And, O Raghava, entertain no curiosity as to our friendship. When, O hero, thou shalt have achieved success in battle, thou shalt know all about this friendship of ours. And with the surges of thy shafts, making Lanka contain only children and aged, and slaying thy foe, Ravana,

thou shalt recover Sita". Having spoken thus, Suparna, endowed with fleet vigor, having rendered Rama hale in the midst of the monkeys,—having gone round them and embraced them also,—that one possessed of prowess,—set out, covering up the sky, like unto the wind. And seeing Raghu's sons rendered hale, the monkey-leaders set up leonine roars, and began to flourish their tails. And then beat the kettle-drums and the drums struck up. And conchs were cheerfully blown; and shouts were sent. And others struck at their arms with their hands. And the monkeys, accustomed to battle with trees, uprooting them, stood by hundreds and thousands. And emitting tremendous roars and thereby frightening the night-rangers, the monkeys, eager for encounter, approached the gate of Lanka. And that mighty and dreadful din raised by the monkeys, resembled the terrible rumbling of the clouds at midnight about the end of Summer.

SECTION 51.

Then Ravana heard the tumult raised by the highly energetic monkeys roaring in company with the Rakshasas. And hearing that low and solemn noise—that prodigious uproar—Rayana said in the midst of his counsellors,— From mighty roars that are heard of in innumerous delighted monkeys,-resembling the roar of clouds,-it is evident, beyond a doubt, that there is great rejoicing there. And the salt Ocean is vexed with these thundering noises. The brothers-Rama and Lakshmana-have been fast bound with sharp shafts; and here this uproar is exciting my alarm". Having spoken thus unto his ministers, the lord of the Rakshasas addressed the Nairitas present there, saying, you speedily acquaint yourselves with the cause of rejoicing that hath arisen of these monkeys on this mournful occasion' Thus accosted, they hurriedly mounting up on the wall, surveyed the forces maintained by the high-souled Sugriva as well as those exalted ones-Raghu's sons- emancipated from their terrific arrowy fetters and arisen (now)". Thereat, with their hearts wrought up, grim-visaged Rakshasas descending from the wall, appeared before the Rakshasa-lord with pale faces. And then with woe-begone faces, those Rakshasas, skilled in speech, faithfully informed Ravana in full of that unfortunate circumstance. "Those brothers-Rama and Lakshmana—who had in battle been bound up in arrowy fetters by Indrajit, - and whose arms lay moveless, having been emancipated from the arrowy bonds, are seen in the field of battle; and those ones like unto the foremost of elephants in strength, seem like elephants that have snapped their fetters". Hearing those words of theirs, the exeedingly powerful lord of the Rakshasas was wrought up with anxiety and anger, and his countenance lost its complexion, "Indraiit, having routed them in conflict, had bound them by means of irrisistible and terrible arrows, resembling venomous serpents, and like unto the Sun himself, -which had been conferred on (Indrajit) as boons. But if my enemy, having actually been bound by the weapons, can have been liberated, all this strength of mine I see placed in peril. And those shafts resembling Fire in fierceness, which had in battle deprived my foes of their lives,-have forsooth been rendered fruitless' Having said this in high rage, Ravana, sighing like a serpent, addressed a Rakshasa, named Dhumraksha, seated in the midst of the Rakshasas,—"O thou of dreadful prowess, surrounded by a mighty force, do thou march forth to compass the destruction of Rama along with the monkeys". Thus accosted by the intelligent lord of the Rakshasas, Dhumraksha, turning about, issued out of the abode of the king. And speedily sallying forth from the gate of (Ravana's) residence, he said unto the general of the forces,-"Do thou speedily move off thy forces. Why should a warrior linger?' Hearing Dhumraksha's words, the general of the forces, following them, at the command of Ravana forthwith made the army ready. And those powerful and dreadful nightrangers, bursting with high spirits,-with bells tied to their arms,-set up shouts, and surrounded Dhumraksha. And bearing various weapons in their hands, and wielding darts and clubs, and equipped with maces and bearded darts and rods and iron bludgeons and parighas and bhindipalas and lances and nooses and axes.—those terrific Rakshasas sallied out, roaring like unto clouds. And others, accoutred in armour, with cars; adorned with banners; furnished with golden networks, and mules having various faces, and extremely swift steeds, and lusty elephants in rut,-tiger-like Nairitas incapable of being subdued, even as tigers-sallied out (thereafter). And then Dhumraksha himself ascended a superb car, bearing faces of deer and lions decked with gold,-and sending forth a loud clatter. And the highly powerful Dhumraksha, surrounded by Rakshasas, cheerfully issued out of the Western Entrance, where Hanuman was posted. And thereat, fell fowls of the air forbade that exceedingly dreadful Rakshasa of a fearful form, as he went out ascending an excellent car, yoked with mules, and sending sharp sounds. And an exceedingly terrific vulture alighted at the crest of the car; and forming themselves into lines, vultures began to drop down about the top of the banner. And emitting a frightful cry, (a headless trunk) dropped down before Dhumraksha. And that god [Indra—cloud-compeller.]

showered down blood; and the earth shook. And the wind blew awry with a sound resembling thunder. And every side, covered with darkness, appeared dim. And witnessing those dreadful inauspicious omens at the outset, fraught with fear unto the Rakshasas, Dhumraksha was greatly aggrieved; and the Rakshasas marching before him, were stupified. And then as that strong and fearful one, eager for encounter, surrounded, by innumerable night rangers, issued out (of the city), he beheld that monkey-host, protected by the arm of Raghava,—resembling the deep at the time of the universal dissolution.

SECTION 52.

Seeing the Rakshasa—Dhumraksha of dreadful prowess issue out, the monkeys, rejoicing greatly, eager for encounter, set up roars. And then there took place a terrific conflict between the monkeys and the Rakshasas, charging each other with fearful trees, and darts, and maces. And the Rakshasas began to scatter the dreadful monkeys on all sides; and the monkeys (on their part) felled the Rakshasas with trees. And the Rakshasas, growing enraged, began to pierce the monkeys with straight speeding sharp shafts winged with Kanka plumes. And riven by the Rakshas with dreadful clubs and bearded darts, daggers and maces and terrible and curious bludgeons and grasped javelins,—the exceedingly powerful (monkeys), their anger aroused, began with alacrity to perform deeds of intrepid valour. And those monkey-leaders, their bodies pierced with shafts and their persons riven with darts, took up trees and crags. And those monkeys, endowed with terrific vehemence, sending up shouts, and proclaiming their respective names, set about tossing the brave Rakshasa ranks. And that conflict between the Rakshasas and the monkeys, waged with diverse rocks and innumerable trees, waxed exceedingly furious. And some among the Rakshasas feeding on gore—on being agitated by the monkeys burning for victory.—began to vomit blood. And some were severed along their flanks; and, some, slain with trees, were heaped up; and some were crushed with crags; and some were torn with teeth. And some being broken down by means of broken standards, and some by means of fallen swords, and some crushed down by cars,-the rangers of the night suffered sorely. And (anon) the earth was covered with huge elephants measuring mountains, and mountain-tops, and steeds crushed, and the riders thereof, -all borne down by the monkeys. And bounding again and again, the vehement monkeys endowed with terrific prowess, with their finger-nails tore up the Rakshasas by the mouths. And with woe-begone faces, and with hair dishevelled. (the Rakshasas), stupified with the smell of blood, saught the earth. And other Rakshasas endowed with dreadful vigor, waxing wondrous wroth, dealt the monkeys slaps with hands having the touch of the thunder-bolt. And, gifted with greater impetuosity, the monkeys felled the impetuous (Rakshasas) with blows, and feet and teeth; and some were slain with trees. And seeing the forces fleeing away, that foremost of Rakshasas— Dhumraksha—flying into fury, began a terrific conflict with the monkeys desirous of encounter. And some of the monkeys, sore assailed with pracas, began to bleed; and some, wounded with maces, dropped down to the ground. And some were beaten hard with bludgeons; and some were cleft with bhindipalas. And some, on being assailed with bearded darts, became insensible and lost their lives. And some among the monkeys lay slain on the ground, drenched in blood. And some, fleeing away from the field, were slaughtered by the infuriated Rakshasas. And some, having their breasts pierced, lay on their sides. And some were riven with tridents; and the entrails of some had come out. And that mighty and dreadful encounter of the Rakshasas and the monkeys, was waged with countless weapons and rocks and trees. And that battle became a musical entertainment mellifluous with bow-string for Vina [A classical Hindu musical instrument, having metallic strings, with a pair of gourds at one end for the sounding-board.], having the neighing of chargers for its measure, and with the cries of Maindas [A species of elephants.] for its strains. Then in the field. Dhumraksha bow in hand, laughing, pursued the monkeys in all directions with showers of shafts. And seeing the forces hard beset by Dhumraksha and distressed thereat, the Wind-god's offspring, waxing enraged, seizing a huge crag, approached (the Rakshasa). And with his eyes doubly reddened in wrath, that one, like unto his sire himself in prowess, brought down the crag upon Dhumraksha's car. And seeing the crag, (Dhumraksha) upraising his mace hurriedly, leapt down in vehemence, and stood on the ground. And having shattered his car, that crag fell down to the earth. And thereat letting go the car furnished with wheels, Kuvarasand a face, as well as a banner; in which Dhumraksha had left his bow,--Hanuman--son unto the Wind-god-laid about him right lustily for destroying the Rakshasas, with trees having branches long and short. And thereat some Rakshasas with their heads shattered, lay drenched in blood; and others, struck with trees, dropped down to the earth. And then Hanuman-son unto the Wind-god-charged in full career against the Rakshasa army; and, taking a mountain-peak, he rushed against

Dhumraksha. And as Hanuman was descending, the powerful Dhumraksha, upraising a mace, and giving out a shout, made towards him speedily. And then Dhumraksha enraged. brought down that mace studded with innumerable pricks, on the head of Hanuman fired with wrath. And thus assailed with the mace of fearful impetuosity! the monkey endowed with the strength of the wind, without at all heeding that blow, let fall a mountain-top right against Dhumraksha's head. And on being assailed with the mountain-peak, Dhumraksha, having his entire body mangled, suddenly fell to the earth, like unto a toppling hill. And seeing Dhumraksha slain, those nightrangers that survived the carnage, in extreme agitation began to pour into Lanka, attacked by the monkeys. And that highsouled offspring of the Wind-god, having slain his foes, and come under the influence of fatigue incident to his slaughtering his enemies,—having caused rivers of gore to flow (in the field), -experienced the excess of joy on being honoured of the monkeys.

SECTION 53.

Hearing Dhumraksha slain, Ravana—lord of the Rakshasas—overwhelmed with a mighty rage, began to sigh like a serpent. And collied with passion, and sighing hot for a long time, he addressed a cruel Rakshasa-the exceedingly strong Vajradanshtra [Lit.—the thunder-toothed.], -- "Go thou, O hero. Go out, environed by the Rakshasas. Slay Dacaratha's son-Rama-and Sugriva along with the monkeys". Thereupon hastily answering "So be it," that foremost of the Rakshasas skilled in illusion, marched forth surrounded by many a leader of armies, furnished with elephants and steeds, mules and camels,-with his mind concentrated; and adorned with innumerable variegated flags and banners. And then decked out with curious keyuras and a tiara, and wearing armour, he rushed out with his bow in his hand. And then going round his flaming vehicle, adorned pennons and garnished with gold, the king [Vajradanshtra.] ascended the same. And equipped with slender swords and curious tomaras and smooth maces and bhindipalas and bows and darts and patticas and scimitars and discuses and clubs and sharpened axes, the multiform infantry march bearing arms in their hands. And all those powerful and flaming Rakshasas wore variegated raiments. And heroic elephants in rut resembling mountains in motion, marched, being led by those well-skilled in battle carrying tomaras and hooks in their hands. And mighty steeds bearing auspicious marks, marched, ridden by heroes. And that entire Rakshasa army, as it marched forth, resembled clouds in summer roaring with lightning. And (the Rakshasas) sallied forth through the Southern Entrance, where that leader of herds-Angada-was stationed. And as they went out, evil omens appeared. From the cloudless yet fierce sky meteors began to shoot. And throwing up flames from their mouths, dreadful jackals began to emit cries. And frightened beasts betokened the destruction of the Rakshasas in battle. And warriors began to tumble down in an ominous way. Witnessing these evil omens, the exceedingly powerful and energetic Vajradanshtra, assuming patience, set out, eager for encounter. And seeing them flee away, the monkeys, yearning for victory, set up tremendous shouts, filling all the cardinal points. And then there came on a terrific encounter of the monkeys and the Rakshasas, dreadful, of terrific deeds, and wishing for each other's death. And warriors fraught with high spirits, springing up, dropped down to the earth, their bodies and hands riven, and all their persons bathed in blood. And some approaching each other, with bludgeons in their hands, without turning away from the field, discharged various weapons at each other. And there were heard sounds of trees and rocks and weapons,-mighty and dreadful and capable of striking terror into the heart. And dreadful and mighty were the sounds of car-wheels, and conchs and trumpets and drums. And some, casting off weapons, engaged in a hand to hand combat by means of slaps, and kicks, and bones, and trees. And some Rakshasas, having their bodies broken, were killed by means of thighs, and some were crushed with crags by Danavas invincible in battle. And Vairadanshtra, resembling the noose-handed destroyer, frightening the monkeys, ranged in that field fatal to people. And Rakshasas, possessed of strength; equipped with various weapons, transported with passion, slew the monkey-forces. And then in the conflict the proud Wind-god's son, influenced by twofold wrath, spread havoc among the Rakshasa ranks, like the Fire at the universal dissolution. And the energetic Angada possessed of the prowess of a lion, with his eyes coppery with wrath, upraising a tree, began to spread terrible destruction among the Rakshasas, even as a lion destroyeth tiny deer. And attacked by Angada there, the Rakshasas of dreadful vigor, with their heads riven, fell down like unto trees that have been uprooted. And the earth became frightful (to behold), being covered with variegated cars and standards and steeds and the bodies of monkeys and of Rakshasas and streams of blood. And adorned with chains, and Keyuras, and attires, and umbrellas, the field of battle looked like an autumnal night. And agitated by Angada's impetuosity, that

mighty army of Rakshasas began to shake, even as water trembleth, moved by the wind.

SECTION 54.

Finding his own army destroyed by the might of Angada, the exceedingly powerful Rakshasa-Vajradanshtraovercome with rage. And stretching his dreadful bow of the splendour of Sakra's thunder-bolt, he began to shower shafts among the monkey-ranks. And the foremost among the heroic Rakshasas also, stationed on cars, furnished with various arms, warred on in the encounter. And the heroic monkeys alsoforemost of their kind-with rocks in their hands, fought around in united strength. And in that conflict, the Rakshasas began to incessantly shower ayutasamong the flower of the monkey-army. And the monkeys,—pre-eminently valiant, and resembling mad elephants, kept showering over the Rakshasas mountain-trees and mighty rocks. And then took place a hot contest among heroic warring monkeys and Rakshasas, eager for encounter. And some, with their heads unbroken, had their arms and legs torn; and their bodies pierced with weapons, and laved with blood. And monkeys and Rakshasas lay down in the dirt.—thronged with numbers of Kankas, and vultures; and swarming with flocks of jackals. And striking affright to the timid, on the earth started up (spectral) headless trunks,-with their arms and heads torn, and their bodies torn all over. And monkeys and Rakshasas began to drop down to the earth. And the army of nightrangers, being brutally handled by the monkey-hosts, broke up at every point at the very sight of Vajradanshtra. And seeing the Rakshasas, distressed with fright and harassed by the monkeys, the powerful Vajradanshtra, with his eyes crimson-hued with choler, entered the arena, bow in hand, frightening the monkey-forces. And he began to pierce the monkeys with straight-speeding shafts winged with Kanka feathers; And he pierced simultaneously seven, eight, nine, five, monkeys (in the field). And the exceedingly powerful Vajradanshtra, sported into a towering passion, began to cleave the docile ranks. And thereat terrified, the monkeys, with their bodies cut with arrows, rushed towards Angada, like vultures resorting to the Creator. And finding the monkey-ranks disordered, Vali's son in a rage cast his eyes on Vairadanshtra, who also was eving him. And Vairadanshtra and Angada fought fiercely with each other over and over again; ranging the field like a tiger and a mad elephant. Then (Vajradanshtra) with hundreds and thousands (of shafts) resembling tongues of flames, pierced the powerful son of the monkey in the vitals. Thereupon Vali's son of mighty strength and tremendous prowess, with his body covered all over with blood, hurled a tree at Vairadanshtra. And seeing the tree in full career, the Rakshasa without betraying any agitation, severed it in pieces; and the tree, thus assailed, fell to the earth And seeing that feat of Vajradanshtra, that foremost of monkeys, taking up a huge crag, hurled it (at his foe) and sent up shouts. And seeing this descend upon him, that powerful one, calmly leaping down from his vehicle, stood on his feet on the ground. And the crag discharged by Angada, coursing on in the field, dashed to pieces the car along with the wheels and the Kuvara as well as the horses. And then the monkey, taking up another prodigious peak crowned with trees, let it alight on Vajradanshtra's head. Thereat vomitting blood, Vairadanshtra, deprived of his senses, for a moment overcome with stupor, stood embracing his mace, sighing. And then the night-ranger, recovering his senses, with his mace, in high rage hit at the breast Vali's son staying in the field. And thereupon, giving up his mace, he entered into a boxing encounter (with Angada). And hitting each other there, they both-the monkey and the Rakshasa,-began to vomit blood, and were overcome with fatigue consequent on the thrashing each sustained; and they endowed richly with prowess, appeared like Angaraka and Budha [The asterisms so called.]. Then the exceedingly energetic Angada—best of monkeys-uprooting a tree, stood there, covered with flowers and leaves. And (Vajradanshtra) took a shield composed of ass's hide, and a sword broad and sightly, covered with bells, and graced with a leathern sheath. And the monkey and the Rakshasa displayed curious and graceful movements. And attacking each other, they gave shouts, eager for victory. And with blood flowing from their wounds, they looked beautiful like blossoming Kincukas. And warring, both, overcome with fatigue, went to the ground on their knees. Anon in the twinkling of an eye, that powerful monkey—Angada—started up, with his eyes glowing,—like unto a serpent that hath been smitten with a rod. And (at length) with his stainless and sharpened sword, Vali's son, endeued with exceeding strength severed Vajradanshtra's huge head. And the graceful head of that one having his body covered with blood, cut off by the sword, falling to the ground with its eyes rolling, was severed in twain. Seeing Vairadanshtra slain the Rakshasas overwhelmed with fear and exceedingly agitated, in pitiful plight, with woe-begone faces and heads hung in shame,-fled towards Lanka, attacked (all the while) by the monkeys. Having compassed Vajradanshtra's destruction, the powerful son of Vali,

army experienced great joy on being honoured by the monkeys, like the wielder of the thunder-bolt—the thousandeyed (Deity)—surrounded by the celestials.

SECTION 55.

Hearing Vajradanshtra slain by the son of Vali, Ravana said unto the general of his forces, standing before him with joined hands,—"Let invincible Rakshasas of dreadful prowess. march forth, placing before them Akampana, skilled in all weapons and arms. He is capable of chastising foes as well as of protecting his own and leading them; and he is excellent in warfare. And he is always desirous of my prosperity, and always loveth warfare. He will conquer the Kakutsthas, as well as Sugriva endowed with exceeding strength, and, without doubt, slav all the other dreadful monkeys". Taking Ravana's command, that highly powerful one endowed with fleet vigor, marshalled those forces. Then equipped with various arms, the foremost of Rakshasas, having dreadful eyes (in their heads), and of dreadful forms, marched forth, urged on by their general. And, ascending a large car, adorned with burnished gold, Akampana, possessed of the splendour of clouds, and cloud-hued, and furnished with a voice resembling the roar of clouds, went out, environed by Rakshasas of terrific forms. And Akampana, resembling the sun in power, was incapable of being shaken in fight by the very gods, and of being beheld by them [The Monkeys.]. And as, burning for battle, he rushed out in wrath, the steeds drawing his car suddenly lost their energy. And the left eye of that one delighting in encounter, began to throb. And his countenance grew pale, and his voice faltered. And in a fair day, it looked foul with the wind breathing roughly. And fierce and frightful beasts and birds began to emit cries. And that lion-shouldered one like a tiger in prowess, without heeding these ominous occurences, marched forth into the field. And as that Rakshasa was setting out along with the Rakshasas, he set up mighty roars as if agitating the deep. And the mighty army of monkeys was seized with trepidation at that sound. And then there took place a mighty encounter of the Rakshasas and the monkeys equipped staying in fight with trees and rocks; who had given up all concern for their selves in behalf of Rama and Rayana. And each side desirous of slaving the other, the monkeys and the Rakshasas were exceedingly strong and heroic and like unto mountains. And each party storming at the other, in that conflict were heard loud cries emitted by those swift-speeding ones in anger. And fearful was the dust red-hued that was raised incessantly by the monkeys and the Rakshas; and it enveloped the ten cardinal points. And in the field of battle, each enveloped with that dust raised, pale as silk, could not be discovered by the other. And in consequence of that dust arising, neither standard, nor ensign, nor shield, nor steed, nor weapon, nor car could be seen. And the fierce cries alone of those roaring and rushing were heard in that dreadful battle; but their forms were not visible to the sight. And in that conflict in the dark then monkeys enraged slew monkeys, and Rakshasas Rakshsasas. And monkeys and Rakshasas slaving (indiscriminately) friends and foes, made the earth wet with blood, and miry. And then with showers of blood the dust was layed; and the earth was covered with corpses. And Rakshasas and monkeys fast slew each other vigorously with trees and darts, maces and pracas, rocks, bludgeons and tomaras, and by means of their arms resembling bludgeons, coped with their adversaries appearing like hills. And in the encounter monkeys slew Rakshasas of dreadful deeds. And in their turn Rakshasas, wrought up with passion, bearing in their hands pracas and tomarasdestroyed monkeys wielding dire arms. And that leader of the force-Akampana-growing wroth, inspired with cheerfulness all the Rakshasas endowed with dreadful vigor. And the monkeys forcibly snatching away the weapons (of the Rakshasas), began to rive the Rakshasas with mighty trees and giant crags. In the meanwhile those heroes among the monkeys-Kumuda, Nila and the exceedingly exasperated Mainda, summoned the utmost impetuosity they were masters of. And those foremost of monkeys and redoubtable able warriors without much ado began to spread quite a carnage in the van of the Rakshasa army, and by means of various arms terribly beat the Rakshasas.

SECTION 56.

And witnessing that mighty exploit of the foremost of the monkeys, Akampana waxed furious with wrath. And transported with passion, he, twanging his mighty bow, seeing that feat of his foe, addressed his charioteer saying,— 'O charioteer, swiftly conduct thou the car to that same place. These powerful ones are slaying innumerable Rakshasas in fight. And all those vigorous monkeys of dreadful deeds stay before me, armed with trees and rocks. Those, pluming themselves overmuch on their martial worth. I intended to slav in battle. And all this Rakshasa force appeared to be harassed by these". Then on a car drawn by moving steeds, Akampana from a distance attacked the monkeys with showers of arrows. And thereat the monkeys could not so much as maintain their ground in the field,—and how could they fight? And broken by the arrows of Akampana, they

began to fly. And the exceedingly strong Hanuman, seeing his kindred come under the masterdom of Death and follow the course pursued by the shafts of Akampana, advanced (to the conflict). And seeing that mighty monkey, all those heroic prime monkeys together surrounded (Hanuman) in the field. And those best of monkeys, seeing Hanuman stay, grew strong by relying on that strong one. And even as the great Indra showereth down rain, Akampana showered shafts on Hanuman resembling a mountain-summit in grandeur. And without casting a thought on the showers of arrows poured on his person, that monkey gifted with exceeding strength, set his heart on compassing the death of Akampana. And laughing, that exceedingly energetic offspring of the Windgod rushed after that Raksha, as if making the Earth herself tremble. And the form of that one roaring and flaming up in energy, was irresistible, like unto the appearance of a flaming fire. And thinking that he was unfurnished with any arms, that foremost of monkeys, waxing wroth, vehemently rooted up a hill. And taking that huge hill, the Wind-god's son endowed with prowess, sending up a tremendous roar, began to whirl it with a single arm. And as of yore Purandara had in encounter pursued Namuchi with the thunder-bolt, (Hanuman) pursued that best of Rakshasas—Akampana. And Akampana, seeing that uplifted crag, from a distance cut it off with mighty crescent-shaped shafts. And finding that mountain-top severed by the shafts of the Raksha and scattered in pieces, Hanuman was seized with a mighty wrath. And that monkey, wrought up with rage and pride, grasping an Acwakarna elevated like unto a hill, at once uprooted it. And taking that broad-shouldered Acwakarna, that one furnished with high splendour, with great glee whirled it above the ground. And thereat rushing amain vehemently, (Akampana) speedily broke the trees. And (seeing this), Hanuman, transported with passion, rived the earth with his kicks. And Hanuman slaughtered elephants, and the riders thereof, and cars with their riders, and dreadful Rakshasas, and footmen. And seeing the enraged Hanuman resembling the Finisher armed with trees and destructive, the Rakshasas began to fly fast. And seeing that one enraged, terrific unto the Rakshasas, the heroic Akampana was agitated greatly and sent up shouts. And Akampana pierced Hanuman endowed with exceeding prowess with four and ten shafts, sharpened and capable of cleaving the bodies of people. And thus covered with iron arrows and whetted darts, that hero-Hanuman-looked like a hill covered with trees. And that huge-bodied one endowed with wondrous prowess and great strength, appeared like a flowering Acoka or a fire without smoke. And then uprooting another tree, (Hanuman) summoning up his best impetuosity, swiftly hit Akampanaforemost of Rakshasas—on the head. And slain with that tree by that high-souled monkey-chief wrought up with passion, that Rakshasa fell down and died. And seeing that foremost of Rakshasas-Akampana-slain (and lying) on the ground, the Rakshasas were extremely aggrieved, and (appeared) like trees in an earthquake. And those Rakshasas defeated, leaving their arms behind, made for Lanka in fear, pursued by the monkeys. And with their hair flowing loosely, (the Rakshasas), afflicted with affright, and despirited and beaten, fled fast, with the water of fatigue running down their persons And crushing down each other, they entered the city in a panic, momentarily casting their looks behind them. When the Rakshasas had entered Lanka, the exceedingly mighty monkeys, assembled together, paid homage unto Hanuman. And Hanuman, gifted with strength, honoured the seniors each as he deserved in consideration of his lineage. And the monkeys eager for victory shouted with might and main, and began to drag the Rakshasas with the view of taking their lives. And that mighty monkey-son unto the Wind godhaving destroyed the Rakshasas and arrived (in the midst of the host), attained heroic glory,—even as did Vishnu, having slain that destroyer of enemies—the mighty and dreadful Asura possessed of exceeding strength,-stationed in the van of the forces. And then the deities and Rama himself and the highly powerful Lakshmana, and also the monkeys headed by Sugriva, and Bibhishana endowed with great strength, honoured that monkey.

SECTION 57

Hearing that Akampana had been killed, the lord of Rakshasas, overwhelmed with anger, with his face somewhat fallen, cast his eyes on his counsellors. And then pondering and reflecting for a while, in the forenoon he went round the city of Lanka for inspecting the barracks. And the king surveyed the city guarded by the Rakshasas, covered with innumerable barracks, and crowned with ensigns and standards. And seeing the city beseiged, Ravana-lord of the Rakshasas—seasonably spoke words of welfare unto Prahasta skilled in fight.—"Save battle, deliverance find I none for the city suddenly beleaguered and put to straits. And this strain must be borne by these versed in warfare-me or Kumbhakarna or thee—my general—or Indrajit or Nikumbha. And therefore do thou from this place, speedily taking this force, march to where the monkeys are, for securing victory (in the encounter). And as soon as thou

settest out, the monkey-forces, hearing the roars of the foremost Rakshasas—speedily setting themselves in motion,—shall flee away. And volatile and haughty and of fickle minds, the monkeys will not be able to bear thy shouts; even as elephants are incapable of bearing the roaring of a lion. And on that monkey-army running away, Rama in company with Sumitra's son, deprived of his power and shorn of support, shall, O Prahasta, come under thy subjection. In this matter, thy being slain is uncertain, but victory is certain. Now do thou, as thou weighest our welfare, declare thyself for or against this course". Thus addressed by Ravana, Prahasta—general of the forces—said unto the Rakshasachief; like Ucanas addressing the lord of Asuras,--"O, king, before this we had deliberated together with wise counsellors, and then we disputed with each other in our respective views And I had declared myself for giving up Sita as fraught with our welfare; and we saw war involved in witholding her. I have ever been honoured by thee variously with gifts and regard and soft speech. And what is thy good for which I shall not be at the pains? My life I do not care to keep, -nor yet my sons or my wife. Behold! for thee will I offer up my life into the sacrificial fire of conflict". Having said this unto his master-Ravana-the general, Prahasta, addressed his generals staying before him, saying,-"At once bring up the mighty host of Rakshasas. To-day in the field of fight will I entertain the flesh-feeding fowls of the forest with the bodies of the foes slain with my resistless shafts". Hearing his speech, the highly powerful leaders arrayed the army in that abode of the Rakshasa. And in a moment Lanka swarmed with heroic and terrific Rakshasas equipped with various arms, -as if with elephants,—as well as with people worshipping Fire and bowing down unto Brahmanas. And the perfumed breeze blew, laden with the incense of sacrificial offerings. And the Rakshasas, inspired with martial ardour, put on diverse garlands, consecrated with scriptural formulae; and donned on their armour. And furnished with their bows and wearing their armour, the Rakshasas, on seeing king Ravana, leaving (their vehicles), stood, surrounding Prahasta. Then greeting the monarch, Prahasta, furnished (with all appliances of battle),-winding his dreadful trumpet, ascended his car; having all sorts of weapons; voked with wondrous fleet steeds; driven by a competent charioteer.—excellently furnished: sending up sounds resembling the rumbling of mighty masses of cloud,-appearing like the very Sun or Moon; invincible with a serpent-standard; having a defence as well as a portion exceedingly handsome; netted with gold all round; and seeming to be laughing in grace. And then, ascending this car, Prahasta whom Rayana had entrusted with authority surrounded by a vast host, swiftly went out of Lanka. And then there were heard the sounds of kettle-drums, resembling the roars of Parjanya,-and the sounds of musical instruments, as if filling the Earth. And on that general of the forces marching, sounds of conchs were heard (all around); and the Rakshasas of dreadful forms and huge bodies, going before Prahasta advanced emitting tremendous roars. And Narantaka [Lit. destroyer of men. Almost all the names of the Rakshasas are thus significant names. This assigning of names, embosoming some harmonising image, has by Sir Francis Palgrave, justly been considered as betokening a high poetical faculty.], Kambhahanu, Mahanada [Lit.—loud-throated.], and Samunnata [Lit.—lofty.],—Prahasta's counsellors all of them-went on, surrounding him. And he went out by the Eastern entrance, environed by this exceedingly dreadful array, resembling troops of elephants. And resembling the Destroyer-Yama himself-Prahasta in rage went out surrounded by that mighty host resembling the sea. And at the tumult raised by their exodus, as well as the roars of the Rakshasas, all creatures in Lanka began to cry in preternatural tones. And swarming under the cloudless welkin, birds feasting on flesh and gore began to gyrate at the right hand of the car. And dreadful jackals, emitting live flames from their mouths, set up cries. And stars began to shoot from the firmament; and the winds to ruffle. And enraged at each other, the planetary bodies were shorn of their brightness. And clouds emitting sharp sounds showered down blood upon the car, and those marching in front were washed therewith. And alighting at the top of the standard, a vulture set up cries, facing the south, and began to prick both its sides,-thereby depriving (Prahasta) of his grace. And from the hands of his charioteer and his driver conducting the steeds, never given to turning away from the field, the goad began to drop again and again. And the auspiciousness that was bright and rare when the army set out, was clean gone in a moment,-and the steeds began to stumble on even ground. And as Prahasta of renowned worth and valor marched, the monkey-army equipped with various arms, presented themselves before him. And loud was the tumult that was raised by the monkeys. And mighty was the din that was heard of those, uprooting trees and taking up ponderous crags of the Rakshasas roaring and the monkeys storming in both the exhilarated armies of Rakshas and wood-rangers,-of vehement and able (warriors) eager for slaying each other, and challenging each other to fight. And like an insect falling

victory, increasing his impetuosity entered into that host of the monkey-king.

SECTION 58.

Seeing Prahasta sally, ready for encounter, that chastiser of foes-Rama-with a smile said unto Bibhishana,-"Who is this huge-bodied one that armed with impetuosity, advanceth to the encounter? And what is his power and prowess like? O mighty-armed one, tell me this concerning this powerful night-ranger". Hearing Raghava's words, Bibhishana answered,-"In Lanka this is the general of the lord of Rakshasas—the Rakshasa named Prahasta, surrounded by a third of the forces. He is possessed of prowess and is of distinguished gallantry. And that mighty army of strong monkeys, wrought up with wrath, and roaring at Prahasta, saw him dreadful and of terrific prowess and huge-bodied,surrounded on all sides by the Rakshasas,-and setting up roars, marching. And the Rakshasas, eagerly desirous of victory, pursued the monkeys, wielding swords and darts and rishtis, and javelins and shafts and maces and clubs and bludgeons and pracas and various axes and curious bows. And the monkeys on their part, eager for encounter, took up flowering trees and hills and huge and broad crags. And each party approaching the other, great was the encounter that took place. And innumerable (monkeys and Rakshasas) kept showering rocks and arrows. And many Rakshasas in conflict slew many a powerful monkey, and the monkeys on their part slaughtered many a Rakshasa. And some were pierced with darts and with (other) powerful weapons; and some were wounded with bludgeons; and some were hewn with axes. And some rendered senseless, dropped down to the earth; and some hit with weapons, had their breasts riven. And some, severed in twain with swords, dropped to the earth lifeless. And monkeys were hewn in their sides by heroic Rakshasas. And numbers of Rakshasas all around were beaten to the ground by infuriated monkeys with trees and mountain-peaks. And some smitten sore with slaps having the touch of the thunderbolt, began to vomit blood from their mouths, with faces and eyes turned pale. And great was the uproar that arose in consequence of Rakshasas and monkeys emitting distressful cries and sending forth leonine roars. And monkeys and Rakshasas wrought up with wrath, engaged in treading the path of heroes,-looking terrific with their faces moving about,-performed deeds of intrepid courage. And Narantaka and Kambhahanu and Mahanada and Samunnata—all counsellors of Prahasta—set about slaughtering the rangers of the woods. Of these doing swift execution among the monkeys, Dwivida, taking up a mountain-peak, slew one-namely Narantaka. And then the monkey, Durmukha, rising up afresh, armed with a mighty tree, killed the light-handed Rakshasa-Samunnata. And Jambavan endowed with energy, waxing enraged, uplifting a giant crag brought the same down on Mahanada's breast. And there speedily assailed by Tara, with a mighty tree, the powerful Kumbhahanu gave up the ghost in the conflict. And not brooking that feat, Prahasta, mounted on a car, taking a bow in his hand, fell to spreading a dreadful havoc among the rangers of the woods. And then there the two hosts mingled into almost a vortex; and the sounds that arose from those infuriated ones of immeasurable might, resembled the roar of the ocean. And in terrific encounter the enraged Rakshasa irresistible in battle drove the monkeys to sore straits with showers of arrows. And the earth was covered quite with the terrible bodies of monkeys and Rakshasas; and it looked as if covered with mountains. And the earth drenched with streams of gore looked as if swarming with blossoming palacas in the month of spring. And as leaders of elephant-herds cross a lotus-tank covered with lotus-dust, those Rakshasas and choice monkeys crossed that river flowing in the field of conflict incapable of being crossed; having for her banks hosts of heroic warriors slain; for her mighty trees broken arms; for her volume of waters showers of blood; coursing to Yama resembling the Ocean; with livers and spleens for her vast slime; with scattered entrails for her moss; with riven bodies and heads for her fish; limbs for her lawns; swarming with vultures for her swans: with Kankas for her cranes: filled with fat representing her foam; with the roars (of warriors) for her sounds,-incapable of being crossed by cravens,-and resembling a real river swarming at the end of the rains with cranes and swans. Then all of a sudden Nila saw Prahasta stationed on his car, discharging vollies of shafts and harassing the monkeys therewith. And mounted on a sunbright vehicle, that leader of the army-Prahasta-seeing Nila advance towards him amain in the encounter, like the wind in the sky scattering a mighty mass of clouds,-rushed towards Nila. And that leader of forces-Prahastaforemost of bowmen, stretching his bow, began to shower arrows on Nila. And having pierced Nila sore and wounded him, those shafts sought the earth like enraged serpents. And that mighty monkey-Nila-endowed with energy, struck with those sharpened shafts resembling flames,-uprooting a tree, assailed therewith the irrepressible Prahasta—who was rushing against him. And thereat, that foremost of Rakshasas, on being attacked, flaming up into fury and uttering roars,-

poured showers of arrows on the monkey-leader. And not being able to resist the arrowy vollies of that wicked-minded Rakshasa, (Nila) bore them, even as a bull beareth with closed eyes a fast-descending autumnal shower. And in the very same way did Nila with his eyes closed suddenly stand the mighty arrowy buffet of Prahasta incapable of being withstood. And wrought up with rage, the exceedingly strong and mighty Nila with a giant Sala slew the steeds of Prahasta. And then his soul surcharged with wrath. Nila swiftly shattered the bow of that wicked-minded one, and then shouted again and again. On being bereft of his bow, Prahasta, general of forces, taking a terrible mace, leapt down from his car. And the redoubtable leaders endowed with activity, bearing hostility to each other, their persons bathed in blood, stood (on the ground) like two elephants (with their temples) riven. And they kept tearing each other with their teeth like a lion and a tiger, and also striving like a lion and a tiger. And endowed with victorious vigor, those heroes, never knowing to desist from fight, were eager for fame, even like Vritra and Vasava (fighting). And then Prahasta putting forth his dearest effort, hit Nila on the temples with a mace; and the blood began to flow. And then the mighty monkey, with his person drenched in blood,—wrought up with passion, discharged a tall tree at Prahasta's breast. And without caring for that hit, he, taking up a mighty mace, furiously rushed against the monkey-Nila. And witnessing that enraged (hero) rushing against him with exceeding impetuosity, that redoubted monkey endowed with vehemence, took up a tremendous crag. And in the encounter Nila at once let that crag alight right on the head of Prahasta, eager for encounter and fighting with the mace. And hurled by that foremost of monkeys, that huge and terrific crag then shattered Prahasta's head in pieces. And then bereft of life and shorn of nerve and devoid of sense, he suddenly dropped down to the earth like a tree whose roots have been severed. And even as fountains flow from the sides of a hill, blood flowed profusely from the person of that one, whose head had been riven. On Prahasta being slain by Nila, that mighty army of Rakshasas, never trembling (from fear),-retreated towards Lanka. And like waters rushing (through a breach in) a dyke, the Rakshasas could not stand their ground, on their leader being slain. And on that head of the hosts being killed, the Rakshasas, growing dispirited, repairing to the residence of the lord of Rakshas, remained plunged in thought, without speaking anything. And plunged in that sea of sorrow, they seemed as if they had been bereft of their senses. And then the highly powerful and victorious Nila, leader of forces, on being extolled with gracious offices, and on being joined by Rama and Lakshmana. looked exceedingly exhilarated.

SECTION 59

And on the leader of the Rakshasa host being slain in battle by the foremost of monkeys, that army of the Rakshasa monarch, resembling the ocean in violence,-furnished with dreadful weapons, began to scamper away. And going to the lord of the Rakshasas, they apprised him of the death of his general at the hands of the Fire-god's offspring. And hearing those words of theirs, the Rakshasa lord was overcome with rage. And hearing that Prahasta had been killed in battle, (he), exercised with passion, with his heart influenced with grief, addressed those foremost of the Rakshasa hosts, even as Indra addresses the chiefs among the celestials, saying,— "That foe should no longer be disregarded that hath slain along with his followers and elephants that leader of my hosts that had destroyed the forces of Indra himself. Therefore, without taking thought, will I, for compassing the destruction of the foe, myself march to that marvellous field of fight. And to-day, even as a flaming fire burneth down a forest, will I with showers of shafts burn up that monkeyarmy, and Rama and Lakshmana". Saying this, that enemy of the sovereign of the immortals ascended a flaming vehicle of dazzling sheen yoked to rows of excellent steeds, -displaying itself gloriously and having a glowing body. And eulogized with sacred hymns, the sovereign of the Rakshasa rulers then set out to the sounds of conchs and trumpets and panavas; and in the midst of those produced by persons striking at their arms, with their hands, and of the sounds defiance, and leonine roars. And like that lord of the immortals-Rudrasurrounded by ghosts, the foremost of the Rakshsa monarchs was surrounded by bands of flesh-feeding (Rakshas) resembling cliffs and clouds,-with eyes glowing like fire. And at once issuing from the city, that one endowed with high energy saw that fierce array of monkeys, extended as the ocean or a mighty mass of clouds,-with arms upraised with rocks and stones. And seeing that terrific host of Rakshasas, that eminently auspicious one, followed by the forces, having arms resembling the lord of serpents—Rama—spoke unto Bibhishana, foremost of those bearing arms,—"Whose is this force furnished with various ensigns and standards-and equipped with pracas and swords and darts and other arms, consisting of intrepid (Rakshasas), and having elephants resembling Mahendra* itself". [* Which might refer to Mountain Mahindra or Three Peaks Mountain in the Indian Himalaya, Himachal Pradesh. It is one of the highest

mountains in the Miyar River valley.] Then hearing Rama's speech, Bibhishana, possessed of the prowess of Sakra himself, informed Rama anent that foremost of hosts consisting of that flower of high-souled Rakshasas, saying,-"O king, him do thou know to be Akampana, who, possessed of a high soul, is on the back of that elephant, - whose face looks like the sun new risen, and who approacheth making the head of his elephant tremble (with the splendour of his person). And that one is named Indrajit—foremost by virtue of the boon (that he hath obtained), who ascending a car and having a lion for his ensign,-twangeth his bow like the very bow of Sakra displayed, - and who with his terrific round teeth appeareth like an elephant. And that one of a gigantic person is named Atikaya, that, like unto the Setting-hill of Vindhya, furnished with the bow and stationed on a car,-highly heroic, stretcheth his bow of unparalleled proportions. And that high-souled hero is named Mahodara that, furnished with right coppery eyes resembling the sun new risen, and ascending a car resonant with the sound of bells, shouteth shrill. And that one having the vehemence of the thunder-bolt is Picacha, that, mounted on a steed in variegated golden trappings, and having the aspect of a mass of evening clouds. or a mountain,—(appeareth) with a praca furnished with effulgence. And that one is the famed Triciras [Trishira (Sanskrit, lit. he who has three heads) was a Rakshasa (a demon). He was one of the six sons of Ravana, and his other brothers were Meghanada, Atikaya, Akshayakumara, Narantaka and Devantaka.], that, grasping a whetted dart endowed with the splendour of lightning and having the speed of the thunder for its minister, approacheth, riding a bullthe best of his species—and having the appearance of the Moon himself. And that one looking like a mass of clouds, that, having a broad and beautiful breast and a banner surmounted with the king of serpents, goeth in collected carriage, stretching his bow is Kumbha. And that one is Nikumbha of wondrous valorous deeds (in battle) that, grasping a flaming and smoky bludgeon embellished with gold and diamonds, cometh—a very banner of the entire Raksha host. And that one is Narantaka, fighting with mountain-peaks,-that appeareth before us, mounted on a car flaming like fire, furnished with pennons and equipped with bows and swords and shafts. And that crusher of the hauteur of even the celestials,-that surrounded by various spectres of dreadful forms having faces of tigers, or camels, or powerful elephants, or deer, or horses,—and with their eyes rolling,-where the white umbrella resembling the Moon, shineth, graced with slender ribs—the high-souled sovereign of Rakshas appeareth like Rudra himself environed by spectres,—the sovereign of the Rakshas decked with a diadem, with his countenance graced with pendulous ear-rings, -with a person resembling that monarch of mountains-even Vindhya himself,—that humbler of the pride of Indra the Great and Yama,-shineth like the Sun". Then Ramarepressor of foes-answered Bibhishana, saving,-"Alas! Ravana—lord of the Rakshasas—is of exceeding glowing splendour; and Rayana shineth in glory, and is incapable of being gazed at like the Sun himself. And his grace, being enshrouded in his own splendour, I cannot view plainly. And the persons of celestials appear splendid as doth the person of the Rakshasa-chief. And all the warriors of that high-souled one are like mountains and fight with crags; and all are equipped with flaming weapons. And environed by glowing ghosts of dreadful forms and fierce-looking and furnished with material tenements,-the king of Rakshasas appeareth imposing like the Destroyer himself. And by luck it is that today the wicked-minded one hath come within the range of my vision; and to-day will I vent my wrath incident to the ravishment of Sita". Having said this, Rama endowed with prowess, ever followed by Lakshmana, stood, taking up his bow and pulling out a powerful shaft. And then that highsouled lord of Rakshasas addressed that mighty host, saying,—"Do ye casting off fear stay at ease, at the gateways, high ways, and the edifices (in Lanka). Taking note of this lapse,-viz., that we have all come hither with me, the woodrangers in a body, subduing the empty city incapable of being withstood,—shall suddenly put (all) to straits". Then leaving those counsellors, (Ravana) on the Rakshas having departed agreeably to his injunction, dived into that ocean of monkeys, like a mighty fish diving into the waves of over brimming deep. And seeing the lord of Rakshasas, furnished with flaming a bow and arrows,-suddenly rushing,-the king of monkeys, uprooting a mighty mountain-top, darted against the sovereign of the Rakshas. And taking up that mountainpeak having its sides covered with innumerable trees, he hurled it at the night ranger. And seeing it descend swiftly, (Ravana) in battle severed the same by means of gold-knobbed shafts. And on that gigantic peak furnished with fair sides filled with trees, falling to the earth, severed in pieces,-the lord of Rakshasas took up an arrow, resembling a mighty serpent and having the splendour of the Destroyer himself. And taking that shaft endowed with the vehemence of the wind, flaming like a fire aglow, and having the impetuosity of the great Indra's thunder-bolt, (Ravana) hurled it in rage to compass the destruction of Sugriva. And even as the fierce

dart discharged by Guha [The generallissimo of the celestials.] had pierced Krauncha [Probably a mythical one like Mount Meru.], that shaft shot by Ravana, rushing in violence at Sugriva possessed of a person having the touch of Sakra's thunder-bolt, pierced it. Thereat, agonised by the shaft, that hero, with his senses bewildered, dropped down to the ground with shrieks. And seeing him down on the earth bereft of his senses, the Yatudhanas were filled with rejoicing. And then Gavaksha and Gavava, Sushena, Rishabha, Jyotimukha and Nala, uprooting crags and magnifying their bodies, rushed against the lord of Rakshasas. And the lord of Rakshasas with hundreds of shafts having sharpened heads, rendered their strokes fruitless. And then he rived those foremost of monkeys with showers of arrows having variegated golden knobs, and covered those fierce monkey-ranks with networks of arrows. And on being sore assailed and falling in consequence, those heroes, the monkeys, pierced with terrific arrows, and distressed with the shafts of Ravana, emitting cries, sought the shelter of Rama worthy of being sought. Then the highsouled and excellent bowman-Rama,-taking his bow, at once sallied forth. And thereat, Lakshmana, approaching Rama, with joined hands addressed him words couching prime import. "O noble one, I alone am fit to compass the destruction of this wicked-minded one. I will slay him. Do thou, O master, permit me". To him replied Rama of exceeding energy, having truth for his prowess,-"Go then, O Lakshmana, and put forth thy utmost exertions in the encounter. Rayana is for sooth endowed with mighty energy. and his prowess in battle is wonderful. Without doubt, when enraged, he is incapable of being borne by this triple world. Do thou keep an eye on his shortcomings as thou shouldst watch thine own failings. Being always on the alert, thou must with thy eyes as much as thy bow protect thyself". Hearing Raghava's speech, Sumitra's son, embracing Rama, and saluting him and paying him his respects, went forth to battle. And (going unto the field), he found Ravana, endowed with arms resembling the trunks of elephants,-wielding his dreadful and flaming bow, and covering with showers of arrows those monkeys, whose bodies had been swarming with shafts. And seeing Ravana, the exceedingly powerful Hanuman—son unto the Wind-god—resisting that downpour of arrows, charged him vehemently. And coming at his car, the intelligent Hanuman, uplifting his right arm and terrifying Ravana, said,—"Incapable of being slain by gods, Danavas or Gandharvas, Yakshas or Rakshasas,—Fear hath (at last) found thee, coming even from monkeys. This my upraised right arm furnished with five fingers, shall rob thee of thy soul long resident (in thy body)". Hearing Hanuman's speech, Ravana possessed of dreadful prowess, with his eyes reddened in wrath, said these words,-"Strike thou swift maugre fear; and acquire lasting renown. And, O monkey, having (at first) taken the measure of thy might, will I finish thee". Hearing Ravana's words, the offspring of the Windgod said, -- "(First) remember thou thy son -- Akshaslaughtered by me!" Thus addressed, the exceedingly energetic lord of the Rakshasas possessed of prowess dealt a slap unto the offspring of the Wind-god. And struck with his slap, he shook momentarily. And staying for a moment and calling up fortitude, that magnanimous one administered a slap unto the foe of the immortals. And hit by the highsouled monkey, the Ten-necked one trembled, as trembleth a mountain during an earthquake. And witnessing Ravana struck with a slap (by Hanuman) saints and Siddhas and celestials and the Asuras shouted in glee. Then attaining a little respite, Ravana said,-"Well done, O monkey. In prowess thou art a foe I pride in". Thus addressed by Ravana, the Wind-god's son said,-"Fie on my prowess, seeing that thou breathest yet, O Ravana. Strike at the same time, O perverse one. Why dost thou bluster? And then my blow shall despatch thee to the mansions of Yama". And at the speech of the Wind-god's son, his ire flamed up. And then that one endowed with prowess, clenching his right fist carefully, let it alight amain on the monkey's chest. And hit at his spacious chest, Hanuman shook over and over again. And seeing the mighty Hanuman overwhelmed, that powerful car-warrior ascended on his car, approached Nila. And the powerful lord of Rakshasas-the Ten-necked one-made that general of forces-Nila-aflame with dreadful shafts entering into the vitals, resembling snakes. And assailed with shafts, Nila-leader of monkeys with one arm took up a mountain-top and hurled it at the lord of Rakshas. And the energetic and high-minded Hanuman, attaining respite, eager for encounter, seeing (the fight between the Rakshasa and the monkey), wrought up with rage, said,-"It is not meet for me to attack Ravanalord of Rakshasas-engaged with Nila". And the highly powerful Ravana, by means of seven shafts with sharpened points, hit at the mountain-top; and shivered in pieces, it fell (to the earth). And seeing that mountain peak shattered, that general of the monkey-forces—slayer of hostile heroes—flamed up in wrath like the fire at the universal wreck. And in that encounter Nila discharged Acwakarna trees, and Salas, and mangoes in full flower, and various other trees. And Ravana, getting at the trees, severed them (by means of his arrows), and poured on the Fire-god's son terrific showers of

shafts. And assailed with fearful showers of arrows as with a mass of clouds, that one endowed with eminent strength. decreasing his dimensions, dropped on the top of Ravana's banner. And seeing the son of the Fire-god descend on the top of his banner. Ravana was fired with ire, and Nila shouted (thereat). And seeing the monkey (now) at the top of the banner, and (now) at the end of his bow, and (now) at the crest of his tiara. Lakshmana and Hanuman and Rama were struck with astonishment. And also Ravana endowed with exceeding energy, astonished at the lightness of the monkey, took up a wonderful flaming fiery weapon. And the monkeys seeing Ravana bewildered, and delighted thereat, set up shouts. And Ravana encaged at the shouts of the monkeys, with his heart overwhelmed with agitation, could not address himself to any effort. And then taking a fiery shaft and setting the same on his bow, the night-ranger gazed at Nila. And the exceedingly energetic lord of the Rakshasas said,monkey, by virtue of thy skill in illusion, thou art furnished with lightness. But, O monkey, if thou canst, preserve thy life. Thou transformest thyself into many shapes. Yet this shaft of mine discharged from my weapon, shall deprive of thy life thee that art preserving it". Having said this, the mighty-armed Ravana—lord of the Rakshasas—fixing his shaft on his bow, shot it at the general. And Nila, struck at the chest with that arrow, which had been shot (by Ravana), burning, suddenly fell down to the earth. And by virtue of the greatness of his sire and also of his own energy, he went to the earth on his knees, but was not utterly deprived of life. And seeing the monkey deprived of his senses, the Ten-necked one, eager for encounter, riding a car emitting a rattle resembling the rumbling of clouds, darted against Sumitra's son. And entering into the arena of fight and posted there flaming, the powerful lord of the Rakshasas, baffling (the foe), kept stretching his bow. And as that one of immeasurable prowess kept stretching his bow, Sumitra's son of unflagging mettle, addressed him, saying,—"O lord of night-rangers, do thou to-day try me in encounter. Thou ought not to strive with the monkeys". And hearing Saumitri's speech uttered in a full voice, as well as the terrific twangs of his. bow-string, that Raksha—the king—approaching Sumitra's son staying in the field, spoke unto him wrathfully,-"O Raghu's son, by my luck hast thou of perverse sense, finding thy fate come within the range of my ken. This very instant, tormented with the springes of my shafts, thou wilt repair to the regions of Death". Thereat, Sumitra's son, without being overwhelmed with wonder (on witnessing Ravana's prowess), addressed that one furnished with large and sharp teeth,-setting up roars,-"O king, those who are (really) endowed with prowess, do not storm. O prince of sinners, in vain thou vauntest. O lord of Rakshasas, I know thy prowess and strength and energy and vigor. Here am I stationed, bow and shafts in hand. Come thou. What is the use of vain-glorious self-laudation?" Thus accosted, the Raksha monarch, growing wroth, discharged seven shafts furnished with knobs. Thereupon Lakshmana split them up with sharp-pointed arrows having variegated golden knobs. And they suddenly severed like powerful serpents cut off, Lanka's lord came under the sway of passion, and discharged other whetted arrows. And Rama's younger brother poured showers of arrows from his bow; and, planting himself at his post, cut off those arrows (of his adversary) by means of razors, and crescents, and excellent karnas and darts. And seeing his arrowy net-works rendered ineffectual, that enemy of the celestials-the king-was seized with wonderment, and again shot sharpened arrows. And Lakshmana also, resembling Indra the Great, setting on his bow sharpened, sharp-pointed, flaming, and luminous shafts, endowed with the dreadful vehement impetus of the thunder-bolt, discharged (them), to compass the destruction of the lord of Rakshas. And thereat the Rakshasa sovereign cut off those whetted arrows; and smote Lakshmana in the forehead with an arrow resembling the Fire of Dooms-day in energy,which had been conferred on him by the Self-create. And Lakshmana, tortured with Rayana's arrow, shook, loosely holding his bow; and then recovering his consciousness after undergoing extreme agony, he severed the bow of the foe of the foremost of celestials. And having cut off Ravana's bow, Dacarathas son hit (him) with three sharp-pointed arrows And the king smarting under the shafts, with much ado regained his consciousness. And the enemy of the immortals of terrific power with his bow severed, and himself hit with shafts, and his body covered with fat, and himself washed in blood, took up a dart conferred on him by the Self-create. And the sovereign of the Rakshasas and their lord in that encounter hurled at Sumitra's son the dart resembling smoking fire, sending up living flames, and striking terror into the monkeys. And as it coursed on, Bharata's younger brother resisted it with arrows resembling a sacrificial flame. Yet the dart pierced into the broad arm of Dacaratha's son And smit with the dart, that hero of the Raghu race, although possessed of strength, was aglow. And the king at once with his arms seized that one, who had been deprived of his senses. But he that could with his arms wield Himavan or Mandara or Meru or the triple world itself along with the immortals,

could not (for all his strength) lift up Bharata's younger brother. And hit at his chest by the dart of Brahma, Sumitra's son remembered that he was verily a portion of Vishnu himself. And pressing hard Sumitra's son-that humbler of the hauteur of the Daityas, that thorn in the sides of the celestials-could not move him (from his place). And then the Wind-god's offspring waxing wroth rushed at Ravana, and overwhelmed with rage smote at his chest with his clenched fist resembling the thunder-bolt. And boxed (by Hanumana), Ravana-lord of the Rakshasas-went down to the ground on his knees, and shook and dropped to the earth. And blood gushed out in streams from his mouths and eyes and arms; and staggered and senseless, he sat down on the platform of his car. And he was rendered insensible with his senses lost; and he knew not where he was. And seeing Rayana endued with terrific prowess, rendered insensible in the encounter, saints and monkeys and gods with the Asuras set up shouts. And then the energetic Hanuman taking Lakshmana racked by Ravana, with his arms brought him before Raghava. And albeit incapable of being moved by the foes, (Lakshmana), on account of the friendship of the Wind-god's offspring as well as the high reverence in which he was held by Hanuman. became extremely light to the monkey. And then that dart, renouncing Sumitra's son vanquished in fight, again sought its place in Ravana's car. And the exceedingly powerful Ravana, recovering his consciousness in that dread encounter, took up whetted shafts and seized a mighty bow. And that finisher of foes-Lakshmana-recovered the exercise of his senses, and had his entire person perfectly healed,—on his recalling that he verily was a part and parcel of Vishnu himself. And witnessing the mighty army of the monkeys and the redoubted heroes brought down in the conflict, Raghava rushed at Ravana. Thereat drawing near to him, Hanuman said unto him,—"It behoveth thee to chastise the foe ascending my back, even as Vishnu chastiseth the enemies of the immortals, riding Garutman". Hearing the words spoken by Hanuman, Raghava at once got up on that gigantic monkey; and that master of men beheld Ravana in battle. And seeing him, that highly powerful one darted against Ravana, even as the enraged Vishnu had rushed against Virochana's son, upraising his weapons. And he sharply twanged his bowstring sounding like the terrific crash of thunder; and then in solemn tones, Rama addressed the lord of Rakshasas, "Stay, stay, having done me such wrong. Repairing whither, shalt thou, O powerful Rakshasa, attain respite? Even if thou shouldst seek Yama or Indra or the Sun-son unto Vivacwan-or the Self-sprung or the Fire-god or Sankara himself,-or go to the ten cardinal points in ten portions,-yet shalt thou not, so resorting, attain deliverance. And (Lakshmana), going forth to the fight, hath been wounded with the dart and hath suddenly been stupified. But, O king of the Rakshas, to-day in conflict Death shall claim for his own thee and thy sons and grandsons. By me with my shafts have been slaughtered four and ten thousand Rakshas residing in Janasthana, wielding excellent weapons". Hearing Raghava's words, the exceedingly strong lord of the Rakshasas, overwhelmed with a mighty wrath, recalling enmity agone, with burning shafts resembling the fire of Doom hit in encounter the exceedingly impetuous offspring of the Wind-god, who was bearing Raghava. And although struck and resisted by the Rakshasa with arrows, the energy of that one, endowed by nature with prowess—increased greatly. And the exceedingly energetic Rama, on seeing that foremost of the monkeys wounded by Ravana, was mastered by wrath. And Rama, closing with his enemy, by means of whetted arrow-points severed in pieces his car together with the wheels and the steeds, the banner, the umbrella, and the majestic streamer, as well as with the charioteer and the thunder-bolts and darts and swords. And then as the reverend Indra cleaveth Meru with his thunder-bolt, (Raghava) swiftly smote on Ravana's spacious and shapely chest with a shaft resembling Vajra and the thunder holt. And—that the king hero—who had not smarted nor shaken under the impetus of Vajra and the thunder-bolt.—assailed with the arrow of Rama and agonised in consequence, shook and lost hold of his bow. And seeing him overwhelmed. Rama took up a flaming half-moon. and with the same at once severed the sun-bright tiara of the high-souled sovereign of the Rakshasas. And Rama in the encounter addressed the lord of Rakshasas, resembling a serpent bereft of venom, shorn of his splendour, like unto the sun shrouded (in mist), -without his wonted grace, and having his entire tiara riven—saying,—"Thou hast (in battle) performed high and dreadful deeds, -and hast also (in the conflict) slain my foremost heroes. And therefore I know thou art fatigued. And for this reason it is that I will not with my shafts bring thee to the door of Death. Go thou. I know that thou art worn out with fight. Therefore, O king of nightrangers, enter Lanka. Having a little respite, do thou depart on thy car along with thy bowmen. Afterwards, mounted on thy car, shalt thou behold my power". And thus addressed, the king, with his pride and joy defeated, with his bow severed, and his steeds and charioteer killed, himself smarting under shafts,-and having his crown splintered,-speedily entered Lanka. And on that foe of the deities and the Danavas-the

puissant lord of the night-rangers—entering (into Lanka), Rama rendered the monkeys along with Lakshmana hale in that fierce conflict. And at the break-down of that foe of the immortals, the celestials and the Asuras, the ghosts and the Cardinal points, and all the mighty serpents together with the oceans and the creatures inhabiting earth and water, felt exceedingly delighted.

SECTION 60.

And entering the city of Lanka, the king afflicted with the fear of Rama's arrows, with his pride humbled, was undergoing great torments. And overpowered by the highsouled Raghava, the king resembled an elephant defeated by a lion or a serpent defeated by Garuda. And remembering Raghava's arrows resembling a comet risen at the universal wreck, and of the splendour of live lightning, the Rakshasachief was aggrieved. And seated on a superb golden seat, Rama, eying the Rakshasas, spoke,-"Forsooth all the austere asceticism I have performed goeth for nothing, for although resembling the redoubtable Indra, I have been overcome by a mortal. And this dire speech of Brahma also reverts to my remembrance,—'Know thou that thy fear cometh from a human being. Thou art incapable of being slain by deities and Danavas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Rakshasas and serpents. But thou hast not asked for immunity from men.' And I deem even this son of Dacaratha as the occasion of my fear. And I was formerly cursed by that lord of the Ikshwaku line—Anaranya—saving,—'O worst of Rakshasas, a person shall spring in my race, who, O wickedminded one, shall slay thee in battle along with thy sons and courtiers and forces and horses and charioteers.' And I was also cursed by Vedavati, who was formerly outraged by me. And she is (perchance) born as the exalted daughter of Janaka. And what had also been uttered by Uma and Nandicwara and Rambha and Varuna's daughter [Punjikasthala.], hath come to pass. And taking note of this, ve should strive (to the uttermost.) And let the Rakshasas be posted at the gateways, highways, and the walls. And do ye wake up that destroyer of the pride of the deities and the Danavas-Kumbhakarna, endowed with unparalleled gravity, overwhelmed with the curse of Brahma". And seeing himself worsted and Prahasta also slain, that Raksha endowed with dreadful power issued his orders to that fearful force. "Do ye vigilantly guard the gates and mount the wall. And do ye wake up Kumbhakarna come under the sway of slumber. And deprived of his senses through lust, he sleepeth secure. And the Rakshasa sometimes sleepeth nine, seven, ten, or eight months away. Of measureless might he hath slept for nine months. And foremost of all the Rakshasas in fight, that long-armed one shall speedily slay the monkeys as well as the princes. He is a very banner in battle, and the crown of all the Rakshas. But intent on common pleasure, Kubhakarna, with his senses stupified, sleepeth ever. I have been worsted in fierce fight by Rama; but on Kumbhakarna being awakened, my grief shall go. If he doth not help me in such high peril, what shall I do with his strength resembling the strength of Sakra himself Hearing the speech of the lord of the Rakshasas, the Rakshasas, bestirring themselves, went to the abode of Kumbhakarna. And desired by Ravana, those feeding on flesh and blood went off hurriedly, taking perfumes and wreaths and a mass of food. And entering Kumbhakarna's charming cave having a wide gateway, measuring a yojana breathing around perfumes of flowers,—those highly powerful ones, pushed off by Kumbhakarna's breath, with the utmost energy they could summon up stood their ground and entered the cave. And then entering that charming cave having floors paved with gold and gems, those Nairitas endowed with great strength, saw that one of dreadful prowess, lying down. And then they together set about waking up the slumbering Kumbhakarna looking like a hill extended,-and sunk in profound slumber; with his body having its down standing on end; lying down; like a sighing serpent; rolling people with his powerful breath,-reposing; possessed of dreadful prowess; having a huge nose; of a person vast as the nether sphere; lying stretched at length; smelling of fat and blood; decked with golden angadas; and waring a diadem endowed with the splendour of the Sun. And (they) saw that subduer of enemies and foremost of Nairitas-Kumbhakarna. And then they piled up Meru-like animals for conferring rare gratification, and heaps of deer and buffaloes and boars. And the Rakshasas made an astounding heap of rice. And then the enemies of the immortals put up before Kumbhakarna jars of blood and various kinds of food, and smeared that repressor of foes with excellent sandal, and made him inhale perfumes and the aroma of wreaths. And they made (the place) rife with the incense of dhupa, and extolled that smiter of enemies. And then the Yatudhanas roared around here and there like clouds. And they winded conchs beaming moon-like. And they incapable of being beaten shouted in full chorus. And the night-rangers shouted and struck at their arms with their hands and began to pull him. And for rousing Kumbhakarna, mighty was the din that they raised. And hearing those loud sounds of conchs and drums and panavas; and those proceeding from persons striking at their arms with their

hands; and leonine roars,-rushing on all sides and riving the very heavens,-birds suddenly dropped down. And when the high-souled Kumbhakarna sleeping soundly did not awake at that terrific tumult, the Rakshasas took up Bhushandis [A variety of the mace.] and maces. And then the Rakshasas, drawing near, smote Kumbhakarna sleeping sweetly in the chest with mountain-peaks, maces and clubs. But the Rakshasas could not stay before Kumbhakarna owing to the hurricane heaving at his breath. Then tightening their cloth (about their waist), those Rakshasas of dreadful prowess sounded mridangas and panavas, conchs and kumbhas. And ten thousand Rakshasas together surrounded that one resembling a heap of dark-blue collyrium and fell to rousing him. But albeit assailed with shouts and smit with weapons. he did not wake up. And when they succeeded not in rousing him, they more than ever exerted themselves. And then they smote him with horses and camels, and mules and snakes, rods and lashes and hooks, and with might and main sounded kettledrums and conchs and mridangas. And they struck his body with innumerable huge blocks of wood. And summoning up their dearest energy, they dealt him blows with maces and clubs. And at that mighty uproar, entire Lanka was filled with her woods and hills; yet he did not wake up. And then they simultaneously sounded a thousand kettle-drums beaten with sticks of polished gold. And coming under the sway of the curse, when that one sunk in slumber did not wake up, the night-rangers were wrought up with wrath. And overcome with choler, they endowed with dreadful prowess addressed themselves vigorously to awakening him; and others put forth their energy. And others smote the kettle-drums, and others set up loud cries. And others cut off his hair, and others bit his ears. And others poured into his ears a thousand vessels of water. But Kumbhakarna come under the spell of a mighty slumber did not wink. And others-strong ones-armed with poniards (kutas) and maces, made their poniards and maces alight on his person. And struck with sataghnis bound with cords, that huge-bodied one did not wake up. And then when a thousand elephants rushed against his body, recovering his consciousness, he awoke. And assailed with mountain-peaks and trees descending on his body, he, without minding those tremendous blows,—on sleep having been dispelled, suddenly got up, yawning,—suffering the pangs of hunger. And then that night-ranger resembling an elephant or a serpent or a mountain-peak, casting about his arms superior in force to the thunder-bolt itself, and opening his deformed mouth like unto that of a mule, yawned (again and again). And as he yawned, his mouth resembling the subterraneous regions, looked like the Sun stationed at the summit of Meru. And that night-ranger possessed of unwieldly strength woke up, yawning. And the breath that he breathed resembled a storm raging in a mountain. And then as he sat up, Kumbhakarna's form appeared like that of the Destroyer himself at the universal wreck,-intent upon consuming all creatures. And the large eyes of that one, resembling a live flame and endowed with the splendour of lightning, appeared like a pair of glowing planets. And then they pointed unto him all those heaps of edibles, various and profuse,-bears and buffaloes,-and that powerful (Rakshasa) fell to. And hungering, he fed on flesh and athirst, drank blood. And then that enemy of Sakra drank vesselfuls of fat and blood. And concluding that he was replete, the night rangers came up; and bowing down their heads, stood circling him on all sides. And then with his eyes discoloured and drooping from drowsiness, he casting his eyes around, addressed those night-rangers. And that foremost of Nairitas cheered all those Nairitas; and surprised at his having been roused,-spoke unto the Rakshasas,-"Why, being honoured, have I been awakened by you? Is it well with the king? Or hath amy fear sprung up here? Or hath a mighty fear presented itself for sooth from among others; for which I have been speedily awakened by you? This very day will I uproot quite the fear of the sovereign of the Rakshasas. I will split up the great Indra himself,-or make Fire himself give up his heat. One doth not awaken my like for a light cause. Therefore do ye give the real truth of the cause of your awakening me". Thereat a minister of the king, named Yupaksha, with joined hands said unto that humbler of foes-Kumbhakarna-wrought up with wrath, who was thus speaking,-"No fear anywise springs to us from the Deities. But, O king, a great fear doth cross us, coming from a mortal. And never fear so cometh unto us anywise from Daityas or Danayas, as it hath arrived from a man, O king, This Lanka hath been hemmed in by monkeys resembling mountains. And terrific is the terror that cometh even from Rama scorched with fire springing from the ravishment of Sita. Ere this by a single monkey was this splendid city burnt down. And the prince Aksha hath been slain along with his following and elephants. And that thorn in the sides of deities. that lord of the Rakshasas—Pulasta's son himself—hath been set free in conflict by Raghava endowed with the splendour of the Sun,—saying—'Go thou.' And what had been done unto the king by neither the gods nor the Daityas nor yet the Danavas, hath been done by Rama; and he hath been set free, having come to a pass imperilling his life". Hearing

Yupaksha's speech and hearing of the defeat of his brother, Kumbhakarna, with his eyes whirling, spoke unto him, saying,—"To day, O Yupaksha, after vanquishing in battle the monkey-army together with Lakshmana and Raghava, shall I see Ravana. And I shall regale the Rakshasas with the flesh and blood of the monkeys, and myself drink the blood of Rama and Lakshmana". Hearing his words as he haughtily spoke thus with his spirit of insolence magnified by much that foremost of the Nairita soldiers, Mahodara, with joined hands observed,-"O long-armed one, having at first heard Ravana's words and considered their justice or otherwise, thou wilt afterwards defeat the foe in fight". Hearing Mahodara's words, the exceedingly energetic and mighty (Kumbhakarna) surrounded by the Rakshasas, prepared to depart. And having roused from his slumbers that one of terrific prowess having dreadful eyes,—the Rakshasas speedily arrived at the residence of the Ten-necked one. And presenting themselves before the Ten-necked one seated on a superb seat, all the night-rangers spoke with joined hands, "O lord of the Rakshasas, thy brother, Kumbhakarna, hath been roused. Shall be march from there: or wilt thou see him come here?" Thereat, Ravana, pleased, spoke unto those Rakshasas who had presented themselves,--"I wish to see him here, and do ye honour him fittingly". Thereat, saying 'So be it', the Rakshasas, directed by Ravana, going back, spoke unto Kumbhakarna,-"That foremost of all the Rakshasas the king-wisheth to see thee. So mind thou going, and gladden thy brother". And the irrepressible Kumbhakarna possessed of prodigious prowess, learning the mandate of his brother, saying,—'So be it,'—rose up from his bed. And washing his face, and having bathed, that one, feeling refreshed and enjoying exceeding exhilaration of spirit,wishing to drink, urged (the Rakshasas) to bring the nerveconferring draught. And then the Rakshasas, at the command of Ravana speedily procured wine and various kinds of viands. And having drunk two thousand vessels (of wine), he prepared to go. And slightly swolen and flushed, Kumbhakarna, attaining access of strength and fire, waxed wroth, and resembled the Doom and Destroyer-Yama himself. And striding to the residence of his brother backed by the Raksha force. Kumbhakarna shook the earth with his tread. And illuming the highway with the splendour of his person, like the thousand-rayed (Sun) discovering the earth with his rays, (Kumbhakarna) went on, engirt around by joined hands resembling wreaths,—like Satakratu [Lit. him of an hundred sacrifices—an appellation of Indra.] going to the abode of the Self-sprung. And suddenly seeing that slayer of foes of immeasurable prowess, resembling a mountain-summit, walking along the highways, the wood-rangers stationed outside (the monkey-camp), along with the leaders of bands, were seized with affright. And then some sought the shelter of Rama, worthy of being so sought; and some, stricken (with panic), dropped to the earth; and some, suffering (from fear), lied to the cardinal points; and some through stress (of apprehension) lay down on the ground. And seeing that one resembling a very mountain-peak, decked with a diadem, seeming to touch the Sun himself with his energy, of colossal altitude, and wonderful to behold,-the wood-rangers, tormented with fright, began to scamper on all sides.

SECTION 61.

And then the exceedingly energetic Rama possessed of prowess, taking his bow, saw Kumbhakarna, having a huge body and decked with a diadem. And seeing that foremost of Rakshasas looking like a mountain; filling all the heavens as formerly Narayana had done; resembling clouds charged with rain; and adorned with golden angadas, -the mighty army of monkeys began to run away at the top of its speed. Seeing the army scamper and the Rakshasa swelling, Rama struck with surprise, said unto Bibhishana,--"Who is that tawney-eyed one, decked with a diadem, and looking like a hill? And in Lanka the hero appeareth like a mass of clouds embosoming lightning. And alone he seemeth like an ensign of the Earth; and seeing him the monkeys dart away hither and thither. Tell me who he is,-whether a Raksha or an Asura. The like of him mine eyes had never before lighted on". Accosted by the king's son-Rama of untiring deeds-the exceedingly wise Bibhishana said unto Kakutstha,—"By whom in battle Vivascwata's offspring and Vasava himself had been vanquished, this is he-the wondrous powerful Kumbhakarna-son unto Vicravan. No Rakshasa is there that equalleth this one in size. O Raghava, this one in battle hath brought down Danavas and Yakshas and Serpents and flesh-feeders and Gandharvas and Vidyadharas and Pannagas [Semi-divine serpents.] by thousands. The immortals themselves thinking the dart-handed and fierce-eyed Kumbhakarna possessed of great strength, as the Destroyer himself,-were overwhelmed with stupor and were foiled in their exertions to slay him. The exceedingly powerful Kumbhakarna is mighty by nature: the strength of other redoubtable Rakshasas is owing to boons obtained by them. As soon as this high-souled one was born and was a babe, he began to devour up countless creatures by the thousand. And on these having been devoured, creatures, afflicted with

affright consequent on those having been eaten up, sought the shelter of Sakra and told him what had happened. And thereat the great Indra, waxing wroth, smote Kumbhakarna with the whetted levin. And hit at with Sakra's thunderbolt, that high-souled (hero) shook, and in wrath set up roars. And hearing the roars of the Rakshasa-Kumbhakarna-as he kept crying, creatures, seized with fear, were greatly agitated. And thereat, enraged with the great Indra, the mighty Kumbhakarna plucking a tusk of Airavata, hurled it at Vasava's chest. And with blood overflowing his person, Vasava looked as if aflame. And thereat, all of a sudden the gods and the Brahmarshis and the Danavas were dispirited. And then they informed the lord of creatures touching the ravages of Kumbhakarna, and informed the gods about Kumbhakarna's devouring up creatures, destroying asylums and outraging others' wives. "If this one devour creatures constantly, in a short space the world would be empty of any". Hearing Vasava's speech, the Great-father of all called up the Rakshasas and saw Kumbhakarna (before him). And seeing Kumbhakarna, Prajapati [Lit.—lord of creatures.] was seized with exceeding great fear. And then, pacifying Kumbhakarna, the Self-sprung addressed him, saying,—"Forsooth for compassing the destruction of creatures, hast thou been begot by Paulasta [Vicrava.]. Therefore from this day forth, thou shalt lie down as one dead". Stricken with the curse of Brahma, Kumbhakarna fell down before the Lord. Then, extremely agitated, Ravana said,—"Thou hewest down a golden tree when about to bear fruit. O lord of creatures, thou ought not to curse thus thine own grandson. Thy words will never go for naught; sleep he will, without doubt. But do thou appoint a time for his sleeping and one for his awaking". Hearing Ravana's speech, the Self-sprung said,-"Having slept for six months, he shall wake for one day. And for a single day, that hero, coming under the influence of hunger, shall range the earth, opening his mouth wide open, and devouring people like a fire that hath spread far and wide. And now king Ravana struck with terror at thy prowess, encompassed with peril, hath waked up Kumbhakarna. And that hero possessed of dreadful prowess, wrought up with high wrath, sallying forth from his camp, rusheth about, eating up monkeys. And soon as the monkeys see Kumbhakarna, they fly away. And How can they resist in battle the enraged Kumbhakarna? Do thou tell the monkeys this is an uplifted engine. Thus assured, the monkeys shall take heart". Hearing Bibhishana's words informed with reason and tending to the good (of the monkeys), Raghava then addressed general Nila; saying,—"Let you, monkeys, equipped with weapons and holding hill-tops in your hands,—and furnished with mountain-summits and trees and rocks, stay, occupying the highways and the bridges". Thus instructed by Raghava, that powerful monkey, Nila-general of the forces-accordingly issued his orders to the monkeyhosts. And then Givaksha and Sarabha and Hanuman and Angada, themselves endowed with the splendour of mountainsummits, taking up mountain-tops, drew towards the gateway. And hearing Rama's words, the heroic monkeys inspired with intrepidity, fiercely fell on the foe with trees. And then that dreadful army of monkeys, upraising crags and holding trees in their hands, appeared like mighty masses of scowling clouds bordering a mountain.

SECTION 62

And that tiger-like Rakshasa possessed of prowess, (still) under the influence of slumber, strode along the picturesque And that exceedingly unconquerable one, surrounded by thousands of Rakshasas, went on, showered with blossoms from the houses (standing by). And then he saw the grand and graceful residence of the lord of the Rakshasas, having golden networks and sun-bright to behold. And entering the mansion of the Rakshasa sovereign, like the sun entering into a mass of clouds, he saw his elder brother seated at a distance; even as Sakra sees the Self-sprung seated. And Kumbhakarna surrounded by numbers of Rakshasas, entered his brother's abode, making the very earth tremble with his tread. And arriving at the abode and passing the entrance, he saw his superior anxiously seated on the car, Pusphaka. Seeing Kumbhakarna come, the Ten-necked one, exceedingly rejoiced, raised him up and drew him near himself. And then the exceedingly mighty Kumbhakarna saluted the feet of his brother and said, -- "What dost thou say?" Thereat, delighted, Ravana, springing up, again embraced (his brother). And embraced (by his brother), and duly greeted by him, that brother (of Rayana)—Kumbhakarna seated himself on a shining and superb seat. And seating himself on that seat, the wondrous powerful Kumbhakarna, with his eyes reddened in wrath, addressed Ravana, saying,—"O king, why, honouring me, hast thou awaked me? Tell me, whence springeth thy fear? And who shall be a ghost?" [Having been slain by me.] Thereat, Ravana, waxing wroth, and with his eyes rolling in rage, said unto Kumbhakarna, seated,—"O highly powerful one, thou hast slept away a long space of time. And having been asleep, thou dost not know the great fear of mine springing from Rama. This graceful son unto Dacaratha possessed of strength, along with Sugriva, having crossed the ocean, is destroying our race. Alack! see in own Lanka. woods and forests have been flooded with an ocean of monkeys coming without any ado by the bridge (which they have constructed). Those Rakshasas that were prime, have been slain in battle by the monkeys; but I find no destruction of the monkeys in fight. Nay, the monkeys have never been before even vanguished (by the Rakshasas) in battle. And therefore hath this fear sprung up (in my heart). Save me from this, O exceedingly powerful one. Do thou now destroy these. It is for this that I have roused thee. Do thou, favouring me, whose exchequer is empty, save this city of Lanka, having only young folks and the aged left. And, O long-armed one, do thou perform thy dearest acts in behalf of thy brother. And, O subduer of enemies, I had never before said so unto my brother. In thee is my affection and great is the probability of thy succeeding. In the wars of the celestials and Asuras, O foremost of Rakshasas, countless were the celestials that thou as an antagonist hadst beaten. Therefore, O thou of dreadful strength, summon thy entire energy. Him find I not among all beings, who is thy peer in prowess. And, O lover of battle! O dear unto friends, as thou likest, do this beloved good office, this prime benefit, unto me. By thy own energy, smite the hostile hosts, even as a mighty and strong wind (scattereth away) autumnal clouds.

SECTION 63.

Hearing the lament of the king of Rakshasas, Kumbhakarna. laughing, said,—"That evil which on the occasion of the conclave we had seen, hath befallen thee, who hast passed by what was fraught with thy good. Even as a sinner reapeth perdition, verily hath the fruit of thine unrighteous act found thee. At first, O mighty king, thou didst not ponder over this course of conduct; nor, from pride of prowess, didst thou at all take note of the evil thereof. He that doeth last what should be done first, and first what should be done last, is ignorant of what is prudence and what not. Acts not performed in harmony with season and place, like unto acts performed counter to season and place, are the occasions of misery, and resemble clarified butter poured into fire that hath not been sanctified. He stayeth well in the path that, in consultation with his counsellors, ascertained the five ways touching the three kinds of action. [The five ways are (1st) the means of commencing an act (2nd) person, thing and wealth, (3rd) division of season and place, (4th) providing against mischance, (5th) success. The three kinds of action are treaty, war, etc. All this is nebulous; and the commentator is sadly reticent over this extremely important passage.] The king that aided by his own intelligence as well as his counsellors acteth after reflection in consonance with the science of polity, that distinguished his friends (from his foes), and, lord of the Rakshasas, that seasonably pursueth righteousness, or profit, or desire,-or any two, or all these combined,-truly hath understanding. But the king or the heir-apparent, that, having heard what is prime among the three, doth not understand hath spent his time in vain on his erudition. He that, controlling his own self, consulteth with his counsellors seasonably touching gift, forbearance, difference and prowess, as well as virtue, profit and desire,-doth not in this world come by calamity. Perceiving the fair fruit (of a line of action) accruing to him here, a king should act in consultation with counsellors endowed with intelligence and versed in the import of things. Not understanding the sense of the scriptures, persons possessed of beastly intelligence,entering into the heart of their counsellors,—are inspired with a desire of speaking out of sheer volubility. Albeit uttered needfully, the speech of those that are ignorant of learning and the knowledge of the sense of things, -and who are intent upon attaining abounding affluence,—should not be acted upon. And those-spoilers of business-who from recklessness talk of pernicious as if profitable,—should certainly be rejected as counsellors. Some counsellorsdestroyers of their masters-joining intelligent enemies (of their lords), act in a way opposed to their interests in this world. Their lords, at the hour of consultation, by their behaviour should know these counsellors-enemies in the guise of friends—who have been won over (by the opposite party). Even as the fowls of the air enter the hole in the Krauncha [The hole indented by Skanda the celestial generallissimo in the mountain named in the text.], enemies find an easy entrance into the shortcomings of him that is fickle and that rusheth into act without heed. He that disregarding his foe, omitteth to guard himself, cometh by disasters and loseth his place. Even what had been advanced by thy beloved and my younger brother, is fraught with our welfare. Do thou now what thou wishest". Hearing Kumbhakarna's words, the Ten-necked one knit up his brows. and, wrought up with wrath, said unto him,—"I am worthy of being honoured by thee, like thy superior. What needs this verbal travail? Do thou what is fit. Vain is the mention now of what I did either through stupor or delusion or pride of prowess. Now bethink thee of what is proper. Do thou through thy prowess assuage the sorrow of mine springing from my impolitic conduct, if thou cherishest any feeling for me, if thy strength stayeth, and if thou deemest this business of

mine as by far more momentous unto thee. He is a friend that succoureth one fallen in distress and is undergoing affliction; and he acts friendly that helpeth a person lapsing from the path of morality". As he was speaking thus in words sedate yet severe, Kumbhakarna, concluding that Ravana was delighted, made his remarks mildly. And seeing his brother extremely sorry, Kumbhakarna, pacifying him, gently said,-"O king, intently hear my words, O repressor of foes! O lord of Rakshasas, banish this sorrow, and casting away thy wrath, return thou to nature. And, O king, so long as I live, thou must not suffer thy heart to fare thus. Him will I slay for whom thou grievest. But whatever condition thou mayst be in, I must tell what is for thy welfare; and therefore from sentiment of friendship as well as from fraternal affection I have spoken thus unto thee, O king. And what a friend from affection should do at a time like this, I shall do the same. See the havock I spread among the foes in fight. And, O longarmed one, behold, on Rama having been slain by me on the edge of battle along with his brother, the monkey-army in headlong flight. And to-day seeing Rama's head brought by me from the field, be thou, O long-armed one, happy; and let Sita be overwhelmed with woe. And let those Rakshasas in Lanka who have had their kindred slain (in battle), see that dear sight-Rama slain (in fight). And to-day shall I slaying the enemies in battle, wipe the tears of those who mourn their friends slain and are overwhelmed with grief. To-day behold the lord of monkeys-Sugriva-resembling a mountain or a mass of clouds lighted up by (the living) sun,-lying stretched on the field. But why, O sinless one, albeit comforted by these Rakshasas eager for slaying Dacaratha's son, as well as by me, -dost thou persist in thy sorrow? Raghava forsooth shall slay thee after slaying me. But, O lord of Rakshasas, I cannot come by grief (at Raghava's hands). O repressor of foes, do thou now command me, O thou of unparalleled prowess, thou needst not thyself face the foe in fight. I shall abolish thy foes endowed with redoubted might. If even Sakra himself, and Yama, and the god of Fire, and the god of Wind, and Kuvera, and Varuna-shall range themselves against me, them shall I encounter in fight. Purandara himself is seized with fright at sight of me, having a body measuring a mountain,-equipped with sharpened spears,—furnished with sharp teeth,—and setting up shouts.

And who wishing to save himself shall be able to stay before me as I casting away my weapons keep pounding my enemies with celerity? No need of the dart, or the mace, or the sword, or whetted arrows. I shall with my bare arms alone slay (Rama) along with the thunderer himself. If Raghava bear the impetus of my blows then shall the vollies of my shafts drink his life-blood. Why, O king, while I remain, dost thou burn in anxiety? And I am ready to sally out for compassing the destruction of thine enemies. Cast off all terror of Rama. I shall slay in battle Raghava and Lakshmana and the exceedingly powerful Sugriva and the Raksha-destroying Hanuman, who made Lanka blaze, I shall eat up the monkeys present in the encounter. And signal is the celebrity that I shall confer on thee. And, O king, if thy fear springs from Indra or the Self-create, even the immortals shall measure their lengths on the earth when I am wrought with rage. And I shall subdue Yama himself and devour the God of Fire. And I shall bring down the very welkin garnished with stars. And I shall slay Satakratu and drink up the abode itself [Ocean.] of Varuna. And I shall crush the mountains and rive the earth. And to day let all creatures as they are being eaten up, witness the prowess of Kumbhakarna, after he hath slept for a long time. Even the celestial regions do not suffice for me as my fare. I go for securing felicity ushuring in pleasures plenteous flowing from the destruction of Dacaratha's son. And slaving Rama along with Lakshmana, I shall eat up all the foremost of monkey-bands. Make merry, my king; to-day drink Varuni. Enjoy pleasures, banishing sorrow. And to-day on my having despatched Rama to the mansion of Yama, Sita shall come under thy control for good".

SECTION 64.

Hearing the speech of the huge-bodied, long-armed and mighty Kumbhakarna, Mahodara said,—"O Kumbhakarna, although sprung in a noble line, thou art wondrous haughty and of a vulgar form; and thou art not everywhere competent to discern thy course. It certainly cannot well be that the king cannot distinguish between proper and improper; but thou hast from thy youth upwards been insolent; and thy joy is in talking perenially. But the foremost of the Rakshasas is versed in place and increase and injury,—and knoweth the duties touching season and place,—and how to advance his own party and lower that of the foe. But what person ever acteth according to what is proposed feebly by one having strength, yet of inferior intelligence, and who hath never respected the aged? And thou art not naturally competent to understand what thou thyself sayest touching the opposed virtue, profit and desire. Verily action is the spring of all agencies of happiness or misery; and it is only those that act either well or ill that reap the results of their acts. Virtue, and interest bring about emancipation as well as heaven and prosperity. But evil cometh from unrighteousness and harms spring there from.

People reap the fruit of their acts in this world or the next; but the fruit of desire is reaped readily. Therefore should a king set about attaining his desire. And this also had we advised thee with our soul. And what is the harm that one should display his prowess before a foe? Dost thou show the reasons for thy taking the field alone? But I shall point thee out what is improper and unreasonable in this (proposed) course. How shalt thou alone vanquish that Raghava who formerly routed in Janasthana innumerable Rakshasas possessed of exceeding strength? Dost thou not to-day in the palace behold those powerful Rakshasas that had been beaten in Janasthana,—cowed down in fear? Alas! thou wishest to awake Rama,-son unto Dacaratha-knowing full well that he resembles an enraged lion or a sleeping serpent. But whom doth it behove to confront him ever flaming in energy, difficult of being approached when enraged,—and unbearable even like Death himself? On approaching the foe, this whole host itself shall be imperilled; and therefore, my child, thy marching alone doth nowise recommend itself to me. Who is there that, albeit weak bent on renouncing his life, wisheth to bring under subjection a foe that is powerful,—as if he would act with reference to one that is inferior? O foremost of Rakshasas, why dost thou wish to fight with him whose peer there is none among men, and who is equal to Indra and Vivacwata himself?" Having said this unto Kumbhakarna wrought up with wrath, Mahodara addressed that destroyer of creatures-Ravana-in the midst of the Rakshasas,—"Having already obtained Vaidehi, why dost thou delay? If thou wishest it, Sita shall come under thy control. I have perceived a way as to how Sita may smile upon thee. Do thou listen; and should it please thee, act thou accordingly. Do thou proclaim it about that I and Dwijibha and Sanhradi, and Kumbhakarna and Vitardana-these five—are marching for compassing the destruction of Rama. And we, marching out, shall battle with Rama, putting forth our uttermost. And if we succeed in securing victory, no expedient need we resort to (or bringing Sita round). But if our foe live after fight and we also having fought the fight, then shall we do what I conceive in my mind. We shall come hither from the field, bathed in blood, and having our bodies cleft with arrows marked with the name of Rama. And we shall give out that both Rama and Lakshmana have been eaten up by us. And then we shall hold thy feet, saying,—'Do thou gratify us.' Then, king, do thou through Gajaskandha publish it all round that Rama hath been slain along with his brother and the army. And, O repressor of foes, (pretending to be) well pleased, do thou dispense-viands, and servants, and objects of enjoyments, and wealth unto thy retainers; and unto the many heroes and warriors distribute wreaths and attires and unguents. And do thou (simulating) delight, drink. And on this report-name that Rama hath been eaten up by the Rakshasas along with his friends,-having spread round and round and entering (the acoka wood), and soothing and pacifying Sita in solitude, allure her with corn and riches and gems. By this deceit, O king, working powerfully through Sita's sorrow, she, albeit unwilling, shall, having lost her lord, come under thy control. Losing her charming husband, she from despair and female frailty, shall come under thy sway. Having formerly been brought up in happiness, she, although worthy of felicity, (ultimately) had come by misfortune. And now finding happiness to be in thy custody, she shall unreservedly come over to thee. In my opinion this is the properest course to follow. As soon as thou seest Rama, evil shall befall thee. Remain here. Do not wish (to go to the field). By refraining from fight, thou shalt acquire great good. And, O lord of people, by conquering the foe without battle, thou without losing thy forces and putting thyself to peril, thou, O lord of earth, shalt attain fame and high religious merit, and prosperity and renown for ever and for ever.

SECTION 65.

Thus addressed, Kumbhakarna rebuking Mahodara, said unto that foremost of Rakshasa-his brother-Ravana, 'Even I shall remove thy great fear by slaying the wickedminded Rama. On thy foe having been slain, attain thou ease. It is not for naught that the heroes roar, like unto clouds containing no rain. Behold thou their roaring resulting in action in the field! Heroes do not vaunt; but without boasting of their prowess in speech, they perform feats difficult of being achieved. O Mahodara, what thou sayest is ever acceptable only to kings that are incompetent, and foolish, pluming themselves on their knowledge. All the affairs of the monarch have been wrecked by you-cravens in fight,-sleektongued,-following the king (fawning) ye have made Lanka contain only the king, the treasury is lean; and the forces have been slain. By the king ye have done like foes in the guise of friends. For repairing in mighty conflict the wrong that ye have perpetrated. I am about to set out for battle for routing the enemy". Thus addressed by the intelligent Kumbhakarna, the lord of Rakshasas, laughing answered,—"Sure this Mahodara is affrighted at Rama. And therefore, my child, O thou versed in warfare, he doth not relish battle. Like thee have I none either in friendship or strength. Therefore, O Kumbhakarna, go for destroying the foe and securing celebrity. I have waked thee up that wast lying down, in order that thou mightst destroy the enemy. O subduer of foes, perilous is the time for the Rakshasas. Go forth, grasping thy spear, like the noose-handed Destroyer himself. Do thou devour up the monkeys as well as the princes possessed of the energy of the Sun himself. On seeing thy form, the monkeys shall flee away; and the breasts of Rama and Lakshmana shall be riven". Having spoken thus unto Kumbhakarna endowed with prodigious might, that foremost of Rakshasas—the exceedingly energetic Ravana-felt as if he had received life over again. And well acquainted with Kumbhakarna's might, and knowing his prowess, the king felt delighted, like the cloudless Moon. Having been thus accosted, that highly powerful one, went out cheerfully. And hearing the king's speech, he made ready for fight. And he took a whetted dart. destructive to foes on account of its impetuous vehemence; entirely made of black iron; flaming; decorated with garniture, of shining gold; looking like Indra's acani; ponderous as the thunder-bolt; capable of destroying gods and Danavas, Gandharvas, Yakshas and Pannagas; adorned with festoons of crimson flowers; and belching forth flames. And taking that huge dart decked with the blood of foes; the wondrous energetic Kumbhakarna spoke unto Ravana, saying,—"I shall go alone: let this mighty host remain here. To-day hungry and enraged, I shall devour up the monkeys. Hearing Kumbhakarna's words, Ravana said,-"Go thou, surrounded by the forces bearing darts and maces in their hands. The monkeys are high-souled, heroic and well-skilled in battle; and if they find thee alone or unwary, they may slay thee with their teeth. Therefore do thou exceedingly irrisistible, go, environed by the forces; and destroy the entire party of the foes, who are bent upon doing harm unto the Rakshas". Then starting up from his seat, the exceedingly energetic Ravana hung on Kumbhakarna's neck a wreath stringed with gems in the centre. And Ravana also decked that high-souled one with angadas, and finger-fences, and noble ornaments, and a chain resembling the Moon. And Ravana adorned his person with garlands gorgeous and fragrant, and set ear-rings to his ears. And adorned with golden angadas and Keyuras and other ornaments of gold, the large-eared Kumbhakarna appeared like a fire fed full of sacrificial libations. And with his great dark girdle he seemed like the Mandara fastened by the serpent on the occasion of the churning of the sea. And donning on his impenetrable golden mail, splendid like lightning, and shining in its own brilliance, Kumbhakarna appeared like the monarch of mountains enveloped with evening clouds. Having all his limbs adorned with ornaments and bearing a dart in his hand, the Rakshasa resembled Narayana in elation of spirits, when he covered heaven and earth and the nether regions with three paces. And then embracing his brother and going round him and bowing down the head unto him, that exceedingly powerful one went out. And Ravana sent him with choice benedictions,-while he caused kettle-drums and conchs to be sounded and forces equipped with excellent weapons, to accompany Kumbhakarna. And high-souled mighty warriors followed that foremost of heroes with elephants and steeds and chariots sending out rattle resembling the rumbling of thunder. And mounting serpents and camels and asses and lions and leopards and deer and birds, (Rakshasas) followed the grim Kumbhakarna endowed with tremendous strength. And strewn with blossoms, and, with an umbrella held over him. that exceedingly terrible enemy of the Deities and the Danavas, wielding a dart in his hand,-went out, maddened with the smell of blood. And countless footmen wondrous powerful and mighty and dreadful and fierce-sighted Rakshasas, carrying weapons in their hands, went in his wake. The Rakshas measuring each many a vyama and red-eyed, and resembling masses of dark-blue collyrium,-went out upraising darts and swords and sharpened axes and bhindipalas and parighas and maces and huge talaskandhas and irrisistible Kshapanis. And the exceedingly energetic Kumbhakarna endowed with prodigious strength sallied forth, assuming another form terrific and dreadful to behold And the gigantic huge-faced and fierce Kumbhakarna, measuring an hundred bows in breadth and six hundred in altitude, having eyes resembling car-wheels, and resembling a towering hill, or a mountain burnt,-marshalling the Rakshas, said with a complacent countenance,-"Like fire consuming insects, shall I to-day, wrought up with wroth, burn up one by one the bands of the flower of the monkeyforces. But the wood-ranging monkeys have not transgressed anywise unto the like of us. That species is the ornament of the gardens attached to our residences. The cause of the seige of the city is Raghava along with Lakshmana. He being slain, all are slain. Therefore shall I slay him in battle". As the Raksha—Kumbhakarna—was speaking thus, the Rakshasas sent up terrific shouts, as if making the very sea shake. As the intelligent Kumbhakarna sallied out speedily, dreadful were the omens that presented themselves on all sides. Clouds containing meteors and lightning looked dark like asses. And the earth shook with her oceans and woods. And fierce jackals began to cry, opening their flaming mouths. And birds began to wheel at the left. And as he marched a vulture alighted on

his dart. And his left eve throbbed and his left arm shook. And a meteor dropped down with a tremendous crash. And the sun was bedimmed, and the air did not blow, enhancing pleasure. But without heeding these mighty omens that took place, capabale of making people's down stand on end, Kumbhakarna went out, urged on by the force of the Finisher. And leaping over the wall with his legs, that one resembling a mountain saw the wonderful array of the monkeys. resembling clouds. And seeing that foremost of Rakshasas resembling a hill, the monkeys began to disperse in all the ten cardinal directions like clouds driven by the wind. And seeing that terrific host of monkeys scattering in all directions, like clouds broken through (by winds), Kumbhakarna possessed of the splendour of clouds, from joy, emitted roars like clouds. Hearing those terrible shouts like unto the roaring of clouds in the welkin, innumerable monkeys dropped to the earth even as sala trees that have their roots severed. And issuing forth for destroying the foe, the high-souled Kumbhakarna, equipped with a tremendous bludgeon, struck extreme terror into the monkey-ranks, like unto the Lord armed with the Fatal rod at the Universal wreck

SECTION 66.

Having leapt over the wall, the exceedingly powerful and gigantic Kumbhakarna resembling a mountain-summit, speedily went out of the city. And then he sent up a mighty shout making the sea resound, and as if drowning the roar of the thunder and riving mountains. And seeing that fierce-eyed one, incapable of being vanquished by Maghavan or Varuna or Yama, the monkeys began to fly away. And seeing them scamper, the king's son-Angada-said unto Nala and Nila and Gavaksha and the mighty Kumuda,-"Forgetting your lineage and prowess, whither do ye, exercised with fear, fly like inferior monkeys? Ye amiable ones, desist. Why should ve save yourselves? This Raksha doth not come to fight, -this is only a great phenomenon to affright. We shall by our vigor destroy this fearful phenomenon of the Rakshasas that hath presented itself. Therefore, let the monkeys desist. Cheered with much ado, the monkeys rallying, took up trees and advanced to the field of fight. And ceasing from flight, the wood-rangers waxing enraged, began to assail Kumbhakarna, like unto elephants in rut. And the exceedingly strong Kumbhakarna, attacked with towering mountain-peaks and crags and trees with flowering top, did not shake. And countless crags descending on his person, were shattered; and trees with flowering tops, being broken, fell down to the earth. And incapable of containing himself (through rage), Kumbhakarna on his part fell to agitating the ranks of the powerful monkeys, even as a fire breaking out burneth down a forest. And many a prime monkey, crimsoned and drenched (with blood) lay down (on the ground); and many, resisted dropped to the earth, like trees bearing coppery flowers. And without looking before or after, the monkeys bounded and rushed. And on being attacked by the Rakshasa with ease some of those heroes dropped into the deep, and some entered the wilderness. And some ran by the same way by which they had crossed the ocean; and some with pale faces darted into downs. And some of the bears ascended up trees, and some took shelter in mountains. And others dropped down; and some ran on. And some fell down to the earth, and some lay insensible as if dead. Seeing the monkeys break down, Angada addressed them, saying,—"Stay we shall fight. Desist, ye monkeys. Going round this Earth place find I none where ye may rest. Stop ye all. What is the need of preserving your lives. Ye poltroons, if ye fly away leaving your arms behind, your wives shall deride you; and that is more painful to honourable persons than death itself. Born in long and noble lines, whither go ye, suffering from fear, like abject monkeys? When renouncing your prowess, ye fly away in fear, forsooth ye are base. Where now is gone that talk of yours anent your nobility and the welfare (of your king) which you had held in society. He that liveth, despised (of all), hear the reproach of being a craven. Therefore do ye follow the way frequented by the worthy, and cast off fear. We will either lie down on the earth, being slain in consequence of our shortness of days, and thus attain the region of Brahma incapable of being attained by dastards; or achieve renown by slaying the foe in fight and slain in battle, we shall enjoy the wealth of the region of heroes. Like an insect coming to a glowing and flaming fire, Kumbhakarna, seeing Kakutstha, shall not away hence living. If we save our lives by flight, and if the many are brought down by one, we shall lose our fame utterly". As Angada decked in golden angadas was saying this, the monkeys, flying away spake onto that hero words not worthy of being spoken unto an hero,-"Great is the havoc that the Raksh Kumbhakarna—hath spread amongst us. 'Tis not the time to stay: life is dear unto us". Having said this the monkey-bands darted to the ten cardinal points; as they saw that dreadful and grim-eyed one approach. And as those flower of the forces were on the flight, those heroes were made to desist by Angada with words of comfort and hope pointing to the future. On being cheered by the intelligent son of Vali, all the monkey-bands stood expecting his commands.

SECTION 67.

And having desisted on hearing the words of Angada, those huge-bodied ones, regaining calmness, became (again) intent on fight. And attaining energy at the exhortation (of Angada), and summoning up their prowess, they stayed in the field agreeably to the words of the powerful Angada. And inspired with spirits, the monkeys, determined to face their fate, rushed into the conflict, and, casting away all care for their lives, entered into a furious fight (with the foe). And speedily upraising trees and gigantic crags, the huge-bodied monkeys charged Kumbhakarna. Thereat the mighty Kumbhakarna possessed of a prodigious person waxing wroth, taking up his mace let the same alight on the enemies. And attacked by Kumbhakarna, seven, eight hundreds and thousands of monkeys measure their lengths on the earth. And casting about his arms, he rusheth on, devouring sixteen, eight, ten, twenty or thirty. And he devoured (the monkeys) like Garuda swallowing up serpents. And then cheered up with much ado, the monkeys meeting together, and taking trees and rocks in their hands, stood their ground in the van of battle. Then uprooting a crag, Dwivida—foremost of monkeysresembling an extended mass of clouds rushed against (Kumbhakarna) having the aspect of a mountain-summit. And uprooting it, the monkey hurled it at Kumbhakarna. And without descending on him, the crag fell down amidst the army, and smashed steeds and elephants and cans and choice chargers. And then taking another mountain top, Dwivida hurled it at other Rakshas. And smit with the impetus of the peak, Kumbhakarna had his chargers and his charioteers slain; and the terrific field overflowed with the blood of Rakshas. And Rakshasa car-warriors by means of arrows resembling the Destroyer himself, cut off the heads of the foremost monkeys who had been setting up roars. And the high-souled monkeys also, uprooting giants trees, destroyed cars and horses and elephants and camels and Rakshasas.—And remaining in the sky, Hanuman discharged at Kumbhakarna's head mountain-peaks and rocks and various trees. And all those mountain-tops he cut off with his dart; and the mighty Kumbhakarna also baffled the shower of trees.—Then grasping his sharpened spear, Kumbhakarna darted against that terrific array of monkeys. And as he charged them, Hanuman armed with a mountain-peak, stood before him. And waxing enraged (Hanuman) vehemently smote Kumbhakarna with a gigantic crag. And overpowered by that, Kumbhakarna experienced great torments, and his body was covered with fat and blood. And then as Guha had pierced Krauncha with his fierce dart, Kumbhakarna the mountainlike smote the Wind-god's son in the chest with his dart resembling lightning or like a glowing mountain-summit. And having his mighty chest pierced in the mighty encounter, Hanuman, overwhelmed, and vomitting blood,-transported with wrath, set up roars resembling the roaring of the clouds at the universal disruption. And then, beholding him in torments, the Rakshas suddenly rejoiced, emitted shouts; and the monkeys aggrieved and overcome with fright, began to fly Kumbhakarna in battle. And then the powerful Nila, arranging his forces, discharged a mountain-peak at the intelligent Kumbhakarna. And seeing it descend, he dealt it a blow; and struck by the blow, the mountain-top was shattered in pieces; and dropped to the earth glowing and shooting living flames. And then Rishabha and Sarabha and Nila and Gayaksha and Gandhamadana—these five terrific monkeysrushed against Kumbhakarna. And in the encounter those mighty monkeys began to sorely assail the huge-bodied Kumbhakarna with crags and trees and slaps and kicks and blows. But those blows seemed to him like touches and did not at all pain him. Then he fastened the vehement Rishabha with his arms. And agonised on being fastened with Kumbhakarna's arms, that foremost of monkeys, the dreadful Rishabha, fell down to the earth, vomitting blood by his mouth. And then the enemy of Indra smit, Sarabha with blow, and Nila, in the conflict with his thigh, struck a slap at Gavaksha. And suffering great pain in consequence of the blows (dealt by Kumbhakarna those monkeys), deprived of their senses and bathed in blood, dropped down to the earth like Kincukas that have been cut down. And on those highsouled and mighty monkeys falling down, thousands of monkeys rushed at Kumbhakarna. And ascending a mountain-summit, those foremost of monkeys, possessed of the splendour of a mountain-peak, sprang upon him and tore him with their teeth. And those foremost of monkeys attacked the long-armed Kumbhakarna with their claws and teeth and blows and arms. And then with thousands of monkeys on him that extraordinary one that fearful Rakshasa-resembling a hill,-looked like a mountain with trees on it. And like Garuda eating up serpents, that wondrous strong one, wrought up with rage, devoured those monkeys, seizing them with his arms. And cast by Kumbhakarna into his mouth resembling the nether regions the monkeys emerged from his nose and ears. And eating up the monkeys, that foremost of Rakshasas resembling a hill, growing wroth, and fired with rage, began to break the monkeys down.—And transported with passion, that Rakshasa, making the earth miry with flesh and blood, spread among the monkey-ranks like unto the fire

at the a time of the Universal dissolution. And in that encounter. Kumbhakarna armed with his dart in his hand. resembled the thunder-handed Sakra, or the noose-handed Destroyer himself. And as a conflagration [Or fire.] burneth up a withered forest in the summer, Kumbhakarna burnt that host of the monkeys. And thus beaten (by Kumbhakarna), those monkeys, with their ranks destroyed, the monkeys. racked with anxiety, began to cry in unnatural tones. And having innumerable monkeys slain by Kumbhakarna, the monkeys, aggrieved and their hearts riven with sorrow, sought the shelter of Raghava. Seeing the monkeys broken in the terrific encounter, the son of the thunder-handed [Indra.], darted impetuously against Kumbhakarna. And taking up a mighty crag, he momentarily setting up roars, and thereby terrorizing all the Rakshasas—followers of Kumbhakarna, he discharged the mountain-peak right against Kumbhakarna's crown.—And struck with that mountain-peak, Indra's enemy-Kumbhakarna-flamed up in fierce wrath. And the loud-throated Kumbhakarna, terrifying all the monkeys vehemently darted against the enraged son of Vali; and then that wondrous strong one hurled his dart at Angada. And as the dart descended, that foremost of monkeys endowed with strength, and skilled in battle, evaded the weapon from his fleetness. And then swiftly springing up, he slapped (his antagonist) in the chest. And thereat that one resembling a hill, lost his senses. And recovering his senses, that exceedingly strong Rakshasa, dealt a blow at Angada; and the latter dropped down senseless. And on that powerful monkey falling down insensible, Kumbhakarna, taking his dart, rushed against Sugriva. And seeing the exceeding stout Kumbhakarna approach, the heroic king of monkeys-Sugriva-sprang up; and taking a mountain-top that one possessed of great strength darted against the mighty Kumbhakarna. And seeing that monkey, Kumbhakarna, stretching his limbs, stood before the lord of monkeys. And seeing Kumbhakarna, with his body laved in the blood of monkeys; and eating up mighty monkeys, Sugriva addressed him, saying,-"Thou hast felled heroes done deeds difficult of being performed, and hast devoured the warriors; and thou hast thus attained renown. But let go now the monkey-army. What shalt thou do with the ignoble? Do thou, O Rakshasa bear the descent of this mountain". Hearing those words of the monkey-king instinct with strength and fortitude, that terrible Rakshasa-Kumbhakarna-said,-"O monkey, thou stormest, because thou art the grandson of Prajapati [Rikskarajas-the father of Sugriva, was produced from the yawning of Prajapati or Brahma.] and the son of the king of bears: and because as such thou art endowed with fortifude and prowess". Hearing Kumbhakarna's speech, Sugriva whirling that mountain-peak, suddenly let it go; and with that rock resembling Vajra or the thunder-bolt, smote Kumbhakarna in the chest. And on coming in contact with his wide breast, that mountain-peak was at once shattered in shivers. And thereat the monkeys grew dispirited and the Rakshasa's ranks shouted in joy. And struck with the mountain-summit, Kumbhakarna was fired with wrath; and roared, expending his face. And then, whirling his dart resembling lightning displayed, he hurled it for compassing the destruction of the master of monkeys. Then swiftly bounding up, the Wind-god's son, resisting that whetted dart fastened with golden chains,-with his hands violently snapped it in twain. And placing the same on his thighs. (Hanuman) snapped that ponderous and terrible dart composed of black iron, and thereat the monkeys waxed delighted. And seeing the dart severed by Hanuman, the monkey-army, growing delighted, set up countless shouts and rushed in all directions. And the Rakshasa was seized with fear and turned away (from the field.) And the monkeys excessively delighted, set up loud shouts, and finding the dart broken, poured forth thanks to the Wind-god's son. Then the mighty-minded lord of Rakshasas seeing the dart thus severed, uprooted a peak from the Malaya and with it smote Sugriva. The king of monkeys struck with the mountain-peak fell senseless upon the field, and the demons finding him in this plight shouted out in great joy. Then Kumbhakarna coming to the wonderfully mighty master of monkeys, took him up and stole away from the field, as a violent gust of wind stealeth away a patch of cloud. Kumbhakarna, who resembled a mountain in loftiness of stature, while taking him away like a mass of cloud appeared like Sumeru overtopped with lofty peaks. Thus the lord of Rakshasas went on hearing thanks (from the Rakshasas) and shouts from the lords of the heavens wondered at the capture of the foremost of monkeys. Thus taking him captive, that mighty one resembling Indra in puissance, thought his death would destroy the entire host of the opponents together with Raghava. Then Hanuman, the shrewd son of Maruta, finding the whole host of monkeys scattered in all directions, as well as Sugriva captured by Kumbhakarna bethought himself—"What ought to be done by me now that our king has been captured? I will doubtless do as befits me now-let me assume the shape of a mountain and kill the Rakshasas. Let me kill the mighty Kumbhakarna, splitting his body with my strong fist and thus relieve the master of monkeys-thus let the whole host of monkeys

become delighted. Or, even when captured by the whole host of gods or Asuras or serpents he is mighty enough to extricate himself. Meseems, the lord of monkeys struck with dart in battle by Kumbhakarna has not yet recovered his senses. Else in a moment he would do the needful for himself as well as the monkeys. Should the relief of the mighty-minded Sugriva come from me, I should be incurring his displeasure and it would certainly lead to the loss of his reputation for ever; then I must wait a moment and see his own might displayed by himself when relieved. Meanwhile let me cheer up the monkeyhost". Thinking thus within himself, Hanuman, that son of Maruta, began to stay the mighty host of monkeys. In the meantime Kumbhakarna entered Lanka with Sugrira trembling, being honoured with the showering of beautiful flowers from the sky, the buildings on the main roads and the town-gate. Then the mighty one (Sugriva) slowly recovered his senses with the shower of fried paddy and sweet scent and the sprinkling of water as well as with the coolness of the streets. Then that mighty-minded (Sugriva), caught in the arms of the powerful Rakshasa, having with difficulty come to his senses and surveying around him the streets of the town bethought himself:—"When thus within the grasp of the enemy how can I take revenge? Or let me do what will be acceptable and advantageous to our army". Then advancing all on a sudden, he with his nails and sharp teeth cut off the ears and nose of that lord of the enemies of the gods and split both his sides with the blow of his feet. And Kumbhakarna losing his ears and nose and having his sides split with nails and teeth grew angry, and becoming all covered over with blood, threw Sugriva to the ground and pressed him. Thus pressed upon the ground with main force and severely struck by the enemies of gods, he flew to the skies like a ball-rolling, and once more joined Rama. The mighty Kumbhakarna having lost his nose and ears and drenched in blood, appeared like a mountain covered all over with streamlets. That hugebodied Rakshasa, younger brother of Ravana, terrible in appearance, resembling a mass of deep black collyrium, and covered all over with blood, appeared like an evening cloud; and (once more) made up his mind to appear in battle. Sugriva having thus escaped, that dreadful enemy of the king of the celestials in wrath again rushed to battle; and finding himself destitute of arms took up a fearful mace. And then that mighty-minded one, the Raksha Kumbhakarna, issuing out of the city began to devour the terrific host of monkeys, as doth the mighty fire eat up people at the end of a Yuga. On entering the mighty host of monkeys, the hungry Kumbhakarna, hankering after flesh and blood, ate up the monkeys and with them devoured many a Rakshasa and Pisacha by mistake. Thus, as Death devoureth creatures at the end of a Yuga, he destroyed the mighty monkeys. And he in wrath, taking up with one hand the monkeys along with the Rakshasas, hurriedly threw them into his mouth, -one, two three, or many at a time. And blood and fat flowed copiously down his body; and though struck by the monkeys with peaks of mountains, the mighty one devoured all those monkeys. And the monkeys as they were being devoured, saught the shelter of Rama. And Kumbhakarna wrought up with wrath, chased amain hundreds of monkeys, eating up seven, eight, twenty, or thirty. And fastening (the monkeys) with his arms, he, devouring them, rushed on. And resembling the Destroyer of prodigious dimensions at the end of a Yuga, that one furnished with extremely sharp teeth, having his body covered with fat, marrow and blood, and coiling entrails about his ears, began to discharge darts. And at this moment, that subduer of hostile hosts and captor of the capitals of foes-Sumitra's son-Lakshmana, growing enraged, entered on an encounter with the enemy. And Lakshmana endued with prowess shot seven shafts at Kumbhakarna's body; and next, taking up other arrows also discharged them (at his antagonist). And thereat that Rakshasa, smarting under the wounds inflicted by that weapon, cut it off (by means of a weapon). Thereupon grew enraged the powerful Lakshmana—enhancer of Sumitra's joy. And then as the wind overspreadeth evening clouds, he with his shafts covered Kumbhakarna's shining and graceful mail entirely made of gold. And smit with arrows dight with gold, that one resembling a mass of dark-blue collyrium appeared beautiful like the ray-furnished Sun surrounded by clouds. Then that dreadful Rakshasa voiced like masses of clouds, scornfully addressed the enhancer of Sumitra's felicity, saying,-"By dauntlessly fighting with me, who have without ado brought down the Destroyer himself in battle, thou hast established thy heroism. Even by staying before me, who am equipped with arms in this encounter, and who in mighty conflict resemble Death himself, thou deservest to be honoured. What shall I say of thy fighting? Not even that lord-Sakra himself-mounted on his Airavata, and engirt by all the immortals.—had ever before staved before me in the field. But to-day, O Sumitra's son, albeit a boy, thou hast gratified me with thy prowess. Now taking thy leave, I wish to go to Raghava. And as I have been well pleased in battle with thy vigour and strength and enthusiasm, I now wish to slay Rama alone, who being slain, all are slain. On Rama being here slain by me, the rest remaining in the encounter-them shall I undertake with my all-crushing vigour". When that Raksha had spoken thus. (Lakshmana): Sumitra's son, present in that contest, answered him laughing in terrible words, saying,-'That thy prowess is incapable of being borne by Sakra and other celestials,—is true. It is not otherwise, O hero. To-day I myself have witnessed thy prowess. Yonder is Dacaratha's son-Rama-staying like a moveless mountain". Hearing this, that night-ranger — Kumhhakarna — possessed of immense might, disregarding Lakshmana and passing beyond Sumitra's son, rushed against Rama, making the earth tremble. Thereat Dacaratha's son, Rama, employing a terrific weapon, discharged sharpened shafts at Kumbhakarna's breast. Thereat flames mixed with live embers shot out from the mouth of that enraged one suddenly rushing (against Rama).—as Rama pierced him (with his arrows). And on being frightfully pierced by Rama's weapons, that foremost of Rakshasas, roaring wrathfully darted against Rama, and pursued the monkeys in the conflict. And those shafts adorned with peacock's plumes, alighting on (Kumbhakarna's) chest, his mace, escaping his hand, dropped to the earth; and all his (other) arms also were scattered on the ground. And when that exceedingly powerful one saw himself deprived of all his arms, he began to spread a huge havoc by means of his clenched fists and hands. And with his body entirely covered with arrows and bathed in blood, he began to bleed like a hill overflowing with fountains. And fired with wrath and maddened with blood, he rusheth on, devouring monkeys and Rakshasas and bears. And that redoubtable one possessed of dreadful prowess, resembling the Reaper himself, whirling a mighty mountain-peak, hurled it aiming at Rama. Thereat Bharata's elder brother, the righteous Rama, ere that prodigious peak had alighted, severed the same by means of seven straight-speeding shafts wrought with gold. Intent on finishing Kumbhakarna, the virtuous Lakshmana, revolving many a means, (at last) spoke unto Rama,—"O king, this one knoweth not monkeys and Rakshasas,-maddened with the smell of blood, he eateth up his own as well as his enemies. Now let the foremost monkeys, putting forth their best, mount on him; and let the leaders of bands according to their rank, stand surrounding him. And then to-day this wickedminded Rakshasa, oppressed with a mighty weight, will no longer be able to eat up any more monkeys". Hearing the words of the intelligent prince, those exceedingly powerful monkeys with alacrity ascended Kumbhakarna. And Kumbhakarna mounted by those monkeys, waxing exceedingly enraged, shook them vehemently, even as mad elephants shake the drivers thereof. And Raghava seeing them shaken, and concluding the Rakshasa to be wroth, furiously sprang forward, taking his bow. And with his eyes crimsoned with choler, the gentle Raghava, as if burning up the Rakshasa with his eyes, rushed forth vehemently, summoning up all his impetuosity, thereby cheering up the leaders of bands that had been sore tried by the might of Kumbhakarna. And equipped with an excellent quiver and arrows. Rama cheering up the monkeys sprang forward, taking a bow, resembling a serpent; terrific; having a stout string; and embellished in gold. Then surrounded by exceedingly invincible monkey-bands, that highly powerful hero, followed by Lakshmana, marched forth. And he saw the redoubtable and high-souled Kumbhakarna, with his body drenched in blood, and with blood-shot eyes; rushing against all, like unto an infuriated elephant of the cardinal points; pursuing the monkeys; wrought up with wrath; environed by Rakshasas; appearing like the Vindhya or the Mandara; decked with golden angadas; bleeding from his mouth; like clouds pouring showers; licking at the corners of his mouth laved with blood; smashing the monkey-ranks; and resembling Yama the Destroyer. And that best of persons, seeing that foremost of Rakshasas having the splendour of a living fire, stretched his bow to its full bent. And fired with wrath at the twang of his bow, that foremost of Rakshasas, inflamed with wrath,-not brooking that report, rushed against Raghava. Thereat, the gentle Rama, endowed with arms resembling the body of the sovereign of serpents, in that encounter addressed Kumbhakarna, like unto an elevated cloud and possessed of the splendour of a mountain.—as he darted forward, saying,-"Come, O king of Rakshas! Let no grief be thine! Here I stay, taking my bow in my hand. Know me for the destroyer of the race of the Rakshasas-thou who in a moment shalt be deprived of thy senses". Knowing that this was Rama, (Kumbhakarna) laughed in frightful accents; and then, wrought up with wrath, rushed against the monkeys in the encounter. And as if riving the breasts of all the monkeys (present), the exceedingly energetic Kumbhakarna, laughing frightfully and in a terrific manner,-resembling the rumbling of clouds, addressed Raghava, saying,-"Take me not for Viradha, or for Kavandha, or yet for Khara. I am not Vali or Maricha. I am Kumbhakarna, that am come. Behold my dreadful and mighty mace entirely made of iron. By help of this I had formerly brought down deities and Danavas. It doth not behove thee to scorn me in that my nose hath been severed. I do not feel any the smallest torment in consequence of my ears and nose having been cut off. O tiger of the Ikshwaku line, O sinless one, do thou witness the prowess that is in my frame. And thereafter, when thou shalt have displayed thy prowess and power, shall I devour thee up". Hearing Kumbhakarna's words, Rama discharged (at him) shafts furnished with knobs. And smit with these having the impetus of the thunder-bolt, the foe of the celestials did not feel any pain or smart. And those shafts which had severed the seven stately salas, and, to boot, had slain Vali-best of monkeys,—they resembling the thunder itself-could not impart any pain to Kumbhakarna's body. And drinking up in his body those arrows resembling a shower, the enemy of the great Indra whirling his mace possessed of fierce vehemence, put out the arrowy discharge of Rama. Then that Raksha whirling his mace washed in blood, capable of striking terror into the mighty hosts of gods and Danavas, and possessed of fierce impetus.—made the monkeyarmy take to its heels. Then Rama, taking a mighty Vayavya weapon, used the same against the night-ranger; and cut off his arm with the mace. And having his arm cut off, he set up tremendous roars. And his arm with the mace, resembling a mountain-peak, cut off by Raghava's arrows, fell in the midst of the army of the monkey-king, and destroyed that army. Thereat the monkeys remaining after those broken and slain,-dispirited, and having their limbs wounded,moving aside, looked on the dreadful encounter between the Raksha and the lord of men. And then Kumbhakarna, having his arm severed, resembling the foremost of mountains with its crest hewn away by a mighty sabre, tore up a tree with his (remaining) arm and in the conflict rushed against the monarch of men. Thereupon with a shaft plated in gold, set upon a weapon of Indra, Rama cut off his uplifted arm with a palm tree, looking like the body of a pannaga. And that arm of Kumbhakarna, being severed, dropped inert on the earth, like a hill, and crushed trees and rocks and crags and monkeys and Rakshasas. And Rama, seeing that one shorn of his arms suddenly spring up, roaring,—took up two whetted crescents, and in the contest cut off the legs of the Rakshasa. And thereupon those legs (of his), making all sides and quarters and rocks and caves and the mighty main and Lanka herself and the army of the monkeys and the Rakshasas, resound,-dropped down (on the ground). And having his arms cut off and his legs also severed, (Kumbhakarna), opening wide his mouth resembling in sheen the mouth of a mare, roaring swiftly darted against Raghava,-even as Rahu pursueth the Moon in the firmament. Then Rama stuffed his mouth full of sharpened shafts having their feathered parts furnished with gold. And having his mouth filled; he could not articulate; but with extreme effort uttered indistinct accents and swooned away. Then Rama took an arrow of Indra,—whetted and knobbed, impetuous as the wind, resembling the effulgence of the Sun, and like unto the very banner of Brahma, or the Destroyer himself; and fatal to foes And then Rama hurled it at the ranger of the night. And thereat that weapon hurled by Rama's arm, resembling a smokeless flame, lighting up the ten cardinal points with its own glory,—saught him that was possessed of the dreadful energy of Sakra's thunder-bolt. And therewith he (Rama) cut off the head of the lord of Rakshas resembling a mountainsummit, furnished with prominent teeth,-from which the ear-rings had fallen off,-even as formerly Purandara had cut off the head of Vritra. And then Kumbhakarna's huge head deprived of the ear-rings appeared like the Moon seated in the midst (of the heavens) on the rising of the Sun in the morning. And struck with Rama's arrow, the head of the Raksha resembling a hill fell down to the earth; and (in its fall) crushed edifices on the highways and gateways; and elevated walls also it bore down to the ground. And then that Raksha of gigantic proportions and vast to the view plunged into the deep; and crushing huge and mighty fishes and serpents, saught the depths. And on that enemy of the Brahmanas and gods, endowed with immense strength, -having been slain in battle, the earth shook and the mountains also; and from excess of joy the celestials shouted aloud. And those deities and saints and Maharshis and Pannagas, and celestials and (other) beings and birds and Guhyakas, together with Yakshas and Gandharvas,-all these who had stationed themselves in the welkin.—were rejoiced at the prowess of Rama. And at his (Kumbhakarna's) great destruction, the intelligent adherents of the king of Nairitas,-aggrieved exceedingly, began to cry at the sight of that best of the Raghus, even as mad elephants cry at sight of a lion. And like unto the Sun emerged from the mouth of Rahu, and destroying the darkness of the celestial fields.—shone Rama in the midst of the monkey-army having slain Kumbhakarna in battle. And countless monkeys experienced the very height of delight; and on (their) foe of terrific strength having been slain, they with countenances resembling awaked lotuses paid homage unto the king's son-Raghava-the sharer of good fortune. And as the monarch of the immortals had rejoiced on slaving the mighty Asura—Vritra—Bharata's elder brother rejoiced on having in battle slain that smiter of celestial hosts, Kumbhakarna in mighty conflict, never (before) vanquished in renowned encounters

SECTION 68

Seeing Kumbhakarna slain by the high-souled Raghava, the Rakshasas conveyed the tidings to the lord of the Rakshasas-Ravana; (and addressed him, saying), "O king, that one resembling the Destroyer himself, urged on by Death,-having scoured the monkey-army and eaten up monkeys,—and for a while displayed his prowess, hath met with his quietus at the hands of Rama exerting his energy. And with half his body immersed in the dreadful deep, thy brother, Kumbhakarna, with his nose and ears cut off, and blood besmearing his body,—with his head and limbs hewn away, and his body uncovered,—mountain-like blocketh up the gate of Lanka with his person,-and resembleth a tree that hath been consumed by a forest-fire". Hearing the mighty Kumbhakarna slain in battle, Ravana burning in grief, swooned away and dropped to the earth. And hearing their uncle slain, Triciras [Three-headed.] and Atikaya-destroyers of gods and men,—began to weep, oppressed with sorrow. And Mahodara [Huge-bellied.] and Mahaparcwa [Mightyflanked.] hearing of their uncle slain by Rama of untiring deeds, were overcome with grief. Then regaining his senses with extreme exertion, that foremost of Rakshasas, distressed in consequence of the destruction of Kumbhakarna, mourned with his senses overwhelmed, saying, -"O hero! O humbler of the pride of the foe! O mighty Kumbhakarna! Leaving me, thou through Destiny, hast gone to the abode of Yama. O exceedingly powerful one, leaving me (lone) whither dost thou wend, without extracting my dart as well as that of thy friends? Now really I am not, inasmuch as my right arm hath dropped. Backed by this one, I would not fear celestials and Asuras. How to-day forsooth hath such a hero—crusher of the hauteur of gods and Danavas—resembling the Fire arisen at the hour of universal wreck.—been slain in fight by Raghava? He who could not be harmed by the concussion of the thunder-bolt itself-how can he, smitten with Rama's arrows, sleep soundly on the earth? These gods stationed in the sky along with the saints,—beholding thee slain in battle, are shouting in glee. Surely to-day the monkeys overjoyed,finding occasion, will scale all the gateways and fortifications of Lanka. I have nothing to do with empire. And what shall I do with Sita? And deprived of Kumbhakarna, I do not even wish to live. If I do not slav in encounter that slaver of my brother-Raghava,-certainly death is even that which is good for me, -otherwise, this life is useless. This very day will I repair to that place where my younger brother is Forsaking my brother, I forsooth dare not live for a moment; for the gods shall laugh on seeing me, who had formerly wronged them. But, how, O Kumbhakarna, thou having been slain, shall I conquer Indra? Now the beneficial words of Bibhishana have been verified. And as through blindness I did not accept the advice of that high-souled one, Kumbhakarna and of Prahasta, this disaster arisen, shameth me sore. And as I had disgraced the virtuous and graceful Bibhishana, this peril producing grief, hath been the consequence of my conduct". Having thus piteously and long lamented Kumbhakarna, the Ten-necked one, with his inmost soul overwhelmed with sorrow, and sore distressed in consequence of grief,-fell down, knowing his brother-the enemy of Indra-slain in battle.

SECTION 69.

Hearing the lamentations of the wicked-minded Ravana, overwhelmed with grief, Triciras addressed him, saying,-Sire, this second uncle unto us possessed of mighty prowess hath forsooth been slain in fight. But, O king, heroes never indulge in grief as thou doest O lord, thou certainly alone art competent to conquer the triple world. Wherefore then dost thou vent such sorrow like an ignoble one? Thou hast thy dart conferred on thee by Brahma; and thy mail and thy weaponthe bow-and thy car yoked with a thousand asses, sending forth clatter resembling the rumbling of clouds. The deities and the Danavas have by means of thy arms been terrified over and over again. And furnished with all arms, thou ought to chastise Raghava. But stay at thy pleasure, O mighty sovereign, I will go out to battle; and even as Garuda captureth serpents, will I capture thine enemies. And as Samvara was vanquished by the lord of the immortals, or Naraka by Vishnu, will I bringing down Rama in battle make him sleep (in the field)". Hearing Triciras' words, Ravanalord of Rakshasas-urged on by Fate, considered himself as having regained his life. And hearing the speech of Triciras, Devantaka, and Narantaka, and the energetic Atikava also, were wrought up with martial enthusiasm. And then those foremost of Nairitas-the heroic sons of Ravana-endowed with the prowess of Sakra himself-roared out, 'I will go,' 'I will go.' And all could range the sky, and all were skilled in illusion, and all were crushers of the pride of the immortals; and all were irrisistible in encounter. And all of them were endowed with superior strength, and all had achieved wide celebrity. They had never been heard of as having been beaten in fight even by the gods along with the Gandharvas, or the mighty serpents accompanied by the Kinnaras. And all were skilled in weapons and heroic; and all were versed in warfare. And all were possessed of the higher knowledge; and all had

obtained boons. And then the king surrounded by those sons of his, appearing like celestials,—capable of injuring the force and fortune of the foe,—looked splendid like Maghavan environed by the immortals, humblers of the hauteur of mighty Danavas. And embracing his sons and adorning them in ornaments,-he sent them to the field with his best benedictions. And Rayana sent the brothers—Yudhyonmatta and Matta—for protecting the princes in the field. And then. saluting the high-souled Rayana—destroyer of creatures. and going round him, those huge-bodied ones marched forth And furnished with every description of medicinal herbs and perfumes, these six Nairitas-foremost of their kindendowed with great strength-burning for battle, marched forth,—Triciras and Atikaya, and Devantaka and Narantaka, and Mahodara and Mahaparcwa went out, urged on by Fate. Then Mahodara mounted the elephant—Sudarcana—sprung in the race of Airavata, and resembling dark-blue clouds. And accoutred in every weapon, and decked with quivers, he looked splendid on his elephant like the Sun ascending the crest of the Setting-hill. And Ravana's son-Tricirasascended a car yoked with excellent steeds, and furnished with every variety of arms. And having ascended the car. Triciras bow in hand appeared beautiful like a mass of burning clouds having lightning and meteors, and crowned with Indra's bow. And dight with three diadems, Triciras looked splendid in that superb car, like the monarch of mountains Himavanwith the three golden hills. And then that foremost of all bowmen—the powerful Atikaya—son unto the lord of Rakshasas—ascended the best of cars having excellent wheels and akshas, and yoked with excellent steeds, -and furnished with bottoms and holes; flaming with quivers and bows; and bristling with pracas and swords and blugdeons. And adorned with a crown plated with wrought gold and (other) ornaments, he looked like the Meru swimming in its own splendour And that powerful son of the king surrounded by the Nairitas looked lovely on that car like the thunder-handed (Deity) engirt by the immortals. And Narantaka mounted a white steed resembling Uchchaicrava, caparisoned in gold, having a large frame and endowed with the velocity of the Wind. And taking a praca, Narantaka appeared like the energetic Guha mounted on the peacock, grasping his dart. And taking a bludgeon decked in golden ornaments, Devantaka resembled Vishnu at the time of the churning of the ocean, holding the Darbhya [Churning stick.], and staying burthening (the earth). And the powerful Mahaparcwa endowed with terrific energy, taking his mace, appeared like Kuvera holding in his hand a mace in the encounter. And like immortals issuing out of Amaravati, they marched out with elephants and steeds and cars sending out clatter resembling the rumbling of clouds. And them followed high-souled Rakshasas equipped with mighty-arms. And those sun-bright high-souled princes decked with diadems appeared splendid like burning planets in the firmament. And the various gorgeous attires which they had worn resembled rows of cranes in the sky, looking like autumnal clouds. Resolved on dying or conquering the foe in fight, those heroes sallied out seeking encounter. And those high-souled ones, incapable of being repressed in fight, roared and shouted and discharged shafts and held them. And the earth shook as they sent up leonine roars and struck at their arms with their hands; and the sky seemed riven with the leonine roars of the Rakshas. And issuing out cheerfully, those foremost of Rakshasas endowed with great strength beheld that monkey-army staying with upraised rocks and stones. And the high souled monkeys also saw that mighty host of Rakshasas thronging with elephants, horses and cars, and ringing with hundreds of bell-lets; resembling dark-blue clouds; upraising mighty arms; and environed on all sides by Nairitas resembling flaming fire. And seeing that force advance, the monkeys, finding opportunity, upraising giant crags, momentarily set up shouts. And thereat, the Rakshasas, incapable of bearing those shouts, shouted in reply unto the monkeys. And again the monkeys shouted unto the Rakshas, who were unable to put up with that cry. And hearing that loud shout of the monkey-leaders, the mighty Rakshas incapable of bearing that noise expressive of exhilaration,—shouted still more dreadfully. And then diving into that dreadful Rakshasa army, the monkey leaders began to range it with uplifted rocks,like unto mountains. And equipped with trees and stones, the monkeys enraged, ranged the Raksha army, now rising into the sky. and now coming down to the earth. And some among the powerful monkeys went about taking broad-shouldered trees. And the encounter that took place between the thronging Rakshas and monkeys was something terrific. And (the monkeys) began to pour a wonderful shower of trees and rocks and cliffs. And the monkeys of dread prowess were resisted with vollies of shafts. And in the contest the monkeys and Rakshasas emitted leonine roars. And monkeys crushed Yatudhanas with rocks and wrought with rage (they) in the encounter slew (Rakshasas) covered with armour and ornaments; and some slew heroes mounted on cars and elephants and steeds. And the monkeys on a sudden slew heroic Yatudhanas. And smit with mountain-peaks on their persons, and with their eyes falling off, the foremost of

Rakshasas moved, dropped down, or roared in the scene of conflict. And the Rakshasas (on their part) pierced the foremost of monkeys with sharpened and keen darts and clubs and scimitars; and slew them with darts and pracas. And, eager for bringing down each other, the monkeys and the Rakshasas with their persons, washed with the blood of their antagonists felled each other. And in a moment the earth was covered with crags and swords discharged by monkeys and Rakshasas.—and was drenched in gore. And the field was blocked up with scattered mountain-like Rakshas influenced by martial ardour,-mangled by their enemies. And the monkeys thrown down and felled by means of broken crags and monkeys [i.e. the carcasses thereof.] and arms and legs, waged a wonderful war. And those foremost of Nairitas slew monkeys with (the dead bodies of monkeys); and the monkeys smote Rakshasas with (the dead bodies of) Rakshasas; and the Rakshasas slew (the monkeys), hurling rocks and crags. And snatching away their own arms by main force, the monkeys finished Rakshas; and they slaughtered them with mountainpeaks, and also wounded each other. And the monkeys and Rakshasas emitted leonine roars in the encounter. And the Rakshasas, slain by the monkeys, having their mail and defence for the body rent, bled like unto trees exuding sap. And in that encounter, some among the monkeys destroyed cars with cars, elephants with elephants, and steeds with steeds. And the Rakshasas rived the trees and rocks of the foremost monkeys by means of Kshurapras and crescents and sharpened Bhallas and arrows. And in that encounter, the earth became impassable, having been scattered with crags baffled and severed trees and (warriors) slain by monkeys and Rakshas. And those monkeys, equipped with various weapons, and with their vigor unworn, entering upon the conflict casting off fear,-cheerfully putting forth efforts springing from pride of spirit, warred on with the Rakshasas. And in that fearful conflict, which was being waged, on the monkeys having been exhilarated and the Rakshasas having been brought down, the Maharshis and the deities sent up shouts. Then mounted on a charger endued with the celerity of the Wind, and grasping a whetted dart, Narantaka entered into that fierce army of monkeys, like a fish diving into the deep. And that hero by means of an effulgent bearded dart pierced seven hundred monkeys; and at one time the high-souled enemy of Indra slew the army of the foremost of monkeys. And the Vidyadharas and Maharshis saw that high-souled one mounted on horseback, ranging the monkey-ranks. And his course was discovered, miry with flesh and blood and blocked up with mountain-like monkeys fallen. And when the monkeys set their hearts on displaying their prowess. Narantaka, baffling them, pierced them with shafts. And he consumed the monkey-army, like fire burning a forest. And when the wood-rangers uprooted trees and crags, they slain by bearded darts dropped down like mountains riven by the thunder. And raising a glowing praca, the powerful Narantaka began to range about in the rear of the forces: dashing everywhere (against the foe) in fight, like the wind in the rainy season. And the heroes could not appear prominently, or keep their posts. And how could they then move freely? And that one endued with prowess pierced everyone, whether springing, or staying, or moving. And broken through by a single praca, resembling the Reaper, and furnished with solar effulgence, the monkey-ranks began to roll on the earth. And the monkeys were ill fitted to bear the impetus of that praca having the touch of thunder itself; and they raised a loud cry. And the appearances of those monkeyheroes falling were like mountains toppling, having their summits riven with the thunder-bolt. Those high-souled and powerful monkeys that formerly had been brought down by Kumbhakarna,-having recovered, were present with Sugriva in this encounter. And Sugriva, looking around, saw that monkey-army flying in all directions, agitated with the fear of Narantaka. And after seeing the army in flight, he saw Narantaka himself, advancing, wielding a praca, and mounted on a steed. And as soon as he saw (that hero), the exceedingly energetic lord of monkeys-Sugriva-addressed the heroic prince Angada, endowed with strength equal to that of Indra, saying,—"Go against this heroic Rakshasas that is mounted on a steed; and speedily deprive of life that one who is devouring up the ranks of his foes". Hearing his master's speech, Angada descended from that host resembling clouds, like the powerful Sun himself. And resembling a mass of crags, Angada-foremost of monkeys-adorned with Angadas, appeared beautiful like a mountain with metals on it. And weaponless himself, and furnished only with nails and teeth, Vali's son attacking Narantaka, said,-"Stay! What shalt thou do with these interior monkeys? This praca, having the feel of the thunder-bolt, do thou hurl at my heart itself Hearing Angada's words, Narantaka was fired with wrath. And knawing his upper lip with his teeth and sighing like a serpent, Narantaka, wrought with wrath, approached Vali's son. And then whirling his praca, he suddenly discharged that flaming (weapon) against Angada. And then it was snapped on the breast of Vali's son, resembling the thunder-bolt, and dropped to the earth. And seeing the pracabroken in pieces, like a powerful snake severed by Suparna, Vali's son, raising

his hand, dealt a slap at the head of his (Narantaka's) steed. Thereat, with his legs sinking down and his eye-balls coming off and his tongue hanging down, and wearing the look of a mountain,-on being smit with that slap, Narantaka's steed fell down to the ground, with its head lying at random. And Narantaka seeing his charger slain and fallen, was seized with a furious wrath, and raising his clenched fist, that one endowed with exceeding great energy in that conflict hit Vali's son on the head. Thereat Angada having his head wounded by that blow, warm blood gushed out plentifully. And momentarily burning and momentarily swooning, he, regaining his senses, was amazed. Then Vali's son, the highsouled Angada clenching his fist into a blow resembling Death itself in energy, and like unto a mountain-peak, let it descend on the chest of Narantaka. Thereat, with his breast riven and broken down, vomitting flames and having his body bathed in blood, Narantaka dropped down to the earth, like a hill shattered by the impetus of the thunder-bolt. And on Narantaka of exceeding prowess having been slain by Vali's son in battle, there arose a tremendous uproar in the firmament from the wood-rangers and the foremost of celestials. And Angada having performed that difficult deed of prowess, capable of delighting the mind of Rama, was seized with amazement; and that one of terrific feats in fight was again inspired with delight in the encounter.

SECTION 70.

And seeing Narantaka slain, the foremost of Nairitas—including the three-headed Devantaka and Pulastya's descendant, Mahodara,-began to cry (in chorus). And then the vehement Mahodara, mounted (on horseback), rushed against Vali's son endued with energy. And aggrieved in consequence of the calamity that had befallen his brother, the strong Devantaka grasping a dreadful bludgeon, darted against Angada. And ascending a car resembling the Sun yoked with superb steeds, the heroic Triciras rushed against Vali's son. Then charged by those three powerful Rakshasas-crushers of the hauteur of immortals, Angada uprooted a tree furnished with gigantic branches. And as Sakra hurleth the mighty flaming thunderbolt, that hero-Angada—at once hurled against Devantaka that mighty tree having giant branches. And Triciras cut off that tree in pieces by means of shafts resembling serpents. And seeing the tree severed, Angada darted up; and then that foremost of monkeys showered crags and trees. And all those Triciras wrought with wrath cut off by means of whetted arrows; and Mahodara snapped those trees with the end of his bludgeon. And then Triciras rushed against that hero—Vali's son with shafts; and Mahodara chased Vali's son, mounted on an elephant; and struck Angada in the chest with tomarasresembling the thunder-bolt. And Devantaka, enraged advancing, hit Angada with his bludgeon, and then, endowed with velocity, he swiftly turned away. And attacked simultaneonly by those three powerful Nairitas, the exceedingly energetic son of Vali possessed of prowess, did not feel any pain. And that impetuous one incapable of being conquered, summoning his utmost vehemence, rushing on, pealt a slap at Mahodara's mighty elephant. And thereat the elephant fell down in his very sight and expired. And then pulling out his tusks, the highly powerful son of Vali, darting against Devantaka, dealt him a blow therewith in that encounter. And thereupon that strong one overwhelmed like a tree buffetted by the wind, began to discharge blood profusely, looking like the hue of lac. And then cheering him, the exceedingly energetic and powerful Narantaka, violently whirling his bludgeon with might and main, hit Angada with it. And albeit struck with the bludgeon, the son of the lord of monkeys, going down on his knees, again darted up. And as he sprang up, Triciras hit at the temples of the son of the king of monkeys with three straight-speeding terrific shafts. And seeing Angada assailed by the three redoubtable Rakshasas, Hanuman and Nila proceeded (to his rescue). Then Nila hurled a mountain-top at Triciras; and thereat that son of Ravana severed it with sharpened arrows. And that mountain-top on being riven, dropped down, aflame and shooting out sparks of fire. And seeing Triciras yawning in joy, the stalwart Devantaka in that encounter pursued the Wind-god's son with his bludgeon. And as he rushed on, that foremost of monkeys-Hanuman-dealt on the crown of his head, a blow resembling the thunder-bolt itself. And the mighty and heroic son of the Wind-god hit (at his antagonist); and that redoubted monkey also with his roars made the Rakshasas tremble (in fear). And thereat with his head crushed and cleft, and his teeth and eyes falling out, and his tongue hanging down, that son unto the sovereign of the Rakshasas suddenly dropped to the earth, deprived of life. On that fierce and mighty Rakshasa warrior-that foe of the immortals-having fallen in fight, the Three-headed one, waxing wondrous enraged began to shower terrific sharpened shafts on Nila's chest. And Mahodara, getting enraged, again swiftly mounted an elephant like the ray-furnished (Sun) mounting Mandara. Then even as a mass of roaring clouds oureth down showers enwheeled with levin on a mountain, he showered arrows right on Nila's breast. Thereat showered

with those shafts, that leader of monkeys Nila with his person pierced, had his body riven and was stupified by that exceedingly powerful one. Then that (monkey) possessed of tremendous vehemence, having regained his senses, uprooting a crag with a whole tract of trees, struck it at Mahodara's head. And struck by that mighty enemy, Mahodara, broken down by the impetus of that rock, deprived of his senses, dropped down dead on the ground, like a cliff smit with the thunder-bolt.

Seeing his uncle slain, Triciras took up his bow; and inflamed with fury pierced Hanuman with whetted arrows. And thereat the Wind-god's son, enraged, hurled a mountainpeak (at his adversary). And Triciras by means of keen arrows severed the same in shivers. And seeing the mountain-peak baffled, the monkey in the encounter began to shower trees on Ravana's son. And Triciras endowed with prowess by means of sharpened shafts cut off that descending arrowy shower in the sky and shouted (in delight). Then Hanuman flying into a fury, bounding to the welkin, with his nails ripped the steed of Triciras, even as a lion cleaveth a powerful elephant. Then taking a dart even as the Destroyer employeth the Fatal Night. Rayana's son—Triciras—discharged it at the offspring of the Wind-god. Thereat catching the dart of resistless course as it descended from the sky, the powerful monkey snapped it and then shouted. And seeing that dreadful dart broken by Hanuman, the monkeys, transported with delight, sent up shouts, even as clouds rumble. Than upraising his sword, that foremost of Rakshasas-Triciras-brought it down on the breast of the monkey-chief. Overpowered with the swordblow, Hanuman-son unto the Wind-god,-endowed with energy, dealt the Three-headed one a slap on the head. And smitten with that slap, the highly powerful Triciras, with his hands and attire dropping off, fell down to the earth, deprived of consciousness. Then that mighty monkey resembling a hill broke his sword as he fell, and roared, terrifying all the Rakshasas. But not brooking that uproar, that night-ranger sprang up; and springing up, he dealt a blow at Hanuman. And at that blow, the redoubtable monkey was wrought up with wrath; and inflamed with rage, he smote that foremost of Rakshasas about his diadem. And then with a sharp sword the Wind-god's son cut off his heads decked with diadems and furnished with ear-rings; even as Sakra had severed the heads of Tashtri's son [Vicwarupa.]. Thereat even as burning stars, loosened, drop down from the course of Indra, the large organs of sense, and eyes flaming like glowing fire, and heads of that foe of Indra, dropped down to the ground. On Triciras—enemy of the immortals—having been slain by Hanuman endowed with the prowess itself of Sakra. the monkeys shouted, the earth shook, and the Rakshas began to fly on all sides. And seeing Triciras and Yudhyonmatta slain and seeing also the irrepressible Devantaka and Narantaka slain (in the encounter), that highly irascible and powerful Rakshasa-Matta-was transported with passion, and then took up a flaming mace entirely wrought with iron inlaid with gold; frothy with flesh and gore; mighty to behold; gratified with the blood of foes; with its end flaming in splendour; decked with red wreaths; and capable of striking terror into Airavata and Mahapadma and Sarvabhauma [Elephants of the cardinal points.]. And flaming up like the Fire arisen at the end of a Yuga, that foremost of Rakshasas-Matta-wrought with fury,-rushed against the monkeys. Then the mighty and powerful monkey—Rishabha—springing up before Ravana's son, stood before the hosts of Matta. And seeing that mountain-like monkey staying before (him), Matta, enraged, dealt him a blow on the breast. And smit with the mace, that foremost of monkeys, with his breast riven and trembling, began to bleed copiously. And regaining his senses after a long while, Rishabha—lord of monkeys-inflamed with wrath, pouting out his upper lip, gazed at Mahaparcwa [Otherwise called Matta.]. And then impetuously approaching the Rakshasa, that foremost of heroic monkeys resembling a hill, endowed with vehemence, clenching his fist, suddenly smote him with a blow on his breast. Thereat like a tree whose roots have been severed, he suddenly dropped on the ground, covered with blood. And thereupon. (Rishabha) swiftly snatched his dreadful mace resembling the rod of Yama himself; and shouted. Only for a moment did Matta remain like one dead. Recovering his senses, the enemy of the immortals, looking like evening clouds in hue, suddenly springing up, attacked the son of the king of waters [Varuna.]. And thereat, he dropped down to the earth, senseless. In a moment regaining his consciousness, he again bounded up,—and whirling the mace resembling a peak of the foremost of mountains, in that encounter dealt (Matta) a blow therewith. And descending on the body of that dreadful one-the enemy of deities, sacrifices and Viprasthat terrific mace rived his breast; and he began to bleed profusely, even as the lord of mountains discharges minerals and water. And taking the terrific mace of the high-souled (Matta) and swinging it again and again, (Rishabha) rushed (against the Rakshasas). And that high-souled one began to slaughter Matta's forces in the field. And broken down by his own mace, Matta dropped down like a hill, with his teeth and eyes shrivelled up; and he dropped to the earth deprived of

strength and life, with his eyes paling. And on that Rakshasa falling, the Rakshasa forces began to fly. And on that brother of Ravana having been slain, that host of Nairitas appearing like the ocean in grandeur, leaving its arms behind,—solely for life rushed away, like unto the deep riven (by the winds).

SECTION 71

Seeing in sore straits his own mighty forces capable of making people's down stand on end.—and seeing his brothers resembling Sakra in prowess, routed; and seeing also his uncles brought down in battle, as well as his brothers-Yudhyonmatta and Matta-foremost of Rakshasas, that crusher of the pride of deities and Danavas—the exceedingly energetic Atikaya-resembling a hill, who had obtained from Brahma a boon in battle, was fired with wrath, Ascending a car effulgent like a thousand suns mingling their rays into a burst of brilliance, that enemy of Sakra, charged the monkeys. And stretching his bow, (Atikaya) decked with a diadem and wearing polished ear-rings, proclaimed his name (among the monkey-ranks) and shouted in lofty tones. And with his leonine roars and the proclamation of his name, and the tremendous twang of his bow-string, he struck terror into the monkeys. Seeing the magnitude of his person, the monkeys thinking that it was Kumbhakarna who had come,-and affrighted thereat, sought the shelter of each other. And seeing his form like unto that of Vishnu when he displayed his threefold energy, the monkey-warriors seized with fear, began to scour on all sides. And on Atikava appearing before them, the monkeys, stupified in that conflict, saught the shelter of Lakshmana's elder brother. And from a distance Kakutstha saw the mountain like Atikaya mounted on the car and equipped with his bow, like unto roaring clouds (seen) on the occasion of the universal disruption. And seeing that hugebodied one, Raghava struck with surprise, comforting the monkeys, addressed Bibhishana, saying,—"Who is this one resembling a mountain, furnished with a bow and having leonine eyes, that is stationed on a large car yoked with a thousand steeds,-he that with effulgent sharpened darts and keen pracas and tomaras, shineth like Mahecwara environed by spectres—he that displaying his fatal tongue, appeareth splendid, surrounded with darts in his car; like a mass of clouds graced with lightning. And his bows adorned and backed with gold all over, beautify his car even as Indra's bow beautifyeth the firmament. And who is this foremost of Rakshasas and best of bowmen that embellishing the field of battle, approacheth on a car glorious as the sun; who, displaying the ten cardinal points with his shafts resembling the rays of the sun, appeareth handsome with his peak of a banner bearing the figure of Rahu—whose bow bent in three places, emitting roars resembling the rumbling of clouds, and plated with gold, looketh like the bow itself of Satakratu? And his mighty car furnished with a banner and ensign and bottom, and having clatter resembling the roaring of clouds, hath four horsemen (attached to it). And there are on the car eight and thirty quivers and dreadful bows and vellow-golden bow-strings. And there are (in that car) two effulgent swords at his side, illumining it,-their hafts measuring four hands and their blades ten each. And that calm (warrior) wears red garlands about his neck, and resembles a mighty mountain. And a very Destroyer, he hath a mighty mouth, appearing like that of the Destroyer himself; and he looketh like the sun stationed on clouds. And with his arms adorned with golden angadas, he appeareth splendid like that best of mountainsthe Himavan with its towering summits. And with his pair of ear-rings, his charming yet terrific countenance shineth like the full Moon entering into Punarvacu [The seventh lunar asterism.]. O mighty-armed one, tell me all about this foremost of Rakshasas, seeing whom the monkeys, overwhelmed with fear, fly away in all directions". Asked by the king's son—Rama of immeasurable prowess—the exceedingly energetic Bibhishana spoke unto Rama, informing him,-"The highly powerful king, Vaisravana's younger brother of dreadful deeds, the high-souled Ravanais the sovereign of the Rakshasas. This one is his mighty son. like unto Ravana himself in strength. He serveth the aged, is of wide celebrity and is the prime of those versed in all branches of knowledge. And he is competent to ride horses and elephants, to wield the sword or draw the bow,-or in sowing dissensions, or giving away, or in counsel,-he reposing in whose arm Lanka hath cast off fear. Know him to be Atikaya, son unto Dhanyamali. Having adored the puresouled Brahma with austerities, he hath obtained weapons, and hath defeated his foes (in fight)". 'Thou shalt be incapable of being slain by celestials and Asuras'-was the boon conferred on him by the Self-sprung; and he also gave him this celestial mail and this car resembling the effulgent Sun himself. He hath vanquished (in battle) hundreds of deities and Danavas; and he hath (always) protected the Rakshas, and destroyed Yakshas. And this intelligent one resisted the thunder-bolt itself of Indra; and in encounter baffled the very noose of the king of waters. This one is Atikaya-foremost of Rakshasas; and that son of Ravana is the humbler of the hauteur of deities and Danavas. Therefore, O best of persons, do thou endeavour thy best. This one with his shafts

slaughtered the monkey-hosts before (us)". And then the powerful Atikaya entering that monkey-force, stretched his bow and shouted again and again. And the high-souled principal monkeys, seeing that (hero) possessed of a dreadful person, that best of car-warriors—stationed on his car, rushed forward. And Kumuda and Dwivida and Mainda and Nila and Sabha dashed on at one time with trees and mountain-peaks. Thereupon that foremost of those skilled in weapons, the exceedingly energetic Atikava, severed those trees and rocks by means of shafts dight with gold. And in that encounter that powerful one possessed of a gigantic person, skilled in arms, pierced all those monkeys staying before him with arrows entirely made of iron. And agonised, having their persons pierced in that mighty conflict by that arrows shower, they were incapable of resisting the same. And the Rakshasa terrified that host of monkey-heroes, even as an enraged lion priding in his youth terrifyeth a society of deer. in the midst of those bands of monkeys, that lord of Rakshasas did not slay anyone without battle. And then springing up before Rama, that one furnished with his bow and quiver, addressed him in haughty words, saying,-Stationed in this car holding the bow and arrows in my hands, I will not fight any that is ignoble. Him that hath strength, and that also understandeth this business,-let him today speedily give me battle". Hearing his speech, that slayer of foes-Sumitra's son-was fired with wrath. And not bearing him, he sprang forward disregarding his antagonist's words, and took up his bow. And flying unto fury, Sumitra's son, darting up, took out arrows from his quiver, and stretched his mighty bow in front of Atikaya. And filling the entire earth and the sky and the ocean and all the cardinal quarters,-the terrific twang of Lakshmana's bow struck terror into the (hearts of the) night-rangers. And hearing the dreadful twang of the bow of Sumitra's son, the exceedingly energetic and powerful son of the lord of Rakshasas was struck with surprise. Then Atikaya, enraged, seeing Lakshmana advance, taking sharpened shafts, spoke unto him,-"Thou art a boy, O Sumitra's son; and as such knowest not how to display prowess. Go thou. Why wishest thou to fight with me resembling Death itself. Not Himalaya itself or the firmament or the earth is capable of bearing the impetuosity of shafts shot by my arms. Thou wishest to rouse a fire slumbering sweetly. Leaving alone thy bow, do thou return. Do not lose thy life by coming in contact with me. Or it may be that thou art proud; and, therefore, hast no mind to return. Stay then. Renouncing thy life, thou shalt go to Yama's mansion. Behold my whetted arrows—crushers of the insolence of foes-resembling the weapon itself of the Lord [Siva.].—adorned with burnished gold. And even as a lion enraged sheddeth the blood of a mighty elephant, this arrow of mine resembling a serpent shall shed thy blood". Having delivered himself thus, he fired with wrath set his shaft on his bow. Hearing in that encounter Atikaya's wrathful speech fraught with hauteur, the highly powerful and intelligent son of the king possessed of exceeding grace, was transported with passion; and he said,—"Thou canst not attain pre-eminence solely by virtue of thy speech. One cannot be a worthy person simply by say. O wicked-minded one, do thou display thy strength on me equipped with the bow and holding arrows in my hands. To-day shall my shafts decked in gold, drink thy blood flowing from thy person and issuing out of wounds inflicted by my arrows resembling darts.—'This one is a boy', thinking this, thou ought not to slight me. Whether I am a boy or an old man-death shalt thou know in the conflict. It was as a boy that Vishnu had overpowered the triune world with his prowess". Hearing Lakshmana's words, fraught with reason and high sense, Vidyadharas and ghosts, deities, Daityas and Maharshis, and the high-souled Guhyakas then beheld that marvel.

Then Atikaya, enraged, setting his arrow on his bow, shot it at Lakshmana, as if devouring up the welkin. Thereat, Lakshmana—slayer of hostile heroes—with a crescent severed that sharpened shaft resembling a venomous serpent, as it was descending. And seeing the shaft severed, like a serpent having its person cut off, Ātikaya waxing exceedingly enraged, took up five arrows; and the night-ranger discharged them at Lakshmana. Thereat Bharata's younger brother cut off the approaching arrows with whetted shafts. And having severed them with sharpened shafts, Lakshmana—slayer of hostile heroes—took up a sharpened arrow, as if flaming in energy. And taking it, Lakshmana set it on his excellent bow; and drawing the latter, vigorously discharged the shaft. And that hero endowed with prowess hit that foremost of Rakshasas in the forehead with that shaft having bent knots, discharged from his bow drawn to its full bent.—And that arrow piercing the forehead of that dreadful Rakshasa, and smeared with blood, appeared like the lord of serpents in a mountain. And the Rakshasa, smarting under Lakshmana's shaft, showered, like the dreadful gateway of Tripuri battered by Rudra. Then recovering himself and reflecting, he said,—"Excellent well! By this discharge of thy shaft, thou approvest thyself as a foe in whom I can well glory". Having spoken thus candidly, he, folding his hands at ease, and seated on the platform of his car, began to range in

it. And then that foremost of Rakshasas began to take up, set, and shoot one, three, five, or seven shafts. And those shafts resembling Fate itself, plated with gold at the feathered parts,-and looking like the Sun himself (in splendour), discharged from the bow of the lord of Rakshasas, lighted up the heavens. Thereat Raghava's younger brother by means of many a sharpened shaft calmly cut off all those vollies of arrows shot by the Rakshasa. And finding all those arrows riven in the encounter, that enemy of the lord of the immortals, Ravana's son, was fired with wrath, and took up a whetted shaft. And then aiming that arrow, that highly powerful one suddenly shot it; and with that, rushing on, hit Sumitra's son in the chest. And struck in the encounter by Atikaya, the son of Sumitra began to bleed copiously, like a mad elephant discharging the temporal juice. And then that lord at once extricated the arrow; and then took up a keen shaft and fixed the same on his weapon [i.e. the bow.]. And then he set a shaft (on his bow-string) reciting a formula for the Agneya [Belonging to the god of Fire.] weapon; and thereat his arrow as well as bow flamed up. Then the highly powerful Atikaya took up a Raudra [Relative to Rudra.] weapon; and thereon fixed a shaft plated with gold at the feathered part, and resembling a serpent in sheen. And even as the Reaper hurleth his rod, did Lakshmana hurl that weapon inspired with divine energy, dreadful and aflame, at Atikaya. And seeing that shaft set upon an Agneya weapon, that night-ranger discharged a Raudra arrow set upon a Solar weapon. And there like a pair of infuriated serpents, those arrows with their heads flaming in energy, baffled each other in the sky. And burning each other, the shafts fell on the earth; and those best of arrows, shorn of brilliance and reduced to ashes, were deprived of their splendour. And having blazed in the welkin, those two fell down to the earth reft of their lustre. Then Atikaya wrought up with wrath discharged an arrow called Aishika dedicated to Tashtri. Thereat the powerful son of Sumitra severed that shaft by a weapon of Indra. Seeing Aishika baffled, that Prince-son unto Ravana-fired with rage, fixed an arrow on a weapon of Yamya; and then the night-ranger shot that weapon at Lakshmana. And Lakshmana resisted it by a Vayavya [Belonging to the Windgod.] weapon. And then as a mass of clouds poureth down showers, Lakshmana, enraged, poured volleys of shafts on Ravana's son. Thereupon, hitting Atikaya, those arrows coming in contact with his mail, had their barbs broken, and fell down to the earth. And seeing them baffled, that slayer of hostile heroes—the renowned Lakshmana—began to shower shafts by thousands. And albeit showered with those arrows, that Rakshasa—the mighty Atikava—in that encounter was not pierced by them on account of his impenetrable mail; and that best of men failed to hurt him in the contest. Then approaching him, the Wind-god spake unto him, saying,-"This one hath received a boon from Brahma, and is covered with an impenetrable mail. Pierce him with a weapon of Brahma. He cannot otherwise be slain. This one clad in mail and endowed with prowess is for sooth incapable of being slain by others". Hearing the words of the Wind-god, Sumitra's son like unto Indra in prowess took an arrow endowed with fierce impetuosity, and at once set it on a Brahma weapon. And on that sharp-headed best of arrows being fixed on that foremost of weapons, the cardinal quarters and the Moon and the Sun and the mighty planets and the sky were seized with affright: and the earth shook. And inspiring that arrow furnished with a feathered part and resembling an emissary of Yama himself, and fixing the same an his bow, Sumitra's son in that encounter discharged that shaft like unto the thunderbolt at the son of the enemy of Indra. And in that conflict Atikava beheld that shaft fair-feathered and having its feathered part dight with splendid diamonds, acquiring enhanced vehemence arising from its having been discharged by Lakshmana,—and hissing and rushing on with tremendous impetuosity. And seeing it, Atikaya swiftly resisted it with countless sharpened shafts. But endowed with the energy of Suparna himself, that shaft vehemently went to him. And seeing that shaft flaming and resembling the Fatal Destroyer himself,—coming, he, exerting himself to the utmost resisted it with darts and rishtis and maces and adzes and javelins and arrows. But beating down all those weapons of wonderful forms, that arrow alive with flames, coming to the diadem-decked head of Atikaya, severed the same (in twain) And that head furnished with a corsalet, cut off by Lakshmana's arrow, suddenly dropped to the earth, like a summit of Himavan toppling (to the ground). Seeing him rolling on the earth, with his attire and ornaments scattered about, those night-rangers that survived were overwhelmed with grief. And with pale forces and distressed, they, fatigued in consequence of the thrashing they had undergone, suddenly began to cry in frightful accents. And on their leader having been slain, those night-rangers that were about (Atikaya), without waiting any longer,-overwhelmed with panic, rushed towards the city. And on their foe endowed with terrific prowess and incapable of being confronted, having been slain, innumerable monkeys filled with excess of joy, and displaying countenances resembling blown lotuses, paid

homage unto Lakshmana working out their welfare.

SECTION 72

Hearing Atikaya slain by the high-souled Lakshmana, the king was filled with exceeding great anxiety and spoke -"Dhumraksha exceedingly wrathful,—best of those equipped with all arms-and Akampana and Prahasta and Kumbhakarna-all these exceedingly mighty heroes-Rakshasas ever seeking warfare, conquerers of the forces of foes, and never defeated by antagonists, have together with their hosts been slain by Rama of untiring feats. And other Rakshasas having gigantic bodies and skilled in various arms,—countless high-souled heroes—have also been brought down. These brothers were formerly bound by my son Indrajit of renowned strength and prowess with terrific shafts, obtained as boons. And I do not know by what power or superhuman virtue or stupifying energy did those brothers-Rama and Lakshmana-liberate themselves from those dreadful bonds, which could be loosed neither by celestials nor the highly powerful Asuras combined nor Yakyas, Gandharbas and Pannagas. And all those heroic Rakshasa warriors that marched forth at my bidding, have been destroyed by monkeys of marvellous might. Him see I not that can now slay Rama with Lakshmana,—that hero together with his forces and Sugriva and Bibhishana. Alack! mighty must be Rama and wondrous is his strength of weapon-he coming in contact with whose prowess, these Rakshasas have met with their deaths. Now let this palace be everywhere guarded by a vigilant garrison,-as also the acoka wood where Sita is being guarded. We should always be acquainted with the ingress and egress (of every person). And do ye, surrounded by forces, remain where there are garrisons. And the night-rangers should in the evening, at midnight and in the morning always watch the movements of the monkeys. The monkeys should by no means be slighted. And ve should know whether the enemy putteth forth (fresh) efforts,-and whether they advance or remain stationed where they at present are".—Thereupon those exceeding mighty Rakshasas did as they had been desired. And having directed them, Ravana-lord of Rakshasas-bearing the dart of ire (in his heart), in forlorn guise entered his own mansion. And with the fire of his rage blazing up, the exceedingly powerful sovereign of the night-rangers, absorbed with the danger that had befallen his son, began to sigh momentarily.

SECTION 73.

Those Rakshas that remained after the others had been slain, swiftly informed Ravana that all those foremost of Rakshasas-Devantaka and the rest, Triciras, Atikaya and others—had been slain. And suddenly hearing them slain, the king with his eyes charged with brine, thinking of the disastrous destruction of his sons and brothers, was extremely agonized. Thereupon, seeing the king afflicted, and sunk in a sea of sorrow, that foremost of car-warriors-son unto the Rakshasa king-Indrajit, addressed (his sire), saying,-"O father, it doth not behove thee to be overcome with this excessive grief, inasmuch as, O lord of Nairitas, Indrajit vet breaths. Smit by the enemy of Indra, (Raghava) can by no means save his life in encounter. To-day behold Rama along with Lakshmana with their bodies torn with my shafts.lying down lifeless on the ground, having their persons covered with my sharpened arrows! Hear this vow of the foe of Indra, never swerving and instinct with prowess and divinity,—this very day will I with unfailing shafts slay Rama along with Lakshmana. To-day let Indra and Vaivacwata and Vishnu and Rudra and Sadhyas and Vaicwas and men and the Sun and the Moon, behold my immeasurable prowess, terrific like that of Vishnu at the sacrificial ground of Vali". Having spoken thus, that foe of the lord of celestials endowed with exceeding energy, taking the king's permission, ascended a car having the velocity of the wind itself, voked with asses, and furnished with every variety of weapons. And ascending the car, resembling the car of Hari himself, that exceedingly powerful repressor of enemies at once set out for the field of battle. And as that high-souled (hero) marched, he was followed by countless mighty (Rakshasas) breathing spirits; bearing bows in their strong hands. And some of those, resembling mountains, were mounted on elephants, and some on superb steeds, and some on bears, and some on beasts of prey, and some on lions and jackals,-and some of the Rakshasas endowed with dreadful vigor were mounted on crows, and some on swans, and some on peacocks,-they were equipped with pracas and maces and nistrincas and axes and clubs. And all sides were filled with the blares of conchs and the sounds of kettle-drums. And then that enemy of the lord of celestials marched forth with impetuosity. And with an umbrella hued like the Moon, that destroyer of enemies appeared like the full Moon stationed in the sky. And that hero garnished in golden ornaments-that foremost of all bowmen-was fanned by an excellent and graceful golden chowri. And with Indrajit furnished with the splendour of the Sun himself, and possessed of peerless prowess, Lanka, looked beauteous even as the firmament graced with the glorious Sun.

Arriving at the scene of conflict, that highly powerful repressor of foes arrayed his forces around the car. And then that foremost of Rakshasas with choice mantras duly offered

libations unto Fire. And that powerful lord of Rakshasas there worshipping Fire with fragrant wreaths and fried paddy, sacrificed unto it. And arms served for Kaca and Bibhitakas for fuel; and there were red cloths and a ladle made of black iron. And spreading Fire there, with tomaras representing Kaca, he seized the neck of a living goat. And then the kindled smokeless fire blazing up brilliantly, displayed signs betokening victory. Thereat, with his right tongue whirling, the Deity of Fire himself looking like one made of gold,arising, accepted the offering. And then that (Rakshasa) skilled in weapons acquired a Brahma weapon (from that Deity), and inspired his bow and car with mantras. On that weapon having been invoked, and on (the god of Fire) also having been worshipped, the firmament furnished with the suns and stars and planets was afflicted with affright. Having worshipped (the god of Fire), that one endowed with the splendour of Fire itself, that one possessed of the prowess of the great Indra and gifted with inconceivable vigor, accoutred in bows and arrows and swords and having steeds and cars and darts,-disappeared in the sky. Then burning for battle, setting up roars went out the Rakshasa ranks, thronging with steeds and cars, and graced with pennons and standards. And they fell to slaughtering monkeys in the engagement with countless shafts, sharp, variegated and decorated; as also with tomaras and hooks. And Ravana's son, fired with wrath, seeing those night-rangers, addressed them, saying,-"Do ye, burning with a desire to destroy the monkeys, fight cheerfully". Thereat all those Rakshasas, eager for victory. smitting roars, covered the dreadful monkeys with showers of shafts. And environed by Rakshas in that encounter, Indrajit poured on the monkeys nalikas and narachas and maces and clubs. And trembling in the encounter, those monkeys armed with trees at once began to shower rocks and trees on Ravana's son. Then the exceedingly powerful Indrajit, son unto Ravana, endowed with wondrous energy, pierced the bodies of the monkeys (with arrows). And fired with wrath, that (hero) rejoicing the Rakshasas with a single shaft pierced nine and seven monkeys in that encounter. And that invincible hero in that conflict mangled the monkeys with shafts resembling the Sun, decked with gold. And their persons pierced in that contest, and themselves pained with those arrows, they began to fall down, giving up all intention of fight, like mighty Asuras smit by the celestials. And then waxing highly enraged, those considerable monkeys in that conflict hotly pursued (Indrajit) resembling the Sun himself and having terrific arrows for his rays. And all the monkeys, with their bodies riven and deprived of their senses, and bathed in blood and writhing in torments,—pursued (Indraiit). And putting forth their prowess in behalf of Rama. those monkeys, equipped with rocks in the encounter, who had set apart their very lives (for him), paused, shouting up loudly. And they in that conflict showered trees and crags and mountain-tops on Ravana's son. And that destroyer of foesthe exceedingly energetic son unto Ravana—resisted that mighty shower of trees and stones capable of compassing destruction. Then that Lord pierced the monkey-hosts in the encounter with shafts resembling fire or venomous serpents. And piercing Gandhamadana with eight and ten sharp arrows, he wounded Nila stationed at a distance with nine shafts. And that one endowed with redoubtable prowess pierced Mainda with seven shafts capable of piercing into the pith; and he pierced Gaia with five shafts in the encounter. And he pierced Jambavan with ten and Nila with thirty. And then with dreadful sharp shafts obtained as boons, he rendered Sugriva and Rishabha and Angada and Dwivida (almost) lifeless. And transported with passion, and resembling the Five arisen at Doomsday, Indrajit, harassed other principal monkeys with countless arrows. And in that terrific conflict, he agitated the monkey-hosts with swift-speeding shafts, resembling the Sun himself, deftly discharged (from his bow). Then in that encounter, leaving his army, Indrajit became suddenly invisible unto the monkey-hosts,—and began to shower fierce arrows, like dark clouds pouring rain. And with their persons torn by the arrows of the conqueror of Sakra,—slain by his power of illusion,—with their teeth uprooted, those mountain-like monkeys fell down in the field, emitting frightful cries,-like a mountain smit with Indra's thunderbolt. And in the conflict they could only see sharp pointed shafts among the monkey-ranks; but that foe of the celestial chief-the Rakshasa, hidden by virtue of illusion, they could not discover there. And then the high-souled lord of Rakshas covered all sides with sharp-pointed shafts resembling the rays of the Sun; and he rived the foremost monkeys. And whirling darts and nistraicasand axes, flaming and having the effulgence of Fire,—and furnished with flames shooting forth sparks,—he discharged them furiously at the forces of the sovereign of monkeys. And the monkey-leaders struck with Sakrajit's shafts resembling flames, appeared like laughing Kincukas. And some looking at the sky were struck at their eyes. And they gradually began to hide themselves in each other and drop to the earth. And that foremost of Rakshasas-Indrajit-with pracas and darts and whetted arrows, inspired with mantras, pierced all those powerful monkeys,—Hanuman and Sugriva and Angada and

Gandhamadana and Jambayan and Sushena and Vegadarcin. and Mainda and Dwivida and Nila and Gavaksha and Gavava and Kesari and Hariloman and the monkey Vidyutdanshtra Suryyanana and Jyotimukha and the monkey Dadhimukha and Pavakaksha and Nala and the monkey Kumuda. And having pierced those foremost monkeys with golden-hued maces, he showered on Rama and Lakshmana arrows resembling the rays of the Sun. And showered with those vollies of arrows. Rama, without heeding that discharge resembling a very downpour,-reflecting, spoke unto Lakshmana, -- "O Lakshmana, this lord of Rakshasas, this foe of the lord of celestials, having obtained the Brahma weapon,-after having brought down the monkey-hosts, are assailing us with sharpened shafts. And that high-souled heedful one, having been given a boon by the Self-sprung. hath rendered his dreadful body invisible. How can we slay him, who is fighting with upraised weapons, but who hath hid The reverend Self-sprung, I incomprehensible. And this is his weapon, embodying his energy. Therefore, O intelligent one, do thou to-day along with me calmly bear this. And let this foremost them all—this lord of Rakshasas-cover all sides with the showers of his shafts. And in consequence of this, the army of the monkeyking with its greatest heroes fallen, doth not appear to advantage. And seeing us also fallen senseless, and desisting from fight with our joy and anger gone off from us, for certain will the enemy of the immortals, taking the Fortune of fight seek his home". And assailed by Indra with networks of arrows, they were then sore distressed the field. And having struck them with sadness, Indra from joy shouted in the encounter. And having thus worst in battle that monkey-army and Rama along with Lakshmana he speedily entered the city ruled by the hand of the Ten-necked one. And extolled by the Yatudhanas, he, filled with delight, related everything unto his sire.

SECTION 74. And they Rama and Lakshmana were rendered inert in the field; and the army of the monkey-leaders was stupified, with Sugriva and Nila and Angada and Jambavan,-and they did not show any signs of activity. Thereupon, seeing them dispirited, that foremost of intelligent persons— Bibhishana—cheering them up with his peerless speech, said,-"Ye heroes of the king of monkeys, do not give way to fear. This is not the time to indulge in grief at this place; for the sons of the noble one [Dacaratha.],-inactive and depressed, and seeming to be wounded with the showers of Indraiit's shafts.—are in reality in this plight, for showing reverence unto the words [Mantra or prayer.]. of the Selfsprung one.-On him the Self-sprung hath conferred the mighty Brahma, weapon of unfailing power; and the king's sons are doing honour to it by lying down on the field of battle. Why then do ye grieve now?" Hearing the words of Bibhishana and honouring the Brahma weapon, Hanuman spoke as follows:—"The host of the quick-paced monkeys hath been slain by this weapon. Let us go and console them who are still living". And those two great heroes-Hanuman and that foremost of the Rakshasas, with fire-brands in their hands, began to range to and fro in the battle field. And they beheld there the earth strewn on all sides with monkeys lying down like so many hills and various shining weapons. And some of these monkeys were deprived of their tails, some of their hands, some of their thighs, some of their legs, some of their fingers, and some of their heads. And blood was gushing out from the persons of some, and others were urinating out of fear. And Bibhishana and Hanuman beheld there Sugriva, Angada, Nila, Gandhamldana, Jambavan, Sushena, Vegadarshin, Mainda, Nala, Jyotimukha, and the monkey, Dwivida.—almost slain. And Bibhishana and Hanuman saw in the field seven and sixty kotis of fleet-footing monkeys slain (in battle) at the fifth part of the day by the darling of the Self-sprung. And surveying that host worsted, dreadful like the surges of the sea, Hanuman and Bibhishana began to search for Jambavan. And finding that heroic son of Prajapati, afflicted with natural decrepitude, aged, and resembling smouldering fire,—wounded with hundreds of shafts, Pulastya's son said,—"O noble one, hath not thy life been destroyed with those sharp shafts?" Hearing Bibhishana's words, Jambavan-best of bears-evoking utterance with extreme effort, said, -"O foremost of Nairitas, endowed with exceeding prowess, I know thee by thy voice. Having my person pierced with sharp shafts. I cannot see thee with my eyes. Doth he through whom Anjana as well as Mataricwa [Wind-god.] are blessed with fair offspring,-doth that prince of monkeys-Hanuman-live?" Hearing Jambavan's speech, Bibhishaua said,—"Why, passing by the son of the high and mighty, dost thou enquire after the Wind-god's offspring? O noble one, thou dost not show that overflowing affection either for king Sugriva or Raghava that thou showest for the son of the Wind-god". Hearing Bibhishana's words, Jambavan said,-"Hear, O foremost of Rakshasas, why I enquire after the Wind-god's son. While this hero is alive, this force, albeit destroyed, liveth; but if Hanuman is reft of life, although living, we are destroyed. O child, if the